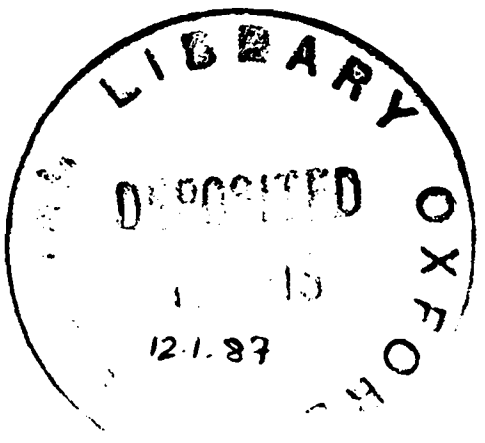
A Reading Community and the Individual Response to Literature.

by
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Thesis submitted to the Department of Educational Studies, Oxford University, for the degree of D.Phil., Trinity Term, 1986.

Supervisor: C.A.Woodhead.



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ABSTRACT.

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This study is concerned with the social production of adolescent readers of fiction and with the formation of their responses to the fiction they read.It was conceived from within the mainstream "progressive" tradition of secondary English teaching,but is written from a perspective informed by more recent developments in literary theory.

The overall problem addressed is:how do adolescents become confirmed readers of fiction?It is investigated in two ways.The first seeks to identify those working practices and social relations in secondary schools most likely to promote adolescent fiction reading.The second seeks to understand the perceptions that adolescents have of the fiction that they read.The report is based upon a longitudinal study of six teaching groups in three comprehensive schools.A combination of ethnographic and survey methods was employed.

In two of the schools fiction reading was found to decline sharply over the two year period.Readership patterns were closely associated with social class origins,gender and school ability grouping.In the third school,however,which had the highest proportion of working class students,fiction reading did not decline;nor was it influenced by ability grouping,gender or social class.These different reading outcomes are shown to relate closely to the working practices and the exercise of power within the schools.One school functions as a reading community;the other two do not.The significance of the findings is discussed in relation to contemporary theories of cultural and social reproduction.Schools,it is concluded,have the capacity to do very much more than reproduce and legitimate existing socio-economic differences at and by the cultural level.

As for the individual response to literature,the original intention was to present case studies of representative readers from the sample.All three schools sought to initiate their students,with varying degrees of success,into a particular discourse,the discourse

of personal growth,in which fiction reading is held to contribute to the reader's enhanced understanding of the self,others and the world.This view ,however,rests upon assumptions about language and texts,the reading process and subjectivity which the intervention of structuralism and later developments in literary theory have rendered untenable.In order to understand the theoretical limitations of this discourse,its disabling classroom consequences and the possibilities for its transformation to more radical and liberating approaches to texts ,the case study presented here is of the discourse itself,rather than of those readers who sought access to it.

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I owe most of all,and more than I can say,to my parents and to Marion,Cathy and Duncan,to whom the study is dedicated.

CHAPTER ONE.

Introduction.

This research study is about readers and fiction.It is concerned with the process of becoming a reader of fiction and with the uses to which fiction is put in our secondary education system.The general research question addressed by the study is:how do adolescents become confirmed readers of fiction? The enquiry is based upon a longitudinal study conducted in three mixed comprehensive schools of 162 adolescents of all abilities from the beginning of their fourth to the end of their fifth year.From the start,there were two inter-related thrusts to the investigation.These required separation into two sub-questions both to operationalise the research enquiry and to report its findings.The first of the sub-questions is:what kind of school social context is most likely to sustain and promote fiction readership amongst adolescents?

The second is:

what perceptions do adolescents have of the experience of reading fiction?

This chapter outlines the background of the study,the theoretical

perspective which informs it,and the organisation of succeeding chapters.

The starting point for the first aspect of the research is a suggestion made in the conclusion to the Schools Council project Children and their Books(1977).In that study,Whitehead reported that fiction reading declined sharply amongst older children in secondary school.Both social class and gender were shown to be closely related to reading habits and tastes,with working class boys reading least of all.By the fourth year of secondary school,47% of students in that category were found to have either ceased or never started to read voluntarily.In recent years,the general picture of declining adolescent readership has been confirmed in broad terms elsewhere.The Bullock Report(1975) expressed concern about a "fairly large group of children in secondary schools who have the reading skills,but who choose not to read books outside school time." The APU secondary surveys (1982 and 1983) reported both declining readership and the growth of negative attitudes towards reading amongst older adolescents.In Bullock Revisited(1982) HMI summarised their findings as regards secondary schools in the comment that "one school in ten of those visited was memorable for its provision for reading."

Recent national patterns of readership amongst secondary schoolchildren are,therefore,well attested.They are sharply inflected by age,gender and class.Children at age 12 read

more than do those at age 14.At all ages girls read more than boys,and middle class children read more than their working class peers.Moreover,the differences in gender and social class reading patterns increase markedly with age.There is no evidence to suggest that the differences between the reading habits of various groups reflect differences in their reading standards or levels of measured reading attainment.Whitehead's study was specifically designed to investigate children's exercise of their reading skills,rather than their level of reading competence.The Bullock Committee,however,was charged to investigate a supposed decline in reading standards,(1),and the APU was designed, in its wake,to ensure that those standards were closely monitored.Neither the Bullock Committee,nor the APU found evidence to suggest a widespread national decline in reading standards.On the contrary,for the vast majority of students,the ability to read and to make sense of a fictional text was not found to be in question.What both these bodies did report,however,was the existence of a substantial number of children who,near the completion of their compulsory education,had learned to read,but who chose not to read,who had not become confirmed readers.

Why this should be so has been the cause of much rather inconclusive speculation.The decline in fiction reading amongst adolescents has been attributed to a number of factors external to the school,such as the influence of the mass media which offer alternative entertainment,or to the increased demands

of a widening social life upon adolescents.The influence of examination demands upon teaching methods and the time that adolescents have available for reading are some of the factors within schools which have been held responsible.The class and gender inflection of the readership patterns raise other,socio-political, questions about the extent and nature of the influence exerted by linguistic class differences,gender stereotyping and conflict between home and school cultures.

The fact that reading habits are so clearly influenced by age,gender and class suggests that becoming,or remaining,a reader is a complex social process in which no single overall determinant predominates.Whitehead's study provides evidence that becoming a confirmed reader is the result of many interacting variables,but its format did not allow any detailed analysis of the interplay between them.So many variables are involved,within and outside the school,that the isolation of any one of them for empirical investigation is likely to prove impossible.A different kind of study is required,one that focusses upon process as much as outcome.In his conclusion,Whitehead argued that "what is now needed is a longitudinal study of a much smaller number of children in order to follow their reading over a period of several years and thereby establish the determining influences,whether in the home,neighbourhood or school,that affect changes in the children's reading habits and tastes." The present study seeks to help meet that need by analysing the secondary school's part in

the social process by which fiction readers are produced,and analysing the social relations within secondary schools which give rise to the readership patterns reported in Whitehead and elsewhere.

We need to understand more about what is involved in becoming a reader.Recent developments in primary education,stemming from the work of Meek (1977,1982),Southgate (1981) and others (2),for example,have resulted in an enlarged view of the teaching and learning of reading in that sector.Learning to read,it is now argued,involves more than the acquisition of particular technical decoding skills which may be taught in isolation.In the early stages,learning to read involves learning to behave like a reader.It is a process of induction into a particular form of behaviour entailing familiarisation with a multiplicity of social and cultural codes.Many of these codes are so taken for granted by habitual adult readers as to seem transparent.But whether they relate to narrative conventions for the production,reception or interpretation of stories,or to the ways in which books are housed in libraries,or selected and handled by readers,all these codes are specific to particular times and cultures and they have to be learned,in however an unconscious or involuntary way.It is a question of learning to live in a culture which organises print and which is organised by it.It concerns the uses to which literacy is put.Questions about reading inevitably entail wider questions about our society.The perspective from which the present study is written seeks to

acknowledge that readers exist,and reading occurs,within some kind of social and cultural context.Reading fiction,like any other activity,is sustained and promoted by a material and social infrastructure.Readers are made,not born.

School is only one element in the formation of readers,but it is an important one and one,moreover,that is susceptible to change and intervention in a way that most of the influential factors external to it are not.Identification and analysis of the ways in which secondary schools in particular currently contribute to the formation of readers is a prerequisite to any change in the reading habits reported by Whitehead.Such an enquiry raises questions about the nature and function of literacy in our society in general,and about fiction reading in particular.

But why should it matter that some groups of children,in their last years of compulsory education,read more or less fiction than other groups? The assumption in Whitehead's conclusion,and in the other official sources cited above,is that the decline in adolescent readership is regrettable.Two issues are involved here which often become conflated:the standard of literacy (how well can children read?) and the uses to which literacy is put (what do children read and to what end?).Both issues are complex.

So far as the first is concerned,the wider significance of national reading standards is well accepted.A literate workforce is judged essential to the efficient functioning of a modern industrialised state.The speed with which central government moved to set up the Bullock Committee when reading standards were reputed to be falling is readily understandable.No such decline in standards was found,but Bullock,in common with most official reports before and since,held that voluntary fiction reading was one of the surest means by which overall reading standards might be maintained and improved.Reading skills are developed and re-inforced by their frequent employment,a view with which few would disagree.

Reading skills are closely associated with educational attainment,however,and the clear way in which reading habits are differentiated by age,social class and gender raises wider questions about the school as an agency of social and cultural reproduction.Whitehead's findings in regard to reading habits suggest that social class differences are reproduced at the cultural level.We need to know in more detail the extent to which this occurs,and how far it is simultaneous with,or a consequence of,the schooling process.Are the reading patterns created by the school,or does the school merely reflect or re-inforce tendencies formed by societal pressures external to it? To what extent can the school alter such patterns of readership? Can schools compensate to any degree for the social inequalities beyond them? What degree of autonomy does the

individual school,or teacher,or,indeed,the secondary system as a whole,possess in influencing the pattern of reading habits? Such questions involve competing theories of social and cultural reproduction and conflicting views of the nature and function of schools as institutions in our society.

In his inaugural lecture at the London Institute,Rosen (1981) vividly contrasts two opposing accounts of the school.In Bleak House,the school which functions according to the theories of Althusser (3),social class differences are reproduced and,more important,legitimated in the eyes of all who pass through it.The dominant culture in general,and literature in particular,play a crucial role in the reproduction and perpetuation of social inequalities.It is through the uses to which literature is put that the dominant socio-economic class exercises its hegemonic sway over subordinate groups.By contrast,in Liberty Hall,where the ideology of liberal progressivism (4) holds full sway,cultural goods play an equally important role,albeit to quite different effect.Here,in a benign meritocracy,literature,the common and neutral possession of all,is the agency of personal fulfilment and social mobility.In both these accounts of schooling,literacy is viewed as something very much more than a question of whether or not the nation knows its letters.Both see literature as crucially involved in shaping subjectivity (5) and the social order.This brings us to the second aspect of the present study:<u>what perceptions do adolescents have of the experience of reading fiction?</u>

For over a century now,schools have been charged with the task of making readers of the nation's children,not just to ensure a necessarily literate workforce but also to bring them under the "civilising and humanising" influence of literature. For the most part,secondary English teachers have embraced that view of schooling's function with enthusiasm."Literature is the one thing worth worth teaching English for."(Thomson) Considerable importance has been given to the study of literature in the secondary curriculum.No other art form has such a privileged position.(6) Because literature is so securely enmeshed in the certification process in subject English,it has become de facto compulsory for all students.In the past,literature in this context would have been taken to be poetry,but in post war years poetry has largely ceded its curricular dominance to fiction.(7) The justification for its inclusion in the curriculum,apart from the instrumental argument that it promotes reading development,is that it makes a unique contribution to the student's education in terms of personal growth.From the study of literature the pupil derives an enhanced understanding of the self,others and the world.This moral and emotional education is different from (and often claimed to be superior to) what is on offer elsewhere in the curriculum.The student learns from the imaginative experience of reading fiction in an essentially creative process of making an individual and personal response to the writer's words.Since the appearance of Dixon's Growth through English(1965) this view of the function

of literature in education has been the dominant one in most publications,official or otherwise,about English teaching.(8)

There are,however,considerable theoretical problems with this personal growth model.It is not just that its central claim is unverifiable.How might the improving quality of fiction be conclusively demonstrated? (9) At a theoretical level,the model is,for a variety of reasons discussed below,scantily argued.How does literature achieve its reputed effects? Is the improving experience accessible to all,or is it uniquely available in literature? There is a tendency in work about English teaching (10) for argument to be replaced with exhortation and the adducing of autobiographical testimony,such as J.S.Mill's,as to the power and efficacy of literature.Given sufficient teacher enthusiasm and the right text,appropriately handled,all children may have access to this transformative experience of literature.Theoretical gaps in this personal growth model of literature in education,however,become apparent as soon as an attempt is made to articulate the process in any detail.Moreover it is difficult within its conceptual framework to account for the failure of some children to derive these benefits from fiction without having recourse to damagingly negative explanations in which deficiencies,linguistic or personal,are attributed either to the students or to the teachers.(11)

Above all,at the empirical level it is surprising

that we are as ignorant as we are of children's perceptions of an experience to which their teachers attach such importance.The absent voice in too many books about English teaching is that of the student.The evidence of Whitehead's study and the APU surveys suggests that many students take a far less sanguine view of the pleasures and benefits derived from fiction reading than do their teachers.There is a need for greater understanding of the ways in which adolescents perceive the process of fiction reading and of how they perceive the outcome of that reading.The present study seeks to increase our awareness of the perceptions about fiction of those upon whose behalf such ambitious claims are made.Adolescent self-reports about the process of fiction reading,and the pleasures and benefits derived from it,need to be set against the claims made by educationists to ascertain the extent and significance of any mismatch so that practice may develop.

These two elements,then,the social formation of adolescent readers and their perceptions of the fiction which they read,formed the starting point for the present study.There is,however,an additional element.This chapter has been written with benefit of hindsight.The theoretical perspective which informs the writing of this report is very different from that responsible for the original conception of the study.One disadvantage of a longitudinal project is that the researcher has to live for the study's duration with the consequences of the

theoretical framework within which it was originally conceived.It is tempting,for those who find their own theoretical development does not synchronise neatly with their empirical research design,to exercise editorial control to ensure that it seems to do so.Here,and in the following chapters,I have chosen instead to foreground some of those differences for the sake of clarity and narrative continuity.These differences of past and present theoretical positions centre upon developments in recent literary theory.

The world of English studies has changed irrevocably since Growth through English,however prevalent the view advocated there remains.(12) The intervention of structuralism and more recent theoretical developments have transformed our understanding of texts and readers,of language,ideology and discourse.These developments offer the opportunity for a coherent analysis of inherent theoretical weaknesses in the personal growth model.They also offer a rationale for other,more fruitful,uses of fictional texts in education.Both student and teacher perspectives about the role of fiction in education require setting in a context that is informed by these advances.

The two aspects of this study,therefore,are closely related,one concerned with the school social context most

likely to sustain and promote fiction readership,the other dealing with adolescent perceptions of the process of fiction reading and its potential learning outcomes.As mentioned above,they required separation for the purpose of investigation.The particular problems of research design and methodology and of the presentation of findings which that separation posed are dealt with in the following chapter,as are the details of the hypothesis to be tested in regard to the first aspect of the study.Chapter 3 reviews recent educational studies of reading habits and tastes,as well as other relevant work in cultural studies.It argues that the emphasis in English teaching upon the development of individual sensibility has led to a neglect of social dimensions of fiction readership.Current patterns of fiction readership must be seen in relation to historically recurrent socio-political issues which are,in part,consequent upon features of literacy which are inherent.In chapter 4 the growth and development of subject English as an ideology is traced from its beginnings in the last century to what seems to be its present imminent dissolution.This chapter also examines the role of literature in various accounts of social and cultural reproduction.An introduction to the three schools,six teaching groups and teachers involved in the fieldwork for the research is given in chapter 5.The emphasis in this chapter is upon the schools' characteristics as social organisations:their social composition;the distribution of power within them;and the interplay between their institutional histories and current social and educational pressures.

Chapter 6 reports findings that relate to the first aspect of the study,the schools' part in the formation of fiction readers.These findings,based on a questionnaire completed upon three separate occasions by all the study sample students,show one of the schools to have established and sustained fiction readership very much more successfully than did the other two.The main significance of the findings lies in the fact that the school in which readership was found to be most successfully established was predominantly working class in composition.The pattern of reading habits in that school,therefore,ran quite counter to tendencies reported by Whitehead.Chapter 7 offers an analysis of a number of institutional features in all three schools which account for the findings reported in the previous chapter.Chapter 8 draws primarily upon staff and student interview material to present adolescent perspectives upon fiction reading.For reasons of space,and to avoid the duplication of material reported elsewhere,(13) these accounts are presented briefly in a form made familiar by the interactionist personal growth view of reading.In chapter 9 there is a critical review of the literature relevant to that model of reading.This view of the reading process is shown to rest upon assumptions about language,texts,subjectivity which have been discredited by recent developments in literary theory.A case is argued for the radical re-definition of subject English in the secondary education system that would take account of new practices developed in

recent post-structuralist and post-Althusserian Marxist theory.The final chapter presents the conclusions of the study.

A note on some of the terms used is given immediately before the Appendices.

Footnotes to Chapter One.

1. Reported by Start and Wells 1972.

2. See the Open University Course,"Every Child's Language" ed.Maybin 1985 for a good selection of relevant material on parental involvement in language work and a detailed biblography.The Open University unit,"Children,language and literature" ed.Hoffman 1982 also contains a good selection of material that deals with this area.See also Wade 1984.

3. See Althusser 1971 particularly.This influential "Essay on ideology and ideological state apparatuses" has been well discussed in detail by Dowling 1984,Eagleton 1976;Coward and Ellis 1976.Gibson 1984;Griffith 1981;Geras 1986;and Bottomore 1983 provide good introductions to Althusser.

4. See,for example,the work of Abbs,Holbrook,Harrison, and to a lesser extent Jackson,Protherough.

5. See Note on Terms Used,in Appendices below.See also Belsey 1980,1985.

6. Art,Music,Drama,for example are all supposedly essential to the balanced curriculum,but they occupy a weak position as regards time,resources and status in comparison with English and other hard core subjects.The training of other arts teachers emphasises the practioner and performer - a striking contrast to that given to English teachers.The object of training for those involved in art and music education appears to be production,whereas that for English teachers is primarily concerned with consumption and consumer guidance.

7. Poetry is still of course taught,but,to judge from HMI comments,to a much lesser degree than formerly.Official publications tend to allocate it to a special section,as if it were an endangered species.The front-line now so far as literature in schools is concerned,wherever it may once have been,is fiction.It is conceivable that that line will shift again in the future,with prose fiction occupying the place now held by poetry,and visual fictions holding the foreground.

8. To say this is not to attribute the entire movement to Dixon,whose book spoke for many teachers at the time.

9. See Wilson,R.1977.

10. See particularly Abbs,Holbrook.

11. See Woodhead 1980.See also Fowler 1981 for a cogent

criticism of theories of communication which remain at the interpersonal level without acknowledging any other determinants.

12. See Yorke 1977 or Barnes,Barnes and Clarke 1985 for a detailed account of English teachers' ideologies. Secondary English teaching,however,is changing and gradually taking some account of the debates in tertiary education.See for example,some of the recent ILEA English Centre publications,LATE conferences.See also Meek and Miller 1984 and Meek 1984 for details of some of the emergent alternatives.

13. See Protherough 1983,1986,;Fry 1985;Jackson 1984;all of whom report upon adolescent experences of fiction.

CHAPTER TWO.

Methodology:research design and methods.

This chapter provides an account of the research design and methods of the study.It deals with the methodological problems posed by the investigation which led to some departures from research conventions and offers an assessment of the solution adopted.Five sections follow this short introduction:original research focus;preliminary study and conclusions;revised research design;research methods;and conclusions.

The formulation of a research question and selection of the methodology for its investigation are rarely the subject of innocent,neutral choice,but are subject to numerous determinants,social and autobiographical.We travel with all manner of intellectual and ideological baggage whose existence or relevance to either route or destination we discover perhaps only midway through the journey.In the present case,the most important influence upon the formulation of the topic was the fourteen years that I had spent as a secondary English teacher in comprehensive schools.That accounts for an interest in fiction and readers.But the kind of teacher that I had been was also important in determining the theoretical framework within which

the project was conceived.

> When we turn our attention to theoretical discourses,our gaze falls upon what the discourse itself sees,its visible.What is visible is the relation between objects and concepts that the discourse proposes.This is the theoretical problematic of a given theoretical discipline.It will render visible only those objects of a problem that occur within its horizon and upon its terrain.Only these objects and problems are significant to the theoretical discipline and have a place within its overall structure.Other objects and problems are therefore insignificant;they fall into the interstices of the structure,they become invisible.The theoretical problematic,through its criteria of relevance or appropriateness,defines what is excluded from the field of visibility.
> (Coward 1983)

The present research topic was initiated within the discourse of progressive English teaching in which literature is held to make a substantial contribution to children's personal growth and development.Typical terms of this discourse are "responsive,""sensitive","sympathetic""reflective" and "imaginative".(1).Such terms are the visible of a discourse designed to produce certain forms of subjectivity,a discourse which operates,in Eagleton's phrase,as a "moral technology." In the course of the study other objects and concepts which had fallen into the "interstices of the overall structure" of this discourse became visible.Conduct of the study led to the clarification of what had been excluded from its initial field of visibility.

My lengthy involvement with the phenomenon under investigation also gave rise to a high degree of reflexivity between autobiography and research method.The ethnographic approach,with its privileging of multiple perspectives and the

negotiation of meaning,holds obvious attractions for those schooled in the expressive realist tradition of literature (2) However,the classic proce dures of this method were not without problems.For example,it did not prove at all easy for the experienced English teacher to take on the role of the "radically naive observer" in an English classroom.Nor could all the changes in the study's theoretical perspective described below,claim to be the classic "progressive focussing of emergent hypotheses" anticipated in traditional ethnographic method.(3).A further complication of research method by autobiography was occasioned by my direct involvement with one of the three study schools,a feature which is discussed more fully below.This chapter is presented partly in autobiographical and chronological terms because that mode offers most clarity with least distortion.One begins where one can.Such difficulties have been well expressed recently by Barnes (1984)

> we have made a deliberate distinction between two aspects of research reports in the social sciences - internal consistency and the observer-reporter's subjectivity.From the point of view of internal consistency,there are many devices - triangulation,multiple observation,respondent validation and so on - to minimise the effect of observer bias.There is no escape,however,from the cultural perspective which makes the data meaningful,yet is inevitably located in the socio-cultural life-history of the observer....every research report will have something of the character of a persuasive account.We have made it our care in this report not to shelter behind an anonymous style that claims an objective authority,but to maintain the reader's awareness that he or she is seeing the world through our eyes.(4)

i) original research focus.

The original research focus was upon the response of adolescents to fiction.Three factors prompted this emphasis.In the first place,very little is known about how adolescents perceive the experience of fiction to which their English teachers attach such importance.How does such response develop? what classroom practices seem to promote it? How does the response to fiction made by adolescents match the claims made by teachers for its benefits? That ignorance is surprising in view of the experiential nature of the claims made for the benefits derived from fiction reading.Claims about the moral and emotional benefits derived from fiction are often justified by the citation of examples such as J.S.Mill (5),but the testimony of the ultimate supposed beneficiaries in school seemed never to have been researched.(6)

The second factor which shaped the original enquiry was dissatisfaction with what appeared to be a theoretical incompleteness underpinning the view that literature promoted moral and emotional education.Whatever deficiencies there might be in pedagogy,the working account of the whole process of literary response given by secondary English teachers seemed very much oversimplified and inadequate to deal with,or account for,the exigencies of classroom actuality.Too often,the suggestion appeared to be that all that was required was sufficient commitment on the teacher's part and the right text,"properly handled",as HMI would say.A more detailed and rigorous account of the nature of literary response was needed

to prevent the whole enterprise remaining upon a semi-religious and mystificatory basis. To ascertain in detail how adolescents perceived the reading of fiction looked to be an appropriate place at which to start an examination of the adequacy of theory.Their testimony was the missing term.

Both these factors were re-inforced by a third,my awareness of the disarray that characterised secondary English teaching.At that stage the confusion was most evident in the split between those teachers who asserted the primacy of language,and those whose commitment was mainly to literature,a rift institutionalised in the existence of two journals,English in Education and Use of English.At the start of his book,English teaching since 1965.How much growth?(7),Allen describes a similar perception which led him to re-examine the history of English teaching.There was also,as Woodhead points out,a further large body of teachers unfamiliar with either position in any detail or at any conscious level.(8).Such professional divisions had formed the landscape of my teaching career,but I was unprepared for and ignorant of the crisis in English studies at tertiary level which I encountered upon my return to university at the start of the project.Progressive modifications to the research design and interpretation of the study findings reflect my growing awareness of the relevance of that crisis to secondary English.

The original research design,following Whitehead's suggestion cited in the previous chapter,was for a longitudinal study of a small number of children in their last two years of secondary school to trace their development as fiction readers and to identify the factors which influenced it.Two years was the maximum time available for field work,less than the period envisaged by Whitehead.The fourth and fifth year age group was chosen because it was the least investigated so far as reading was concerned (9) It was also in this age group that Whitehead had found the greatest variation in reading habits and for this age group that the largest claims as regards the benefits of reading fiction were made.(10)

The project was conceived as a study of a process,the development of pupils as readers,and for this an ethnographic approach was judged most suitable.This method,and the symbolic interactionist theory which lay behind it,seemed the most suitable for a study involving a great deal of classroom observation,and analysis of interpersonal interactions and the negotiation of meanings.(11) Because this method assumes the construction of social reality by participants from a variety of perspectives and fully acknowledges the social context of the phenomenon under investigation,it seemed appropriate for a study in which the reading outcomes and effects were likely to be subject to so many determinants.It was hoped that an ethnographic study would yield sufficient material to enable the detailed development of individual adolescent readers to be traced.Such

material would also allow traditional claims for the benefits of fiction reading,of the kind given in many books on secondary English teaching (12),to be set against the self report accounts given by students and by their teachers who mediated those claims to them.The intention of setting such accounts alongside each other was to identify possible discrepancies and to account for them.

In the Trinity term of 1980,therefore,a preliminary study was undertaken to assess the suitability of the methods proposed and to select the school to be involved in the main study.Eight mixed comprehensives were visited during that term for extensive observation of fourth year classes and a number of staff and student interviews.At the same time all the first year undergraduate students reading English in an Oxford college were interviewed at length about their development as fiction readers.(13)

ii) preliminary study and conclusions.

The main purpose of the preliminary fieldwork was to assess whether the methods proposed were likely to yield appropriate material.Broadly speaking,the methods envisaged proved suitable.The teachers involved were interested in the issues raised by the study and their various perspectives on

fiction and education were accessible through interviews,classroom observation and discussion.The major problem was to find sufficient time for discussion.

Adolescent perceptions of fiction were less accessible.Classroom observation yielded plentiful background material about social relationships and pedagogy,but less about student experience of fiction.Observation generally was of interaction with a teacher chosen text,rather than students' own choice of reading material.The original intention was that the study would include detailed analysis of classroom interaction.However,technical problems with tape recording made it difficult either to identify individuals in any one class discussion or to isolate individuals sufficiently in successive lessons to enable their development to be traced.Beyond this level of teacher pupil exchange,it was difficult to obtain satisfactory recordings of interpupil discussion in pairs or groups.Moreover much of the pupil text interaction occurred outside the classroom.Such considerations led to less emphasis being placed upon classroom interaction analysis in the main study than had been initially anticipated.Other factors reinforced this decision.

Student interviews,for example, proved very successful in all the schools.Most students interviewed expressed interest in and talked freely about many aspects of their fiction reading and associated activities.Many welcomed the chance to

talk of their characteristics and careers as readers.Classroom observation proved an invaluable supplement to these interviews because observed lessons gave a common reference point for discussion.Interviews with individuals, pairs and groups took different forms and offered a useful cross-referencing check.

The preliminary fieldwork also revealed the value of other sources of information as a check or alternative perspective upon issues raised.These sources included:informal talk with staff and pupils;documentary sources such as school reports,syllabuses and prospectuses and library records;and additional information ,whether from observation or interview,about the varied uses to which reading was put throughout the school.All of these looked to be susceptible of more detailed analysis than there was time for in the preliminary study.These other sources seemed so pertinent as to warrant an emphasis in the main study that was evenly divided between detailed classroom observation and investigation of the wider school context in which reading occurred.

Whilst plentiful material was thus available through interview,observation and documentation to give both insight into the development of individual readers and some analytic purchase upon schools as institutions in which reading occurred,it seemed important to have,in addition,some baseline measurements for the whole sample.A modified replication of Whitehead's questionnaire was therefore included in the main

study to give a base line record of students' reading throughout the proposed two year period.At this stage,the questionnaire was intended to provide background evidence against which comments about individual readers might be made.It was not introduced to facilitate comparison either within or between schools,although it came to serve that function.

For rather similar reasons I decided to design some sentence completion stems and open ended questions to ensure that all sample students had covered some questions in common.The development of attitude tests I judged too time consuming and unlikely to yield much relevant or meaningful material.(14) Consideration was also given at this stage to the inclusion of something like Squire's 'tests' on adolescent response to short stories.(15)

The interviews in the preliminary study were largely dependent upon students' confidence that I represented no threat to them.This deterred me from undertaking any tests of reading ability.So many tests would be necessary for an adequate assessment and in any case my concern was not with changes in measured reading ages as Ingham's had been.(16) School records were judged sufficient for the needs of the present study.

Although this preliminary fieldwork established the appropriateness of the proposed research methods,there were

some unforeseen outcomes .These,together with a revised theoretical perspective developed from reading contemporary literary theory,led to substantial reformulation of the research question and design.These changes concerned the social dimensions of readership and the nature of the reading process.Both require fuller comment.

The conception of reading in the personal growth tradition of secondary English teaching is strongly individualistic.Social dimensions of readership are acknowledged in only a limited way.The general Leavisite position,for example,which underlies so much contemporary English teaching (17),presupposes a particular social history of readership best exemplified in Fiction and the Reading Public(Q.D.Leavis.1932) This offers an analysis which called for teachers' militant intervention with literature to train students'individual sensibility to resist the values of a materialistic society.Social aspects of readership are also acknowledged in the high valuation placed upon the criss-cross of critical exchange in the common pursuit of true judgment.But as Anderson (1968) and others point out,such views do not come in isolation and are always enmeshed with socio-political assumptions.(18)

The preliminary study,however,showed the importance of other quite different social determinants upon readership.Interviews revealed the fiction books read by most

students to be less the consequence of any exercise of discrimination or enthusiasm generated in English lessons than of very much more material factors such as the range of books to which they had access,the time they had available and the people they knew.All these factors seemed to come into play long before any action by the school,although they were all to some extent influenced by it.For many students,access to books,other than the class reader,was extremely difficult and limited,or simply haphazard,both inside and out of school.Those who were confirmed readers appeared to be dependent upon friends and relatives for a supply of books and encouragement to read.There were networks of readers whose members sustained each other as readers.By contrast,many of those who did not read fiction were pupils whose social relationships brought them into no contact with confirmed readers at all,either their own age or adults.In addition,most students interviewed talked about changes in their attitudes towards reading in their fourth year of secondary education.Many felt they now read fewer books and derived less pleasure from fiction than they had done earlier.They also perceived there to have been a substantial change in their English lessons in their fourth year.

Readership,it seemed,involved a complex social and material infrastructure:a range of book sources,regular supplies of books and a network of mutually supportive readers.This infrastructure could be provided within the school or it could exist independently of it.Moreover the uses to which both fiction

and reading were put in school exerted a powerful influence.Reading patterns were much more than the product of differing levels of skill or tastes.They could only be fully understood within a conceptual framework which saw reading as a complex social practice.(19) The original research formulation,with its emphasis upon the development of response to fiction,presupposed too easily that adolescents read fiction.As a consequence of the preliminary study,the emphasis shifted to the process whereby readers are formed:formation rather than development.Readers,like the fictions they consume,were best considered as social products.To adapt Horace,readers are made not born.

The second conclusion of the preliminary fieldwork findings which led to the reformulation of the research design concerned the adolescent self- reports about fiction reading.It was no surprise that the interviews revealed gaps between the reported experience of the students and claims made for the benefits derived from fiction by teachers.That distance was to be expected between naive and sophisticated readers.(20) The pedagogic problem is how best to take account of the difficulties and pleasures actually encountered by students in their fiction reading.Students were able to describe how they read fiction,and what they thought the process of fiction reading was like in considerable detail,but the terms employed by the personal growth model offered little analytic purchase upon students' comments because that discourse is so resolutely untheorised (21).Recent

reader-oriented criticism and theory,which I encountered at this time,promised to make good that deficiency.In this work,the centre of attention was shifted away from the text and author to the reader's interaction with the text:the process of fiction reading rather than its outcome or its necessary and sufficient pre-conditions expressed in terms of linguistic properties of the text or moral qualities of the author.Reader-oriented theory,particularly the work of Iser (22),appeared at this stage to offer a means of analysing and interpreting the self-report material likely to be gathered for the case studies of individual readers.It also led to a greater emphasis upon the reading process in the interviews in the main study.Ultimately,however,reader-oriented criticism failed to redeem these promises,and other ideas in literary theory proved more substantial and persuasive in their influence.

The other purpose of the preliminary study was to help in the selection of school for the main fieldwork.A number of criteria were used to select the schools included in the main study from amongst those involved in the preliminary fieldwork.What was sought was a mixed comprehensive of average size (about 1000 pupils) that lacked any acute or idiosyncratic problems,and was prepared to tolerate the inconvenient intrusion of a researcher for over a year.The school also had to be within reasonable travelling distance of Oxford.I hoped to find a school with mixed ability groupings in the fourth and fifth year so as to reduce the sample size,whilst still covering the full ability

range.The most important criterion concerned the English department.Ball and Lacey (1980) forcefully demonstrate how a department sharing a common conception of subject pedagogy and subject paradigm is very much more sucessful in attaining its aims than one which does not.I was sceptical of the value of a detailed study of fiction in education in circumstances that were patently unfavourable or hostile to it,and so a department was sought in which there was a shared sense of the importance of fiction in English teaching.Additional criteria included the amount of discussion in the department and the relationship of the department to the rest of the school.Selection was made that much more difficult by the welcoming attitude of staff and their interest in the project.

In the end three schools were chosen for the main study instead of the one initially envisaged.They were Chilworth,Richard Draper and Baydon,detailed portraits of which appear in chapter 5.In selecting three schools there was no intention of setting up a conventional comparative study with an experimental school and two control ones.The original plan to study one teaching group was abandoned when the preliminary fieldwork revealed the importance of social dimensions of readership that extended well beyond individual classrooms.Two schools were chosen because that would afford some comparison of anticipated institutional and social influences,which could not,however,be predicted or clearly identified in advance.The

third school was added for personal reasons.

I had been head of English in the third school for nine years prior to undertaking this study and was interested in looking at the development of readers in a situation with which I was familiar.Ex-colleagues,too,were interested in the project.At the same time,I was reluctant to centre the study upon that school,even after a year's absence,for fear of insufficient objectivity upon my part and reluctance to impose upon friendships.Three schools were likely to prove unwieldy in terms of travel and sample size,and so I determined that the school in which I had taught would be involved in only a peripheral way and dropped from the study when travel proved burdensome.In the event,for reasons that will become clear later,all three schools remained very firmly in the project.All three knew of the others' involvement and of my connections with one.Some particular problems caused by my involvement are discussed below.At this point,however,the reader has a choice.The final appendix identifies the school,in which I once worked.

Preliminary fieldwork,therefore,confirmed the appropriateness of the proposed methods,but altered the nature of the enquiry.The revised research design had to accommodate a changed sense of the importance of social dimensions of fiction readership as well as an interest in the individual response to the fiction read.It also had to take account of my growing interest in recent literary theory.

iii) revised research design.

The research design,therefore,was modified to take account of findings from the preliminary study.The research question was reformulated in general terms as:

how do adolescents become confirmed readers of fiction?

This was then divided into two sub-questions:

i) what is the social context in schools likely to be associated with the successful promotion and sustaining of fiction reading amongst adolescents?

ii) how do adolescents perceive the experience of reading fiction?

The second of these questions required little alteration to the original design.Preliminary fieldwork had shown appropriate material to be accessible through classroom observation and interview,whilst reader-oriented theory offered a likely means for its interpretation.In the revised research design,it was proposed to address this question through a number of case studies of individual readers whose reading careers would be charted in the course of the study.It was proposed to choose the subjects of the case studies in a way that represented the

categories of readers whom it was assumed would emerge from initial analysis.It did prove possible to categorise readers in a number of ways from the extensive self-report material that was collected and analysed,but the design was further altered at the time of writing this report.Only one case study is presented here.That is of the discourse of personal growth through literature,rather than of individual readers.

The first sub-question entailed considerable revision because it involved the framing of a hypothesis in order to operationalise the enquiry.That hypothesis is:

> that the social context in secondary school most likely to be associated with the promotion and sustaining of fiction reading amongst adolescents is a reading community.

By a reading communityis meant a collection of attitudes ,relations and practices within the school which together form the material expression and infra-structure of the institution's high valuation of fiction reading.There are certain disadvantages to the phrase.No reference,for example,is intended to Fish's interpretive communities(23) which have provoked so much discussion in recent reader-oriented criticism.Still less is there any desire to evoke that old , persistent stalwart the organic community(24).However it is difficult,if not impossible,to avoid such reverberations.The word community is retained in preference to other alternatives such as environmentwhich have been employed elsewhere (e.g.Southgate's

reading environment) but which have other disadvantages.Community suggests more than interaction with a background.It implies the interplay of social relations in a way that environment does not.The mediation of fiction in schools to adolescents does occur in an environment that has definable characteristics,but it also take place within a social organisation characterised by specific social relations.One advantage of the word community is that,as Williams observes(1981),"unlike all other terms of social organisation...it never seems to be used unfavourably,and never to be given any positive opposing and distinguishing term.(25)

At the operational level in a school,this collection of attitudes,relations and practices called a reading community is likely to be seen in the following ways:

i) students would receive help appropriate to their needs in regard to the reading of fiction.

ii) students would have access to a variety of book sources,of which school would be a major one.

iii) student progress and development as fiction readers would be acknowledged,recorded and measured in some positive way.

iv) a considerable amount of school time would be spent by students and staff in reading fiction.

v) discussion and recommendation of books by staff and students would feature prominently in school time

vi) reading habits and tastes would not be closely associated with social class origins or gender

vii) the numbers of non-readers of fiction would stay constant or decline.There would be a tendency for students to be incorporated as readers rather than excluded.

viii) students would read an increasing number and range of books

ix) fiction reading would be adequately resourced within the school at departmental and library level

x) student attitudes towards reading would be positive.

The nature of the hypothesis created two problems.In the first place,it is not possible to isolate all the variables at all precisely:input,process and product,the terms of a conventional research model,are entangled with one another.It is possible to specify,as above,some likely features that would indicate the existence of a reading community,but it would take the study itself to ascertain their actual presence in any one particular school,let alone to determine the extent of their influence.

The second problem created by the hypothesis concerns the potential variety of forms which might be taken by a reading community.Given the institutional complexity of secondary schools and the likely number of elements in a reading

community,it seemed improbable that there would prove to be any one single pattern or form.As Williams notes,cultural forms and structures tend to solidify very quickly.(26).One form becomes dominant and so naturalised as to make all other forms,equally possible at a theoretical level,appear unthinkable.More than one school was therefore included in the final design in the hope that individual institutions would have discovered quite distinct structural forms in which to express their high valuation of fiction reading,and that fiction reading would be built into the social fabric of the schools in a variety of ways.

A further danger with such a hypothesis lies in the possibility of reification.Although the hypothesis proposes that a particular kind of social context is necessary for reading to flourish in a school,that context is not reducible to a single element,or indeed any single combination of elements.No doubt there are many components of a reading community and the strength of any community would reside in the interplay of mutually reinforcing elements.The practices and attitudes proposed above are not the only or necessary ones:they simply appeared,at the outset of the enquiry,to be likely ones.

The problem,therefore,was how to test a hypothesis,that it was certain kinds of social and material relations which formed adolescent readers,without either being able to identify or to isolate these variables with much precision at the outset.A further problem was that there might

well prove to be an unidentified factor,or constellation of factors,of a quite unforeseen kind at work in the schools.The only possible defence against this was alertness during the fieldwork and analytic rigour.

The solution adopted was to select three schools,rather than the one initially envisaged.This would allow for the potential diversity of forms that might be taken by a reading community.As later chapters will reveal,the investigation of this sub-question became in effect a comparative study of one school which did on the whole operate as a reading community with two others which generally did not function in that way.But the research design did not set up a conventional study with an experimental school and two control ones.

A plan and timetable of the research design is given in Appendix V.It is to the details of the research methods that we now turn.

iv) research methods

Athough at times the two subquestions required separate methods of investigation,there was a considerable degree of methodological overlap.So far as the gathering of data was concerned,the two questions were mostly treated together,their separation only occurring at the stage of analysis.The first part of this section describes the methods common to both sub-questions:classroom observation;pupil questionnaire;and pupil interviews.Later parts will deal with

methods particular to each subquestion.

a) classroom observation.

In September 1981 I arranged three weeks observation with each of the six teaching groups.This was conducted a few weeks after the start of term to allow staff and pupils to settle into their new relationships following the students' allocation to CSE or O level English teaching groups.Timetabling clashes and the distance between the schools prolonged this stage beyond the autumn half term.Altogether about fifty hours of observation were completed.Lessons were not tape recorded ,but detailed notes were kept about lesson structure,the activities involved and the degree of participation by pupils.A considerable amount of time was spent at this stage in informal conversation with staff and pupils about the lessons observed,both to check my perceptions of what had occurred and to confirm what I had deduced of theirs.No further observation was arranged for later in the study,although I was frequently in all six classroom throughout the study for occasional lessons or parts of them.Further observation would have been useful in the fifth year,particularly at Draper School where both teaching groups experienced unexpected staffing changes,but time did not permit this.By the second year of the

fieldwork,preliminary analysis of early findings made the retention of all three schools in the study imperative.The need to continue with all three led to logistical problems.

Observation material is not reported directly,but is used in the accounts of the schools in chapter 5 and in the interpretation of data in later chapters.The period of observation helped in the selection of the interview samples and the lessons observed served as a common point of reference to which staff,students and myself could return in interviews.The observation also established my indeterminate status as researcher:it distanced me from my perception of myself as a teacher and denied me that status in the eyes of other participants.

b) pupil questionnaire.

A pupil questionaire designed to provide a record of pupils reading throughout the study was administered by me on three occasions to all 162 sample students in October/November 1981;June 1982;and December 1982.No problems were experienced in its

administration.The questionnaire form,largely a replication of the one used in the Whitehead study,is reproduced in Appendix I.It asked for details of titles,authors and sources of fiction books read during the previous month.Students were also asked to rate their liking of the books read on a five point scale
and to give information about their library usage and newspaper and magazine reading.The information yielded by the questionnaire revealed the changing reading patterns for individuals,the six teaching groups and the three schools.It was analysed in such a way as to isolate,in turn,a number of factors such as social class,gender or banding,in relation to the quantity and kinds of fiction books read.These results and the statistical tests to which they were subjected are reported in chapter 6.

Like the observation,the questionnaire returns were also used in the selection of students for the group and individual interview samples.They acted as a check upon data derived from other sources,such as the interviews,school records,written
work or staff interviews and comment.There were,for example,occasional discrepancies between details recorded in the interviews and those on the questionnaires.Usually this proved to be a matter of a forgotten title or author which could easily be amended on the records,but such concern was fruitful,for students

showed a growing concern,as the study proceeded,to get the record accurate and often approached me with some overlooked or mistaken detail.Other discrepancies,particularly in regard to parental occupation,between the questionnaire returns and ,for example,school records were more difficult to resolve.Some were clarified in interviews,to which I generally attached most weight,but some were not and I was forced to be content with a number in the unknown category.(27)

The questionnaire form specifically excluded fiction books studied as a class text,but I kept a record of class readers,and of classroom activities associated with them,which was compiled from interviews and from written work completed during the study period.Details of these are given in Appendix II.

c) pupil interviews.

The third method common to both sub-questions was an extensive programme of tape-recorded ,semi-structured interviews.Almost the entire sample was interviewed once,and over half the students were interviewed on two,three or four occasions.Over eighty hours of interview were completed in a three staged programme,whose extensiveness is the best indication of the staff co-operation in all three schools.Teachers remained extremely

good-humoured about the disruption entailed,particularly during the fifth year when examination pressures mounted.

The timing of each stage of the interviews was negotiated separately in order to accommodate the seasonal rituals of school life,examinations,work experience and the like.There were occasional difficulties over finding suitable quiet accommodation and some technical problems with inaudibility or recording failure,but the major difficulty throughout the cycle was the logistical one posed by a multi-site case study.That apart,the interviews were relaxed and friendly occasions that yielded a great deal of information and often humour.They are not reported upon directly,but chapters 7 and 8 draw extensively upon their material.

The first stage interviews were held in the autumn of 1981,at the start of the students' fourth year.The intention was to interview the entire sample in groups of 4 and 5 selected largely upon the basis of observed friendship and seating patterns.This plan was adhered to in Chilworth,but not in the other two where the simultaneous timetabling of CSE and O level groups made it impossible to see the whole sample in the time available.Altogether about two thirds of the whole sample was interviewed in this way.No additional time was allocated to

this phase of the interview programme because that would have reduced time available for the later individual interviews to which I attached greater importance.The interview schedule employed is given in Appendix III.

The group interviews fulfilled several functions.They introduced me to the students,satisfied their curiosity about my role and distanced me from the teaching staff.They raised the broad issues in which I was interested and acted as a preparation for the individual interviews,where it was imperative they be as relaxed as possible.The group interviews were a complement to and extension of the classroom observation,enabling me to check my perceptions and explore theirs in greater detail.Throughout the study, students in all six groups were able to recall the lessons which had been observed in considerable detail.Much additional information about social and domestic circumstances was also revealed in interviews which later proved invaluable in clarifying various points.

The second stage of interviews took place between January and April 1982.These interviews were arranged on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the first questionnaire returns.Whitehead's classification of readers by quality and quantity was
followed,with the necessary modifications caused by the exclusion of non-fiction.(28) In each teaching group,the readers

were allocated,irrespective of sex,in alphabetical order,to two of the following eight cells.

QUANTITY

1. non-book readers;
2. light book readers(1-2 books a month);
3. moderate book readers (3-4 a month);
4. heavy readers (more than 5 a month).

QUALITY:

5. non-book readers;
6. only non-quality books read;
7. both quality and non-quality books read;
8. only quality books read.

Whitehead's distinction between quality and non quality fiction has been much criticised,but was retained here despite severe reservations as to its validity.(29)

The intention was to ensure that the sub-sample for individual interviews would include a selection of all kinds of readers,but the distribution within the eight cells made this difficult.Initially a one in three sample was drawn from the categories in the quantity column,to which were then added a number of pupils from the quality column,to ensure that all the cells were then represented.A small number of students were included who did not feature in this sampling in order to retain balance of sex or

because observation had shown them to be particularly interesting.

The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and an hour.By that stage,students were used to my presence and despite some occasional awkwardness at the start of a session,these individual interviews proved as relaxed as the group ones had been.Although the same interview schedule was adhered to,the emphasis was different because of the amount of information that had by then accumulated about each individual.Both social aspects of readership and the reading process were covered,as well as changes in reading habits and tastes which had occurred since the start of the study.As in the first phase interviews,the only serious problems were those caused by travel and timetable constraints.

The third stage interviews were in groups and held in the winter of 1982-83,well into the students' fifth year and after the completion of the third questionnaire return.These were more difficult to arrange because of the many demands upon fifth year
time,and some were only conducted in the latter part of the Easter term.Nonetheless,about half the sample was covered in groups of 2 or 3 and interviewed for about half an hour to an hour.On this occasion the selection
criteria for the sample were different and derived from the final analysis of the questionnaire returns which

revealed the extent to which students had changed in their reading habits and tastes.Groups were selected by allocating all the students to one of four categories.These were:

1. non book readers
2. declining readers
3. growing readers
4. confirmed readers

A few discrepant cases which had been revealed by the questionnaire analysis were also included.A rather different schedule was used (also given in Appendix III) which covered some of the areas previously raised,but which also included questions about how they perceived themselves as readers,the progress they had made and changes they were aware of in the past two years.

All interviews from all stages were transcribed,for the most part in their entirety.The material was analysed in a number of ways.Some of the information was straightforwardly numerical,details about library usage for instance,Some,such as the details of reading networks,could be checked by cross reference,either with other interviews or other sources of information.Many of the comments used in chapters 7 and 8 to illustrate and account for the statistical findings reported inchapter 6,were subjected to content analysis.Where categories were derived from interview material,they were checked by an independent reader.(30)

d) additional methods particular to sub-question a) what is the school context likely to be associated with the promotion and sustaining of fiction reading?

This sub-question required a variety of methods because of the complexity of the process being investigated.As chapter 6 reports,the questionnaire revealed wide and growing divergences between readership patterns in the three schools.The methods adopted,therefore,were designed to trace back through the school's organisation and structure those features which appeared likely to influence the readership patterns.

Interviews and questionnaire returns provided plentiful information about the various book sources to which students had access.The accessibility and effectiveness of the sources required further investigation,both to check participants' self-report accounts and to gain more understanding of how the sources were used.Two sources,bookshops and public libraries, were discounted because they were used by so few students.It was possible to cross check student usage of a third source,friends,through cross-referencing the interview material.Time limitations precluded investigation through home interviews,of families as a book source.Some information about

the part played by home backgrounds was available through interview,but less than would have been revealed by home interviews.Had there been time no doubt they would have proved as useful to this study as they did in Ingham's (31) These limitations were less serious than they might have been because the fifth source,school itself,was the one for which both interviews and questionnaires recorded the greatest variation in usage.It was,therefore,the functioning of school itself as a book source that was the focus of this part of the study.

The school library and the English department in each school was analysed as regards provision and usage as a book source.The libraries were examined in a number of ways.Checks were made throughout the study of the fiction issued,over defined periods of time,to the entire year group from which the sample was drawn.Library provision was also measured in terms of total stock per capita and analysed so as to give some indication of the range and variety of books provided.Observation was conducted in the three libraries to establish the pattern of usage in each school.Details of school library expenditure,the amount of ancillary help and the formulation of library policy were obtained from the teacher librarians and headteachers in interview.The staff of the relevant Schools Library Service were also interviewed.Details of all these findings are reported mostly in chapter 7 but are referred to elsewhere.

On each occasion that the questionnaire was

administered,two additional questions were included about the discussion and recommendation of books and the people who were involved in those activities.Findings from the first questionnaire return confirmed results from the preliminary fieldwork,namely that discussion and recommendation of fiction books were very important factors in the formation of readers.The methodological problem was how best to further investigate these activities.Interviews yielded a good deal of information about the movement of books and the existence of networks of readers.It was possible even to cross reference the accuracy of such details to other self reports and also to observe the allocation of class time to such activities.But the problem remained of how to observe,in any controlled way,the operations of networks of readers in closer detail.

Much clearly ocurred outside the classroom in the interstices of school life and only in one school was it possible to observe it in the classroom.The interchanges that were observed tended to be short unpredictable and impossible to contain for analysis.By contrast,in Harre's study of football hooligans the social networks of supporters were analysable because they existed within a quite set and defined frame each week and could therefore be videoed.(32) That record and the resultant analysis could then be compared with participant accounts of the same events.In the present study,however,no wholly satisfactory means was found of devising such a frame and

I was forced to rely upon participant self reports and observation to a greater extent than I would have wished. The intimate workings of these networks remained elusive,although it proved possible to identify categories of network members,such as initiators,transmitters and receivers from the accounts gathered in interview.(33) These findings are reported in chapter 7.

A number of school documentary sources were used to provide other perspectives upon various social adpects of readership in the three schools.Although I was not concerned with measured reading ages of the sample students,I did consult school records to ascertain the recorded scores for the students involved.The variety of tests used precluded any comparative use of these results,but the wide variation between the schools as regards the accuracy,completeness and consistency of record keeping gave an additional indication of the status accorded to reading in the institutions.A similar perspective was obtained from the end of fourth year reports.The school reports of the entire year groups involved in the study were examined,partly to check my own perceptions of particular students with those of their teachers,and more generally to see the kind of statements made or implied about reading in these documents.School prospectuses and departmental syllabuses were also examined.

Staff perspectives were obtained through informal conversation in the early period of observation.This contact was maintained throughout the study,but was more difficult during the

interview programme.None of this informal talk was recorded,although field notes were kept.By midway through the project I had a fairly clear picture of the teachers' views about their schools,careers and practice as teachers,but at the end of the third term they were all interviewed twice for about an hour upon each occasion.These interviews were semi-structured and recorded.The first dealt with the work undertaken by the sample class and with particular students,and the second with the teachers' own reading,their thoughts about fiction,the process of reading and the place of fiction in education.In addition to the English staff,library staff,heads of special needs departments and,finally headteachers were interviewed.All of these interviews were recorded,informal and semi-structured .The appropriate schedules appear in Appendix III and the findings are reported in chapters 5 and 7,although they are also drawn upon elsewhere.

Two other methods were used to a lesser extent than had been intended at the outset.Towards the end of the third term of the fieldwork,the teachers involved were asked to complete a questionnaire similar to those administered to their students.The original intention had been to issue it to the entire staff in all three schools,but it was restricted to its present limits because of the risk of generating an unwieldy data-bank.(34) The second method concerns the use of reading journals.(35) At the outset I hoped that students might be persuaded to keep reading journals throughout the study period.This was not successful and I was reluctant to be too

insistent for fear of becoming cast in the role of teacher/examiner.Had the study been conducted in one school it would have been possible more easily to sustain the regular contact with students necessary for its success.The size of the sample and inevitably interrupted nature of contact with students made it difficult to sustain without being intrusive.

e) methods particular to sub-question b):what perceptions do adolescents have of the experience of reading fiction?

For this sub-question students were asked three open-ended questions about fiction reading to which they were invited to make written response.The questions were:

1.what is fiction reading like?

2.how is fiction reading different,if at all,from other reading that you do?

3.what,if anything,do you learn from reading fiction?

Students could answer each question separately or tackle them together.The questions were discussed with each grpup prior to being answered and it was made clear that there were no correct answers to such questions.Students were free to ask about points whilst they were answering.A very small number of students chose not to attempt answers and no pressure was put upon them to do so.The majority expressed interest in the exercise both at the time and in interviews.The written responses were referred to in interview.Similar questions were asked of the sample towards the

end of their fifth year.The findings are reported in chapter 7.

A number of sentence completion stems,open ended questions and attitudinal tests were also employed in relation to this sub-question.The decision to use such methods was taken as a consequence of the preliminary findings,although at the time the main study started,little of this material had been devised.The publication of the Secondary Language Survey report No.1 (1982)by the APU midway through the main fieldwork led me to abandon the development of my own tests in favour of those devised by the APU.The open ended questions and sentence completion stems in any case were very similar in scope and format to those I had in mind.I had already decided that the production of an attitude scale would prove too time consuming and be too crude a measure for the area under investigation.(35) However the attitude tests devised by the APU appeared likely to provide an additional perspective upon adolescent perceptions of fiction and other reading and so they too were adopted despite reservations (36).Details of all the materials employed appear in Appendix IV and are reported upon in chapters 7 and 8.This battery of tests was administered to all the sample shortly after the completion of the third questionnaire return in the second term of the fifth year.

In the original research design consideration had also been given to the inclusion of a 'test' of student responses to a piece of fiction.The intention was to provide some basis for

comparison between the individuals and the schools.Squire's work in this field was familiar to me,but my reading in contemporary literary theory had clarified the theoretical problems entailed in such an enterprise.(37) There were also problems as to how far it was possible to presume upon fifth year time for such a project.A compromise was arrived at by deciding to employ the Dahl short story
together with the questions upon it which the APU had used.Findings are not reported in detail for reasons of space and because they revealed nothing new of consequence.

Throughout the study,samples of students' written work were collected in order to provide another perspective upon the subject.All the folders or books in each group were examined upon five occasions during the study period.Two pieces of writing were selected from each of the students in the interview samples.Both pieces related to fiction.A general record was kept of work undertaken by each group throughout the study period.This bank of written material gave a valuable background upon which to draw in general comment and was useful in the direction of interviews.More detailed analysis was precluded because of photocopying costs and the sheer bulk of material produced.(38).It is not therefore reported upon directly.

v) Conclusions.

In general the methods adopted proved successful.Some problems were caused by working in several schools in separate towns operating different timetables.What was lost in the way of very detailed initiation into one school culture was offset by the gains of a comparative dimension from a multi-site case study.Ethnographic studies are said to generate a great deal of data.This project was no exception to that observation,nor did it find any satisfactory solution to the problem.(39) School case studies also pose certain ethical problems about confidentiality,interpretation of the evidence and the appropriation of participants' voices and subject positions which are difficult to resolve neatly.As regards confidentiality,this report has,for the most part,tried to avoid novelistic portraits of the staff involved in favour of structural and ideological analysis.Most of the findings have been discussed with and read by the participant teachers,as has some of the interpretation to which they gave rise.Strivens (1980) argues that "it may be the case that any account of institutions which isolate features in such terms as to make comparison with other institutions possible and useful will inevitably appear to distort reality to members of the institution."(cited Barnes 1984) There are no easy answers to the potential conflicts between the interests of research and teaching.

The next chapter looks at literature concerned with social dimensions of fiction reading.

Footnotes to Chapter Two.

1.Eagleton (1985) draws attention to the "resounding intransivity of these terms". Fowler (1981) argues "that this view of communication and literary activity enshrines a quite specific and partial (and in my view undesirable) social theory". The history and function of this discourse is discussed in chapter 4 below,whilst the theoretical assumptions embodied in it are dealt with in chapter 9.

2. see Belsey (1980)

3. see Atkinson (1979)

4. This study by Barnes,Barnes and Clarke appeared well after the completion of the field work for the present study.Its section on methodology is extremely lucid.

5. J.S.Mill.Autobiography.This contains a lengthy and influential account of the restorative influence of Wordsworth's poetry upon Mill.

6. Since the inception of this study a number of studies of adolescent readers have appeared.See for example,Heather(1982);Fry (1985);Protherough (1983);Sarland (1985).Studies of younger readers are more plentiful.

7. Allen's book contains a useful and detailed discussion of developments in English teaching since 1965.It does not,however,deal with the influence exerted in recent years by the intervention of structuralism and post-structuralism.

8. See Oxford Review of Education vol.5 No.1 1979. See also Woodhead (1981)

9. There is a good deal of work on younger children as readers but very little on older age groups.Research centred on younger children appears to have been preoccupied largely with the acquisition of skills and moved thence to a study of their tastes.Studies of older children have tended to be addressed at the problems-the reluctant reader etc.See Fader (1969) Foster(1977).

10. The changes in the claims made are no doubt related to the influence of examinations.

11. See Atkinson (1979);Hammersley (1979);Woods (1983) for an overview.See Blumer (1969) for a discussion of symbolic interactionism and Hargreaves (1972) for its application to education.Willis (1977) also contains a useful discussion of the issues.

12. Creber (1965);Holbrook (1964);Dixon (1965);Jackson (1983);Hayhoe and Parker (1984) are typical in the claims made.

13. Thirteen first year undergraduate students reading English in their first year were interviewed.Of these all but one had been schooled wholly or partly in the independent sector.The parents of the one comprehensive school student in the sample were both university teachers.As readers the two most noticeable features were the support received from either school or home in terms of encouragement to read,access to books etc and the desire/pressure to succeed in gaining entry to Oxbridge.

14. The limitations of attitude scales are fully discussed in Block 3 D304 Research Methods in education.(1979) Open University.

15. Squire's study (1968) involved reading a number of short stories in sections to adolescent students.At the end of each section students were asked to make a written response to the story.The responses were then categorised and the impediments to "literary understanding" then listed.
The study is fully reported in D'Arcy (1973).Although the study has not been widely circulated in this country its conclusions have been influential in lending support to progressive pedagogic practices.The assumptions of Squire's study are critically reviewed by Bleich (1968) from a subjectivist viewpoint and from a more radical post-structuralist perspective by Potter (1984).

16. Ingham's study (1981) was in part concerned to ascertain the difference made to measured reading ages of groups of children who had access to a greatly increased supply of books.The reading ages were therefore carefully monitored by tests administered at various stages in the scourse of the study.

17. The Leavisite legacy in secondary English teaching is still very strong,even amongst those who have not heard of or read him.Leavis' assumptions about literature and society are shared by many academics with whom he was engaged in controversy.See Belsey (1980);Baldick (1983); Mulhern (1979) for critical accounts of this theoretical position.See Watson.G.(1977) for a very fully detailed account of the way the Leavises' ideas and judgments were appropriated by those who expressed hostility to their standpoint.

18.see Eagleton (1983);Mulhern(1979);Baldick(1983);Williams(1983).

19. Steedman (1982);Meek et al (1983);Miller(1986);Widdowson (1982);Williams (1980 and 1981) are amongst the many books which have explored various aspects of reading as social practice.They link what is read and the manner of reading to wider socio-political concerns and locate both readers and readings in specific institutional contexts.

20. The distinction between naive and sophisticated readers and readings is easy to misinterpret as Sarland (1985) shows.In this article he reports on a group of adolescents who produce a reading of "the Pearl"which their teacher takes to be a misunderstanding of the text,but which Sarland shows to be a perfectly consistent counter-meaning,which reveals an appropriation of the text for their own purposes.It is reminiscent of the resistance theories argued by Willis (1977) and others in regard to older disaffected working class school students.

21. The untheorised nature of secondary English teaching is discussed more fully in chapters 4 and 9 below.

22. Iser's The Implied Reader (1974) and The Act of Reading (1978) are beginning to be taken up in secondary English teaching circles.Iser's work has recently been discussed in English in Education and in Childrens Literature in Education and Signal.His work is fully discussed below in chapter 9.Other reader-oriented critics,such as Fish,Rifaterre,have been less widely noticed by those involved with secondary teaching,although their inclusion in collections by Tomkins (1980) and Suleiman (1980) have made them more available to students in tertiary education.

23.Fish develops this notion in Is there a text in this class?(1980).It is well discussed in Scholes (1985) and Culler (1983)

24. see Williams (1961) for an early critique of this idea.Williams (1965);Mulhern (1979) and Baldick (1983) all give more detailed accounts of the manner in which the idea permeated social and educational thought.

25. see also Nisbet (1970) and Giddens (1982) for a discussion of the complex history of this word and its deployment in social theory .See also Hargreaves (1982) for an excellent account of the issues involved its use in education.

26. Williams' later work has been much concerned with social formations and cultural forms.See Williams (1976) for a good discussion of the speedy naturalisation of tv as cultural form and (1980) for an interesting discussion of residual and emergent cultures within the dominant culture.

27. Paternal parental occupations were used to classify social class positions.In those cases where the father was unemployed,the last long term paternal occupation was scored.In single parent households where the mother was in employment,her occupation was the one scored.It is an unsatisfactory method,but no acceptable alternative is yet forthcoming.In a study of this kind,classification according to the level of parental educational attainment would be a useful though by no means

problem-free alternative.Had that been applied to this study sample,it is likely that the differences in the social compsition of the three schools would have been even sharper.See chapter 5 below.In a few cases where these guidelines led to obvious miscastings they were registered as unknown.

28. The questionnaire employed in this study made no mention of non-fiction,although non-fiction books were mentioned frequently in interviews.I kept some records of students non-fiction reading,which is not reported upon in detail here.No very significant conclusions could be drawn from these records.Boys tended to read more non fiction,for example,than did girls.Pupils who were non readers of fiction tended to read very little non fiction either.The overall patterns of readership were not affected by the exclusion of non-fiction.

29.The quality/non-quality fiction distinction is discussed more fully below in chapters 3 and 4.In the view of this writer it is not a valid distinction but has been retained because it was largely endorsed and employed by the teachers involved in the study.All six operated with a broadly similar view of what they meant by quality fiction.The differences between and within the schools as regards the range of fiction titles read by students were very marked,and so the quality distinction was retained to enable a further dimension of comparison to be made upon terms accepted by participants.

30.The second reader was K.Fosbrook.

31.see Ingham (1981).Her study reported too late to affect the design of the present one.Home interviews would have added a valuable additional dimension to the picture of these adolescent readers.

32. See Harre.

33. The difficulty of analysing these networks was further compounded by working in three schools,rather than a single one.

34. In common with most ethnographic studies,this one generated more data than it could contain.The English and special needs staff in each school did complete the questionnaire survey,but there is no space to report the findings here.

35. Reading journals were being experimented with at Baydon,but were not used at all in the other two schools.There was,therefore,the additional danger of becoming too involved as a teacher if the idea had been pursued.

36. See chapter 8 below for a full discussion.

37. See D'Arcy (1973) for a full report.His work is discussed in chapter 9.See also Potter (1984) for a discussion of the

theoretical assumptions behind the work.

38. The written material,whilst interesting in many respects,did not add very much to what had been learned from other sources in the study.

39. See Barnes (1984);Burgess (1984);Hammersley (1979).

CHAPTER THREE.

Social dimensions of adolescent fiction reading:a critical review.

This chapter reviews the literature relevant to the first of the sub-questions with which the study is concerned,and clarifies the theoretical perspective from which it is written.The first section discusses recent official reports and surveys concerned with adolescent fiction reading in the light of earlier publications from similar sources.In the second section, the findings from recent research projects dealing with children and reading are examined.

It is argued that whilst there is much that is valuable in the literature reviewed,there are also some severe limitations,which result from the methodology adopted or from the theoretical framework within which they operate.Some of the works reviewed identify those factors which influence readership,but fail either to establish their relative importance,or to open up for analysis the interplay of those factors in specific institutional contexts.Becoming a reader is not always seen as a process and reading is not always seen as a social practice.Other limitations stem from the kind of assumptions made in the publications reviewed about the nature of literature and society

and by the absence of explicitly historical or sociological perspectives.

i)"X-Rays or fuzzy aerial photographs":some official concerns.(1)

The high level of official concern about adolescent reading may be guaged from the frequency with which the topic is referred to in recent publications.At the time of writing,the most recent is "Language Performance in Schools:Secondary Survey Report No.2.(APU 1983).The previous year saw the appearance of the first secondary APU report and an HMI discussion document,Bullock Revisited.Prior to these,Aspects of Secondary Education(1979)and Curriculum 11-16(1977),both referred critically to readership in secondary schools.More APU publications are to follow.(2)In the background of them all stands the Bullock Report(1975),the contemporary reference point.

The unanimity of anxiety expressed in these publications is striking,and the connections made elsewhere,between reading and wider social concerns,such as the Brixton or Totenham riots,even more so.(3)The impression of a consensus of alarm in officialdom is reinforced by the inter-textuality of the documents,the manner in which they constantly refer back to each other to create an almost seamless web.The APUSecondary Survey 1 ,for example,reported negative

attitudes towards reading amongst almost a third of adolescents and expressed extreme concern about the state of reading in the great majority of secondary schools.They point this comment by reference back to earlier observations made by HMI

> HMI commented in relation to schools where provision for reading was memorable(about one in ten of the schools they surveyed),that this quality was determined by attitudes towards learning and reading.The tenor of our findings accords with the general decline in enthusiasm towards reading from age 11 noted by HM Inspectorate,and raises many of the same questions about the range and purposes of the r eading at school of 15 year old pupils and its relationship to pupils' voluntary reading for personal satisfaction through the extension of knowledge or enjoyment.(3.130)

The view was repeated in the second APU report(1983)with some minor amplification(4).Bullock Revisited(1982) conceded that "there are some schools in which intelligent reading is successfully developed,"but quotes from the earlier Aspects of Secondary Education (1979) to indicate their continued concern.

> Most schools are not promoting reading as fully and effectively as is needed for any part of their ability range.(5.8)

After reaching a similar blunt conclusion,the author(s) of Curriculum 11-16argue that"it is more important that pupils are in fact reading than that they have obtained appropriate results in reading tests."

All of these documents cited refer back to the Bullock Report,both for supportive evidence and argument.In that document,a decade earlier,was a very similar dissatisfaction.

> when all else has been said,it seems that there is a fairly large group of children in secondary schools who have the reading skills,but who choose not to read books outside school time.(9.4)
> There are likely to be pupils who read fewer books

> during the whole term in school than they read out of school in one month.(9.19)
> we have the definite impression that fewer full length books are being read.(9.16)

Such comments lie scattered through the report and culminate in one of their major recommendations,"that there should be a major effort to increase the voluntary reading,which should be recognised as a powerful instrument for the improvement of standards."(9.11)

Why should the state of affairs in regard to reading remain so persistently unsatisfactory? Embedded within these texts there are a number of explanations which merit closer examination.Several factors are assumed to affect children's reading adversely:some are located outside and some within the school.Bullock,for example,states in a matter of fact way that so far as readership goes " a great deal depends on the home",but social explanations that lie outside the school are not pursued in any detail.There are dark hints in Bullock about the media "which often put a relentless emphasis upon euphoria as the natural state of things."(9.2) The same point appears in Bullock Revisited which comments on the "explosion of shoddy distractions" which lead adolescents away from the "burgeoning of good imaginative literature" produced in the last two decades.(4.6)

Despite these hostile forces beyond the school gates,the general assumption made in these publications is in agreement with Bullock,which states that "it is clear to us that

school can make a very big difference to this situation."(9.4) But as with other reports,which make similar claims (e.g.Rutter,1979),in opposition to Bernstein's thesis that 'schools cannot compensate for society"(1972),it is not so easy to disentangle from these reports just how that difference might be made.This is partly due to HMI's customary reticence in pronouncing upon specific policy or practice,and partly to the methodologies they employ.How schools might make a difference is largely,therefore,a matter of deduction.

The failure of schools to engender or sustain pleasure in reading is one explanation advanced in Bullock for declining readership.The one common factor they found which emerged from those involved in adult literacy schemes was that "they did not learn from the process of learning to read that it was something which other people did for pleasure"(9.11).A similar point is made four years later in Aspects of Secondary Education:"For the average and less able,there is not sufficient motive to keep alive the satisfactions and pleasures of reading if the school does not play its part"(5.8).What part? Some particular features of secondary schools are singled out.The inadequate provision for reading time within the school,for example:"no,or insufficient,time is allocated for private reading."(BR 1982).Examinations in the secondary school are seen in all of these reports as a potential impediment to reading development through their domination of classroom activities to the extent that "exposition and summaries expand to take-over

point".Readers,however,are always carefully reminded that such consequences of an examination system are not inevitable.On other occasions it appears that the injudicious use of writing is to blame:"for the able and average pupils it is amongst other things the pressures to write that help to squeeze out reading.(DES 1979) Nor does the narrow range of classroom activities merely preclude reading,it also fosters negative attitudes towards it.The APU (1982) comments on "the influence of examination pressures,both in methods of study and the concentration on a small range of books,in the development of unsympathetic attitudes towards literature amongst many pupils."(3.128)

Although factors outside school are not examined in detail,another explanation of the declining enthusiasm for reading in secondary schools is seen to be the conflict between the cultures of the home and school.Bullock hints at this area of tension:

> Perhaps it hardly needs adding that these (books read outside school) will disappoint him (the teacher)....much of it is ephemeral,or well below what informed adults would consider good material.(9.20)

The same conflict and the same inability of the school to bridge this gap is presented a decade later in less judgmental terms in the APU survey (1982):

> material of interest to pupils and read at home was seen by pupils to be excluded from lesson time reading activities,while the compulsory study of certain books in school,and the form which such study took,seemed generally unhelpful to the development of positive attitudes towards these legitimised types of reading activities.(3.136)

Another influential factor upon reading often mentioned in these reports is the variable,often inadequate material and staffing provision in the secondary sector.There is

nothing,however,to suggest either that reading problems are confined to the least well provided areas or schools,or that it is impossible for reading to flourish in materially impoverished school circumstances.Recommendations are certainly made,and changes in provision are noted.In 1982,for example,some satisfaction was expressed that only a quarter of those involved in the full-time teaching of secondary English lacked any visible qualifications for the task:a decade earlier the proportion in that category had been a third.In a similar way,inadequate provision of books or library facilities are noted.(5).

The main emphasis,however,is upon the quality of individual teachers.Particularly successful teachers working in adverse circumstances are invoked as a spur to the profession,and teachers are exhorted to note particular characteristics or qualities thought appropriate.According to Bullock,the teachers intent upon promoting readership should know what their pupils read (9.5);have a good knowledge of children's literature (9.6);be ingenious in promoting books (9.7);give selected readings to their classes (9.7);and always include discussion in their work with books (9.8).More generally,there is an assumption that the English teacher's task calls for personal qualities to a degree that is not required elsewhere on the curriculum.

The impression created by these reports,therefore,is of an intractable problem whose continued existence constitutes a further problem.Good practice exists,is

recognised and recommended,but somehow the overall situation remains unchanged.Innumerable difficulties beset the teacher eager to promote reading;only the most exceptionally gifted seem destined for success.Neither the statement of the problem,however,nor the suggestions for its solution is helped by the indeterminate status of these documents,midway between research publications and official policy statements.This status,reflective of HMI's position within the educational hierarchy,determines their audience,functions and methodology.

Their audience is both central government and the teaching profession,whilst their functions include influencing current practice and government policy,the rendering of account,promotion of discussion at large and the initiation of research.The reports rely upon the uniquely privileged access to schools enjoyed by HMI to give an impressionistic overview of the subject.Hard edged analysis or the precise implementation of recommendations are left for others to pursue.Behind the documents there lies an extensive data bank,a wealth of material and individual judgments which may be drawn upon in the administration of education.(6).Whether the initiative for these reports comes from central government or not,they are all destined to become political documents and serve a variety of interests in a variety of fora to argue whatever currently is in dispute as regards education.The selection reviewed above has one existence for English teachers and quite another in the debate about standards and accountability.The Bullock Committee

was set up in 1972 as a consequence of the publication that year of Start and Wells' research findings which claimed to show a marked decline in reading standards in maintained schools.The APU was founded on the recommendations of the Bullock Report to monitor reading standards.Their status inevitably influences their methodology.

In comparison with other earlier reports (Newbolt 1922;Hadow 1926;Spens 1938;Newsome 1963),the Bullock Reportis an unprecedentedly professional assemblage of evidence and analysis.The detailed familiarity with schools,characteristic of HMI,is complemented by a broad based committee which took evidence from a wide range of bodies and individuals.It is an invaluable point of reference in regard to readership because its use of contemporary research techniques enabled the identification of the relevant patterns and influential factors.The survey methods adopted,however,do not allow for the detailed analysis of process which would reveal the interplay between these factors.As Pugh (1980b) says,"despite all the discussions and debate about what English should be about,we know very little about what it actually is about." Concern of the kind cited above for the state of reading in secondary schools is supported with evidence from the survey which is subjected to detailed statistical analysis.But no clear picture of the transactions involved in reading emerges because of "the lack of rigorous definition of individual sub-activities" within the term reading.(25.12).(7) Increased sophistication of numerical

analysis is not matched by the fineness with which the initia categories are drawn.The result is a continuing large dependenc upon impressionistic comments from interviews and observation.

The APU are no nearer the kind of longitudinal o ethnographic study which would provide that kind of understandin of social process which Bullock lacks.The APU was founded t provide "tests for reading proficiency which would serve t indicate the extent to which reading proficiency had bee developed to serve personal and social needs.' (1982.2.11).Bullock had been formed at a moment of panic as a political move to stave off anxiety about declining readin standards.The APU was created in a different political climate i which control and accountability in education were liv issues.The methodology they end up with is a compromise reache as a result of their puzzlement "by what means to d this".Inherent limitations entailed by the project's underlyin purpose are compounded by the fact that three more reports ar due to appear before any interpretation of the material is made "The performances of individual pupils,schools and LEAs are no identified and there is deliberately no evaluation of the qualit of the overall performance revealed by the first survey."

Rosen's criticisms (1982) of the first AP Primary Survey are equally applicable to the Secondar Surveys.The APU's concern,he argues,is "not with languag performance in schools.It is about performance in a series o

tests of reading and writing,or 'battery' as it is more appropriately called." The difficulty which faces the reader in trying to ascertain precisely how the information was gathered leads him to comment that "the text has been carefully policed".The tests he claims do not test what they are supposed to test,the attitudinal tests are open to severe criticism,and the general failure to recognise the sheer complexity of the subject with which they are dealing makes him doubt there is "any serious desire to study language development." The function of the enterprise is unclear and open to political exploitation and "there is no discussion of what all this fragmented and partial information might add up to or how it might be used by parents and teachers."(8) These limitations do not make the APU findings worthless,but Rosen is certainly correct in concluding that "they are only the beginning of what we need to know." It is an inappropriate kind of study because "any serious approach to the issue of reading in education would not be concerned with measurement,but with in-depth investigation." The APU report," he argues provides "not x-rays but fuzzy aerial photographs." It is a characteristic shared not just by the Secondary Surveys but also by all the work reviewed in this section.

The limitations are more than methodological.The reports reviewed also operate within a conceptual framework which not only restricts their investigation of the "problem of readership",but is responsible for its very formulation as a problem in the first place.This conceptual framework involves

assumptions about English as a school subject,about literature as a category.These assumptions are inextricably intertwined with others which are socio-political.More than the methods adopted these assumptions limit the scope of the enquiries reviewed above and to a large extent determine their outcome.Were the assumptions acknowledged or recognised these reports would be less inconclusive,but their official status and provenance makes any such recognition difficult,if not impossible.To do so would entail uncomfortable questioning of the edifice they exist to maintain.

There is little,for example,in these reports that gives any impression of the crisis now confronting subject English,although that crisis has long been acknowledged elsewhere from a variety of theoretical standpoints.As long ago as 1965 Dixon argued that there were three models of secondary English teaching:skills,cultural heritage and personal development,of which the last had emerged as the dominant type.(9).Lawson and Silver (1973) claim that English is currently in the process of changing its definition and boundaries and will continue to do so;Mathieson (1975) makes a similar point in her study of English teachers,arguing that English teaching is the site of quite unique tensions in the secondary sector and that "like Arnold's preachers they are 'likely to have a hard time of it.'".The tensions derived from these uncertainties of definition and purpose are picked up by Ball and Lacey (1980),in a study of secondary English departments, when they indicate the existence

of four quite distinct and contradictory conceptions of the subject English,each of which has differing views as to the appropriate pedagogy and paradigms.Allen (1980) draws attention to the preoccupation with such words as 'central','coherence' and 'unity'in any discussion of English teaching and argues that this rhetoric disguises the lack of just those qualities in conflicting subject definitions.The lines of division that he traces in much recent professional discussion of subject English are deep and bitter.

Little of this dissension of course can feature in official reports.They may reflect the crisis,but do not examine it,for part of their very function is to interpret,direct and reconcile such shifting views so that a coherent national education system may be sustained.The strain of this task is apparent in the reports,with their subtle shifts of emphasis and semi-transparent stitching together of irreconcilable views.(10).As Pugh and Richardson (1980b) argue:

> The unity in variety of English which the official reports seem obliged to assert can also be seen as a confusion as to what constitutes the aims and objects of the subject....(reflecting) the social and ideological pressures which operate upon a school subject trying to assert itself."

The confuson as to what English is persists beyond secondary school.H.G.Widdowson (1975) points to the very ragged overlap between what counts as Language and Literature at the secondary and what counts as Linguistics and Literature at tertiary levels of education.Such differences may be glossed over in reports which are essentially conciliatory,gradualist and incorporative

in tone and function.They are acceptable only obliquely,their recognition recorded in subtle shifts of carefully coded language.Confusion may perhaps be presented as unity in diversity because other differences are ignored in a much more fundamental way.

As if this degree of uncertainty were insufficient,there has been,in recent years,as the implications of structuralism and post-structuralism are teased out in most subject areas,an even more disruptive force at work upon attempts to make subject English cohere.The terms of thisdebate are quite different from those others which the reports have chosen to ignore.What is in question is whether English has any agreed content or method of study at any level:no longer a self-evident discipline with disputed methods and content,but simply a collection of practices,a powerful,complex ideology,whose discourse is literature and the institutions in which it is practised.Disagreement between such figures as Britton and Whitehead are one thing,but how does officialdom respond to more recent criticism of English as "a moral technology" designed to produce particular forms of subjectivity (11);or of literature as "that ensemble of objects and rules,techniques and works whose function in the general economy of our society is precisely to institutionalise subjectivity."? Of this debate,nothing surfaces in the official documents so far reviewed.

In the constitution of English,there are major tensions centred on the concept and definition of

literature.The quotations from the reports above create an impression of unanimity of concern over adolescent reading.But as soon as attention is directed towards what it is hoped these children,read or towards what they are reading for,joins in the official fabric become visible.Broadly speaking,the emphasis in the reports shifts uneasily between "functionalist","literary" and "personal development" conceptions of the subject.The latter,dominant,view is that literature contributes to personal development,though less enthusiasm is evinced for that view by the APU and in Aspects of Secondary Education.The question of the affective power of literature is taken up later in chapter 9,but "since literature may be at least as much a question of what people do to writing as of what writing does to them" (Eagleton 1983),it is as well to start with the assumptions made about literature in these reports.

Throughout the reports,literature is seen as a self evident category,like insects,whose members share commonly agreed properties.It is not,and to treat it as if it were has profound and far reaching consequences.The concept of literature has quite precise origins in the mid nineteenth century.(13).Its invention,or rather construction,as a category or subject was not a question of the recognition of pre-existing forms which were amenable to scientific demonstration and examination,but merely one consequence of the profound social changes that occurred at that date.Its arbitrary,unstable nature may be shown by the history of what has been counted as literature,and of the

criteria for its designation as such.It is not just that boundaries with other forms,such as history,letters or autobiography are uncertain,so that particular examples of those forms may or may not be classed as literature at any one time.Some changes are more dramatic.The inclusion of fiction,for example,is very recent.When Arnold advocated the use of literature in education for reasons,and in terms, which are very similar to those employed in the recent reports cited above,he referred largely to poetry and drama,excluding precisely those works of nineteenth century fiction which constitute such an obvious bulk of what we now refer to as literature.Even those works that appear always to have counted as literature are judged to do so by very fluctuating criteria,so that valuations rise and fall like shares on the stock exchange,(Donne,Milton),or maintain their price but for different reasons,(Shakespeare).Literature is not, then,a category which increases in size with each new discovery,as might occur in micro-biology with advancing technology.It is essentially a changing corpus,a re-arrangement of the landscape of writing,the result of selection,promotion,and,of course,of suppression.As Benjamin noted acutely,"There is no cultural document that is not at the same time a record of barbarism."(14).What counts as literature is a matter of negotiation,of dispute."As a term it is functional rather than ontological:it tells us what we do and not about the fixed order of things" (Eagleton 1983) and so,as Ellis argues,(1974) it has very much more in common with a category like weeds.(15).

In the absence of any commonly agreed formal properties that distinguish literature,the reports rely at times upon circular arguments for its definition.Literature is that writing which has affective power:an argument that is more fully explored in chapter 9.(16).Another distinguishing feature of the reports' implicit definition of literature is that it employs language in a special way,different from and better than,that employed elsewhere:

> In responding to fiction,poems plays we enter imaginatively into a wider world of experience than is available to us at first hand;and it is a world that is explored and ordered through language.Thus literature of good quality offers a means by which our awareness of life and our experience of language are in the same process extended and refined.Reading matter of poor quality on the other hand,can inculcate or reinforce crude and insensitive views of life through slovenly and hackneyed language.
> (Bullock Revisited).

The manner in which such reports are compelled both to assume and compress argument is wonderfully illustrated in the "thus" which links the first two sentences of this quotation.The argument presented/assumed ultimately rests upon a view that there is a distinction between ordinary and literary language.According to this formalist argument,our ordinary daily language is stale,lifeless and automatised so that our perceptions become equally dull and blunted.Literary language,however,through its use of formal devices,such as metre,imagery or rhyme intensifies and transforms ordinary language,drawing attention to itself and thereby making us more self-conscious of its operations and thus sharpening our

perceptions of reality.As later chapters show,it is an argument capable of almost endless elaboration.(17).But as linguistics has demonstrated,ordinary language in that sense simply does not exist."Any actual language consists of a highly complex range of discourses differentiated according to class,region,gender,status and so on which by no means can be neatly unified into a single homogeneous community."(Eagleton 1983).

The application of speech act theory to literary and other texts indicates that the use of formal devices mentioned above is not confined to literature.Pratt,for example,illustrates how the oral narratives in Black English Vernacular collected by Labov,make use of precisely the same linguistic devices as those employed by classic texts:

> ."Most of the features which poeticians believe constituted the literariness of novels are not 'literary' at all.They occur in novels ,not because they are novels,but because they are members of some other more general category of speech acts.In other words,the poeticality or aesthetic organisation of novels cannot be directly identified with or derived from their literariness and cannot therefore be used to define them as literature."
> (Pratt 1977).

In the absence of formal properties or inherent qualities to distinguish literature (or fiction that counts as literature) the argument for the uniqueness of literature may be seen to be an argument for the privileging of a particular kind of discourse.Many discourses are privileged -standard English for example- but they all attain that status as a result of social and ideological pressures.They are not given in nature,but socially and historically determined.

These official reports overlook such current disputes about the constitution of literature by subject English.They also ignore,or overlook,the extent to which education is implicated in the process whereby literature is socially constituted out of various kinds of writing in none too self-evident a way.Despite strictures about the influence of examinations,for example,there is little real acknowledgement that education is perhaps the chief means in our culture by which writing becomes transformed into literature.Or rather,that some writing does so,for the school is an accrediting agency of the state in respect of texts as well as of their readers.The classic status currently enjoyed by Kes, Lord of the Flies Cider with Rosie or Animal Farm for example,is the result of their appropriation by the education system,rather than of any pre-eminence they enjoyed previously.(19).Such selections are ideological,and,as R.Balibar has shown,the process may require some alteration to the text.(20).Their elevation and inclusion entails,of necessity,the exclusion of others.Problems caused by that exclusion are frequently referred to in oblique manner by these official publications,but not the process of selection itself.The problem of non-accredited texts is apparent in the many distinctions drawn in the reports between good literature and 'shoddy distractions' ,and the constant need for teachers to police the boundaries against the trivial and the meretricious.The roots of such problems purport to lie in a purely literary judgments,but these in turn stem from particular

social theories about mass society and minority culture,and these the reports assume but do not examine.The reports lack a sociological perspective.

The documents examined earlier also lack a historical perspective.Whilst being highly allusive to contemporary publications,they tend to be silent about their predecessors.These reports are not isolated,but simply the most recent in a long succession produced since the state undertook the task of achieving universal literacy.There is little sense here of the distance travelled towards what Altick calls "the democracy of print," or Williams "the long revolution."(21).Although they refer to the particular Arnoldian tradition within which they operate,the reports do not mention their predecessors' findings and recommendations.In fact,Newbolt,Spens,Hadow and Newsome,with almost generational regularity before Bullock,all express the same dissatisfactions with the state of reading in schools.They attribute similar explanations and they make similar recommendations.In 1921,for example,Newbolt said "it is of the first importance that the children should be encouraged to form the reading habit". Hadow conceded that "it is obvious that within reasonable limits they (pupils) should be encouraged to read widely for their own pleasure." After commenting upon the less able pupils with whom they were mostly concerned,Newsome said "that even with the large number of boys and girls to whom the mechanics of reading present no serious difficulties,there is a need to enlist interest and

establish reading habits which persist beyond school."(para469).

All the reports argue for adequate material provision in terms that sound familiar to those employed by their successors.Newbolt has long sections on the proper stocking and running of school libraries and bookshops and calls for increased funds to improve the access to and supply of books.The points are re-iterated by Spens in 1938:

> It goes without saying that every school should have a library,and small class libraries are often an additional help.The library should contain not merely books:there should be comfortable chairs,lists of books recommended,and someone available to help and advise.There is often more education going on in a good school's library than in any of its classrooms.

Twenty-five years later,Newsome commented:

> Books magazines and the library are there to help,or should be.The library ought to be the power house of words and ideas :it is the more regrettable that large numbers of our secondary school leavers-three fifths of the modern schools in our survey-are still seriously deficient in library accommodation.

At the time of writing,much the same points have been made yet again in three publications concerned with secondary school libraries.(22).

In addition to these critical comments upon material provision,the earlier reports also isolate features they regard as inimical to reading development.They include all those mentioned in Bullock and since.The failure to allocate time for reading in school"where books of the child's own choice may be read" is mentioned in Spens and elsewhere.The influence of examinations - "a real danger of distorted teaching" (Newsome

para 486)- is deplored by all of them."We believe that external examinations of set books at this stage is undesirable and has in the past done little good and much harm." (Spens 1938).Newsome in particular points to the need to provide a bridge between the school and the background of many of its pupils "if six or seven years of continuous failure are to be avoided".

Outside the school gates there lurked the same hostile,predatory forces that caused such anxiety to Bullock.

> the ephemeral novels which fill the bookshops today.These books,whether sensational or sentimental,and whether feebly or crudely written,are generally regarded as harmless because they do not offend against propriety,but to admit or favour them....is to entrust the care of youth to lower minds...Mental,like physical contagion,is best avoided by maintaining a vigorous health.

In 1938 Spens argued that only "true literature" rendered one proof against such dangers:

> when literary standards are threatened on every side,there are fewer safeguards stronger than a devotion to those great writers who spoil our 'taste for twitterings'.

For Newsome the same anxiety was caused,not by the popular fiction presses but the new media "which present false or distorted views of people ,relationships and experiences in general,besides producing much trivial and worthless stuff made according to stock patterns."

Then,as now,it was difficult to find,in sufficient quantities,the appropriate calibre of teachers capable of

undertaking this urgent task of cultural hygiene with any likelihood of success.A school generation before Bullock reported that many teachers who lacked qualifications to teach English were in fact teaching the subject full time,Newsome stated that:"We face a crisis of quality as much as of quantity.The challenge in teacher training is formidable." Spens too expressed anxiety about teacher shortage so far as quantity was concerned,but gave a stylish characterisation of the quality needed.

> that distinguishing quality is sincerity;a belief in the value of English literature for its own sake and a real love of its finest manifestations....which can be caught but not taught..and is revealed by a kind of inward glow which warms all who come into contact with it.Such teachers were once rare,but they are multiplying now by a natural process of infection.

The most fulsome descriptions of the qualities necessary to get the nation to read,however,come in Newbolt.Teachers must have:

> the right attitude of mind,a conviction that life and literature are inseparable,that literature is not just a subject for academic study,but one of the chief temples of the human spirit in which all should worship.....a realisation of what might be accomplished through English literature to 'awaken the mind from its lethargy of custom and direct it to the loveliness and wonders of the world before us' would transform the face of the schools."

Such rhetoric disguises both the contempt expressed elsewhere by Newbolt Committee members for recruits to the teaching force,and their real political motives.(23).But after the embarrassed amusement or anger ~~with~~ which hindsight may afford us to view such conceptions of the teacher as magician,awkward questions remain.The essential diagnosis and recommendations,with some shifts of imagery and rhetorical

flourishes,remain very similar to those seen in the reports reviewed from the past ten years or so.How are we to account for this consistency? Why do the same intransigent phenomena appear to resist treatment whether offered in the muscular,religiose nationalism of Newbolt or in the quieter tones of contemporary HMI? Could it be that the initial diagnosis,or the remedy,is misguided? Perhaps independent research might offer a fuller picture,less obviously geared to socio-political exigencies.

ii) recent research.

The amount of research work in this field has been so great in the past two decades that this review is necessarily selective,dealing mainly with very recent publications.Much of the work reviewed below has appeared well after this project was under way.D'Arcy (1973) has a useful summary of research published prior to Bullock.Jenkinson's pioneering work (1940) is worth independent mention, despite its limitations as regards methodology and theoretical framework,for its emphasis upon the uses to which fiction was put in schools and the resultant consequences for adolescent reading habits.He draws attention to the differences between the pupils' valuation of books they read at home and those read at school.He concludes that:"we give them the wrong books,and that we read them in the wrong way.....Adult tastes are imposed upon children and this is a mistake."

Other studies followed this but by far the most

important is the Schools Council study Children and Their Books(Whitehead 1977).This enquiry sought to "discover the extent and kind of children's voluntary reading,what satisfactions they seek from books and what environmental factors influence their choice." It is the most accurate and accessible source of reference that we have on the subject or are likely to have.With justifiable self congratulation the authors claim:

> for the first time in the history of educational research in this country we have a questionnaire survey about children's voluntary reading conducted with a representative sample which justifies the generalisation of the findings to the relevant population of children in England and Wales as a whole.

The study identifies three main factors which influenced children's reading:sex,social class and the pupil's ability/attainment as assessed by the school.Boys were found to read less than girls at all ages,and at 14+ 40% of the boys had abandoned or never started reading.A number of variables associated with the home were found to be positively linked with book reading:small family size;book ownership;regularity of library usage;parental use of the library;quality newspapers;favourable attitudes towards schooling;and lateness of anticipated school leaving age.(24).Some of the most suggestive findings,however,relate to the influences exerted by the school upon reading development,but Whitehead felt unable to draw firm conclusions as to particular practices within the schools.The overall impression from the report is that schooling does little to mitigate the cultural effects of inequalities in family circumstances.As children get older,there is a decline in the amount of reading done by all pupils,irrespective of sex and

social class.The rate of decline increases sharply when they reach the secondary school.The greatest decline of all is registered for working class boys,over half of whom had abandoned or never started book reading by the age of 14+.

> If we accept that voluntary book reading is highly important for children at these ages,both as a source of experience,and as a means of consolidating and internalising their reading skills,there is clearly cause for concern in these figures.Moreover,although the non book readers naturally include some children who are weak or backward in reading,....it should be stressed that most of them have the ability to read books if they choose to do so.Indeed at the two older age ranges,more than two thirds of the non book readers have been assessed by their teachers as average or above average in ability or attainment,so that for those pupils certainly,their condition is one of "won't read" rather than "can't read".(p.292.)

Reading development is seen to be closely related to the "schools' characteristics as a social institution".(Rutter 1979) Both setting and streaming appear to have an adverse effect upon reading,as does the use of course books or the frequent use of extracts rather than complete texts in English.For both sexes there were more non book readers in mixed schools than in single sex schools.The number of books derived from school declined steadily as children grew older and school had a consistently lower ratimg than other book sources open to children.(25) Follow up interviews confirmed the strong conclusion that reading development was "associated with the pupil's general life situation".The recommendations made include all those mentioned above in relation to the official reports.It is an authoritative survey of the state of reading in the school system,but the

> the method used does not permit us to draw any firm conclusions about the causes which produce changes in the reading patterns from one age to another.What experiences,for example,have led some children to abandon the reading of books by the age of 14+? What experiences have led other children to move in their reading towards more mature and more demanding reading? Does the reading of poor quality books at 10+ form a foundation upon which better tastes develop at later ages,or does it lead,more typically,to a loss of interest in what books have to offer? The answers we have put forward to such important questions must of their nature be tentative and provisional.

The method adopted has enabled the identification ,but not the analysis or full description of the factors that influence reading habits and patterns.To observe the interplay of the many variables a very much more contextualised in-depth study is required.we suggest that what is needed now is a longitudinal

> study of a much smaller number of children in order to follow through their reading over a period of several years and thereby establish the specific determining influences,whether in home,neighbourhood or school that effect changes in children's reading habits and tastes.

Like the official reports,however,the Whitehead study is less aware of other limitations.The major theoretical section of the book places it firmly within a Leavisite tradition in which the contribution of good quality fiction to the child's moral and emotional education is central.The study is conceived within a particular ideological framework,which privileges literature above other writings and attributes to it quite unique affective powers.Hence the distinction employed in the study between "quality" and "non-quality" fiction.Its authors take as read the culture and civilisation duality,and do not examine the social theory underlying this view.Moreover the study lacks any

full historical perspective upon fiction's role in education,or of readership in our society.Although concerned with the manifestation of social and cultural reproduction in education,its analysis is skewed by the failure to recognise the arbitrary nature of the culture offered by the school.It relies upon an individualistic model of the reading process that was current before the work of Barthes and others became known in this country.Whilst independent of officialdom,the report is located within the same,quite precise,ideological parameters.(26).

The next study considered,by Ingham (1981) avoids many of the limitations to which Whitehead's is subject.Between 1976 and 1980 the British National Bibliographical Research Fund supported a research project in Bradford whose findings were reported in 1981,too late to influence the design of the present study.The experiment known as the Bradford Book Flood was set up with the joint co-operation of the LEA,the National Book League and Bradford University and enjoyed considerable financial as well as ancillary support.Impetus for this in-depth research came from Bullock and Whitehead,both of which called for clearer guidelines upon the provision of books in schools.It was also influenced by a New Zealand study of a similar nature (Elly 1975).The intention was to measure the impact of a greatly increased book provision upon the reading attainment and behaviour of middle school pupils.Four schools were involved,two control and two experimental,all with predominantly working class

intakes.The schools were also paired,one inner city pair and one outer city pair to enable a further dimension of comparison.A single year group was followed throughout the schools,320 children in all,aged 10+ -12+.Before the flood of additional books arrived,the children were given extensive tests,and assessments of their ability ,attitudes and attainments were made by their teachers.Each experimental school received an additional supply of approximately 6000 books which were redistributed equally between all four schools at the end of the project.Further tests were conducted at different stages,and 28 of the children were involved in further detailed case studies which included home interviews with parents.This design,therefore,enabled the examination in much greater detail than hitherto possible of the factors identified by Whitehead.

The most important findings concerned the processes by which school mediated fiction to their children.The very detailed analysis of test results revealed that "in terms of test results,the effects of the book flood seem to be slight or neglible." Children in all four schools showed an increased reading age.

> Observation suggests that,granted a sufficiency of books,the way in which they are used may be critical for the development of reading habits and interests,if not for reading skills,at least as registered by the measures used in this experiment.Indeed the greatest effect of the book flood seems to have been in the area of reading habits and interests.

Differences in reading habits and interests were much more striking than those registered in the test

scores.An"adequate supply of books",Ingham concludes,"is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for wide reading".

Wide reading was shown to depend largely upon social factors within the schools,such as classroom practices and relations.This is clear from the sharp contrast between the two experimental schools both of which received an identical supply of additional books.Test scores showed no significant differences between the schools after one year of the experiment,but there were already remarkable differences as regards the amount of reading done and pupils' attitudes towards it.The opportunity to read in school,encouragement to read, and discussion amongst friends,families and teachers about what was read were all seen to be instrumental in the differing outcomes in the two schools.The greater commitment to reading,and the higher valuation of it amongst pupils in one of the experimental schools was not the result of increased book provision,but of the social practices and relations already existing within it.Schools make a difference,and by teasing out the classroom practices asociated with positive reading outcomes,this study begins to show how.

The case studies take us closer to classroom actuality than large surveys ever can,and the self-report accounts and home interviews add important new dimensions to this area of investigation.All the specificities that are ironed out in a large survey are here highlighted.Many of the conclusions and recommendations made by Ingham bear out earlier findings of

Whitehead.Its importance lies in the way that it begins to provide hard information as to how far the adoption of particular school or classroom practices may mitigate the inequalities with which children come to school.The study was concerned with reading attainment as well as behaviour,and the gathering of this information and its detailed analysis (27) meant that there was less time left for fuller examination of classroom processes.

The study does not deal in any detail with the readings produced by the children,nor does it set the enquiry in a larger investigation of the role of fiction in education and the specific claims that are made for it.It adopts a stance which does not privilege "quality" fiction as did Whitehead,and there is an altogether much less individualistic view of reading.Above all,there is recognition of the importance of the institutional ethos,the culture of the school,upon the development of reading.

That becoming a reader is a complex social process,crucially affected by the practices which schools choose to adopt,is also born out by the next study considered (Southgate 1981) which was based in primary schools.Both this and Ingham's study suggest that,at least insofar as middle and primary schools are concerned,schools are potentially powerful agents in the production of readers and that the reading patterns recorded by Whitehead,sharply inflected by age,social class and gender,are by no means inevitable.Southgate's findings are in general accord

with Ingham's thus providing a substantial body of evidence to suggest the continuity of the process of becoming a reader.

Extending beginning Reading is the report of a Schools Council project directed by Vera Southgate and based at the University of Manchester from 1973-1977.The field work for this study was simultaneous with another Schoools Council project, The Effective use of Reading directed by Lunzer and Gardner (1979) to which later reference is made.Both were set up after the formation of the Bullock Committee but before they reported.The formation of these two Schools Council projects therefore was part of a wide response to the same research findings which reported an unprecedented decline in reading standards in maintained schools which led to Bullock.The Southgate study was published well after the inception of the present study.

The focus of Extending Beginning Reading was upon "those children who at 7 years of age had achieved average reading standards,that is who had mastered the stage of beginning reading;and on what happened to them in the next two years of schooling." Like the Ingham study it represents a move in the direction recommended by Whitehead so far as research design is concerned.General observation in a wide range of primary schools was followed by lengthy case studies of twelve schools.(28).Much of the attention is directed upon the interactions within the school and upon classroom processes and practices associated with

reading.It examines the uses to which reading is put with this age group and the manner in which books are mediated by teachers in the classroom.Their conception of learning to read as a continuous process after the acquisition of reading skills led the team to investigate the "reading environment" in each of the study schools.

> The term "reading environment" is used to indicate that investigations were concerned not only with books and other reading resources available in schools for the age groups of children being studied,but also with dynamic questions relating to the deployment of the resources and the ways in which they were being utilised by both teachers and pupils.

To do this they considered the provision of resources ,their organuisation within the school and transactions involved in their usage.Pupil interviews revealed many children to have an instrumental attitude towards reading and to view the reading done at home more favourably than that done in school.Several features in schools were shown to impede reading development:

> a large number of children were struggling to read on their own books which were too difficult for them to understand.

In the majority of cases there were only "scatttered brief periods spent in uninterrupted silent reading of books of their own choice."

> In contrast to the lengthy period of time when children were supposed to be reading or doing work connected with their basic reading books,there were few occasions when every child in the class was engaged in silent uninterrupted reading - a practice which would be likely to encourage the establishment of permanent reading habits.

The research design allowed quite sophisticated comparisons to be made between schools of pupils' attainment and for these comparisons to be related to teacher practices.

> when these different amounts of class progress were examined in the light of variations in teachers' practices,two clear pointers emerged.The classes which made the most reading progress were those in which the teacher placed least emphasis upon listening to childrens' oral reading.Furthermore,in those same most successful classes,a greater proportion of time was devoted to the childrens' uninterrrupted personal reading and to discussion about the books that the children had read.

The study's recommendations have been deservedly influential upon primary practice.(29).The research design adopted enabled firm conclusions to be drawn about the consequences of various classroom practices in a way that Whitehead's did not.The study's concern is not specifically with fiction,but with the acquisition of a reading habit as a necessary requirement for later educational attainment.It is very much classroom based and it sets itself very firm limits to the enquiry.There is,however,little analysis of the influence of the institution as a whole upon reading development and behaviour.(30) Wider questions about the nature and extent of literacy required or desired in our society play only a small part.It is nonetheless an important work for its validation of certain pedagogic practices.Although it is not easy to transpose findings from one sector of education to another given the extensive institutional differences between them,certain things do stand out clearly.Both Ingham and Southgate provide convincing evidence that reading flourishes when the classroom practices reflect a high valuation of reading and when reading is very much in the control of the learners.(31).

The other study loosely associated with the Southagte one focusses upon a wider age range and had wider concerns.The Effective Use of Reading(1979) comprises

> a series of studies of pupils aged 10-15 who were average or above average readers ,and these studies bear upon the capability of such pupils to use reading for learning,the factors that determine their success or failure,the effectiveness of the teaching they receive and the conditions that appear to be paramount in ensuring an improvement in teaching approaches and pupil competence.

Its scope,therefore,is beyond that of the present enquiry,but many of its findings are very relevant.Unlike other studies so far reviewed,Lunzer and Gardner do take account of the historical dimension of the topic:"the very attempt to provide comprehensive education for all has made it more apparent that many pupils,perhaps most,need help and tuition to use written language,not just as writers ,but also as readers and learners."

Like Whitehead,they found secondary transfer to be a crucial point of change.In first year secondary, individual tuition sharply decreases,and there is a marked increase in teacher talking and pupil listening in all subjects.The use of text books increases equally dramatically."At present it seems apparent that there are wide differences both in teaching styles and in the use that is made of written texts".Reading declines in status in the secondary school and less reading is demanded of pupils."Certainly our observations indicated that a pupil in a junior school is likely to have more opportunity for personal reading than his counterpart in secondary school."(32).The

mysterous way in which books become transformed into texts by secondary education is detected by Lunzer and Gardner,together with the effects of that change of status upon reading patterns and habits.

> more than 50% of all reading across all subjects is of 1-15 seconds duration....a clear indication of the extent to which the written text is used to control classroom behaviour...(which is) difficult to justify if the development of reading is a serious objective.

Observation showed that the "pattern of lessons did not encourage the improvement of reading for learning" because there was little that asked the pupil to interrogate or discuss the text".In addition to impediments already mentioned in other studies,they singled out the way in which the reading demands of homework ran quite counter to established classroom practice.Whereas class reading was mostly in short stretches and interrupted,homework took for granted the ability to read for long uninterrupted periods of time.Pupils were expected to deploy at home skills which were never taught or practised at school.Their observation is reminiscent of Bourdieu's criticism that schools require children to have already what they do not provide.(33).In English lessons,where one might have expected to find "the opportunity to reflect upon what was read" which they constantly recommend,they found in fact little continuous reading.Although "continuous reading is largely confined to the English lesson",they found that the bulk of reading at fourth year level was in fact the teacher reading a teacher chosen text.Barnes and Barnes (1982) reach a similar conclusion in a recent paper on the allocation of time in fifth year English lessons.(34).

A number of other hints in the study are of particular relevance here.In junior schools they noted

> the common practice of encouraging pupils to read between activities appeared to produce the most intensive reading we observed.Certainly this reading resulted in a continuous attention to print which was observed only rarely on other occasions.

This absorption was not however transferred to other reading activities.

> in the top junior classes we observed,we have firm evidence that pupils utilised their free time for intensive personal reading,and such free time was a normal part of the school day,but we cannot say that the attitudes,abilities and intentions present in the context of personal reading were transferred to "set reading."

The study thus draws attention to the ways in which all sorts of messages,and their implications, about the value of reading are transmitted and learned through the manner in which classroom activities are set up.This hidden agenda,or unintended curriculum as regards reading,is seen by Lunzer and Gardner,but the nature of their research design precluded its detailed investigation such as one finds in Woods (1979),Willis (1977) or Everhart (1983).

Over the course of the study the team changed their views considerably and came to see the issue of reading as both complex and critical.

> At the outset of the project,we believed that reading was widely used in the classroom and that teacher expectations of possible reading outcomes would probably be high.What we have found tends to deny both hypotheses.In most lessons,reading for learning seems to have a relatively minor role.Equally,teachers are generally realistic.They know that many of their pupils can gain little from unsupported reading,and they are

more surprised by the successful than the unsuccessful.What emerges here is direct evidence that the Bullock Committee's conclusions concerning reading standards were well founded.The argument about comparative standards is sterile;the fact of pupils experiencing difficulty in using reading for learning is a present reality.

The principal value of the study is its greater closeness to classroom actuality.Whatever criticisms may be made of the sampling and methodology (35),the grounds for concern about the state of reading are sufficiently established,and accord with the impressions gained from sources earlier reviewed.Some of the processes by which schools make readers of their children are opened up for examination here.In particular the major contradiction of secondary education is faced up to:how is it that the ascription of such importance to reading can co-exist with practices which seem so obviously designed to make reading difficult if not impossible? As the report comments,"We cannot achieve better reading by retreating from print."

Heather's Young People's Reading (1982), published midway through this project, is a direct response to Whitehead's study. It is a longitudinal study of sixty pupils aged 13-15 drawn from ten schools. It involved extensive interviewing in order to ascertain "what experiences had led some children to abandon the reading of books by 14+". The pupils were interviewed individually once in each of five successive terms; details of the provision and teaching arrangements in the school were obtained from the staff. The study concentrated very much upon the influences outside school that might affect reading development, such as part-time work, sport and other interests as well as domestic circumstances. The study does not emply Whitehead's distinction of quality fiction and reading is not taken here to be "inherently beneficial" to the reader.

> This study is written from the viewpoint that a wide selection of attractive books and magazines should be readily available to all young people, but that leisure reading should be a voluntary activity since reading is not likely to be enjoyed if it is enforced...young people should have access to most books they wish to read unless the book condones suffering being caused to other people or depicts people in a detrimental way because of their race, religion or sex.

A number of clear recommendations about the management of reading in secondary schools are made, which are in keeping with recommendations made by earlier reports. (36) but their force is limited by the fact that little of the fieldwork

was grounded in classroom observation.The study is largely reliant upon adolescent readers' self reports,but the sixty pupils were drawn from ten schools so that there is little detailed institutional analysis.Nor are wider issues to do with literacy in society considered.

In many ways the next study considered is a corrective to those already reviewed.Meek's Learning to Read(1982) is not a research report,but was written after long involvement in the field of children' reading.(37).Throughout,the social function and context of reading is high‿lighted.Four assumptions are made:that reading is important;that what the beginning reader reads makes all the difference to his view of reading;and that teaching and learning must be genuinely shared.Her argument is that the issue of reading has become a problem simply because we have failed to answer the question of how much,and what kind of,literacy we want in our society.Reading is seen both as a form of behaviour and as an issue that raises difficult questions about the kind of society that we have and desire.Distinguishing the illiterate,she says

> they have no vision of themselves as readers.So the illiterate in our day become outcasts who are insecure in a way that they would not have been when illiteracy was comon.Most adult illiterates blame their schooldays for what has happened to them.They believe their teachers failed them.If they learn to read when they are older,their greatest problem is not with the words on the page,but in understanding how to behave like a reader,in adopting a different view of themselves as people.So that when we help children to read we are also telling them about literacy and society,about the reasons for reading and about themselves as learners.The view of reading that a child accepts is the one his first teacher gives him.

Much of the book is concerned with the early stages of learning to become a reader,but that process is always seen as a continuous one that is deeply embedded in our social life.Reading itself is characterised as "a kind of social relationship" with the writer,but the ability to handle that relationship is learned through other relationships.

> From a persistent search to find out what makes readers,and keeps them reading,I can only say that readers are made,in adolescence as in childhood and middle age,in response to a discovery that those activities offer a sanctioned pleasure.Those who read for a lifetime are caught up in the activity as others play musical instruments,sail boats,watch football or collect stamps.

That discovery is rarely made in isolation.In particular it is school that makes reading difficult for many children:

> the root of the problem of making young people more committed to reading lies in the fact that there is only a limited space in school for learning initiated by pupils.On the whole we regard fiction as less important than the reading that is undertaken on behalf of the school curriculum,and in that we are wrong.

Secondary English teaching,she argues,is often responsible for driving many young people away from reading because of its prescriptive approach which often disapproves of what the adolescents wish to read."Reluctance is the result of having to read when you don't want to,a feature of school reading;if children have a choice they either read or they don't"

Throughout,Meek connects the business of learning to read with other social concerns.

> "Part of the trouble" she argues,"comes from our unwillingness to examine in exact detail what we want out children to be able to do.No-one ever tells a literate fourteen year old that he can now read better than his grandparents could at that age.Many

> children who try to fulfill their elders' expectaions find they can never rach the golden aple of success.National surveys threaten teachers whose pupils are considered failures,yet no-one listens when teachers explain that the reading habits of adolescents are as different as their faces.For all the reading research we have financed we are certain only that good readers pick their own way to literacy in the company of friends who encourage and sustain them,and that a large supply of paperback books and the enthusiasm of a trusted adult can make a difference.

Many of these views are re-iterated a year later in Achieving Literacy.(1983) This book is a collection of longitudinal studies of adolescents learning to read and is the outcome of Meek's collaboration with five teachers over a three year period.The case studies are of those teachers' work with five pupils who experienced difficulties with reading.None of those involved was a specialist 'remedial' teacher,so that they were forced to assess their own expertise and training:

> when we began to be concerned about those who could not read the class texts and to take an interest in the teaching of reading,we found the territory occupied by those whose studies were derived from psychology:experts in learning difficulties,diagnostic assessment,remedial methodology and child guidance,who made us feel ignorant to the point of embarassment about techniques for behaviour modification and such specialisms as dyslexia.So English teachers had to begin at the beginning,to look at reading not as reading experts,but as expert readers who believe firmly in the importance of literacy across a wide spectrum of activity that includes literature of all kinds,mass,popular and special.Then we realised that we could offer insights and instructuons of the kinds that did not appear in the reading research reports.

In the course of their work with these students,the importance of several crucial issues about literacy is underlined in a detailed way that is beyond the scope of many of the works earlier reviewed in this chapter.The institution's "implicit view of literacy",for example,exerts a powerful influence upon both

staff and students alike.It is this implicit view of literacy which is responsible both for the definition of reading problems and the strategies adopted to cope with them.They argue that the view of literacy taken by the institution must be made explicit and attention shifted to look at literacy from the perspective of the learner:

> inexperienced readers in secondary school who want to learn to read have to subject themselves to a particular kind of metaphysical distress.Nothing written about it can fully convey the strain of what,hitherto,has been superficially described as 'reluctance','failure,''poor motivation'.The real condition of these pupils was not lack of desire to learn,or poor basic skills,but absolute conviction that they could not be successful no matter what they did.

Another effect of the institution's implicit view of literacy concerned the texts which were acceptable to the school:

> we learned ...that expert readers,like us,are competent by virtue of what we were never taught in lessons.....(the) tacit competence,we,as English teachers,maintain as part of our stock in trade..we learned...when we first read for ourselves the popular literature of childhood.Our pupils read comics,but as the skills they had learned in this reading had not been validated in school,they never went about reading anything else with the same active involvement.

Success for these students depended upon the teachers' ability to create the circumstances and relationship in which it was possible for the students to move from being 'dependers 'to 'copers'.The teachers had to try "to negotiate new relationships with our pupils and to pass the initiative for learning over to them."

> our pupils learned to read when we made it seem worthwhile ,and to the extent that we expected them to be able to.They learned best when,instead of grinding away at unfamiliar text with intermittent success,they composed the text.Then the roles were reversed;they were the authority for what was said and their frame of reference became the dominant one.In addition,when an

> inexperienced reader reads what he has written he discovers the vital secret-that readers tell themselves what the author says.The basic knowledge or skill is not the ability to decode print,but literary competence in the written language-an extension of the primary socialisation into speech-the ability to make it mean.

The idea of literary competence,a phrase derived from Culler,(38) is also explored in another book edited by Meek which collects work undertaken by a number of teachers in the primary sector.Space precludes its full treatment here Opening Moves(1983),but it is an important collection that shows the relevance of structuralist insights to reading and learning to be a reader.A study of oral monologues,for example, reveals that long before children start school they have acquired the ability to use literary conventions of story telling in complex ways,whilst another study shows how "proto-narrative" elements are strongly present in the earliest interaction between children and care givers.The detailed analysis of the text of a "fairly familiar situation of the bedtime story"with a three-year-old shows that

> in this text mother and child are midway between the anarchy of informal conversation and the constrained order of a narrative that conforms to a number of definite expectations.There is an agenda to their talk,laid down by the unseen participant and from this agenda only temporary deviations are permitted.....as well as learning to cope with a particular kind of situation,learning to handle new forms and learning to construct and recognise new kinds of meanings,(the child) is also learning to organise these meanings in new ways....(she is learning story grammar and narrative discourse)and because her experience of narrative is embedded in a conversation in which she is frequently allowed an initiating role,she is learning the active role in the discourse which she must take if an ideational or an interpersonal meaning is to be constructed which has any significance for her and for the already existing network of meanings that she has

in her head.She is learning to interrogate the text,learning that for a story to be created in her mind,the listener(or the reader)cannot rely upon a passive receptivity,but must play an active part in the asking of questions,the drawing of inferences nd the constructing and testing of hypotheses.(39).

By contrast,the next study,from a very different perspective, investigates the extent to which secondary school English facilitate such learning for older pupils.Institutional and ideological limitations and constraints are amongst the themes dealt with in a recent case study by St.John Brooks (1982) of an English department's work with the fourth year.(40).The study shows the political position of the department within the school to have a crucial influence upon the reading outcomes.The benefits of an ethnographic case study approach is very apparent as the interaction of complex factors within the school that influence readership is laid open to analysis.Karabel and Halsey (1977) describe well both the importance and appropriateness of this method

"interpretive sociology focusses precisely upon those classroom processes that must be understood if there is to be any chance of reducing the class and racial differentiall in academic achivement that concerns administrators(cited Barnes 1984).

The teachers in the English department at Crossley High School are shown to share an approach that is both meritocratic and egalitarian (41).They are mutually supportive in this "left Leavisism",but quite at odds with the rest of the school in which a rationalist ethic prevails.This "rationalist" ethic assumed the credentialist function of school to be both desirable and unproblematic,whereas the English teachers viewed contemporary society with hostility and saw their work in terms of immunising their students against its dehumanising effects.("turning out misfits rather than spare parts")(42).Education was an oppositional force and literature the instrument by which that opposition might best be mobilised.In their view education was conceived entirely in individualistic terms,each life was a

project of self development.Great emphasis was placed in their teaching upon the potentially transformative power of "quality" literature.The study traces the extent of their success and the limitations to it.It involved much detailed analysis of classroom interaction and pupil interviews,two elements which form only a small part of the other studies reviewed here.The findings clearly show how the marginalisation of the English department within the institution limits the extent of the influence they can exert.Their disappproval of the system has led to their withdrawal from any real political involvement in the life of the institution.They changed nothing in it of which they disapproved.Moreover the same uncompromising approach to their teaching had its limitations.Although their energies were saved for the classroom rather than engagment with an unsympathetic school staff,they were seen to have failed to develop a pedagogy which bridged the gap between their own views and those of their largely working class pupils who shared the rationalist and instrumental ethic or if they did not were simply disaffected..There was no adequate means whereby the pupils might appropriate the culture which was on offer.

The teachers were seen to be trapped within a particular ideology which enabled certain criticisms,both of the school and the society beyond it,to be made,but which was fundamentally unequal to the task of challenging the prevailing rationalist ethic.

Not only does this study get remarkably close to classroom actuality and the detailed processes whereby fiction is mediated in the classroom,but it also gives a hard edged analysis of the ways in which conflicting ideologies are worked out and experienced by staff and students alike within the institutional framework.The influence of differing ideologies upon teacher actions in the classroom and student response to them is clearly demonstrated,and the outcomes at Crossley High School are related to contemporary debate about social and cultural reproduction.It bears a certain similarity,in theoretical stance,to Mathieson's Preachers of Culturein its failure to take into account structuralist and post-structuralist developments in the study of literature or institutions.The limitations,tensions and achievements of a specific pedagogic project are revealed with great precision,but they are not fully located either socially or historically.(43).

St.John Brooks' ethnographic study of a secondary English department is unique in this country,but it is worth comparing with a recent American study written from a Marxist perspective.(Everhart 1983).This study of an American junior high school is concerned with several groups of pupils who are significantly more conformist than those in Willis' Learning to Labour(44) and has a broader scope than the work of the English teachers.Everhart contrasts two forms of knowledge operating within the school which both reinforce and are opposed to each

other.He calls them "reified" and "regenerative knowledge."

"reified knowledge" is that knowledge which whilst being abstract,problematical and tenuous was treated as if it were concrete and real.It is mechanistic and involves the dispensing of facts that are learned and applied in the empirical fashion towards predefined ends.Such knowledge is instrumental:"knowledge and the way of knowing are defined,the rules of knowing are assumed to be self-evident, and the means-end continuum accepted."It is the school,and teachers within it,which defines reified knowledge.Because pupils perceive it to be beyond their interests,influences and control,they are alienated from their school work to the extent that it is stripped of any use value and is reduced to having only exchange value for grades and assessment.There is a striking lack of any significant interpersonal contact between staff and students,and lessons are characterised by minimum staff demands and minimum student output.Staff and students co-exist within the uneasy framework of a non-aggression pact,in which neither party makes substantial demands or impinges upon the consciousness of the other.Both staff and student were locked into a process over which they had little control or influence.Classroom indications of the operation of this reified knowledge could be seen in the immense amount of time (45% of school hours) spent upon "institutional maintenance activities",by which Everhart means the lesson breaks,registrations,distribution of material,waiting for lessons to start or end or queuing to see the teacher.All of these

activities involved the students in entirely passive roles,allowing them no scope for action other than response.The reading and writing in most lessons involved the most narrowly conceived skills of literacy.Even in those areas such as the School Council where the institution appeared to be offering greater participation to its pupils,there was no real engagement:the agenda,modes of working and even the outcomes of council meetings were all carefully predetermined by the institution.A similar pattern was perceived by the students to exist in the classroom.

Opposed to this mechanistic reified knowledge,Everhart contrasts the pupils'"regenerative knowledge".This knowledge is legitimated,reinforced through and based upon the collective ties between individuals.It is called regenerative knowledge because:

> it is created ,maintained and recreated through continuous interaction of pupils in a community setting,and because what is known is in part dependent upon the historical forces emerging from within the community setting

Because it grows out of social interaction,it is interpretive rather than empirically based,like school knowledge.Throughout the day,students are actively engaged in what Everhart sees as "the reclamation of their labour",its"re-appropriation from an estranged state."In a multitude of small ways they reclaim the time they perceive the institution to have taken from them and use it to continue with their own agenda-their social lives.The resistance here to the jurisdictive claims made upon them by the institution is less spectacular than that described by other

writers in this tradition of resistance theory.(See for example,Willis 1977 or see Gibson 1986 for an account of this approach) Indeed Everhart emphasises the calm orderliness of the school day.Occasionally there are instances when other possibilities are glimpsed and the normal slow motion process of time filling on pointless activities is changed,by some freak circumstance,into "free creative activity".The irony of the situation is that the students' regenerative knowledge is largely dependent for its existence upon the institution which tries to suppress it .The broader political implications of this school culture are spelled out in a final section in which Everhart considers the construction of the concept of adolescence over the past hundred years and questions the sense and justice of a system which denies to so many for so long any degree of control over their lives,whilst ostensibly preparing them for participation in a democracy.

The final work (Barnes and Barnes 1984) considered here appeared too late either to influence the present study design or to be given treatment adequate to its importance,although other aspects of the study are considered elsewhere below.This longitudinal study in six secondary schools and four colleges of further education was designed to "investigate differences in the versions of English curricula which are offered to various groups of students who are about to

complete or have completed compulsory education."It offers a detailed picture of the collection of practices and relations that is subject English and offers a penetrating critique of their underlying theoretical asumptions.They distinguish five versions,or ideal types,of English in their sample schools:the cultural tradition;personal growth;belles lettres;skills;and public rationality models.The first four are familiar from earlier characterisations (45),but the public rationality version was developed to characterise a model which employs quite different assumptions about language.Whereas the cultural tradition and the personal growth models both share an essentially aesthetic model of language,this version "acknowledges a documentary model in which language carries out transactions and is open to reflective analysis." Only this model escapes the limitations demonstrated by the study to be inherent weaknesses in the other versions.Although distinct,the other versions are all founded upon a literary model of language:"the picture that emerges from our fifth form data is of the supremacy of literature."It is not just that the study or reading of literature takes up so much classtime,though it certainly does do that,but it also dictates both the form and content of all other activities as well.This results,for example,in pupils being "directed away from the spoken language through which they negotiate and realise their day to day experience towards a limited version of written language."

> the effect of literature is pervasive for it supplies a model of language activity that is unchallenged except in the public rationality model.It defines the aesthetic function as central,thus tending to prefer

> private above public topics,not only for general essays,but in the discussion of works of literature.In the cultural tradition and personal development versions,writing is normally either reflective or addressed to that undefined audience implicit in contemporary literature.What counts is truth to experience,"language as being",the realisation of self.Yet even for those teachers who decline to subscribe to ideas of personal development through English,the curriculum is shaped by a literary model of reading and writing.Concern for context,for appropriateness and the match of manner to purpose and situation seldom appeared in the data except in the public rationality version,with the result that pupils had little or no opportunity to study models of writing on public topics or in an impersonal manner,except via the misleading simplifications of comprehension exercises.

So far as teaching methods are concerned,they drew some tentative conclusions in the light of their interest in "what teaching methods enabled pupils themselves to become confident critical readers." The classroom practices they describe accord with those reported by earlier works reviewed,but what is distinctive here is the exploration of the "deep structures" that inform them.In their view "a good deal of literature teaching was irrationally narrow in its range, confined mainly to to paraphrase and concentrating upon local meaning of texts,along with stylised accounts of theme and character,"despite the fact that "even the least able students showed that they could go far beyond mere paraphrase,and one top set engaged in many of the activities of sophisticated literary criticism."In their account of teaching methods they were concerned to describe two dimensions,that of "the location of control over content,that is the degree of participation by the learners shaping what was learned," and the second being "the dimension of the level of explicitness with which principles were

formulated." To achieve this they employ a transmission/initiation/exploration continuum.They found little evidence of exploration,by which they mean independent small group work.Initiation is "the term employed to describe teaching in which the explicit or implicit principles that inform the activity are made available to the pupils so they can operate them for themselves;"whereas transmission is used to describe "the kind of teaching when pupils are expected to take over the values,when the teacher or book is to be followed without question and the source of authority is external." All the evidence pointed to the educational superiority of the initiation mode.

The different ability groups in secondary school are shown to experience quite different English curricula which entail distinctive practices and activities.Moreover, ability groupings and social class origins are closely associated so that "to discuss differences between sets is to discuss the differentiation of English according to social class.(46)."Work on literature dominated the top sets,decreased for middle groups and became very small for the bottom sets.By contrast,coursework writing increased from the top sets to the bottom.They argue that "the version of English experienced by particular groups of pupils results from the interaction" between "the characteristics of the institutions;the sources of the teachers' values;the requirements of various examinations;and the perspective of the

students." (47).All of these factors are potentially open to change and influence.If the present unsatisfactory hierarchy of versions of English is to be altered so as to give a more meaningful education to all groups,they argue that English teaching for older students should expand in five directions:

> by placing language in a social context;by grasping controversial issues;by looking for sources of material outside private experiences;by including a wider range of rhetorical functions;and by giving a more active role to the learners.

"The personal is not enough,"and what is wrong with "the language of teaching and learning is not its impersonality alone,but its unreality." It is a far reaching critique because it combines analysis of institutional pressures and constraints,classroom interaction and the professional enculturation of English teachers.

Conclusions.

This chapter has argued that work upon adolescent fiction readers has often been too narrowly conceived,or else constrained by its theoretical framework.Some of the more recent work, published since the inception of this study,has,however,taken a more holistic view of the subject.Although some of this work has been concerned with age groups different from that which is the focus of this study,several relevant common features emerge.Questions as to how or whether adolescents become committed readers of fiction cannot be disconnected from social dimensions which pertain

specifically to what occurs within schools rather than to outside determinants.These social dimensions of readership within the school include the social relations of teachers and learners,and the institution's impicit view of literacy.It is investigation of such practices that is required rather than speculation about children's tastes.Beyond school there are also wider social dimensions of reading involved whose influence is beginning to be acknowledged:the nature of narrative conventions in our culture,the place of literacy in the process of social and cultural reproduction,the power of professional ideologies in positioning teachers in particular relationships to print,and the kind of literacy that we desire in our society.It is to some of these wider issues that we turn in the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter Three.

1.The phrase is from Rosen (1982).

2.The Secondary Survey Report No.2 (1983)reported on a survey carried out in November 1980.It was the second in a series of annual surveys.It is uncertain whether the findings from the remaining three will be published in the same form as the first two.The APU published a large 2 volume report on Oral Language Performance in schools in 1985 and are preparing a number of small scale publications dealing with various aspects of language performance which are designed to reach a much wider audience of teachers than have the reports discussed in this chapter.

3.see Hawkes (1985);and Goulden and Hartley (1982)for a discussion of these connections.

> (Scarman's) report is a model of what most people consider to be the essence of good sense and justice,and its 'reading' of the disorders seems to have won general acceptance.Yet the basis of it is by now familiar:of the factors making the incorporation of the black community into the larger one extremely difficult,'trouble with the English language' is seen as 'most important of all'(Scarman 1981,p.10)....'the central role of the study of English language and culture in promoting coherence and continuity becomes a constant theme:'The problems which have to be solved,if deprivation and alienation are to be overcome,have been identified-namely teaching a command of the English language,a broad education in the humanities...etc.'(Scarman p9).....
>
> 'while it is right that the curriculum should fully recognise the value of different cultural traditions,I echo the Home Affairs Committee's view that the primary object of schooling must be to prepare all our children,whatever their colour,for life in Britain.It is essential therefore that children should leave school able to speak,read and write effectively in the language of British society,i.e.English'(Scarman.p105.)
>
> from Hawkes (1985) pp44-45.

At the time of writing even blunter connections between social disorder and literacy have been made by Norman Tebbitt who appeared to attribute the Tottenham riot in part to schools' failure to achieve respect for authority through the proper insistence upon correct English.

4.The summary statement on pp 52-53 of the 1983 survey makes some comparisons with earlier findings,whilst Appendix 2 reports upon the development of an attitude scale on pp130-145.They report "significant differences between the scores of boys and girls emerged in relation to all the scales with the exception of attitudes reading aloud."

5. see Bullock chapter 21 for details of library facilities.During the writing of this report three other reports specifically concerned with secondary libraries have appeared:

The LISC Report School libraries:the foundation of the curriculum (1985);A Report on Secondary Library Provision in 6 LEAs DES (1985);and the English Advisers' Association report on school libraries (1986).

6.Few if any research projects have the facilities available at their disposal to match those of central government.Current reports on educational provision in LEAs are an interesting example of how a massive data bank is shrunk down to publishable and acceptable proportions.

7.A great deal of space in Bullock is devoted to the separation of sub-activities of reading,but as Meek (1983) comments:

> for all its concern about the teaching of reading and the teaching of literature,(it) could not define literacy.It also skirted the question of what a well read person is like nowadays.Thus, for public purposes,literacy becomes what is tested by recent tests.For all its innovative concern about adult non-readers and its nascent awareness of the growing diversity of our multi-cultural society,there is no examination in the report of how a child engages with reading as meaningful activity,or what a committed adult actually does in teaching a child to read,either at the normal time for learning in the primary school,or as a result of the child's difficulty in conforming to the school's expectations at a particular age and stage.

8.Since that criticism was registered,the APU have made efforts to ensure that their findings and a meaningful interpretation of them are made available to teachers in an accessible form.Large 'kits' of testing material for oral performance have been made available,free,to LEAs;and pamphlets for teachers on oral writter and reading performance are in preparation.

9.The three models proposed by Dixon have had the widest currency.Although intended as ideal types that has not always been recognised.Later writers cited in this paragraph have beer particularly useful in showing how various subject conception: may co-exist within the same group or individual teacher.Barne: (1984) offers another categorisation of types of Englis teaching.

10.Pugh and Richardson (1980b) cite some interesting examples of significant changes in official thinking that are expressed i coded language.At the time of writing an interesting exercise i: underway in regard to the discussion documentEnglish 5-16(1984) which is being re-written by a newly appointed staff inspecto for English,after a hostile reception from the profession an bodies such as NATE.Both format and content of the new documen will no doubt be very closely read for signs of any re-alignmen of the pressures responsible for the earlier version.

11.Eagleton.(1985) Lecture at the 1985 NATE conference.
12.Barthes.(1983)

13.See Williams (1983);Doyle (1982);Davies (1978);Baldick (1983);Eagleton (1983)and (1984)
14.Benjamin.(1982) See also Balibar (1978)

15.Eagleton (1983) cites this remark by Ellis.Ellis' book,written before the recent explosion of interest in literary theory,remains
an extremely lucid,cool-headed analysis of some of the main problems in literary theory.

16.see chapter 9 below or Belsey (1979)

17.see chapter 4 for fuller discussion of this at the institutional level,and chapter 9 for discussion of the theoretical issues.

18.see also Pratt and Traugott (1980) for the practical application speech act theory to literary texts.Searle (1982) also contains a good discussion of the usefulness of looking at fiction from this viewpoint.Good accounts of social aspects of language are available in Rosen (1981b);Leith (1983);Saville-Troike (1983) and Stubbs (1980)

19.Most of these titles were introduced,often in the face of hostility,into the secondary curriculum at the time of the new CSE examination in the 1960's in order to make literature more relevant to students' experience.All are subject to a quite particular and narrow range of interpretations.They rapidly acquired classic status,so that few 4th and 5th students in the country will fail to come across one or more of them.More recently,"multi-cultural"fiction has proved to be a site still open for dispute as to the kinds of texts required or allowed.See Klein (1985) No doubt the new GCSE examination will produce further inflections of the school canon.

20.see Balibar (1978) Donald (1982) Sinfield and Dollimore (1985)

21.The first phrase is from Altick (1957);the second from Williams (1965).Both are discussed below in chapter 4.

22.See:School Libraries:the foundation of the curriculum.LISC(1985)
Library provision in 6 LEAs.(DES.1985)
School libraries. English Advisers Association (1986)

23.See Baldick (1983);Doyle (1981 and 1982) and chapter 4 below.
24.The general tenor of Whitehead's findings cited here have generally been confirmed elsewhere.

25.On many of the variables concerned with the organisation of or practices within schools,Whitehead felt unable to draw firm

conclusions because the fieldwork lacked the appropriate in-depth investigation.

26.Whitehead and Capey were involved in teacher education at the time of writing the report.Both were active participants in the debates about the direction of post 1965 English (see Allen).Their stance in those discussions was generally a modified Leavisism.In the theoretical section of the report the writer upon whom they place greatest reliance is D.W.Harding,a former editor of Scrutiny.The theoretical assumptions are discussed below in chapter 9.For a critical discussion,from a perspective less sympathetic to post-structuralism, of the theoretical basis of the claims made in the report see Gribble (1983)

27.The detailed analysis of reading test scores in Ingham precluded more detailed ethnographic work.

28.An unusual feature of the research was the extent to which teachers were involved in the formulation of the various stages of the design.It was a fruitful blend of research and in-service education which may well prove to be an unforeseen benefit from present cutbacks on funding for large scale projects.

29.Southgate's findings have been taken up and incorporated in a variety of ways.See Children reading to their teachers NATE (1984);the growth of PACT etc.

30.No doubt because the institutional complexity of primary schools is so much less than that of secondary schools where it is a major issue.(see Woods 1979) Steedman's (1982) study is exceptional in its precise location of a particular classroom within a school set in a particular culture.

31.That is the conclusion of this study as well.See chapters 7 and 8.

32.This appears to contradict Southgate who recommended that more time be given to such activities in junior schools.In fact both reports agree as to the amount of such reading in junior schools:Lunzer and Gardner's comment simply indicates how little occurs in the secondary sector.

33."By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone,the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give.This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture." Bourdieu.(1973) For a fuller discussion of Bourdieu's work see chapter 4 below and Macdonald (1977)

34.Barnes (1982) This paper,presented at the Sociology of Education conference at Oxford in 1982,was later incorporated in to Barnes,Barnes and Clarke,(1984).For a discussion of this see chapter 3 below.

35.The study has been criticised upon both counts by Merritt.But although details of the measurement of reading spans,for example,are open to criticism,nonetheless,the picture that emerges is not inconsistent with the findings of either Whitehead,the APU or HMI in recent reports.
36.Recommendations made by Heather concentrate upon the deployment of and access to books within secondary schools.

37.Particularly in the project that culminated in the publication of The Cool Web (1977).The theoretical position represented by the works collected in that volume is pre-structuralist and represents still the position with which the majority of English teachers are most likely to be familiar.See Yorke (1980)This theoretical position is discussed in detail in chapter 9.

38.Culler (1975) and also (1980).Culler's ideas on literary competence are well discussed in Scholes (1982) and (1985)
39.Dombey (1983) Learning the language of books.in Meek ed (1983)

40.The thesis referred to here forms the substance of a chapter in Hargreaves.A.(1984)

41.The origin of these terms,meritocratic and egalitarian,and their force for English teachers is best described in Mulhern (1979)

42.the phrase is Thomson's.See chapter 4 below.
43.The tension played out between rationalism and romanticism in education is historically placed in the study and the damaging consequences of the elitist and meritocratic elements in this version of English are made clear.By implication their version is more laudable than others which are more narrowly conceived.But there is no alternative view of literacy,no alternative relationship to print or textual practices implied or proposed.Nor is mention made of the implications of recent literary theory.

44.See Willis 1977 and see Hargreaves A. 1980 and 1982 or Gibson.R. (1984) for a good discussion of Willis' interpretation of disaffection.

45. See Dixon 1965;Ball.S.1980;Lawson and Silver;Pugh.A.K.1980b.

46. See chapters 5 and 6 below for the extent to which English teaching groups in the present study were differentiated by

social class.

47. See Woods ed 1980 for a varied collection of examples of ways in which pupils are able to shape and to re-interpret the curriculum of the school or classroom practices.

CHAPTER FOUR.

The political economy of literature in education

> "assumptions about literature involve assumptions about language and about meaning and these in turn involve asumptions about human society.The independent universe of literature and the autonomy of criticism are illusory." (Belsey.1980)

This chapter continues the discussion of work bearing upon social dimensions of adolescent readership.It is in three sections.The first looks at the social history of reading in this country and the social stratification,controls and opportunities to which literacy gave rise.The second section traces the growth of subject English as a discourse designed both to contain and expand,within predefined limits,the spread of literacy.The final section discusses recent work in the sociology of culture which offers an alternative framework for conceptualising the relationship between literature,education and society.

i)"the democracy of print":the social history of reading.

> Believe me - and I have spent a great part of the last ten years in watching some 320 elementary schools - we may prate of democracy,but actually a poor child in England has little more hope than an Athenian slave to be emancipated into that intellectual freedom of which great writers are born.
> (Quiller-Couch.1913)

However uncertain we remain as to what constitutes literacy and how much of it we want,it is only in the last hundred

years that we have set ourselves the goal of a fully literate society.(1)It is insufficient to view the spread of reading as a simple process of expansion.Social history shows the growth of a reading public to have been a contentious and highly charged affair.The same tensions and difficulties have recurred,in all kinds of manifestations,with remarkable persistence over the years.Some are likely to be caused by inherent features of literacy;others are socio-political.

Altick's book<u>The English Common Reader</u>(1957) is a study" from the historian's viewpoint,of the place of reading in an increasingly democratic society.It is the story of how.....there took root in nineteenth century England,a revolutionary social concept:that of a democracy of print".The study explores the consequences of literacy for social relations in England.Reading,he argues, was crucial in shaping our contemporary society:"the history of the mass reading audience is the history of English democracy seen from a new angle." From the sixteenth century onwards,the growth of a literate public was a highly sensitive political issue."Literacy as a goal was no easier to win than that of economic or political justice-and for the same reasons."As each extension of readership occurred,or was contemplated by those already literate,there was an attempt to control or resist it.Three main kinds of control were employed:political;moral;and literary.Each control sought to maintain the existing pattern of social relations which were seen by the dominant socio-economic class to be threatened by any

extension of the ability to read.

The most obvious control was political:the suppression of particular books,authors or publishers ,or the use of taxation were all used by governments of the day to help stave off the political upheaval to which extended readership was thought likely to give rise.In the nineteenth century,however, there was greater emphasis upon more subtle means.Moral and literary sanctions had been used in the past (Shakespearian drama and classic novels were objected to on both grounds in their time),but they had been generally subordinated to blunter methods.After the extension of the franchise;after the revolutionary alarm of 1848 had passed;and after the increased book supply made possible by improved printing technology,legislation and blunt suppression were more difficult,because less acceptable to a more informed public.But if it was impossible to prevent the spread of literacy,it could still be controlled in such a way as to preserve the status quo.

Initially there was a counter move of moral intent,in which the provision of improving literature was designed to anaesthetise or protect the new audience from any harm.This evangelical literature considerably impeded,if not the spread of literacy,then at least the exercise of those newly acquired skills upon anything likely to shake the social foundations.(2) Such moral controls have not disappeared in our own time.(3),but they have become increasingly entangled in the

third constraint,a literary one.

With the decline of the evangelical movement in particular and religion in general,the threat posed to the established order by universal literacy was relocated in the cultural arena and redefined as a literary ,rather than a moral and religious issue.This relocation entailed a considerable inheritance of the moral,so that the two become very interwtined in later thought.(4) The expanded reading public was still seen as a threat,but in this reformulation the issue was seen to threaten the dominant literary culture,which came to stand for the established social order.Ultimately,the new social formation of a mass reading public was to be controlled by education.The complexity and subtlety with which the social and political become entangled with the moral and literary during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries may best be seen in the origins and uses of Arnold's classic text Culture and Anarchy..Its origin is Arnold's direct response to the political crisis occasioned by the Hyde Park riots in the suffrage campaign of 1866 in which J.S.Mill was on the opposing side.(5).In its long later life the text has been deployed in other crises,and served a crucial function in underpinning the definition of subject English.The edition most commonly used in the preparation of secondary English teachers is that prepared in fearful response to the Russian Revolution and General Strike.(6) And at times of contemporary crisis,it is still to the terms set up by Arnold in that text that officialdom [illegible] has recourse..

Williams (1965) is at pains to take an equally long perspective on the history of readership .The process has been slow and is by no means complete:it is only in our own century that the regular reading of newspapers has reached a majority of our people,and only in our own generation that the regular reading of books has reached a bare majority.

Like Altick,he argues that readership has always been deeply involved with political issues."Two very different and often confused problems of value" become entangled.One is that the standard of literature will be threatened by the widening circle of readers,and the other is "an essentially political fear that,if the common man reads,both quality and order (sometimes the one standing for the other) will be threatened.No issue is more central in the history of our culture." For the last hundred years the site of this confused cultural argument has been the school,particularly the secondary school.The difficulties expressed by each generation are exacerbated by the assumption that they are unique to that age,whereas "it has been a problem of th whole expansion." Indeed "the worst error is to suppose that our ancestors -the date may vary,but they are always ancestors - had no such problems." From a historical perspective the underlying issues are clear:

> It will help us to understand the problems of the expansion if we remember...Arnold's ascripton of a low standard to the middle class.For the essential argument must be detached from its ordinary confusion with vicarious contempt for a lower social group.The whole argument about "cheap literature" has been compromised by its use as a form of class distinction,whereas the real problem is always the relation between inexperience and the way in which it is met.Certainly in a limited way it would do middle class people good

> to remember these problems did not arrive with working class literacy:the new middle class made all the same mistakes and were as evidently exploited...To be against the people who face these problems is a trivial evasion of the real issues.
> (Williams 1958).

Williams agrees with Altick as to the range of ploys by which the spread of literacy was curbed or contained.The same issues,differently inflected,are involved today:

> what is often left unnoticed,is the steady resistance of privileged groups of many kinds to any extension of wealth,democracy,education or culture which would affect their exceptional status.In the early stages this is usually quite open,but it later becomes very delicate strategy,using the maximum delay.It is because of the existence of this conscious and highly skilled opposition that the process is still as much a revolution,though in different forms,as when earlier moves were met with open violence.Both Williams and Altick concentrate upon the class inflections of readership.In recent years,that historical account has been both amplified and complicated as a range of gender inflections in the social history of reading have been brough into the light. (7)

The social history of reading is not simply a question of charting the ways in which different social groups have gradually effected entry into the world of print to enjoy the 'mirthe and confort' of literature which had formerly been the domain of a privileged few.There are also inherent problems which have been there since the development of alphabetic writing,but which the spread of print and literacy have increased immeasurably.As Williams observes in a later book dealing with how "in modern industrial societies writing has been in effect

naturalised,"

> Writing,by contrast (with spoken language) has been from the beginning a systematic skill that has to be taught and learned.Thus the introduction of writing,and all the subsequent stages of its development,are intrinsically new forms of social relationship.There has been great variation in making these skills available,and this has had major effects on the relationships embodied in writing in diverse historical and cultural conditions.It was only at some point in the nineteenth century,very late in the record of English literature,that the majority of English people could write and read.It is impossible that this had no effect upon what was written and what was read.(8)

In The consequences of literacy Goody and Watt (1972) suggest some fundamental contrasts between the transmission of the cultural heritage in non-literate societies and those which are alphabetically literate.The social implications of literacy for our own society,on this diagnosis,are clear.The adoption of an alphabetic writing system,they argue,"brought about an awareness of two things:of the past as different from the present;and of the inconsistencies in the picture of life as it was inherited by the individual from the cultural tradition in its written form.Non-literate societies have what they call "a structural amnesia" which enables the elimination of inconsistent and inconvenient detail from the cultural heritage."The corpus of what is preserved therefore is both coherent (lacking contradiction) and also manageable by the individual". Literacy destroys that amnesis so that not only is far more recorded,but the contradictions within it are also preserved.This prevents the individual from participating fully in the total cultural tradition to anything like the extent possible in the non literate society."The increasing layers of cultural tradition

accumulate and give rise to conflict between different parts of the culture and to social stratification" which is related to "the more or less tangible distinctions based upon what people read".

> the high degree of differentiation in exposure to the literate tradition sets up a basic division which cannot exist in non literate society:the division between the various shades of literacy and illiteracy.

Such divisions are impossible to avoid within a literate society.For a non literate society the choice is between solitude and the cultural tradition,but in literate societies the dominant culture is very easy to avoid.This is because even in a literate culture "the oral tradition -the transmission of values in face to face contact - nevertheless remains the primary mode of cultural orientation,and to varying degrees it is out of step with the various literate traditions."

Alphabetic culture,therefore,leads to a wide range of social differentiation.This is confirmed and developed by the institutions to which literacy ultimately gives rise,and by the many consequent specialisations and divisions of labour.(9) This fragmentation of social and individual experience stems from the necessity of choosing from amongst a corpus of writings that is too large to absorb in its entirety.Any such choice made reveals uncomfortable contradictions both within the corpus and between the corpus itself and the lived experience of the oral culture.Hence,they argue,the persistent longing amongst many thinkers for some unifying myth.Plato,Rousseau and Tolstoy all

share this desire for an idealised peasant non literate wisdom,as more recently does Solzhenitsyn.As we shall see,the idea of a unified culture,the organic community, exercises a powerful hold upon those most responsible in this country for the confusion to which Williams pointed of democratic and literary arguments about the extension of literacy.

Such inherent structural properties of writing (10) are rarely considered in the work reviewed in the last chapter.They are,however,crucial and cannot be ignored.It was no doubt such structural properties that Levi-Strauss had in mind with his remark that the "prime function of written communication is to facilitate slavery," or that caused Barthes to observe "that language is quite simply Fascist."(11)

One means whereby our society has sought to resolve some of these inherent difficultes associated with literacy has been to control readership, not just by exclusion,but also by enforced entry to the world of print.The ability to read is a privilege,but it is also a necessity for the higher levels of communication upon which advanced industrial societies depend.The Education Act of 1870,which aimed at universal literacy,was both an extension of democracy and an attempt to control a process that had become necesary and inevitable.Like evangelical religion,education played a crucial and ambiguous role in the spread of literacy,the means both of extension and limitation of readership.The question of whether

the nation should be able to read was followed by equally intransigent ones as to what they should read,and how.What sort of readers were the people to become? J.S.Mill's father had clear hopes for the literate society of the future

> so complete was my father's reliance upon the influence of reason over the minds of mankind,whenever it is allowed to reach them,that he felt as if all would be gained if the whole population were taught to read,if all sorts of opinions were allowed to be addressed to them by word and in writing,and,if,by means of the suffrage they could nominate a legislature to give effect to the opinions they adopted.(12).

Such an optimistically rationalist goal is,as Goody and Watt's structural analysis indicates,unattainable.Social conflicts and inequalities cannot easily be resolved by the very factor which has served to constitute them.The introduction of an education system aimed at universal literacy was an attempt to control not just the simple ability to read,but also,as Kermode has recently argued,what was read,the manner of reading and the kinds of readings and readers permitted.(13) Literature in general,and fiction in particular,has played a crucial part in this project;indeed literature was invented for that purpose.

The nineteenth century expansion of education was one attempt to cope with the profound social changes of the industrial revolution .In the controversy about increased educational provision there were two arguments,the democratic and the economic.(Williams.1958.) One argued that,after the extension of the franchise "I believe it will be absolutely necessary that you should prevail on our future masters to learn their letters"(14);and the other recognised the need for a skilled

workforce to ensure successful economic competition ,for "upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity."(15) Victorian education was firmly grounded in the class society shaped by the industrial revolution.the reforms and extensions of education throughout that period strengthened that class framework.Just as the schools were divided into three groups according to the social origins of their pupils,so their curricula were designed in accordance with their respective pupils' anticipated social destinations.Although,as Davies (1978) argues,"the ideological character and intention of compulsory mass education" is familiar ground, what is less familiar and more relevant here is "the central and determining position of literature in that formation."

> More than that,following the semantic shift in the word itself,...faced with a crisis of ideological dominance,and unable to resort either to the classics or to a science increasingly feared as the voice of a soulless materialism,education discovered and therefore created literature as the principal material and object of its institutions and practices.

It is conceivable that the state could have confined itsef to the imparting of reading skills,or even have presupposed them in its pupils,but a striking and distinctive feature of mass education in this country is the creation of a subject,English,which defined in quite precise ways what was read,how to read and the purposes of reading.Education,that is,assumed the exercise of all those controls formerly employed by other authorities.It dispensed literacy to all,but within the terms of its own devising. Such an enterprise required the

creation of an ideology and a discourse.(16) The growth of that discourse is the subject of the next section.

ii)"Criticism Inc.," and "corrective social change":the discourse of English.(17).

There are four stages in the history of English as an ideology:the opening up of a discursive space and its occupation,which was completed by the Education Act of 1870;the creation of a discourse,which is embodied in the Newbolt Report by 1921;further specialisation and professionalisation which was accomplished by the Scrutiny movement;and the contemporary stage which signals its dissolution as the contradictions become increasingly apparent and the space which it once occupied becomes contested by other claimants.

The expansion of education in the mid nineteenth century in response to the democratic crisis opened up a curricular space which came to be occupied by the new subject,English.Three viewpoints predominated in the Victorian curriculum debate which led to this outcome:the popular educators;the industrial trainers and the old humanists (18),each championing their own curriculum subject.English came to occupy that space because,more than its rivals (science and classics) it was able to hold these differing conceptions of education in uneasy balance.The subject was not lying conveniently to hand awaiting inclusion in the curriculum,but had

to be constructed.Its potential cheapness was one recommendation.As Sir Robert Lowe,who was involved in the process, argued:

> It was more a financial than a literary preference.Had there been any other branch of useful knowledge,the possession of which could have been ascertained with equal precision,there would have been nothing to stop its admission.But there was not.In another letter Lowe

indicates the vagueness with which the new subject was then conceived,a vagueness which has haunted it ever since:

> first I recommend to your notice a subject generally overlooked in our public schools and that is,what do you think?..the English Language,the language of Bacon and Shakespeare...is it not time that we who speak the language,read that language...should know something about it.(19).

The new subject also had another advantage over its rivals because of what has been called the largely "symbolic nature " of education in the nineteenth century.(20) Arnold makes this symbolic nature clear when he talks of the need to "regard the condition of the classes in dealing with education,but it is right to take into account,not their immediate condition only,but their wants,their destination - above all their evident pressing wants,their evident proximate destinations." The need to take the class structure into account was one of the main factors in the retention of classics in the public schools as a form of class division.That decision was criticised because in the public schools classics often degenerated into rote learning;excluded science ,history and modern languages from the curriculum;and exercised a stranglehold upon higher education.But classics were well able to defend their territory in the public schools until very recently,for pragmatic if no other considerations.(21) As

> G.M.Young pointed out to all complaints of the classical curriculum there was one convincing answer:'there were hundreds of people who could teach it,there was hardly anyone who could teach anything else.'If you want science,'Faraday told a Royal commission 'you must begin by creating science teachers'".(22).

Desperation was aided too by the vigorous restatement of the case for the classics made by T.Arnold who belittled the claims made for its rivals."Physical science alone can never make a man educated;even the formal sciences,valuable as they are with respect to the discipline of reasoning powers cannot instruct the judgment;it is only the moral and the religious knowledge which can accomplish this."(23).

Moreover,as Batsleer (1985) argues,the whole settlement of subject English between 1860-1930 "had been rehearsed almost a century before the curriculum debate in England in the establishment of a curriculum for the imperial dominions."

> For English literature was born as a school and college subject,not in England,but in the mission schools and training colleges of Africa and India.There,too,the primary emphasis falls at the outset on linguistic standardisation and conformity.A minute of 1867 from the Ceylon Committee brings out succinctly both the hegemonic character of the national language and literature and the function they were soon to assume for the subaltern population of the imperial metropolis:'English should be to the natives of Ceylon what Latin is to the natives of Great Britain.'

The proponents of popular education argued for the inclusion of English as the chief component of the middle class curriculum on humanist grounds similar to those advanced by T.Arnold above.English was a successful competitor for this space because one rival,classics,was thought inappropriate and was resented for its association with public school and university exclusiveness,whilst the other,science,aroused anxieties about the advances of godless materialism.Moreover,English, uniquely,lent itself to other uses.At a time of social and political unrest,it was presented as a balm to heal the nation's ills:one nation,one language,one culture.At a time of increasing international competition and a growing awareness of Britain's imperial role,it offered a means of defining national identity.Its emphasis upon personal development was well received in a period when individualism was the dominant philosophy and the decline of religion had left a vacuum which progress and science alone appeared inadequate to fully occupy.Whereas science looked to the future in which promise and fear were uneasily mixed,English was constituted from the past,which was infinitely capable of reassuring representation which stressed continuity.These were the components of a powerful ideology.(24) Williams has shrewdly observed that what is involved is

> "not just a body of writing but a major projection from this,in which the actually very diverse works of

> writers in English are composed into a national identity - the more potent because it is largely from the past - in which a mood,a temper,a style,or a set of immediate 'principles' (which can be contrasted not only with 'theory'but with all other forms of reasoning) are being celebrated,taught and - where possible - administratively imposed.This is a long way from literature in the sense of active and diverse writing.Rather it is a stand,a last redoubt,from which much more general notions of Englishness,of values,of tradition are defended against all comers;...among what can be called,with precision,traditional English literary intellectuals,it is not just a profession;it is,and has sounded like,a calling and a campaign.In its own field it is congruent with much more general reflexes and campaigns of the English ruling class as a whole,whose talk and propagation of 'heritage' have increased in proportion with their practical present failures.(25)

Not all the elements of the ideology were precisely defined during this period of initial occupation.The second stage sees the articulation of a complex discourse expressed with growing confidence with each further extension of education.Initially,and throughout,the subject was evolved for and by the middle classes and thence extended to increasingly large sections of the population.The elaboration of the discourse and the consequent rewriting of history and definition against other discourses was largely the work of Arnold.His upbringing gave him an unusual familiarity with the liberal education advocated by the old fashioned humanists,whilst his profession brought him into constant contact with those of the popular education and industrial training persuasion.His achievement was to offer a diagnossis of society's ills,together with a proposed remedy from a position of supposed neutrality.His views were widely canvassed,not just in Culture and Anarchy,but in a host of articles essays and government reports.No other participant in

the debate occupied such an advantageous position from which to define this concept of literature and its function within education.But his privileged position within Victorian society was also difficult to reconcile with his opposition to some aspects of that society. "The progressive Inspector of Schools and the patrician Professor of Poetry both stand in conflict with conventional bourgeois liberalism:they meet in the aestheticised sociology of "Culture and Anarchy".(Eagleton 1976)

The need for firm authority to stand against disintegrating social forces is a recurrent theme in his work.Strong state action is required in details of educational policy:"it was abundantly apparent that our government moved ,in the matter of public education,as late as it could,that it moved as slowly as it could,as inoffensively as it could".(26) The same need is apparent in the issue of the growing democratisation of society and "the dangers which come from the multitude being in power ,with no adequate ideal to elevate or guide the multitude" are contemplated.(27) The authoritarian note increases with age,and although his advocacy of the Tarpeian Rock to cope with civil disorder is later withdrawn,his fear of revolutionary violence and of the multitude constantly betrays itself.Urbanity frequently slips into hysteria and misrepresentation,as in his treatment of the Hyde Park riots where he sees

> "our playful giant ..beginnning to assert and put into practice an Englishman's rights to do as he likes;his right to march where he likes,enter where he likes,hoot as he likes,threaten as he likes,smash as he likes.All this I say tends towards anarchy."(Culture and Anarchy)

In Arnold's diagnosis it is the middle class who

will be required to exert the necessary authority to sustain stability.Although he labels the three classes with seemingly impartial disparagement - Barbarians,Philistines and Populace - his argument is addressed to the middle class whose hour of inheritance he judges to have arrived:"the era of aristocracies is over....nations must stand or fall by the intelligence of their middle class and people."(28) The people,however,are unprepared,and hence disqualified:

> "the peculiar national form and habit exists in the masses at the bottom of society in a loose and rudimentary potential state.He has not yet solidified into the typical Englishman....who is to be looked for in the middle class."(29)

The educational programme is designed to equip the middle class with the necessary moral and intellectual leadership,as well as material power,to adequately inherit their role as the dominant social group.As Eagleton points out,the nature of this kind of project is well described by Gramsci,almost a century later,in reference to a different social group:

> "alongside the conquest of political power and of economic power,(the proletariat)must,just as it has thought about organising itself for politics and economics,think about organising itself for culture." (Gramsci 1971)

Culture in Arnold's scheme is the instrument by which the hegemony of the middle class is to be established:the means is education.Although he proclaims the men of culture to be the "true apostles of equality",and although he urges the necessity to "take along with us in our progress towards perfection...all our fellow men in the East of London and eslewhere" and deplores the possibility that they might be "left

by us in their degradation and wretchedness",the limits are all too clearly set to these seemingly egalitarian ideas.It is not just that the language used increases in violence with age so that later articulations of the argument talk of 'moulding and assimilating' the lower orders.The plain fact that this is a straightforward cultural imposition is never acknowledged.No other cultural interaction than imposition from above is conceivable.The difficulties encountered led him into increasingly desperate invocations of authority and religion.(30) At root there is always the insistence on the radically differing needs of different societal groups :and the definition of those needs clearly reflect the symbolic nature of the education proposed.For the class frequenting Eton,besides mere book learning,the notion of a sort of republican felllowship,the practice of a plain life in common,the habit of self help;(for the middle class) largeness of souls and personal dignity;to the lower class,feeling,gentleness,humanity....for the children of poverty it is needful first to make their boyhood a joyous one,by gentle usage and friendly confidence upon the part of the master.(31)

For a picture of a society to which such a programme might give rise,he turns to the past,an idealised myth which ignores such inconveniences as slavery:

> "this is why the spectacle of ancient Athens has such profound interest for a rational man:that it is the culture of a people.It is not an aristocracy,leavening with its high spirit the multitude which it wields,but leaving it the unformed multitude still;it is not a democracy,acute,energetic,but tasteless,narrow minded and ignoble;it is the upper and middle and lower classes in the highest development of their humanity that these classes have yet reached.It was the many who relished these arts and who were not satisfied with less than those monuments."(32)

Like all such myths of the golden age it offers a rhetorical contrast with which to berate contemporary society and exercises

a consolatory power over those for whom the future is theatening or uncertain.

Given the three societal groups which he identifies and whose continuance he never questions,Arnold sees culture as a social cement,analogous in its operation to religion whose function it has largely assumed."The masses are losing the Bible and religion".Culture becomes a secularised religion:

> "we should conceive of poetry more worthily and more highly than it has been the custom to conceive it....more and more will mankind discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us,to console us,to sustain us.Without poetry,our science will appear incomplete;and most of what now passes for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry."

High claims then are made for culture but substantial questions are avoided.What counts as culture? By whom is it constituted ,and how,and upon what criteria? The answers are taken to be self evident but may be dislodged from the cracks in the texts rather than their main body.Culture for Arnold is predominantly literary,predominantly poetry and poetry of the past.In all his advocacy of literature in education,there is no mention of fiction other than as something to be protected from.The spiritual and essentialist nature of this conception of culture is shown by the use of the characteristically vague but suggestive 'touchstones'.The inherent qualities of such works are taken as self evident in the works upon education,but,as a precaution,the series of critical essays lay down the foundations of what was to become the canon of English literature.

The precise relationship between culture and other aspects of social life is unclear.Poetry is a criticism of life,which suggests a fairly direct connection between social action and culture.But in Arnold's account,culture is a cast of mind - an attitude shaped by contact with the best that has been thought and said - which is brought to bear upon the great questions of the day.It enables the critical examination of our stock notions and ideas in the light of our familiarity with the best that has been thought and said.Action is only possible after the attainment of perfection to which this critical examination contributes.In "Culture and Anarchy"it is seen to operate as a disincentive to any social action aimed at change.The nature of the perfection is equally unclear.Does it mean the attainment of a classical ideal or does it mean something more akin to romantic individualism? His own life of vigorous activity suggests either he felt himself to have attained the necessary state of perfection or that he was inconsistent in his views on culture and action."Literature," he argued,"is the greatest power in education and for its proper dissemination he envisaged the need for 'preachers of culture'.This notion of a clerisy,derived from Coleridge,reflects the continuity of Arnold's thought about authority;state,canon,clerisy - all are firmly authoritarian.(33).

The next stage in the growth of the discourse was consolidation.Under Arnold's influence,English became a specific school subject in 1871 and a compulsory subject in 1882, although

in 1904 it was still defined very loosely in the "Regulations for Secondary Schools" as a "certain number of hours in each week must be given in each year of the course to the group of subjects commonly classed as 'English'and including the English language and literature,geography and history."(34).

This stage of consolidation was largely complete by the time of the publication of the Newbolt Report in 1921.By then,the Arnoldian diagnosis was firmly embodied in educational practice and institutionalisation:it had become a discourse in the Foucauldian sense.The subject was established as a university discipline to meet the staffing needs of the expanded schooling system,to produce,that is,the clerisy recommended by Arnold from amongst the "the women and ...second and third rate men who become schoolmasters".(35) The suffrage (though not the suffragette) movement had rec eded since Arnold,but the Newbolt Report was still very much in response to a social crisis,this time posed by the first world war and the Russian Revolution.Lloyd George was well aware of the challenge to British imperialism during that war of a more efficiently schooled German population (36),and the most influential members of the Newbolt Committee had been reduced to a state of moral panic by the events in Russia in 1917.The rhetoric which they inherited from Arnold,however proved equal to the task which faced them.Whilst conceding the benefits of science,the report asserts:

> what we are looking for is not merely a means of education,one chamber in the structure we are hoping to rebuild,but the true starting point and foundation from which all the rest must spring.For this special purpose there is but one material,we state what appears to us to be an incontrovertible primary fact,that for British children no form of knowledge can take precedence of English,no form of literature can take precedence of English literature;and that the two are so inextricably connected as to form the only basis possible for a national education.
> (Newbolt.1922)

English here has managed to shed the history and geography mentioned earlier as some of its components,and there is an increased emphasis upon literature rather than language.However,the lower status accorded to language is more apparent than real.Between Arnold and Newbolt there had appeared the Oxford Dictionary,which defined language so far as education was concerned.(37)."Before we can have a national literature we must have a national language,a language characterised formally and historically by unity:standard English." The Oxford Dictionary provided not only a

> "basic standard of spelling and usage and pronunciation over the whole range of the national language but also an evolutionary history of that standard.The absolute basis of the school curriculum,the minimum requirement of educational competence was the language of literature.
> (Davis 1980.)

The manifold advantages of this formulation are clear in the Newbolt Report,which marks the "installation of literature,or rather of language-through-literature"(38).Literature is advocated as a diversion from social action,a means to defuse a crisis.As in "Culture and Anarchy",the crisis is referred to only obliquely as

the historical context is briefly set:

> at certain periods or phases of human development,social ,political or religious movements become so all absorbing that art and literature,which interpret the universal through the experience of the individual,tend to be regarded as trivial and unimportant in comparison.Indications of a similar trend are not lacking today.
> (Newbolt.1922)

As in Arnold there is the same recommendation of culture as the means towards a wise passivity:"the social problem is not directly the business of literature,and those who conceive it to be so have failed to appreciate the true function of literature." This true function does not render it useless;it merely severs any socio-political connections that intrude upon the personal:"rightly presented,poetry will be recognised by the most ardent social reformers as of value,because while it contributes no specific solution to the social problems,it endows the mind with powers and sanity:because in a word,it enriches personality."

(Newbolt.1922)

It is the production of subjectivity.

The social problem to which the authors refer is apparent elsewhere in the report.The tendency of "the organised working class" to express antagonism towards literature and to class it with other "futile trivialities of middle class culture" such as "fishknives and anti-macassars" was regretted because it indicated their "alienation from the 'mirthe and confort' of literature." More worrying was the fact that such tendencies "point towards a morbid condition of the body politic,which if not taken in hand,may be followed by lamentable consequences".Many of the younger workers,the Committee found,"see education mainly as something to equip them to fight their capitalistic enemies."(39) In other contexts, committee members employed less carefully coded language.

> Deny to the working class children any share in the immaterial and they will presently grow up into the men who demand with menaces a communism of the material.(40)

Newbolt a year later argued that English would serve to diminish class distinctions and "would make the nation more homogeneous and a greater State."(41) The particular social function of the subject at this time is quite explicit:"to mitigate the class antagonism that is dangerously keen at the moment and shows no signs of losing its edge."(Newbolt.1922)

To help national unification and prevent any possible lurch into revolution,the Newbolt committee adopted

Arnold's notion of the clerisy.The prediction that poetry would replace the social functions of religion in maintaining an orderly society is developed to a fever pitch of crusading zeal in the Newbolt Report.The entire superstructure of education is involved in this crusade "to the teeming population outside the university walls,most of whom have not so much as heard 'whether there be a Holy Ghost.' "It is,as Batsleer et al(1985) argue,"a distinctive combination of elevated moral tone and conscious instrumentality,"that runs from the mid-Victoriandays to the present.

> literature consists of all the books - and they are not so many - where moral truth and human passion are touched with a certain largeness,sanity and attraction of form....This is what makes literature,rightly sifted and rightly studied,not the mere elegant trifling that it is so often and so erroneously supposed to be,but a proper instrument for a systematic training of the imagination and sympathies,and of a genial and varied moral sensibility.
> (Morley 1887.cited Palmer 1965)

With all the strident confidence of those leading a campaign from the safety of GHQ,secure in the knowledge that they themselves will never see active service,the authors of the Newbolt Report spell out the necessities for the task.

> "The ambassadors of poetry must be humble,they must learn to call nothing unclean - not even the local dialect,the smoky pall of industrial centres."

Surviving the risk of contamination would be difficult for these preachers,and the task of inoculating others from the ravages surrounding them,even harder:

> "the great difficulty of the teachers in the elementary schools is that they have in many districts to fight against the powerful habits of speech contracted in the home and street.The teacher's struggle is thus not with ignorance,but with a perverted power.This makes their work harder,but it must also make their zeal the fiercer."

Sociolinguists were not the first to make the connection between language and power.(42)

In many ways the Newbolt Report represents the highpoint of the ideology of English.Later social changes temper the extravagant religiose language and render the references to class division more muted,but the essential terms of the discourse remain and they echo down the years through Spens,Hadow,Newsome and Bullock,and as we have seen,Scarman and contemporary politicians.

The third stage of the discourse reveals a narrowing of focus but an increased intensity.There was an acceptance of English,"a pedagogically determined articulation of the standard language and national literature" (Batsleer 1985) as "a condition of school life" (43) after Newbolt,but the third stage ,associated with Leavis and the Scrutiny project represents a typical process of specialisation and professionalisation of a discourse.After the first world war,a widespread social and intellectual re-alignment originated in the universities,particularly Cambridge,but was swiftly carried into schools where it largely persists.

Although admitted as a university discipline by the 1920s to fulfil the demand for suitably qualified teachers in the expanded education system,English lacked the academic credibility of either classics or philology,its nearest discursive rivals.It was further impaired by the patrician and cavalier attitudes of its founding professors.(44) In the post war social and intellectual upheaval,the gentlemanly pursuit of English,taught by men and studied mostly by women,with no clearer principles than those of taste,was challenged by the more professional demand of a university intake of very different social origins.This group predominantly lower middle class,non conformist,and often with war experience behind them more substantial than the racist and jingoistic propaganda produced by some of their professors,contested the amateurish arrangments which they found.(45) It was not so much that they challenged the vacuous rhetoric encapsulated in such comments as

> Can you not give them,in their short years at school,something to sustain their souls in the long Valley of Humiliation?
> (Quiller Couch 1920)

Rather,the new group insisted that the rhetoric was lived by.They even questioned the inevitability of the Valley of Humiliation,whose existence and necessity,however unsightly,their predecessors had never doubted.They were,in short,an oppositional group,with radical views about society

and an evangelical desire to change it.Their limitation was to attempt to do so in a political vacuum.Their challenge to the orthodoxy which they found was nonetheless successful in giving the final shape to the ideology of English.The radicalism waned,but the specialisation remained.As Ransom (1934) put it:

> Rather than occasional criticism by amateurs,I should think the whole enterprise might be seriously taken in hand by professionals.Perhaps I use a distasteful figure,but I have the idea that what we need is Criticism Inc.,or Criticism Ltd..(46).

Just as there had been a space in the school curriculum in the 1870s,so,in the immediate post-war period,there was a space unfilled in the university curriculum which English came to occupy.No classical sociology had developed in this country as it had done in most other European countries during the nineteenth century.Classics appeared increasingly irrelevant in the post-war period,and developments in English philosophy at the time led to its dislodgement as the central discipline in the humanities.English as a subject per se was inadequate to possess the unstable area,but the achievement of the Scrutiny project was to create the discipline of literary criticism,whose function was defined in terms precisely calculated to exclude potential rivals from the field of social sciences and to usurp earlier claimants such as classics and philology.Davies (1980) puts the point well:

> it's not simply a question of literary ideology 'inventing'literature like a criminal inventing an

> alibi.The relation is mutually productive and reproductive:each depends upon the other,makes the other visible,as a necessary condition of its own existence and effect.Obviously literary criticism - the name by which literary ideology most commonly goes - cannot exist without literature.But the reverse is equally true:literature cannot exist without literary criticism.

They were successful because,in Gramsci's terms,they organised themselves for culture.Each of the key terms in Arnold's diagnosis was sharpened,organised into a powerful intellectual system and disseminated by the same means advocated by him,namely education.So far as the clerisy was concerned,the vague conception of " men of culture" as the "true apostles of equality" was transformed into a concrete programme,fiercely meritocratic,for the creation of an elite.

> "Scrutiny concentrated its energies upon an attempt to organise the teaching community by a strategic emphasis upon the sector of higher education where teachers are produced." (Mulhern 1979).

The new discipline of literary criticism gave this an infinitely sharper edge than Arnold's conception,and much greater militancy.Their expressed aim was "the formation of a homogeneous ,institutionalised but non academic,socially disinterested but militant clerisy." An early advertisment for the magazine indicates how little the project was concerned to cultivate patience in the Valley of Humiliation:"Standards in criticism ,revolution in education."(47) Knights,an influential member of the group,states clearly the oppositional nature of the programme:

> our educational programme has been conceived from the first in terms of a radical criticism of existing society,including,we may say,its economic and social ordering...it is precisely by unfitting his pupils for the environment...that education can hope to change it and to change it more radically than if he had concentrated upon political issues alone.

Thompson is equally,if more bluntly,categoric:"the true purpose of education should be to turn out misfits,not spare parts."(48).Central to this task of the creation of an elite was the "formation of an educational centre that would become potent in public life,not merely by resisting,but positively checking and controlling contemporary society." (Mulhern 1979).It was the university English school that would maintain and guarantee disinterested standards.

Another of Arnold's key terms to be given sharper definition by the Scrutiny project was that of "touchstones." The early professors had gathered together an eclectic inventory of the best that had been thought and said,an enormous corpus that had been formally organised into 'an ordnance survey map of national culture',the Cambridge History of English Literature as a direct parallel to the linguistic map drawn up in the Oxford Dictionary.From this assemblage the Scrutiny project took a small selection of texts and writers to form the canon,precisely defined material with which the clerisy could meet its task.Individual judgments have been challenged since,but it remains the essential reference point.(49) Allied to this selection was its justification by literary critical

methods,which introduced an almost causal relationship between a work and its effects upon an audience,methods which have proved as enduring as the canon they served to define.(50).

A further inheritance from Arnold was a social diagnosis which posited a contrast between culture and civilisation.In works such as Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture (1930) and Fiction and the Reading Public,(Q.D.Leavis.1932) Arnold's diagnosis was given a keener edge that made it practical in the classroom.(51).The central object of attention in this diagnosis was the community of customs,values and beliefs that were undertstood to be the esential unifying principle in society.The ultimate foundations of the social order were spiritual in nature and could not be explained by merely rationalist systems,indeed they were in the process of being destroyed by them.Civilisation is concerned with quantities and means,culture with qualities and ends.To sustain this view,various periods in the past were characterised as having been organic communities,untroubled by cultural social or other forms of division.(52) These were contrasted unfavourably with the alienated ,fragmented and increasingly meaningless society created by the industrial revolution.The culture of the past had to be protected from the ravages of contemporary civilisation by a consciously active way of accounting for "life and death in industrial society without

necessarily invoking the class war,historic necessity or a materialistic universe." Bell (1976) refers to mass society theory ,of which this is one variant,as the most influential idea of modern time,with the exception of Marxism which it was specifically formed to combat.(53) The theory furnished literary studies with

> "an enviable social warrant and directly legitimated the expansion of criticism into new territories of study ...and the human disciplines as a whole where it underwrote the privileged status of education as a site of corrective social change".

The cultural institutions of industrial capitalism were thus opened up to critical analysis by comparison of its products with those of earlier more organic communities.Pupils were to be inoculated against,or unfitted for,their environment by pointing to the manner in which artefacts of a mass civilisation exerted a dehumanising influence upon their audience.But the Scrutiny project's hostility to the real and damaging limitations of industrial society,the source of its constant appeal for over half a century to the left,offers no alternative social order,other than a mythicised English past.Equally fatally,it denied the pleasures afforded by the artefacts of the present.(54) It acts thus as the "impotent idealist conscience of capitalism" by refusing to acknowledge that political problems have been redefined as cultural problems.In their concentration upon the human,the development of personality ,any political component was

written out of Scrutiny's discourse.

> "Ever and above and beyond politics itself,'culture' was a permanent meta-political sanction,the tribunal before which all politics stood judged in the name of 'the human.'". (Mulhern.1979)

Mulhern maintains that this "categorial dissolution of politics as such" was a logically necessary effect of the dialectic of culture and civilisation.Williams (1965) agrees that "the concept of a cultivated minority set over against a decreated mass,tends,in its assertion,to a damaging arrogance and scepticism.The concept of a wholly satisfying and organic past to be set against a disintegrating and dissatisfying present,tends,in its neglect of history,to a denial of real social experience." It is not just that there is little evidence to support the notion of a past that conforms to the organic community pattern.As an account of social change,the theory explains nothing.Even if a past organic community were found,mass society theory quite fails to account for its disintegration .The destruction of such societies is always seen as the result of some extraneous force,such as the franchise,changed modes of production or the like.But where in turn do they come from? What need is there for change in an organic society? What is the need for change if all is free of contradiction and tension?

The struggle for English "as a discipline of thought" (55) was long and contentious,but the essential

terms were accepted even by opponents and the debate has rarely moved outside limits set by Leavis.But "the institutionalisation of post-war English was a contradictory process,in which Scrutiny simultaneously won and lost....to the extent that the new English gained in security and general prestige,the old militancy seemed unnecessary and even insupportable." (Mulhern 1979).Increasingly,it became a force of reactionary and conservative thought in social ,educational and literary concerns.(56) Although "no more militant courageous and consistent project is to be found in the history of literary criticism,"

> "the objective limits of Scrutiny's revolt had now been reached.It had been an essentially petit bourgeois revolt directed against a cultural order that it could not fundamentally alter or replace...It was accordingly a moralistic revolt from within the given culture:bearer not of an alternative order but of the insistence that the existing order should live by its word." (Eagleton.1976)

The comprehensivisation of secondary schooling exposed the project's elitist assumptions to intolerable strain;sociolinguistics challenged the unifying power of literature;and sociology of education increasingly undercut the reliance upon sensitive response with evidence of the importance of social class in educational attainment.As Anderson suggests,(57),there was one crucial precondition in Leavis' epistemology:

> "a shared system of beliefs and values.Without this no loyal exchange and report is possible.If the basic formation and outlook of readers diverges,their experiences will be incommensurable.Leavis' whole method presupposes,in fact,a morally and culturally

unified audience."
Recent developments in literary theory have proved even more damaging .(58)

Although currently beset with theoretical difficulties,the discourse of English still holds extensive sway, as the works reviewed in chapter 3 indicate.Scrutiny was essentially a minority grouping,and one that did not keep or make friends easily.But the intervention of quite different theoretical perspectives since structuralism has shown the extent of the Scrutiny project's success.Many,including the teachers involved in this study,who would lay claim to little familiarity with,or knowledge of, Leavis share his assumptions about literature.(59).Like M.Jourdain,there are many who had not realised they had been speaking prose all the time. "Hostility to theory," as Eagleton (1983) reminds us,"usually means an opposition to other peoples' theories and an oblivion to one's own." The unconscious theoretical assumptions of many teachers are still those laid down by the Scrutiny project,and the primary function of literature is still "as it was for Arnold,Newbolt and Eliot 'to purify the dialect of the tribe' and to provide an absolute discursive authority for the educational and social prestige of standard English." (Batsleer 1985).(60) The "moment of scrutiny" may have passed,but the residue is substantial.We are into a fourth stage of the discourse,dissolution.The contradictions have become insuppportable.There remains the

question of what will contend for that space.That will be the subject of chapter 9.The next section of this chapter turns in the meanwhile to consider some elements in the re-alignment.

iii)the sociology of culture.

> the true crisis in cultural theory,in our time,is between this view of the work of art as object and the alternative view of art as a practice.....The relationship between the making of a work of art and the reception is always active,and subject to conventions,which in themselves are forms of changing social organisation and relationship,and this is radically different from the production and consumption of an object.....We have to break from the common proceedure of isolating the object and discovering its components.On the contrary we have to discover the nature of a practice and then its conditions.
> (Williams.1980)

If we reject the Scrutiny and Arnoldian analysis of culture what others are open to us? This section considers some alternatives ways of conceptualising the relationshp between art and society.Recent political ,social and intellectual developments have made clear both the ideological nature and limitations of subject English.Doyle (1982) argues that "'English' normally tends to nullify the possibility of any substantial understanding of either the social forces which have brought such writings about,or their later,selective and variable use and appropriation." But he doubts whether "those dominant ideological forces which have generated a sense of 'English' as an integrated set of manifestations of the national character,and then as a casebook of literary value,can be counteracted within the ambit of a literary education as presently constituted." The

conclusions reached by Barnes and Barnes (1984) in their study about the professional ethos of secondary English teachers supports that comment:

> English teachers' own academic experience has normally been based upon literary criticism,and this profoundly affects school English curricula even though they include kinds of writing unlikely to occur in university courses.Taken together ,the commitment view of schooling,and the pre-conceptions of a literary criticism still (in schools at least) deeply influenced by the Leavis tradition,have led to an ethical interpretation of the English teacher's responsibilities.In essence,this is the culmination of romantic individualism,the cultivation of personal vision as a private achievement as if separated from the social contexts which nurture it.In this rhetoric,reading is the individual's unique response to a work of literature,writing the opportunity to generate and explore a unique vision:for a few pupils the rhetoric is made real.

Recognition of "the hidden history of English" is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the investigation of adolescent readership.(61) Cautious scepticism may afford a measure of protection against the pitfalls of ideology but not the requisite analytic tools.We require other ways of thinking about texts,readers and readings,ones that are informed by a sociological perspective.

Unfortunately,much early work on the relationship between art and society,for example Taine,Plekhanov or even Lukacs,tended to the reductive,mystificatory or fragmented.Hence the strident opposition by the Scrutiny project to any attempt by sociology or a sociologically informed criticism ,to deal

with the relationship between literature and society.Leavis disputed the right of sociology to enter the autonomous realm of literature;challenged its capacity to match the truth value of literature;and asserted the ability of the literary imagination to transcend,because of its greater creativity,any of the socio-historical co-ordinates or determinants which sociology could produce.(62) Nor did his attitude to philosophy,in particular to Wittgenstein,allow much help from that quarter to filter through to English studies.(63) The reductionism of sociology and the relativism of philosophy strengthened the commitment of mainstream literary critical thought to the alternative sociology of culture produced largely by Q.D.Leavis.(64).

This work identified three crucial elements in the art/society relationship:the genesis of the novel's production;the creation and composition of audiences;and the role of mediators in society.Although this work accurately pinpoints some of the areas for analysis,its value is restricted,not so much by its outmoded social scientific methods,as by its unquestioned assumptions about the nature of literature and mass society.It remains a persuasive and persistent formulation,however,as may be seen in the study by Gedin (1982) which traces the disintegration of what is taken to be "a remarkably homogeneous bourgeois reading public" throughout Europe and gloomily foretells the end of literature as we know it.The decline is attributed to the

conquest of European publishing houses by multi-national combines,insistent upon selling books as if they were no different from margerine;to increased affluence;and to more widespread egalitarian and pluralist thought that has failed to sustain the proper distinctions between bourgeois culture and barbarism or commercialisation.Whilst the empirical evidence in the study is meticulous in comparison with the earlier work which inspired it,the analysis is essentially in terms of mass society theory and is subject to all the criticisms earlier rehearsed.

For the rest,mainstream literary criticism in this country,insofar as it has interested itself in the art/society relationship (or reception and function of literature),has concentrated upon social influences upon the artistic form.Knights' work on Jonson (65) for example "attempts to relate the specific ethical,political and social content of the plays ,not to an abstaction such as the mode of production,but both to social groups within the mode of production and the partially autonomous cultural superstructure".Watts (1957) relates the development of the novel form to the changes in consciousness of an increasingly confident bourgeois class,whilst Sutherland's (1976 and 1978) examination of the relationship between Victorian novelists and their publishers also reflects an interest in the means of production and the actual cultural

form.

Until recently,the area has been of only peripheral interest to British sociologists whose attention has been firmly fixed upon "the hard stuff of the sociology of class,industry or knowledge." (Williams 1981) Mann's work is therefore something of an exception,but his findings indicate that the sociology of art does indeed have a bearing upon the more traditional concerns of sociology.His surveys of the book reading public,financed by the book trade and with obvious relationships to market research, comprise the most detailed information we have about post school readership.In the first study (1971) he summarises what little is known about the contemporary book audience

> readers are young,have gone beyond the statutory school leaving age and belong to the higher socio-economic groups.

He sees education as the key factor in determining whether people read books in later life,but his school visits left him pessimistic as to whether schools made any significant modification of adverse home factors.He also offers an ideal typical model of the uses of reading based upon a work/leisure continuum.This is more useful than Whitehead's quality distinction,in that it focusses upon questions of audience and consumption - upon reading as a practice,but it is unable to deal at all with the actual readings produced.

His second study is more informative about the details of audience composition and behaviour.It

investigates the means by which people learn about the books which they eventually read or buy,and it assesses the effectiveness of the various points of access to books which are open to people.He concludes:

> To the person who is accustomed to having books given to him,who uses books for his work and enjoys them during his leisure time,it may seem inconceivable that people can live without seeing books.Yet it is clearly not difficult to exist as an adult in a world where books are rarely seen.Clearly at school it is not possible to avoid some contact with books..but once schooling has ended,home ,work and leisure can easily be bookless.

There is interesting evidence too which details the social and material infrastructure necessary to sustain readers as a social group:the immensely varied provision of bookshops in the country,the proportion of people who use them,the lack of book advertsising in the popular press,the use of book tokens and the difficulty of finding shops which stock bookcases."What is clear,"he concludes,"is that a great deal of information of all kinds is restricted to those people who in general are already within book culture."

The findings in regard to public library usage are of interest in any consideration of the formation of readers and how they are to be sustained after the end of compulsory schooling.

> The library users represent a broader social cross section of the general public than the bookshop customers,but even though the library attracts more people from the lower ranks of the managerial and supervisory types of occupation and also from the the higher manual occupations of a technical and supervisory type,it still does not

> get very far with the bulk of the ordinary manual occupations.This means that the library users ,whilst not so middle class in occupation ,and with lower educational backgrounds than the bookshop users,are still a cut above the general population.The library users contain a good proportion of young people and about two out of five borrowers are under 25 years of age,but again the bookshop customers have even more young people and these young people are more often in higher education,particularly at university.So the library users are older,of lower social status and educational attainment than the bookshop customers.But this is a high level comparison and compared with the general population the library users are of higher educational attainment and social status.

The picture that emerges is reminiscent of Williams' recent judgment (1983) that "even today,after more than a century of general literacy,it would be wrong to say that there is effectively equal access to written and printed material or anything like effectively equal opportunities to contribute to it.There are important individual differences in this,but there also basic social differences."(66) Mann conducted a more detailed audience study on behalf of Mills and Boon,the fiction romance publishers.He found these readers to be predominantly middle class and well aware of the nature of the fictions they bought,striking disconfirmation,he claims,of the conventional wisdom which views them as the passive dupes of exploitative commercialism.Indeed he points to the unusually close relationship between publishers and audience,sustained by invited correspondence.His work,clearly of relevance to education,is ignored in most of the works reviewed in the previous chapter:it inhabits a different world of discourse.

On the continent,however,where social sciences claimed a discursive space earlier,there is a longer tradition of sociological interest in this area.Escarpit (1958) in France has worked in a similar area to Mann.He,too,is interested in the social infrastructure that sustains readership.His findings suggest that wide variations in the distribution of readers,both socially and regionally,may best be accounted for by education and a badly functioning market economy.Publishing firms,for example,were shown to be more efficient in the publication than distribution of books,and only averted financial crisis,in a situation where two thirds of their products made a loss,by the subsidy provided from the sale of an increasingly large proportion of books to the captive audience supplied by courtesy of the state education system.(67)

He also makes an interesting distinction between two circuits of readers:the cultivated and the popular.According to Escarpit,the cultivated circuit of readers is defined more by education and interests than by class,is exclusive and largely served by specialist bookshops which are expected to provide a comprehensive range of books for which there is an insufficiently broad consumer base.Over production occurs as a result of this imbalance and causes further dependence upon the education market and the popular circuit of readers.This latter has a

distribution system geared to those whose reading habits are unformed and casual."The lack of socially adjusted producers,the surrender of initiative to the distributor,the infinite and anonymous demands of a public that remains unknown,but which consumes...leads to a wearing away and mechanisatiin of the literary forms and to an alienation of the cultural life of the masses." Although this work has the virtue of making the connections between audiences,economics and education,it is an analysis akin to that offered by the writers in the Frankfurt school,a radical inflection of mass society theory which ultimately falls victim to the same limitations as the Scrutiny project.(68)

In Germany the tradition of sociologically informed criticism is even stronger.(69) Schucking,for example,(1944) takes as his premise that taste is the product of a highly complex process "in which a variety of forces,some ideological,some highly material,contend with one another and ultimately produce something that is far from immune to the actions of chance." Such changes do not occur in a manner analagous to Darwinian natural selection,or through the operation of the spirit of the age;it is not "the works of art,or the forms that decide between themselves,but human beings." There is no sense in his work of the autonomous realm of literature,but neither does he fall into the trap of losing any grasp of the specificity of the work of art.(70) His interest is in the social processes by which changes of taste occur.

> It is a great mistake to suppose that taste gives place to a new one.What happens is not as a rule that taste is modified,but that other persons become the advocates of a new taste.Amongst these others,in great revolutions of taste,another social stratum is directly involved...only constancy of the social structure guarantess a certain constancy of taste.As medieval chivalry went under,it was followed by the poems that supported its social ideals."

He concludes that "like politics,the life of art consist of a struggle to enlist followers" and that in that struggle "education plays a crucial role in our society." It is a far cry from the jeremiad tones adopted in many of the official publications reviewed in the previous chapter.

Until recently in this country,with the notable exception of Williams' work,the connections between education,literature and sociology have hardly been drawn.But another change is now under way,comparable to that which led to the creation of literary critical discourse in the 1920s to fill the empty spaces in higher education.The deficiencies of that discourse have been revealed by the advent of structuralism,post-structuralism and post-Althusserian Marxism,and this has opened up a space for another discourse whose formation is as yet incomplete.As before,there are a number of contenders for the new area of convergence.Giddens (1979) describes the situation with clarity:

> Although the dominant tradition in the social sciences was one that set out to ape the natural sciences,few sociologists either knew much about natural sciences,or were well read in the literature of the philosophy of science.Fewer still paid any attention to aesthetics or literary

> criticism:the suggestion that these might have some bearings upon the problems of sociology,or vice versa,would have been treated with scorn and incomprehension.All this has changed.Social theory is now the meeting ground of the philosophy of science and poetics:at the same time,these influences have transformed,and themselves been changed by new conceptions of the character and goals of social analysis.Marxist writings have been at the centre of such transformations,although the discussions have by no means been dominated by Marxists.(71)

Although it includes work in cultural studies,literary theory and various branches of sociology,I shall refer to this area as the sociology of culture.In doing so,I follow Williams argument (1981) that it is important to recognise it as an area of convergence.

> It is an attempt to rework,from a particular set of interests,those general social and sociological ideas within which it has been possible to see communications,language and art as peripheral,or at best as secondary and derived social processes.

This convergence has a complex genealogy,but it is nonetheless a convergence upon a quite specific area that

> is concerned with all signifying systems,and necessarily and centrally concerned with manifest cultural practices and production....It requires new kinds of social analysis of specifically cultural institutions and formations,and the exploration of actual relations between these and,on the one hand,the material means of production and,on the other,actual cultural forms. (Williams.1981)

Although there had been culturalist elements in the Scrutiny project,the opportunity for a systematic sociology of culture was first opened up by the linguistic revolution of Saussure. "The recognition that meaning is not something 'expressed' or 'reflected' in language:it is produced by it" radically altered earlier conceptions of the status and function of literature.As structuralism began "to

re-think everything through once again in terms of linguistics" (Jameson 1972),there occurred a "remorseless demystification of literature."(Eagleton 1983).No longer was it possible to sustain its status as a uniquely privileged discourse,since it was but one signifying system amongst many,a realisation which prompted further questions from social scientists as to why and how it had attained that privileged position in the first place.The definition of literature shared by almost all the publications reviewed in the previous chapter became untenable because founded upon a tautology;the idea that a literary work has a single coherent meaning was rendered equally unstable;and the account of human subjectivity,upon which literature's claim to the central position in the curriculum was largely predicated,was undercut.

The structuralist insight that it is a language system as a whole that constitutes meaning,and that many social practices may be seen to operate in the manner of language systems,was paralleled by developments in contemporary Marxism.The crucial relationship between base and superstructure that was proposed in early,'vulgar',Marxism was an essentially reflective model (72),but post-Althusserian.. Marxism re-writes that relationship as an altogether more complex and mutual interaction.This account allows for

> the ideological character of works of art and cultural products to be recognised as extremely

> complex,their determination by economic andnomi
> material factors mediated both by the exby t
> and composition of social groups and by thend t
> and inter-relationships of their ideologi ide
> consciousness.(73)

Its similarity with structuralist accounts of languapf l in its stress upon "the functioning of the systeme s totality....and it does not allow the part to be dis to in isolation from the whole,or the unit in isolatior iso the process." It was precisely these kinds of separa of of readers from their institutional contexts,of reader, of their readings and of fiction reading in schools from ools social concerns about the extent and nature of liter of our society - that constitute the weaknesses of many o of works reviewed in the previous chapter.

Althusser assigns immense importance tort ideological state apparatuses" whose function in our s in is the origins and transmission of ideology:"the ideol the state apparatus which has been installed in the do t position in mature capitalist social formation imat educational state apparatus."This,together with r catalytic idea of hegemony derived from the work of Gworl (74) and the materialist theory of language proposed irop recently recovered work of Bakhtin (75) give 75) opportunity for the first time of developing a opi materialist theory of artistic products pro practices,for,paradoxically,as Williams argues,e ar attempts had been insufficiently materialisteri developments within contemporary Marxism have h

course,gone without challenge (76),but the transformation described by Giddens remains solid enough to make inconceivable,or at least ineffectual, any return to the starting point those critics regret ever having left and within which so many of the works earlier reviewed were conceived.

The clear gains from these developments are new modes of enquiry,as outlined by Wolff (1981 and 1983) and Williams (1981) and the restoration of connections between areas previously conceived as separate intellectual universes.Now,it seems,"everything is connected with everything else."(77) The links between such seemingly disparate areas as "reluctant readers" at school,technical advances in printing or video,the author as producer of fictions and bearer of ideologies,and the variable distribution of socio-economic privilege are open to a coherent approach which acknowledges their interrelatedness.Such an approach takes the cultural realm to be no less subject than the economic one to Marx's dictum that "consumption completes production." Analysis of cultural practices that examines the processes of production,mediation,reception (or consumption) and reproduction is relevant to education which is implicated in all of them.

The processes of mediation and reproduction

are of most immediate concern here,and the issue of reception is taken up later in chapter 9,but it is worth looking briefly at the influence of this approach upon thought about the production of artistic works,given the premium placed upon creativity in contemporary educational thought.Liberal hhumanism views artistic production as the expression of individual genius,which,if sufficiently original,modifies the tradition within which it is conceived and transcends the limitations of its times.It is,in its authentic manifestations,at once the expression and exploration of individuality and the self.The sociology of culture,however,relativises this bourgeois aesthetic and insists upon the work of art as a social at least as much as an individual product.Originality is not a peculiar quality of the artistic act,but is "a retrospective judgment on its product or form";any work of art owes at least as much to inherited cultural conventions and rules,consciously or unconsciously adhered to,as to the actual artist.Insofar as it is the transformation of raw material by material means,it is akin to other forms of labour.It has no monopoly of creativity for all labour is essentially creative.(78) Labour is the basic necessary human activity and insofar "as it is not distorted,forced or alienated,it is a free creative activity".The processes by which artistic labour comes to be so distorted and alienated later than,and in different ways from,other forms of labour ,so that it

acquires a distinctive status and function,are both demonstrable and amenable to sociological analysis.(79).

Wolff (1981) proposes three broad headings for investigation in the sociology of culture:technology;economic factors and social institutions.These are the social and institutional co-ordinates of artistic practice.Although the first two are undoubtedly of importance in regard to fiction and adolescents (80),it is the third which is of most direct relevance here.In common with Hauser (1983) and Williams (1981),Wolff attributes three roles to social institutions in regard to the arts:they recruit and train artists;they offer patronage of various kinds ;and they act as mediators.It is the school's function as mediator of fiction that most concerns us here.(81).

Most of the studies mentioned above specify schools as agencies of mediation only in the most general way.Their main concern is with editors,publishers,librarians and critics,with mediation of a first level kind that is nearest to the point of production.Because curriculum is a selection from culture, schools,however,are involved in a second level mediation that is equally important in the chain that links production and consumption.So far as fiction is concerned,schools may be seen in the same light as gatekeepers and other agencies of control in institutions and bureaucracies.If the first level of mediation determines

the selection of books for publication,together with their form and content,and the direction of a certain number towards the educational market,schools play an important role in second level mediation to their students.The school's selection,presentation and attribution of particular significances to certain works of fiction is a process of accreditation and valuation.It also involves,as chapter 9 will argue,the production of particular kinds of audiences and readings for those texts.Mediation is an active process which affords a degree of autonomy to participants.Schools do more than simply act as flow controls or censors in the movement of books from producers to consumers.Texts are negotiated ,re-interpreted,appropriated and put to work for particular purposes all the way down the chain of distribution.They are always appropriated by their readers to produce readings,which are situated socially and historically,for a wide diversity of purposes which cannot easily be predicted.(82) The school as agent of mediation has been the focus of a number of recent studies at both macro and micro level.

One of the most influential analyses of the school as agent of mediation is that developed by Bourdieu.In contrast with Bernstein (83) whose work concentrates upon the modes of cultural transmission

Bourdieu's work is an analysis at the macro level of the structural context of transmission.His early empirical work showed that the French people who participate in culture,by which he meant the consumers of new novels ,operas,art exhibitions and plays, belonged predominantly to the higher socio-economic groups.

> "The structure of the distribution according to the extent to which they are consumers of culture corresponds to the structure of distribution according to the hierarchy of economic capital and power."

These findings led him,initially,to develop a sociological theory of art reception,and thence to an abstract,complex theory of cultural reproduction,influenced by Althusser (1971) in which he describes the education system as a key Ideological State Apparatus.In this he is concerned "not to reveal the epistemological shakiness of aesthetic judgment,but to attack its exploitation for social purposes." (Douglas 1981) His conclusion is that "what the education system hands on,and demands,is an aristocratic culture,and above all an aristocratic relationship to it."(Bourdieu 1976)

In essence,his argument is that the dominant socio-economic group maintain their hegemony by the imposition through the education system which they control,of their particular cultural arbitrary upon everyone.Other subordinate cultures are marginalised and unrecognised.

The worship of culture by the ruling class is

> probably less disinterested than might appear,since it confers upon the privileged the supreme privilege:that of not appearing privileged in their own eyes.Moreover culture is,for bourgeois society in its present phase,what other modes of legitimisation of the social order and of the hereditary transmission of privilege were for social groups which differed as much by the specific form taken by class antagonism as by the nature of the privilege transmitted.Since he cannot invoke rights of birth (historically refused by his class to the aristocracy) or rights of nature (a weapon once directed against the distinctions practised by the nobility but which might backfire on bourgeois 'distinction') nor yet by ascetic virtues which enabled the first generation of entrepreneurs to justify success by merit,the heir to bourgeois privilege must appeal to the anti-natural idea of a birth-linked culture,a 'gift 'or grace in which is rooted the certitudo salutis of the bougeois employer and administrator
> (.Bourdieu 1971 cited Macdonald 1977)

The appreciation of works of art in the dominant culture presupposes a lengthy and specialised training,only the latter stages of which are completed by formal education.The early training necessary for the successful appropriation of works of art is acquired only through the family,and only in those families which have a relationship of familiarity with the dominant culture.It is for this reason that culture becomes the monopoly of

> "the social classes capable of transmitting by their own means,that is to say,by that diffuse and continuous educational action which operates within cultured families (often unknown to those responsible for it and to those who are subjected to it),the instruments necessary for the reception of its message"

The product of this early training he designates "cultural capital",a phrase which conveys both its value and the manner in which it is employed.Although school purports to

make culture freely available to all within society,it in fact does nothing to alleviate the huge inequalities in the distribution of cultural capital that result from class differences.In the first place although school claims to offer a neutral self evidently universal culture,it is in fact the culturally arbitrary imposition of the dominant socio-economic group.All other potential contenders are excluded.Moreover,even this offer is not as transparently neutral as at first sight appears,for what is offered to all pupils is the cultural goods themselves,not the requisite means of appropriating them.School presupposes that pupils have the wherewithal to take advantage of their offer

> An educational system which puts into practice an implicit pedagogic action,requiring initial familiarity with the dominant culture,and which proceeds by imperceptible familiarisation,offers information and training which can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of the culture.By doing away with giving explicitly to everyone what it implicitly demands of everyone,the educational system demands of everyone alike that they have what it does not give.This consists mainly of linguistic and cultural competence and that relationship of familiarity with culture which can only be produced by family upbringing when it transmits the dominant culture.

The whole process appears natural to beneficiaries and victims alike.Those who have received through their family the necessary training,cash in their cultural capital in exchange for academic success in a schooling system which purports to be based upon individual merit.Those from less privileged circumstances are puzzled

by the cultural goods on offer,unaware that they lack the requisite means of appropriation.In their bafflement they either eliminate themselves from further educational progress by attributing their difficulties to their own deficiencies,or they are selected out of further progress by the school itself which makes a similar judgment of their abilities and sets them on towards their destination in the lower occupational groups whence they are likely to have come.In this account of interlocking cultural and social reproduction,literature has a quite specific function:it is part of the means whereby the dominant class maintains its hegemony.Its effectiveness is ensured by all the participants' unconsciousness of its operation.Both groups ,that is,legitimate what they think has happened in an ostensibly neutral system.Social hierarchies are transformed ,through the agency of culture,into academic ones and thence back again into social hierarchies.An act of symbolic violence.A far cry from the optimistic liberal views of schooling characterised by Rosen (1981) as Liberty Hall.But is this high structuralist account of the relationship between literature,education and society any more satisfactory?

The reliance upon Althusser's idea of relative autonomy makes Bourdieu's account susceptible of two interpretations.(84) "The central point of relative autonomy is not that it marks the severing of any connection

between schooling and production...but that any such connection is indirect,mediated and complex." The pessimist can argue that the relative autonomy of the school makes it all the more powerful as an institution because its supposed neutrality enables it to transform naked power into legitimate authority.A cultural arbitrary becomes simply culture:the result is a system whose injustice one can deplore but do little to change.It proposes an efficient closed system akin to an engine of perpetual motion.A seventeenth century writer describes,with some enthusiasm,the pessimist's view of Bourdieu's theory in operation.

> Specially prepared books should be provided to each class,and these should contain the whole subject matter of the literary,moral and religious instruction prescribed for the class.Within these limits no other book should be needed,and by their aid the desired results should infallibly be obtained...The whole process,too,will be as free from friction as is the movement of a clock whose motive power is supplied by weights.It will be as pleasant to see education carried out on my plan as to look at an automatic machine of this kind,and the process will be as free from failure as are those mechanical contrivances when skilfully made.(85)

According to this hard-line view of cultural determinism "the conditions necessary for breaking down the reproduction cycle and levelling out the social and cultural inequalities which the school confirms and transforms,..must lie in a change in class structure and the power-relations inherent in it.Whatis being reproduced must change,therefore,before the mechanisms and strategies of reproduction through

culture and education can be radically transformed".(Macdonald 1977).But this view,very similar to Bowles and Gintis' (1976) correspondence theory of economic determinism,is heavily over determined.It accounts for neither consciousness,change nor interaction within the system.It gives adequate acknowledgement to neither history nor human agency.Nor,as Rosen (1981) argues,does it begin to do justice to the great diversity of teachers working within the system,many of whom are not imperceptive passive dupes of the system but do contest it and win precious spaces within which "honest dialogue can happen and communicative power be extended." Certainly there are features of the system which lend credence to the pessimistic view:"consider the social composition of GCE streams,of sixth forms of university departments,and the separated meanings run irresistibly together.Beneath the disinterested procedures of literary judgment and discrimination can be discerned the outlines of harsher words - exclusion ,subordination,dispossession."(Batsleer.1985).But such features do not mean the edifice is either uniform or immutable.Bourdieu certainly warns that "one must remember that ultimately objective relations do not exist and do not realise themselves except in and through the system of dispositions of the agents produced by the internalising of objective conditions." But,as Kennet (1973) comments,there is a need "to go beyond this realisation of the non-existence of objective structures to a consideration of

how men,through their daily interaction,actively shape reality." Perhaps then,the optimistic interpretation of Bourdieu mentioned above has more to offer.

The optimist is encouraged by the possibility afforded by the notion of relative autonomy within the system for radical social change.It is from this view that resistance or transformation theory has developed.The resistance,through any form of deviance,of a small minority of the dominated class to the institution's sway is taken to be an indication of the potential for revolutionary social change.(86) But,as A.Hargreaves (1980) warns, this can often lead to the unjustified extension of the resistance of a small minority as applicable to all members of a dominated class,or in the treatment of all forms of deviance as a resistance to cultural domination.An accurate picture can only be obtained by "carefully connecting pupils' actions and experiences to the institutional conditions they experience in school and to the social and economic pressures which bear down upon that institution." A number of recent studies do manage to achieve that connection.For example,Willis (1977) in his investigation into "why do working class kids get working class jobs?" does convincingly demonstrate the processes of the cycle of cultural reproduction in the minutely detailed accounts of the lived experience of a small group of adolescents.However,as Gramsci's dictum reminds us

-"pessimism of the intellect,optimism of the will"-the choice between these alternative readings of Bourdieu need not be so exclusive,for there are other criticisms that can be made of this deterministic account.

His concept of cultural capital,for example,raises a number of problems.Apart from the risk of falling prey to metaphor (can you have cultural re-distribution or inflation?),the theory is "reviving the old metaphor of linguistic treasure:each social group helps itself from this treasure in unequal measure" (Bisseret 1983).Capital,whether linguistic or cultural has become reified in Bourdieu's account,so that it is "reduced to a thing,hiding the fact that it is a question of social relations." It is also a very monolithic conception of culture.By whom is it constituted and upon what criteria? Not only is there no attempt to grapple with the specificity of any particular work of art or to deal adequately with aesthetic experience (87),but there is no sense of the fragmented diversity and richness of culture as lived experience.

> (Culture) sets up an opposition between the things deemed suitable objects for thinking and talking about,and those which are unworthy of speech and thought,'the unthinkable' or 'the unmentionable'.This opposition between the interesting per se and the uninteresting per se,at the same time discriminates between two basic types:those who are sensitive to outward signs of this discrimination and those who are blind to them.What is commonly called taste,in the wider sense of the word,is no more than competence in perceiving and deciphering clues which may,at the most elementary level,be totally extrinsic.For

> instance,such elementary clues as a particular radio network,the name of a theatre,an art gallery or a producer often determine the degree of legitimacy (experienced as 'quality') of cultural objects,as well as the attitude to be adopted towards them.
> (Bourdieu 1971 cited Macdonald 1977)

But culture is tied to language,and people belong to a multiplicity of speech communities which do not neatly overlap but are fragmented and inflected by all manner of regional,class,gender,age and race differences within society.In its view of culture,Bourdieu's account is reductive and mechanistic because it is not materialistic enough.As Bisseret argues:"concrete and symbolic domination is one and the same thing;power relations also exist in and through the most ordinary and everday utterances.They do not exist before language and they do not exist without language." The useful contrast is not so much with Bernstein with whom his work has often been compared but with Bakhtin.(88).

Despite these criticisms of his work,it retains considerable value and it is insufficient to dismiss it as "dangersous delusion.(89) This theory of social and cultural reproduction does not simply invent a problem out of the blue:it fails to describe adequately what previously had all too often been ignored.There may be omissions and wrong emphases,but as A.Hargreaves (1980) argues "it gives due weight to the question of events having multiple causes while recognising that this is very different from such events being randomly caused." Enough has been said about

'the hidden history of English' to indicate that there is some justice in Bourdieu's account of the operation of the education system.Important questions remain,perhaps the chief of which is "whether we can ever change the relations of power and the mechanisms of social control at the societal level by changing the educational and cultural codes."(Macdonald 1977).

By contrast with Bourdieu,there are a number of studies which have operated at the micro level of the individual classroom,school or text.The most interesting of them take from the sociology of culture a view of art as 'located production' and of the school's involvement in the process of social and cultural reproduction,whilst retaining a sense of the social practices entailed always being open to negotiation and contest.The distanced Olympian detachment of Bourdieu or Althusser has been avoided by assembling "a careful and delicately worked out Marxist theory incorporating a concern for historical detail,which can be combined with theories rooted in the phenomenological and interactionist traditions and with the sophisticated methodologies appropriate to them."(A.Hargreaves 1980) Some of these studies take as their focus "the institutional factors involved in the production of art and the actual processes through which art and its ideology are constructed are opened up for analysis".(Wolff 1981).Others,in an equally fruitful line of enquiry,concentrate upon "the

particular interests which are served by the dominant meanings attributed to the various great traditions in art." (Wolff 1980).The Tidy House-little girls writing.by Steedman (1982) is an example of the first,and The Case of Peter Pan-or the impossibility of children's fictionby Rose (1984) is an example of the second.

Steedman's study is based upon "a four part collaborative story of just over 2,000 words" which was written in school by three eight-year-old working class girls as part of their normal work during the course of one week.From this base Steedman offers a wide ranging analysis of:the "class attitudes (within which racism finds its expression) that shape the quiet,genteel and sentimental oppression of working class children in many of our primary schools";the culture of the primary school;the damaging and limiting professional inheritance of teachers;the fate of girls in our society;the uses made by adults of children's,particularly girls',writing;language development;and the socialisation of children and their resistance to it.Throughout,theory is meticulously tied both to classroom actuality and to a full social and historical context.

> The question of the primary school lies at the very base of our culture and our politics and,until political and historical theories admit both the experience of childhood and the experience of schooling,I do not think it is possible to write about primary schools without

> being misunderstood.The important thing is to take the school and childhood out of the empty waste of the history of education and enter them into history,to explore the social beliefs that support schools,not from their vantage point,nor from that of education,but as artefacts of our culture.This,then,is not a book about schools.It is about little girls and their mediation and manipulation of a culture in written words.

Steedman is able to show how the story written by the girls serves them to come to a critical understanding of their social and cultural world.It is an understanding which is only made possible because of the fact that it was written."It is probable that children who are illiterate are quite unable to make these analyses or perform these transformations." What makes the text so valuable is that it speaks for so many working class children who in the past have never had their voice,their childhood perceptions of their own socialisation rather than its adult recall,"entered in the record books of our society." The conclusion aptly demonstrates how the study avoids the pitfalls of a view of cultural reproduction that is either unwarrantedly optimistic or too pessimistic in its determinism

> 'The Tidy House'...is valuable because it repesents a process that we have heard about but can only rarely witness.A few working class women over the last century have described,how,in childhood,they<u>worked it out</u>,saw the hollowness of social and sexual expectation and achieved,momentarily,a radical revision of circumstances.But adult then,they could not describe<u>how</u> this came about.'The Tidy House' is a small <u>piece</u> of evidence,an example of how,taking the circumstances of their own life and the materials to hand,people can,without benefit of

theory or the expectations of others,critically confront the way things are and dimly imagine,out of those very circumstances,the way they might be.

Rose's study The Case of Peter Pan(1984) is not based upon classroom observation or analysis at all.Its starting point is a history of Peter Panand the many revisions,transformations and appropriations to which that text has been subject.The study both locates the story in our culture and also uses it as a tracer element with which to mark various suppressed,unacknowledged tensions about language,sexuality and education in that culture:it is both cultural history and analysis.In telling the extraordinary story of the genesis of Peter Pan and the diversity of forms in which it has been addressed to its various audiences,Rose is able to open up

> the very concept of children's fiction itself.Children's fiction rests upon the idea that there is a child who is simply there to be addressed and that speaking to it might be simple.It is an idea whose innocent generality covers up a multitude of sins.This book will attempt to trace the fantasy which lies behind the concept of children's fiction,and will base its case upon Peter Pan.

The discourse of children's fiction,with all its unspoken assumptions and exclusions,is revealed by an analysis which employs,not the conventional literary critical terms of realism within which it is usually cocooned,but those of

semiotics and Lacanian psycho-analysis."Instead of asking what children want,or need,from literature this book has asked what it is that adults,through literature,want or demand of the child." Its interest is in

> "what Peter Pan demonstrates about a fantasy of childhood,with children's literature as just one of the areas in which this fantasy is played out....a fantasy of origins... (in which childhood)...represents an ultimate beginning where everything is perfect or can at least be made good...Children's literature brings together two concepts of origin-that of language and that of childhood-whose relationship it explores....(it) cannot be understood as the passive reflection of changing values and conceptions of the child (images of childhood);...(it) seems to be circumscribed by a moralism which goes way beyond the more transparent didacticism and pedagogy of its earliest modes and into the heart of writing.I would call it an ethos of representation,characterised by its basic demand for identity in language,that is,for language as a means to identity and self-recognition."

Rose demonstrates how the textual changes made to Peter Pan in its re-routing from an adult to a child audience and its transformation from story to play reveals an uncertainty,which is never resolved,about who is speaking,to whom,and why,by implication,they are speaking.The changes,she argues,signal the suppression of awkward questions about sexuality and adult-child relationships;they have been made to accommodate the fantasies of adults and to enable Freud's painful discoveries about the divisions from our self through language to be held at bay.She traces similar pre-occupations throughout the history of children's fiction.

> A number of oppositions are beginning to emerge which have been crucial in determining how children's fiction has been written since the eighteenth century and how it is still being thought about to this day.The opposition between the child and the adult (the instinctual life of the child and the cerebral life of the adult) between oral and written culture,between innocence and decay.These are structural oppositions in the strictest sense in that term:each only has meaning in relation to the one to which it is opposed.They do not reflect an essential truth about the child;...instead they produce a certain conception of childhood which simply carries the weight of one half of the contradictions which we experience in relation to ourselves. ...the excluded term of the opposition will be operating somewhere very close at hand.

In order to facilitate this conception of childhood,so re-assuring to adults,the genre of children's fiction holds tenaciously to a quite specific aesthetic,that of realism,in which all the same oppositions may be seen to be played out.(90) "What (this aesthetic) denies precisely is language-the fact that language does not simply reflect the world but is active in its constitution of the world.And this rejection of language as process,its activity,means that what is also being refused is the idea that there is someone present inside the utterance ordering it,or disordering it as the case may be."

The transformations to whichPeter Pan has been subject show in microcosm the whole development or construction of children's literature.All the changes lead progressively to that "form of writing which attempts to reduce to an absolute minimum our awareness of the language in which a story is written in order that we will take it for real (the very meaning of identification')." This

development,generally taken as a sign of "the reduction of pedagogic function and an increasing stress upon the child's own pleasure",has occurred simultaneously with the introduction of Peter Pan to the education system as a reader.

> It is not just that children's fiction is seen as a repository of a literary tradition under threat of disintegration in the adult world.It is also that narrative fiction starts to be assigned a supreme status in the process of education itself.....Fiction becomes a central tool in the education of the child,and it should be taught to the child according to the notion of competence or skill.This may well be correct-the idea that narrative is the most efficient way of imparting information,and of making absolutely sure that the child takes it in.But,if this is the case,it is precisely because narrative secures the identification of the child with something to which it does not belong.And it does so without the child being given the chance to notice,let alone question,the smoothness and ease of that process.

Throughout the history of children's literature there is,then,a demand for stability in language to secure our identity as subjects in the world and to suppress those aspects of our "linguistic-educational history which,because of its cultural divisiveness,gives that myth of identity in language so thoroughly the lie."

The study is valuable in its focus upon the adult needs revealed by the existence of children's fiction and the realist aesthetic that sustains it.It is not an expose of the sinister oppression of children,but a call for the recognition of what is actually at stake:"the very constitution of the adult as a subject,a process which the

adult then repeatsthrough the book which he or she gives the child".Although it does not draw upon classroom actuality any more than does Davies' (1978) account of the part played by Palgrave's Golden Treasury in the imposition of standard English,or Balibar's (1978) examination of the transformation of George Sand in French schooling,this kind of textual and contextual case study is invaluable in making explicit the assumptions that are so pervasive in classrooms.There is certainly no shortage of candidates for such studies.Kes,Lord of the Flies,Cider with Rosie,Animal Farm,and other standard adolescent texts have long awaited such an exploration of the uses to which they are put in schools,whilst the secret diary of Adrian Moleoffers a fascinating example of a potentially radical text that is,in its rapid transformations of audience and format,in the process of being recuperated into the same tradition of children's fiction.(91).

Such investigations of the interests served by the dominant meanings attributed to various texts, together with others which,like Steedman's (1982),concentrate upon the actual processes through which art and its ideology are constructed would go a long way towards the development of the "political economy of culture" that we need.

This chapter has sought to set the

investigation of adolescent fiction reading within a framework that acknowledges the full social and historical dimensions of the subject.It has been lengthy because our ways of understanding and investigating such issues are currently changing in quite fundamental ways.Knowledge of this socio-historical context of how texts are currently used in secondary education is essential if alternative,less divisive and intimidating readings and ways of reading are to be development.The last section discussed a number of works which developed what Williams refers to as "the alternative view of art as a practice." In its emphasis upon the changing conventions and forms of social organisation and relationships essential to the making and reception of art,it is a view which could transform classroom practice.Some of those possibilities for change are taken up in chapter 9,but now it is time to return to the details of this study and introduce portraits of the three schools involved.

Footnotes to Chapter Four.

1. Bullock reported the existence of 2 million adult illiterates in 1975,but had great difficulty in defining what they mean by literacy.See fn 7 p.120 above.

2. Dickens portrayal of the visit to the brickmakers' cottages by Mrs Pardiggle in Bleak House contains most of the elements of this situation.

3. There is currently a heated and uneasy debate about the nature and role of "multi-cultural" and "anti-racist fiction" produced for use in schools.The issues are well explored in Klein (1985) Reading into Racism.There is also the debate about the nature of the issues which may be dealt with or which should be deliberately incorporated into children's fiction.See Leeson (1985) Reading and righting;Rose (1984).

4. See Williams (1965) and (1983);Mulhern (1979).

5. Williams essay "A hundred years of Culture and Anarchy" (1980) offers an interesting comparison of Mill and Arnold.

> "Mill shows how a traditional intellectual can respond at his best:acting through the values of reason at the points where it mattered.....He mediated and moderated.He kept to his own values.Arnold is different,and so are our own little Arnolds.Excellence and humane values on the one hand ;discipline and where necessary repression on the other.This,then,as now,is a dangerous position:a culmination of the wrong kind of liberalism,just as Mill,as far as he went,was a culmination of liberalism of the most honest kind.The issues continue:the law and the unions;new education acts;the ins and outs of two dominating and competing parties.As we think and act through very comparable events,a hundred years later,it is of some real help to know how the 'culture and anarchy' argument started.

6. Dover Wilson's edition of Culture and Anarchy has remained the standard one for many years.As a wartime propagandist he "assured his readers that in conservative and Christian Russia they could firmly rule out 'the possibility of the social revolution of which Karl Marx dreamed.'"(Baldick 1983) As Baldick show,he never recovered from the shock of the revolution and references to it or to the General Strike,which he saw as a fearful portent,echo throughout all his later work.

> Within two years of the General Strike is it idle to suggest that Arnold's remedy will prove as sovereign

in the economic and social sphere as it has in the sectarian? Our industrial troubles arise,I am convinced,from the same cause as produced the denominational strife of previous generations:a whole section of the people feels itself to be disinherited,to be living and working outside the pale of privilege and opportunity.....The next step in the development of the English educational system must inevitably bring with it some kind of alliance between culture and industry,to the great advantage of both,since what is wrong with our industry is not so much low wages or long hours as its lack of social meaning in the eyes of those performing its operations,and what is wrong with our culture is its divorce from the crafts of common life.
(The schools of England:a study in Renaisance 1928.cited Baldick)

7. See also Batsleer (1985) for a good account of the ways in which such distinctions between the cultural competences of classes were drawn.They describe

> "that broad and familiar picture of cultural 'decline' subtends other categorial oppositions:of class and,as importantly of gender.The professional and 'educated' reader,writer and critic is seen,generically,as bourgeois,metropolitan and male;the popular writer and reader is lower class,provincial and female.In this process the corresponding general qualities -intelligence against instinct,organisation against formlessness,professional against amateur-become classed and gendered too."

8. Williams "Writing in Society (1983)

9. See Foucault (1970b) and (1972) for the ways in which language is involved with the development of institutions and discourses and divisions of labour
See also Benjamin (1982) on the reproduction of the work of art in a mechanical age;and Wolff (1981).

10. See Coward and Ellis (1977) Easthope (1982) or Eagleton (1983) for an introductory account of the influence of post-structuralist thought about the properties of writing.Also chapter 9 below.

11. Levi-Strauss.cited Hawkes 1977
The context for Barthes' remark is a discussion of Renan in his Inaugural Lecture at the College de France in 1977 which appears in Barthes 1983.

> Well,Renan was,in his way,perspicacious.He recognised that language is not exhausted by the message engendered by it.He saw that language can survive this message and make understood within it,with a frequently terrible resonance,something other than what it says,superimposing on the subject's conscious,reasonable voice the dominating,stubborn,implacable voice of structure,i.e.,of the species insofar as that species speaks.Renan's error was historical,not structural;he supposed that French-formed,as he believed,by reason-compelled the expression of a political reason which,to him,could only be democratic.But language-the performance of a language system-is neither reactionary nor progressive;it is quite simply fascist;for fascism does not prevent speech,it compels speech.

The passage is worth comparison with Bakhtin's (1981) acccount of language in which

> "prior to this moment of appropriation...does not exist in a neutral impersonal language (it is not after all out of a dictionary that the speaker gets his words!),but rather it exists in other peoples' mouths,in other peoples' contexts,serving other peoples' intentions-it is from there that one must take the word and make it one's own.....Expropriating it,forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents is a difficult and complicated process." (Bakhtin 1981.See also chapter 9 below.)

12. J.S.Mill Autobiography.

13. See "Institutional control and interpretation" in Essays on Fiction 1971-82.Kermode.(1983)."Such a community (a university) may be described as a a self-perpetuating,sempiternal corporation....The texts on which members of this institution practise their trade are not secret and the laity has,in principle,full access to them,.But although the laity may,unaided or unhelped only by newspapers or sub-institutional instriction (radio talks,Sunday newspapers,reading groups or literary clubs) acquire what in some circumstances might pass for competence,there is a necessary difference between them and persons whom we may think of as licensed practioners.It is as if the latter were in 'orders'.Their right to practise is indicated by arbitrary signs,not only certificates,robes and titles,but also professional jargons.The activities of such persons,whether diagnostic or exegetical,are privileged,and they have acces to to senses that do not declare themselves to the laity.Moreover they are subject,in professional matters,to no censure but that of other licensed practioners acting as a body;the opinion of the laity is of no consequence whatever,a

state of affairs which did not exist before the institution ...firmly established itself.."
Kermode 1983. pp.169-170

14. Sir Robert Lowe in a Commons speech on the passing of the second Reform Bill 15 July 1867.Cited Batsleer (1985);Mathieson (1975).

15. cited Davies (1978).

16. See Note on Terms Used,below.

17. "Criticism Inc.", is a phrase from J.C.Ransom (1968) first published 1934. "Corrective social change" is a phrase from Mulhern (1979).

18. For a full account of this process see Williams, pp.145-177 (1961).

19. Both quotations are from letters of Sir Robert Lowe.Cited in Mathieson (1975).There is also a fuller treatment of Sir Robert Lowe in the Newbolt Report pp54ff.(1922)

20. See the essay by Hollingworth (1980) in Pugh et al.(1980).

21. English was introduced as a compulsory subject at Eton,for example,only after the second world war.

22. Young (1953),Cited in Mathieson (1975).

23. Thomas Arnold in a lecture at Rugby Mechanics Institute.Cited Mathieson (1975).

24. See Note on Terms Usedbelow.

25. from "Crisis in English studies" in Williams (1983).The other two essays in that section,"Cambridge English ,past and present";and "Beyond Cambridge English" are also very relevant to this chapter.

26. Arnold:Ecce Convertimur ad Gentes.

27. Arnold:Democracy

28. Arnold:Friendship's Garland.

29. Arnold:A French Eton

30. This can be seen in Ecce convertimur ad Gentes,an address given by Arnold at a working class institute.In it

he urged members to defer their campaign for their own educational provision and fight instead for the expansion of middle class education.He cast himself in apostolic role,drawing an analogy between the apostles who had turned to the Gentiles when the Jews refused to listen.

> Do not be affronted at being compared to the Gentiles:the Gentiles were the human race,the Gentiles were the future.Mankind are called in one body to the peace of God:that is the Christian phrase for civilisation.we have by no menas reached that consummation yet...Do you,then,carry it forwrad yoursdleves and insist upon taking the middle classes with you.

31. Arnold: 1892

32. Arnold:Popular Education in France

33. see Johnson (1979) for a full discussion of this aspect of Arnold's work and other Victorian contemporaries.Later chapters in the book contain useful accounts of the cultural diagnoses proposed by later figures such as Leavis,Eliot,Orwell,Williams etc.

34. see Newbolt (1922) pp.48-52 and also Doyle (1981).

35. from The Times.6 September.1893.
Batsleer (1985) is interesting on the gender inflected implications of mass literacy which are also evident in this quotation.She cites H.James:"The future of the Novel 1899:

> The diffusion of the rudiments,the multiplication of common schools,has had more the effect of making readers of women and of the very young.The larger part of the great multitude that sustains the teller and publisher of tales is constituted by boys and girls;by girls in especial,if we apply this term to the later stages of the life of the innumerable women who.under modern arrangements increasingly fail to marry-fail,apparently,even,largely,to desire to....
> The high prosperity of fiction has marched,very directly,with another 'sign of the times',the democratisation,the vulgarisation of literature in general,the increasing familiarity of all such methods of communication,the making itself supremely felt,as it were,of the presence of the ladies and children-by whom I mean,in other words,the reader irreflective and uncritical.

Moers (1977);Showalter (1978);and Miller (1985);Green and Kahn (1985) all contain a wealth of material on literacy and gender.

36. "The most formidable institution we had to fight in Germany was not the arsenals of Krupps or the yards in which they turned out submarines,but the schools of Germany.They were our most formidable competitors in business and our most terrible opponents in war.An educated man is a better worker,a more formidable warrior and a better citizen.That was only half comprehended before the war."
A speech by Lloyd George in September 1918.Cited in Mathieson (1975).
Baldick (1983) particularly and also Eagleton (1976 and 1983) both are very informative about the consequences of the first war-and the peace-for literacy.

37. See Davies (1980) and also Doyle (1983).Barrell (1983) contains an excellent section on an earlier phase of the introduction of standard English that culminated with the publication of Johnson's dictionary.His chapter argues the close relationship between language and politics in Johnson's thought:

> his "notion of language,as of government is quite openly and frankly one in which the majority should be idle and helpless spectators while the customs of the polite are converted into law.....The present actuality,as he understands it,is of a language in a state of nature still requiring to be 'reduced' to a state of civil society
> .(he) represents English,not as a collection of different Englishes,one of them official but each of them with its own integrity and tradition,but as one language only,which some write better than others.The unity of the language community is represented not as something to be struggled for,but as something already there,and at the same time as the unity of all British writers is thereby asserted,the existence of a hierarchy of writers,and of social divisions within that comunity,is asserted also.The strategy is familiar to us by now:to represent the community as at once naturally unified and naturally stratified."

38. Batsleer (1985)

39. See Baldick (1983) for an excellent account of the whole background to the Newbolt Report.Batsleer (1985) also has a good account of working class demands for education in this period.
A quotation from Brecht is apposite:"Learn your letters.They're not enough,but still learn them....Grab hold of the book,you hungry one.It's a weapon." (In praise of learning.The Mother.1978)

40. Sampson (1922) This was in the original preface but dropped from the recently re-issued edition (1975) by

Thompson.See Doyle (1981).

41. Newbolt in a lecture to the LCC.Cited in Schayer (1972)

42. Sociolinguists and power.See particularly Bakhtin (1981).;Also Stubbs(1980);Saville-Troike (1981);Rosen (1981b);Bisseret (1982).

43. Sampson's phrase.Baldick (1983) gives a full picture of his career.

> "Sampson's faith in the creative capacities of children have earned him a substantial respect as an educational theorist.But in his arguments for this approach to the teaching of Emglish,Sampson introduces a more disturbing element-a compulsive reference to primary spiritual forces:'what the teacher has to consider is not the minds he can manage but the souls he can save.....At this stage of our national education,what matters is faith not the works.We have (so to speak) to undergo a conversion,not to practice new austerities....The teacher's hardest struggle is not against mere ignorance but against evil knowledge.....English is the one school subkect in which we have to fight,not for a clear gain of knowledge,but for a precarious margin of advantage over powerful influences of evil....The reading of literature is not a routine but a religion...it is almost sacramental."

Baldick (1983) pp.100-101.
That tone has remained with English teaching in a persistent way.

44. See Mulhern (1979) for a full historical account.See Q.D.Leavis (1932) for a more participant one.

45. In a section entitled "confessions of a pimp",Baldick (1983) cites examples of some of these professors' less guarded utterances

> "As for German scholarship,Quiller Couch argued,that it was completely unfit to approach the beauties of English Literature,echoing almost word for word Raleigh's condemnation of science as the world of death,he said of the German authorities on English:"this lovely and living art which they can never practice nor even see as an art,to them is,has been,must be for ever a dead science-a hortus siccus;to be tabulated not planted or watered" This incapacity was inevitable because "if only by virtue of his vocal organs a German is congenitally unable to readour poetry." Quiller Couch went so far that the Cambridge

> Review was obliged to reprimand him for lecturing too much on the deficiencies of German criticism and not enough the qualities of English literature.At Oxford,Raleigh took the opportunity to declare that "German culture is mere evil" and dreamed up a typically heroic alternative to the mass destruction of the war:"I should like to get up a team of 100 professors and challenge 100 Boche professors.Their deaths would be a benefit to the human race."
> Baldick 1983

Mulhern's account (1979) of this period is also excellent.

46. cited Batsleer (1985).

47. Knights in Scrutiny vii i 1938.cited Mulhern (1979) See also Scrutiny ii.1933 for F.R.Leavis on education.

48. Thompson.Doyle (1981) is a very well documented study of the work and influences of Thompson in education.

49. The valuation of the works and authors included in The Great Tradition ;New Bearings in English Poetry ;Revaluations have been questioned,but they remain very much the established canon.See Watson (1977) for a detailed account of the manner in which the Leavises judgments were appropriated by many of those who claimed disagreement with them.

50. Practical criticism moved from the university to school o and A level examinations and was quickly introduced to CSE .The theoretical foundations for this exercise are criticised in chapter 9 below.Batsleer (1985) describes the process as one of "academic terrorism"

51. see Mulhern 1979 for a detailed account of Scrutiny intervention in secondary education.

52. see Johnson.L. (1979) for detailed examples and discussion.

53. See Collingwood 1963 for example.

54. In recent critical theory pleasure has become both serious and respectable.See Mercer 1981;Barthes 1975;Eagleton 1983.

55. See The Living Principle.Leavis 1975.

56. Mulhern 1979 details the way in which the Scrutiny project became increasingly conservative until its demise.In more recent years, figures involved in the movement have opposed university expansion,comprehensivisation,new forms of examination assessment etc.Bantock has been particularly prolific.

57. See Anderson (1968) Components of a national culture NLR 50.One of the first to crit Leavis from the left.
See also Batsleer (1985) who points out how other sections of the educational system had lost faith in literature and advocated the need for citizenship and relevance

> "A four hundred year tradition of literary culture and eductaion has failed to produce a literary people,even in the country which prides itself on having the finest literature in the worl...The attraction of wireless and the film lies in the sense that the audiences have that they are in contact with something real and spontaneous rather than something second hand and academic.
> (Education Year book 1935.cited Batsleer.)

58. See chapter 9 below. See Eagleton (1983): Belsey (1979);Robey and jefferson (1983);Hawkes (1977);and Widdowson (1982) for some idea of the extent of theoretical damage.The Times Higher Educational Supplement 11.2.83. contains an interesting collection of responses to the situation form a range of perspectives.

59. see Yorke study cited in chapter 9. on views of English teachers

60. The present crisis shows no sign of going away.Dissolution of the old order could proceed in a number of directions.There are (as much of the work of the ILEA English Centre,the Nottingham theory group,and more isolated examples such as Peim 1986 indicate) signs of radical changes of direction in contemporary English teaching.There are also alternative cultural proposals with very different political overtones from figures such as Scruton,or restatements of earlier positions,such as Abbs.Kermode's essay on institutional control of interpretation is relevant here in its suggestion that "institutions react,broadly,in two ways to threats from outside.Either they 'legitimate 'the new doctrine or text,or they 'nihilate' it.In our institution (university) the first of these is the more usual course,partly because of a relative lack of power,partly becuase of a looseness of organisation,and partly because the tradition in which we work is predominantly Protestant." Post-structuralism in American

tertiary education has been domesticated.It remains to be seen upon what terms,if any,its entry to English secondary education is acceptable.

61. the phrase is Doyle's.Hawkes argued the point similarly in a recent seminar at Nottingham University:

> "I don't want children to be communists or bolsheviks.If English literature will stop them doing that ,well and good.But I think that we should come clean about what we're doing so that those who don't like it can opt out of it or change it "

62. Taine tended to reduce the work of art to being le race le milieu et le moment and views them simply as documentation,eschewing all questions of value and form.This still persists in some form in higher education.Early Marxists were certainly interested in the relationship byween art and society but were equally reductive.Lukacs adopted a more sophisticated version of the reflecive model of art but nonetheless "evaluated works of art not in terms of the effects of its distinctive organisational properties but in terms of the degree of correspondence with the model of reality proposed by Marxims.Although hostile to Taine's positivism,early or vulgr Marxism tended to fillet works for their ideological content which was then related to the class war or the economy and were similar in their effects.See Swingewood;Wolff;Bennett.

62. Leavis' hostility to social sciences can be seen in his exchange with Wellek in The Common Pursuit.It is discussed in Robey (1983).

63. In the Lectures on Aesthetics as well as in Philosophical Investigations Wittgenstein has a number of suggestive remarks which could have been developed:

> in order to get clear about aesthetic words we have to describe a way of living.....and such words play a complicated role,but a definite role in what we call the culture of a period...to describe their use or to describe what you mean by a culture's taste you have to describe a culture.In describing musical taste you have to describe whether children give concerts,whether women do,or men only give them.
> Wittgenstein:Lectures on Aesthetics.

See Casey;Foreman-Peck;Dilman and Phillips for examples of the application of Wittgenstein to learning from literature.

64. QDL as cultural sociologist.Her account of the English faculty at Cambridge,for example,Austen's novels or work on Wuthering Heights.

65. Knights on Jonson.for his later views see Mulhern (1979)

66. see Williams (1983) which contains three essays on this subject

67. We lack any such detailed study of educational publishing in this country.

68. see Wolff (1981) or Bennett (1979) for details of the Frankfurt school.

69. see Holub (1984) for a recent historical view and for details of audience research in Germany.See also Leenhart (1980)
.

70. see Wolff (1983) is an excellent discussion of theoretical problems in the debate between sociology and aesthetics.

71. Giddens (1982).See also Kermode (1982) and Rosen (1984) who also refer to the re-alignment in progress.Norris (1985) explores the implications of deconstruction across a variety of disciplines.

72. Attempts were made by playing upon the central image of reflection to avoid this becoming too reductive or mechanistic through the inroduction of varying degrees of distortion and falsification in the reflective process.But there was always a tendency for the base superstructure relationship to be unidirectinal,causal and over determined.See Willams (1980).Bennett (1979);Forgacs (1982) and Bottomore (1983).
William's own career,"a long rapprochement with Marxism,"is an interesting example of the changes involved.

73. see Wolff (1981).

74. see Gramsci (1971).see Macdonald (1977) for a radical perspective on Gramsci and education.See Entwistle (1979) for an appreciative but essentially conservative estimate.

75. Bakhtin (1981).See Bennett (1979);Morse (1984);Eagleton (1983).

76. For example the criticism of the Open University

"Schooling and Capitalism" course;Scruton (1983,1985;1986).

77. Lenin
78.

"we are positing labour of a form that is exclusively characteristic of man.The operations carried out by a spider resembles those of a weaver and many a human architect is put to shame by the bee in its construction of its wax cells.However the poorest architect is catagorically distingished from the best of bees by the fact that before he builds the cell in wax he has built it in his head.The result achieved at the of the labour process was already present at its commencement in the imagination of the worker,in its ideal form.More than merely working an alteratuon in the form of nature,he also knowingly works his own peurposes into nature;and these purposes are the law determining the ways and means of his creativity so that his will must be adjusted to them.

Marx and Engels (1973).cited Wolff.(1981).See also Hadjinicolau.

79. see Hauser;Williams (1981);Wollff (1981); Collections from the Essex Sociology of Literature conferences,1978,1979,1980:eds Barker.
80. So far as technology is concerned,for example,the influence of video form upon contemporary narrative structures and conventions.See Ellis.As regards economic factors,we know little about the costs of school books and their relationship to other book.The influence of a declining/expanding child population upon the form and quantity of children's fiction is also considerable.

81. The writers in schools schemes make education a considerable minor source of contemporary patronage.

82. See Scholes (1985).
83. See Macdonald (1977) or Gibson (1984 and 1986).
84. see A.Hargreaves to whom I am indebted for discussion of much of the following.

85. The great dialectic 1632 ? Cited in the NATE conference letter 1985.

86. see Corrigan (1976) or Apple.

87. see Wolff (1983).

88. see White (1984);Burgess (1984)

89. Musgrove.
90.Rose (1984) has a very revealing collection of quotations from writers of childrens fiction in which their predilection for realism as a form is seen to be tied up with all manner of "non-literary issues".See Tucker or Inglis for alternative views more sympathetic to realism.

91.Within a remarkable space of time this book,written for an adult audience ,has been read on the radio (and repeated),been staged in the provinces and London;become a best seller amongst children;been produced on children's tv;been incorporated into and disputed in schools in a widespread way;featured in a GCSE sample paper;been the subject of a LATE conference commission;and its author has been interviewed at length in the Guardian.

CHAPTER FIVE.

The three schools:Chilworth;Richard Draper;Baydon.

This chapter brings together relevant background information about the schools,teaching groups and staff involved in the study.Its purpose is to enable later detailed analysis of the study findings to be understood in their appropriate context.The chapter is in three sections,the first of which deals with four aspects of the schools:institutional histories;current problems facing the headteachers;indicators of school ethos;and the English departments.Each school is described in turn to lend to the portraits a coherence which would be lacking in a thematic approach.The portraits are based upon observation,interview and school documentation and records.The second section,which deals upon a comparative basis with the particular teaching groups involved ,is followed by the final section in which the underlying themes are discussed.

Portraits of this kind are necessarily selective.Other aspects of the schools,more directly related to readership are detailed in later chapters,but here the focus is upon the schools' "characteristics as social organisations." (Rutter 1979).The four aspects described in

the portraits were chosen to give due weight to national pressures,their local manifestations and also to individual agency within the schools.There is a danger in such portraits that the choices and actions of participants will appear to be either a simple Pavlovian reaction to larger societal forces,or else unconstrained ,free floating in a social vacuum.The realm of human agency is,as Giddens (1976) has recently argued,bounded.As agents we are historically located,and all our actions occur in some kind of social framework which both constrains and enables us to act.To understand the actions it is necessary to analyse the interplay between the agents and the structures,institutional and ideological,which both contain and help to constitute them.(1).

Although none of the schools in its current designation was more than fifteen years old,the institutional history of each was complex.(2) These histories were being constructed in terms of the major educational policy shift in favour of comprehensive schools and the subsequent controversies as to their effectiveness.The prevailing mood of the time was one that lacked optimism and confidence:education had become more contentious and more subject to obvious external constraint.(3) Such changes are never easy to describe because they are inevitably dynamic .For those involved in them,these structural and organisational changes ,ensuing at

the end of a period of confident expansion in the 60s and 70s,were perceived as a return to,or a retreat from,something desirable.How such changes were perceived and accommodated was determined by particular biographies and histories.(4) The pressure of the changes impinged particularly upon the headteachers who occupied a pivotal position in determining how they were to be met by the schools.The three headteachers in this study faced a variety of problems of organisational change which were very different,but which took their common origin in economic recession,falling rolls and a redistribution of power between schools,parents and local and national government.In responding to the changes ,the differences between and limitations of three very different styles of leadership - authoritarian,liberal and patriarchal - are highlighted.(5)

What constitutes the ethos of an institution,and what contributes to it,are notoriously difficult to pinpoint."Any relatively self contained organisation tends to develop its own culture or pattern;this also applies to schools." (Rutter 1979) The ethos ,or what Rutter calls "the climate of expectation and modes of behaving",is generally explained by reference to the attributes or actions of an individual,often with recourse to misty notions of charisma,rather than to any structural determinants.In the portraits that follow,ethos is taken to be the schools' common sense ideas of

themselves:what they took to be their function in relation to teaching and learning,and the nature of the relationships thought appropriate to these activities.Three indicators of school ethos are considered:the uniform system;the banding system;and the handbooks given to the parents of new entrants.No secondary school can say or do nothing in relation to these issues.The ways in which they are handled reveals commonsense notions that operate throughout the institution.A school's approach to uniform,for example,signals much more than institutional preference as regards student appearance.It indicates the extent and nature of the jurisdiction to which the school lays claim and the terms upon which membership of the institution is conceived.The banding system adopted reveals much about how the institution conceives teaching and learning and the uses to which they may be put.As for the parental handbook,it is now a legal requirement for schools to make some statement about their aims and objectives.The handbooks are eloquent documents because they afford such a clear insight into how the institution perceives itself,how it wishes to be seen and how it perceives the audience whom it is there to serve.All three indicators,that is,convey the implicit,taken for granted values of the schools.

Chilworth.

Chilworth School occupies a pleasant rural position some five miles outside an ancient university city.A nearby motorway connection gives fast access to London.Though rural in setting,the eleven villages served by the school are largely dominated,as regards employment,by higher education,a large car assembly plant and several hospitals,rather than by traditional rural occupations.The social composition of the school is very diverse,with few of the characteristics of an urban neighbourhood school.A fleet of buses delivers and collects the majority of students each day.These transport arangements fragment the school population into their component villages,whilst at the same time creating considerable cohesion within these groups because of the time spent on the buses.

The school was formed some ten years ago from the amalgamation of a secondary modern in the adjacent village with a small girls' grammar school of recent foundation which occupied the present site.In 1982 the numbers on roll were 1225 of whom 130 were in the sixth form.There was a staff of 73 teachers.At the outset of the study,the school was split across two sites almost two miles apart.The larger site which had been occupied by the grammar school included an early nineteenth century country house set in an extensive park.The old house was retained as a sixth form block until the completion of a sequence of new buildings and the conversion of an old stable block into

teaching accommodaton.By the end of the fourth term of the study,the entire school was on one site,although the building programme was incomplete.Split site disadvantages were all too apparent for the duration of the fieldwork in the elusiveness of staff ,poor communications and considerable time spent in travelling by staff and pupils.No lesson that I observed started on time,whether staff were involved in site changes or not.Consolidation on the main site ,a decade after the amalgamation,was an important step forward in the school's history and one that helped to create a sense of confidence that other problems from the past could be overcome.

There was at the time of the fieldwork no problem of falling rolls as was apparent in the other two study schools.What was of major concern,however,was the school's past reputation.The transition to comprehensive status ten years earlier had not been easy and the difficulties experienced then had lingered on long after the administration was all completed.A new headteacher had been appointed,some five years prior to the start of this study,at a time when the fortunes of the school were at a low ebb.Academic success then had been poor,staff relationships unhappy and the school had declined rapidly in parental estimation.In the year of the new headteacher's arrival,30 pupils out of a total year group of 228 had passed O Level Language,23 Mathematics and 5 English

Literature.(6) Staff relationships and morale were low because of changes in individual status;lack of experience in teaching the more (or the less) able students;a similar inexperience with mixed groups;and a widespread failure to provide an appropriate curriculum for a markedly different student intake.Many staffing changes followed the amalgamation,but despite promotion,secondment and retirement,there remained at the time of this research a cross section of staff from all stages in the school's history.

The poor reputation of the school was critical because alternative education was available.The school is adjacent to two other education authorities,whose secondary education provision is very different.Parents ,therefore ,had several choices open to them:option into the city's two tier high school system where falling rolls ensured a further measure of choice;movement to another school in the same authority;a gamble on the neighbouring county's 11+ examination with the failsafe of re-entry if the children were unsuccessful in gaining a place in either of the grammar schools;or,finally,entry to one of the several independent schools,either fee paid or on the assisted places scheme.Poverty,ignorance or indifference ensured that many parents took no advantage of these alternatives,but those who might do so were likely to be precisely the ones whose custom the school least wanted to

lose.In such a situation an institution is bound to try to separate itself from its past:it does so by constructing its history.

The history of the school's transitional period presented above was the dominant one current in the school.It was derived from the survivors ,or inheritors,of those events.Traces of dissentient accounts of the period did indeed exist,but it would have been less than tactful to pursue them,and in any case,the accuracy of the dominant version is not the point at issue.Any dominant account of the past depends upon the suppression of other histories,(7) but the crucial point to examine is the use to which the successful one is put.Here it was often invoked for explanatory or admonitory purposes in Mr Charles' establishment of a new order.

Mr Charles had been appointed to the post of headteacher from the headship of a smaller school in the same authority five years previously.He was an energetic ,forceful man with an aggressive style of leadership who introduced many changes upon his arrival.He was largely responsible for the establishment of the school on one site,that of the former grammar school with its extensive grounds ,rather than upon the old secondary modern site favoured by the LEA. A substantial proportion of the staff were now his appointees.He was not a remote office bound

headteacher,but frequently appeared in the staffroom at breaktimes in conversation with a diversity of staff,but his dominating personality and clear perceptions of what he considered desirable in a school intimidated some staff.(8)

He has been characterised as authoritarian in leadership because the expressed aims of the school,and many of its practices,emphasise compliance with requirements and firm leadership.Although the parents' handbook (see Appendix VI) mentions partnership between school and parents ,the brisk tones of that document do little more than state the terms as very clear requirements.The section on conduct and appearance,for example,reads

> Academic standards are not the only important things in life and we also expect from our pupils the highest standards of courtesy and behaviour.Our experience is that the vast majority of parents support the school in this .We consider it to be extremely important that high standards of dress and personal grooming are maintained.In the case of boys hair must be worn to an acceptable length.This regulation is in the interest of hygiene and safety as all the boys will be using machinery in the workshops.All pupils in the school are expected to wear school uniform (modified in the sixth form) as it gives a sense of unity and purpose whilst at the same time preventing distinctions amongst pupils and extravagances of taste.The uniform has been designed to be pleasant and serviceable.

Although the first aim of the school is to "provide a firm moral and disciplinary framework,within which a caring environment may develop",there is no other mention of discipline in the brochure,nor of the sanctions employed.Jurisdiction is claimed over a vaguely delineated

area,but there is little further detail,nor is there any mention for example of self-discipline as there was at Draper School.The school is to be a "caring environment" but the handbook does not clarify the nature of that care nor quite how it is delivered.The arguments for the uniform are offered only in relation to boys:girls with long hair presumably risk neither their hygiene nor their safety in the school.They did not at this stage have much to do with machinery.(9)

The emphasis here is,in Hammersley's terms (1979b) very much more universalistic than individualistic,requiring conformity to rather arbitrary norms laid down by the school with little explanation.Couched in impersonal terms,rather than based upon personal appeal,the document gives litle explanation and leaves small room for negotiation,relying as it does upon the derived authority of the school in society.No mention is made,for example,of either assemblies or corporal punishment,though both occurred in the school,nor of the rights of parents to exclude their children from such activities.A similar emphasis upon conformity rather than individual development was apparent in the imagery to which Mr Charles had frequent recourse when talking about the school:the team,successful,uniform in purpose,competitive and reliant for its success upon firm leadership and control:

> I liken it to the rugby match.I mean if you're playing rugby and if the captain gives the wrong order and says'take the ball 'to the forwards when they should take it back,at least if you're all taking it,you'd be making progress.It may be the wrong progress,but at least you're going somewhere.But if four decide to take it forward and four decide to throw it back,then there's nothing happens.It's complete stalemate.

In Mr Charles' diagnosis,it was precisely the lack of firm leadership in the past which had reduced the school to the condition which he inherited upon his appointment.In his own leadership he wanted "honest open policy" with "discussion and negotiation" but although there was the usual pattern of meetings,many staff,even at senior level,felt they had little say in the the school and that most decisions were imposed from the top.(10) A further aspect of the authoritarian leadership is seen in the conception of the curriculum with its strong emphasis upon academic standards and their translation into "appropriate qualifications and employment prospects." In the handbook for parents,the curriculum is stated,not explained,and many comments emphasise knowledge rather than method,the product rather than process,and knowledge enshrined in traditional subject disciplines rather than more generally based.There is little mention of intrinsic motivation or individual development as was the case in the other two schools.The section on the curriculum starts

> Pupils throughout the school have the benefit of the full range of specialist ability to be found amongst the staff.Most of the staff teach on both school sites and Heads of Department control the work done in their subjects throughout

> the whole age range of the school.Courses are prepared for all the pupils according to their ages and abilities.

In many ways the changes introduced by Mr Charles were a re-assertion of the grammar school traditions submerged in the transition to its present status.Staff were very conscious of a stress upon examination success and there was extreme sensitivity to the views of educated parents.(11)

Despite this firm leadership,there was considerable uncertainty as to the school's direction.Changes introduced to mark a separation from the past are one thing,but deciding whether those changes are a means to an end,or an end in themselves is quite another.The dilemma can be seen in relation to both uniform and banding within the school.These two indicators of the school ethos revealed some of the limitations of authoritarian leadership:the development of oppositional forces who evinced

a considerable degree of disaffection ,many unintended consequences and a gap between rhetoric and experience.With the arrival of Mr Charles,the school uniform was changed and extended.Enforcement was very much stricter and eventually the sixth form too was moved back into uniform.Its implementation was very much more obtrusive than in either of the other two schools and was a major pre-occupation of both staff and pupils.The fact that there was more uniform than at Baydon or Draper meant that there was a more

extensive catechism open to potential dispute,both around school and in travel to and from it.Although largely universal in the first two years,uniform tended to operate,after the third year,in unofficial tandem with the banding system and was a considerable source of grievance to many of the study sample students,for whom it was a contributory cause of,and focus for,disaffection.By contrast,it scarcely featured in conversation with students in the other two schools.

There was some mixed ability teaching in the lower school,but the main emphasis was upon setting within bands.For their second year,students were allocated to one of three ability bands,which collapsed at the start of the third year into two,an A band and a B band.The lower ability B band contained within it a sub-group of about two sets comprising non examination and City and Guilds students,whilst the upper band included a comparable sub-group which took some O levels a year early.The system had been consciously introduced to boost examination performance and in that respect it had been successful.But it had proved divisive in ways other than those intended.For the sample students in this study ,the banding division was an academic separation,but it was also largely a divison by social class as well ,with the A band containing a disproportionate number of middle class children.The relative absence of uniform amongst the B band marked the

division in another kind of way,with the pupils in this case taking the initiative. A further indication of the extent to which this division affected the school is that many staff talked about A and B band children in quite distinct ways.(12) Students themselves had few illusions about the nature of the divide at 13+.Nor was Mr Charles unaware of these unintended consequences.

> Now we've got them to have a sense of expectancy on O levels,we're in a position to go over to half year groups,a half year system and letting departments do what they want to.We'd be better off having two half year groups.That's what I'd like to move towards,and then you can set for everything within each half year group

Some staff expressed anxiety about the banding system,but at the end of the study there was uncertainty as to whether or when it would be changed.Was banding a means of restoring parental confidence in the school's academic performance,or was it an end in itself which had the attraction of centring power firmly within the school and emphasising its hierarchical structure? At the end of this study such questions remained largely unanswered.(13)

When this study began,the English department at Chilworth was at a transitional stage.By the end of the study it had been re-housed in an attractive extensively refurbished eighteenth century stable block which gave staff a teaching room of their own, a central office and stores and a sense of physical identity as a department.For the

duration of this fieldwork,however,they had none of these things.All middle school English was taught in an inadequate outpost of terrapins;sixth form teaching was in the Old House at the other end of the site;whilst lower school classes were taught on a different site altogether,some two miles away.The departmental office was in yet another block where no English was taught at all.The terrapins ,which was where the study groups were taught,were bleak, shabby and devoid of books;they conveyed a senses of desolation even on sunny days.Dispersed accommodation led to much time wasted in travelling,and staff lateness was ingrained.It also imposed an unfortunate degree of professional isolation upon staff who would converge occasionally upon this cluster of huts to teach a year group,only to disperse at the lesson-end to other spaces elsewhere,like figures in some planetary conjunction.Such conditions inhibited any sense of closeness as a group,so that the move to new accommodation,which coincided with the concentration of the school on one site,was an immense relief for all the department.

Staffing at the time of the fieldwork was also transitional.A new head of department,
Mr Corbridge,had been appointed shortly before the start of the study to restore the department's status and academic standing,and to end what the headteacher perceived to be a state of dissension and loss of direction amongst its

members.In the headteacher's view,the department had been disabled in the past by a "civil war" between those who wanted to emphasise the "formal aspects of English" and those whom he termed "the freethinkers".It was Mr Corbridge's task to give leadership,unity and direction.Mr Charles' expectations as regards the leadership and academic results required were quite precise and explicit.His conception as to what English might comprise was less so:

> what I want to see is,well,I want to see creative writing.People must able to express themselves.But I also see a place for the more formal aspects through the medium of literature.I would like my English department to be literary based.I have to say this.I think that the thought that nobody read Shakespeare until they took O level or CSE quite honestly appalled me.There are able children in the school who should be taking Shakespeare in the third year without batting an eyelid.And there are certain ones,we may be getting down the ability range a bit now I know,who can take it in the second year,even if it is selections.You can do some plays with the able kids.

Mr Corbridge's task,therefore ,was delicate.He brought to it experience of teaching in a number of schools,most recently in a grammar school,and considerable experience of working on theatrical productions with adults and students.Examination results were certainly improved since his arrival and the process of departmental rehabilitation and reconciliation was largely achieved by the start of this study.Staff changes helped,two new staff had been appointed after Mr Corbridge,but it was also a personal achievement on Mr Corbridge's part.He was well liked and respected in the school.In addition to Mr Corbridge and Ms Combes,a

probationer teacher,who were both involved in this study,there were four other full-time teachers in the department.Mr Cox,a late entrant to the profession who had taught only at Chilworth,or its predecessor school,held a scale post for responsibility for the upper school library and another for pastoral work in the fourth year.Another teacher had taught elsewhere locally for several years before coming to Chilworth and a third had taught for a similar time,all at that school.Midway through the study,another probationer was appointed to the department.One of the deputy heads,a classicist,also taught English.

Despite these changes,there was little sign at the time of the fieldwork of a renewed sense of direction within the department in the way of curriculum or organisational change.Relationships had improved,but the structure within which staff operated had not changed,nor had the direction of their work,as a group,been clarified.There was,for example,little detailed awareness amongst departmental members as to what colleagues were doing with their classes,and there was less sharing or discussion of ideas arising from it than was apparent in the other schools,particularly Baydon.Routine procedures,such as arrangements for work during staff absence,were not clear.In large measure this was due to the inadequacies of their working conditions,but it also derived from Mr Corbridge's

cautious and gradualist approach to his task.There was a general feeling that there were substantial improvements in the department,but there had been as yet no common enterprise which had served to bring them together as a cohesive group.The opportunity for such a collaborative project arose with their entry to the new accommodation towards the end of the study.(14)

ii)Richard Draper School

Draper School is one of three comprehensives serving a small historic town largely dominated by its proximity to a university city and a number of major centres of scientific research.The school had,at the time of the field work,about 1100 pupils,of whom 120 were in the sixth form,,and a teaching complement of 57 full and 9 part time staff.Until 1974 the school had been maintained by the neighbouring county who had founded the school as a mixed grammar school in 1960,naming it after Richard Draper,a local sixteenth century diplomat and scholar.Just before local government re-organisation transfered the maintenance of the school to the present authority in 1974,it had become comprehensive,receiving its first all ability intake in 1973.The buildings were relatively modern,but with a predictable sequence of additional blocks ,extensions and

temporary accommodation that reflected the customary gap between administrative change and adequate provision for it.Although the town was divided into three catchment areas for secondary education,and the majority of students did come from the designated feeder schools,there was less homogeneity than might have been expected.There was some exercise of parental choice amongst the three secondary schools,but more importantly there were a large number of outlying,contributory villages,so that in 1982,for example,the intake derived from over twenty junior schools.The social composition of the school was more varied than in a strictly neighbourhood school and there was a much higher proportion of students from middle class homes than in the other study schools.

Although very different from Chilworth,many features at Draper were reminiscent of that school.For both,the negotiation of the past had been lengthy and complex;and similar issues were involved.Both had newly appointed headteachers and a number of staff who had served in the school when it had a different status.The two schools also faced a degree of competition from outside and both were in the process of introducing curriculum change and re-defining their institutional identity.

In 1979,Mr Davis was appointed to the headship from a deputy headship in the same authority,where

he had also previously taught English.He succeeded the grammar school headteacher who had seen the first comprehensive intake through to the sixth form.What distinguished the situation from Chilworth was that Draper had been a mixed grammar school,with an established reputation for academic success,whereas the achievement of the predecessor grammar school at Chilworth had been very modest by comparison.There was also greater staff continuity at Draper,so that the new headteacher inherited many staff who had taught in the grammar school:three deputy headteachers and the heads of eight academic departments had this continuity.If the major emphasis of Mr Charles at Chilworth was upon the restitution of certain features of a lost grammar school tradition,the emphasis in Draper was very much upon the modification and dilution of that legacy.The curriculum was being changed from one that was essentially subject based,and directed towards traditional academic excellence,to one that had broader aims and included greater provision for students of modest ability.

The direction in which the headteacher wished to take the school was clear,but the movement at the time of this study was incomplete.The process had been modified by several kinds of constraints.Some came from outside the school in the form of parental pressure and expectations that led to a competition with other secondary schools,whilst others were limitations imposed by restricted

staff experience.There was also another constraint,imposed by what Mr Davis himself viewed as acceptable means of achieving desired ends.

Outside pressure was evident in the way that falling rolls had affected the secondary schools and produced both competition and co-operation between them.In its early years as a comprehensive school,Draper had an advantage over the other schools in its reputation as the former grammar school;this had attracted to it a disproportionate number of more able students.Staff continuity ensured the provision of prestigious minority subjects unavailable in the other two schools.But increasing distance from that grammar school past,and a shrinking school population,made the situation more competitive.Considerable importance at the time of the field work was placed upon the image of the school perceived by the community.This was a sensitive task,since it involved establishing a different kind of distinction for the school,rather than simple evocation of a glorious academic past.It was difficult because the largely middle class constituency in the catchment area had high parental expectations of education and were more likely to be satisfied by the maintenance of a traditionally academic grammar school curriculum.Nonetheless,there was also a good deal of co-operation as well between the town's three schools in facing common problems.Staff from all three

schools were seconded together to devise a new scheme for their one year sixth entrants;they co-operated in the provision of minority subjects;and they all had recourse to the same centre for disruptive pupils.

I did not question staff about the degree to which they welcomed comprehensivisation,or the changes that ensued,but some of the inherent difficulties in the situation were clear.Resistance to change derived from a number of staff whose teaching experience was confined to grammar schools.Resistance need not mean outright hostility,nor did it here.It was more in the nature of unpreparedness for,or unawareness of the need for, change.Many such staff occupied senior positions in the school hierarchy which itself was a pattern inherited from the school's previous status,albeit somewhat modified.The alterations to the curriculum,teaching methods and conceptions of subjects that are involved in becoming comprehensive are always immense,but particularly so when they are accommodated without an influx of staff with alternative experience.The nature of the school was changing,whilst retaining the same personnel,at exactly the time when teacher mobility was declining throughout the country.(15) The gradual nature of the changed intake,a year at a time,had given opportunity for procrastination as well as planning.For some time,the school must have seemed a very familar landscape and only after five or six years would the

inevitability of change have become appparent.In the final term of this study,ten years after going comprehensive,the Maths department advertised for a teacher to take mainly lower band third and fourth years,an area for which none of the current members felt their experience adequately qualified them.As we shall see later,the Remedial Department,too,was still in the process of defining its role in the school.

These were severe constraints,and they were intensified by those imposed by Mr Davis himself.At Chilworth the changes introduced by Mr Charles were in some sense aided by the school's past reputation and the extensive building programme.Both served to establish conditions and incentives for a new order which he devised.His more authoritarian approach,moreover,enabled him to impose change upon a sometimes reluctant staff.Any proposal for change at Draper,by contrast,was much more transparent and seen to originate directly from the headteacher.There were no distractions as at Chilworth,under cover of which,changes could be thrust upon the school.Mr Davis is characterised here as <u>liberal</u> in his leadership because the emphasis throughout was upon change and reform achieved through discussion and consensus.Considerable importance was attached to individual views and personal development.At Draper the uncertainty facing the school was a classic liberal dilemma:how to achieve reform,justified

upon individualistic and libertarian grounds,without recourse to authoritarian imposition.

For example,there existed at the time of the study,an integrated humanities scheme for first year pupils which aimed to bridging the gap between primary and secondary experience at transfer.It was an early attempt to meet the changing needs of the school in its new status and had been introduced before the arrival of Mr Donaldson,who was the head of English during the study period.The course was unpopular with many English staff because they felt their subject badly served by non- specialist staff.Further modification to that initiative,which Mr Davis,too,had inherited,was difficult because the senior member of staff who devised the scheme was still in the school.Other changes had been introduced by Mr Davis with success.Significantly,many of these had been directed at lower ability students,that is those students of whom many staff had least experience.Changes involving the curriculum for the more able may well prove more difficult.There was a new examination course,entitled "Learning for life" which was taken by all fourth and fifth year students,the aim of which was to enhance personal and social development and which included elements on careers,health and religious education,practical citizenship and leisure activities.The introduction of this scheme,and the restructuring of the pastoral system,had done much to change the former hierarchy

and curriculum.It also laid down important markers as to the direction in which the school is to move in the future.

Mr Davis' background was in English teaching.He had taught English for many years,ran a department and had written a number of English text books for schools.His view of English teaching had coloured his conception of the whole school curriculum and the nature of schooling.He was very much in the personal growth school of English teaching described by Dixon (1965) whose characteristics were discussed in chapter four.In talking about his own work as an English teacher in the school with the lowest ability fourth year set,Mr Davis was insistent upon the need for that work to concern itself with serious things,"to talk about moral and emotional concerns that are really worth talking about."

These preoccupations may be seen to permeate the parents' handbook which affords an interesting contrast with Chilworth.The aims of the school,for example,are a good starting point.

It is significant that the aims as stated here arose from,and were expected to be used in,discussion.The resistance to listing,in an itemised order of priorities,reflects an attempt to avoid the usual subject hierarchy of status, and favours an interdisciplinary and holistic approach.Moreover,there is an attempt to specify

precisely the desired qualities and attributes in a way that clarifies the values aimed at by the school.The terms used throughout the document go well beyond the common sense terms of popular educational debate to which the Chilworth handbook restricts itself.The Draper handbook was the only one of the three considered here to mention the Education Act which required schools to produce such documents.The opportunities for parents to exclude their children from assemblies or corporal punishment are clearly explained.Indeed,throughout,there is explanation as well as statement of the features of the school.The section on punishment,for example,details the kind of discipline that pertained and the sanctions used to enforce it.

> The school is committed to enabling its pupils to fulfil their varied talents and achieve their goals, so a good working atmosphere and ordered environment are essential.Above all else,pupils are encouraged to see the value of self-discipline and to help them,they are given an active role in the running of school affairs.
> Sanctions taken against pupils who break rules or disrupt school procedures include reporting systems and graded detentions,at lunch times,on Tuesday evenings or,exceptionally Saturday mornings.Parents are always informed of the last two,so implementing the school's policy of involving them in disciplinary problems.Late transport is provided after Tuesday detentions.
> For the most serious offences,corporal punishment is used,very occasionally,on boys as an alternative to suspension.The school will respect the views of any parent who informs us in writing,that they are opposed to this sanction.Where we consider it necessary to exclude a pupil from the school for a time,we ask parents to meet us to discusss the situation as a matter of urgency,and outside support agencies are often involved.A persistently disruptive pupil may be recommended to spend some part of his or her timetable in the town's special unit,The Grange.

There is a much greater acknowledgement of audience here than in the Chilworth document.However vague or threatening the "support agencies"or the "town's special unit" might appear,there is a clear sequence involved,rather than the simple assumption,as at Chilworth,of an area over which the school has unspecified but complete jurisdiction.Rights are acknowledged and there is a degree of negotiation implied.

The section on the curriculum begins

> the school seeks to provide a sound rich and varied education in which the classroom work is complemented by a wide range of other activities.We aim to help and enable each pupil to make the fullest use of his or her abilities,in whatever direction these may lie,and to create an environment in which positive academic ,social and personal development will occur.We aim to provide sound and imaginative teaching and to offer a curriculum which provides for the varied needs of our pupils.

The language used suggests a very diffferent role for the teacher than at Chilworth,where students would simply 'have the benefit of the specialist ability of the staff.'The terms used ('rich','help','enable','imaginative','varied') suggest a different conceptual and pedagogic tradition from those employed at Chilworth.They are also very familiar to anyone versed in accounts of English teaching.The statement also assumes a diversity amongst its pupils which the school seeks to recognise,celebrate and employ,as opposed to stressing the institutionally defined pattern to which they will be expected to conform.There is emphasis in this section upon the methods used as well as knowledge

taught,upon process as much as product.In Hammersley's terms,therefore,it is strikingly individualistic rather than unversalistic.

These extracts clearly indicate the direction in which Mr Davis wished to take the school.There were flourishing extra-curricular activities at the school at the time of the fieldwork,but the sense of community,of association and participation,to which the handbook attaches such importance,have not as yet been incorporated in to the curriculum itself. Despite the impediments to change described above,the school was very different from what it had been at the time of Mr Davis' arrival.The contrast here is with Baydon,a newly established school,where over a number of years,staff had been involved in curriculum innovation in the great majority of subjects so that people were actively involved in the making of the school.

The uniform at Draper was simpler and less contentious than at Chilworth.Sixth formers were exempt,girls were allowed to wear trousers and all students had considerable choice within the prescribed colour scheme.There were not readily identifiable dissident groups out of uniform and there were no obvious differences in appearance between the sample O level and CSE groups as was the case at Chilworth.Indeed,uniform scarcely featured as a topic of conversation amongst either staff or students.

Although there was a degree of mixed ability teaching in the lower school,the composition of the first year groups was largely determined by choice of foreign language,another legacy from the school's past status.Setting occurred in Maths and Languages during the first year;half the third year teaching was in setted groups,and by the fourth year most subjects were in setted groups.The flexibility afforded by setting avoided the sharp academic and social divisions apparent in Chilworth's banding arrangements.Placement at a number of levels in different subjects produced neither the hard lines of demarcation amongst students that occurred with banding,nor the degree of typecasting of students by staff apparent in the other school.But despite this,there were signs that,by the fourth year,Draper's arrangements were producing effects very similar to those experienced at Chilworth,although more quietly and invisibly.The sample O level group was predominantly middle class in composition,whilst the CSE group was disproportionately working class.There was also a pronounced sex imbalance.The O level group in the sample comprised 23 girls and 8 boys,and whilst the sample CSE group was evenly balanced,the two lowest sets in the year group were predominantly,or exclusively,boys.Such features were to some extent noticed by staff,but accepted as normal.In commenting upon the preponderance of boys each year in the lowest groups,Mr Donaldson,the head of

English,said

> It's undoubtedly the girls who lead,and they remain strong in depth,and it's the boys who are running to keep up with the girls at the top and definitely providing the tail at the bottom...I think it's possibly something to do with questions of maturity,with the fact that girls are more verbal,they are more skilful linguistically..they are better at the age of 14 at manipulating ideas,they are more acquiescent and therefore more likely to survive in CSE groups,whereas the boys might drop through the CSE groups into non exam courses for personality reasons,peer group pressures or whatever.

Explanation of the phenomenon is sought entirely outside the school.The differences are seen as natural,rather than as produced,or reinforced,by the schooling process itself.Although this problem's likely origin in school was overlooked,its management was not neglected.The lowest ability group had a curriculum devised by the school,Social and Community Studies,which cut across subject boundaries,whilst the lowest English group took another specially designed course entitled Communication which was taught the headteacher.His subject background was in English,but his decision to teach that course had rhetorical overtones and was more than
a response to timetable exigencies.A similar example of a headteacher's "rhetorical" deployment in the timetable occurred at Chilworth where Mr Charles taught Latin.Classics was indeed,his subject,but the restitution of classics was also an important element in the construction of the new school image.Mr Davis' concern for the less able students in the school was evident,too, elsewhere in his support for the

Social and Community Studies course and for the new course for one year sixth entrants.

The English department at Draper was unusual in that school in that most of its members had been appointed since the arrival of the new headteacher.Only one,a deputy headteacher who was an English specialist,had any experience of the grammar school past;and he had taught in the school for over twenty years.Mr Donaldson,the head of department,had been appointed to the post in 1978,the year before the arrival of Mr Davis,when the school was already fully comprehensive in its first five years.His previous post had been in a sixth form college.Mr Dauncy,who was also involved in this study,had been in the school for several years,having taught previously in an independent school.Mr Dyke,who took over Mr Dauncy's class half way through the study,had just completed his second year of teaching.Another teacher in the department had taught for several years,all at Draper.Mr Davis himself had taught English for many years in comprehensives and it was with a former colleague that he had written his English course book.

There was considerable dissatisfaction amongst department members with the integrated scheme for first years which included English.In the second and third years, teaching groups were mixed ability,and at the end of the third year,students were allocated to either an O level or CSE band.In the past,both the O level and CSE groups had been setted,but the department had introduced a policy of parallel sets within each band at the start of the year when this fieldwork began.It was a popular move with staff who hoped to extend the amount of mixed ability teaching in the future.The department had made a number of moves to alter examination courses in a way that would reflect their teaching priorities and concerns.A mode 3 A level scheme introduced by Mr Donaldson some time ago had proved very successful and the department had also considered submitting mode 3 schemes for O and CSE levels,but had not done so in the end because of what they took to be the imminent arrival of the new GCSE examination at 16+.(16) In the event then,students took a conventional O level Language course and the Plain Texts option for O level Literature which offered some widening of the assessment procedures,though not so great as to include course work.The CSE examination formerly taken by the school had been thought less satisfactory and recent changes introduced by the Board,

reducing the importance of course work,which affected the sample year group,had left staff feeling the need for more extensive change.A mode 3 course,Communication,for the lowest attaining students had been introduced recently.

Departmental accommodation offered staff a permanent teaching base,close access to the office and department stores and also to the library which was the responsibility of a member of the History staff.Although English rooms were close together,and individual rooms contained display and decorations,there was little sense of a distinct subject area.The department was well stocked with a fairly traditional range of literature and course books;it was very much better provided for than Chilworth.The contents had clearly been carefully selected over a number of years.

Relationships within the department were friendly and there was no sense of the group's isolation from the rest of the staff.There was discussion amongst members and regular meetings,but they were not a close knit group.This was less to do with disagreements than the lack of occasions when they had come together in any joint enterprise.A strong group identity was also hampered by the departure of Mr Dauncy (who taught the O level sample group) at the end of the first year of the study,and the secondment of Mr. Donaldson for a term during the second year. Members

were not involved in the degree of close discussion of current work with colleagues that was apparent at Baydon.

iii.Baydon School.

Baydon School,which was twelve years old at the start of this study,was the only one of the three to have been purpose built,although that phrase disguises the shoddiness characterising the design and construction of some of its later phases.It was situated on the outer fringes of a medium sized industrial town and was largely encircled by private and local authority housing estates and new industrial development.The area was part of the borough's planned expansion which involved redevelopment of the town centre and the relocation of industries from there and other cities.There were easy motorway and rail connections to the West country and London.The housing estates served by Baydon were mixed in social composition,but the area was predominantly working class.The school had fewer feeder junior schools and was more homogeneous socially than the other two involved in the study.

Uncertainty over the school size had dogged Baydon's brief history (17) For a number of years its buildings had been inadequate to meet the needs of a rapidly

growing catchment area,but,at the start of the research,there were 1100 students.of whom 130 were in the sixth form.Falling rolls were beginning to affect the school severely;some years previously there had been almost 1700 on roll.Throughout the duration of the fieldwork,there was a complex series of negotiations and appeals over the future of education in the area.The re-organisation proposed by the LEA involved the closure of some 11-18,11-14 and 14-18 schools,the establishment of a sixth form college and the re-designation of a smaller number of surviving schools as 11-16 comprehensives.Baydon was destined in this plan to become an 11-16 school.The whole process of consultation and appeal was slow and complicated,but the climax,which occurred towards the end of this study's second year,appeared swift and inevitable to the participants.The re-organisation produced great uncertainty,particularly in its later stages,because all staff had to re-apply for a smaller number of comparable posts in the new schools.Tension and uncertainty were heightened by the fact that there had been a long period of staff stability at Baydon and compounded by the extraordinary insensitivity of some of the local luminaries involved in interviewing bodies.(18) A further complication was that the re-organised area had once been an excepted borough under different political control,with very different educational policies from the shire county into which it had been absorbed by local government re-organisation.There was,amongst many

Baydon staff,a conscious memory of a different dispensation,and in the view of many participants,the reorganisation of schooling was at least as much to do with the settling of old political scores as with any accommodation of falling rolls.

Ironically,at an earlier stage in his career,Mr Baxter,the headteacher,had resigned his first headship of a new comprehensive in a neighbouring county on a similar issue,when the LEA changed its policy.This first school of which he had been head was to be an 11-16 comprehensive feeding into a sixth form college,rather than the 11-18 all through school of which he had been assured at the time of his appointment.Now,twelve years later he was faced with a repetition of that situation.Throughout much of the fieldwork,Mr Baxter was instrumental in leading local opposition to the re-organisation plans,but finally he decided to accept early retirement at the age of 57 and a new headteacher ,Miss Beal,was appointed from outside the authority to the headship of the newly designated school.

Even without this diversion of re-organisation,Mr Baxter's position was very different from that of his other two colleagues.As the first headteacher of a new school he had had greater room for manoeuvre as regards curriculum and staffing than they could ever have achieved.Although the same age as the other two

schools,Baydon faced quite different problems:it was a school at a totally different stage of development.Mr Baxter is characterised here as patriarchal in his leadership primarily because he had founded the school,but there were other features of his leadership to account for that attribution.These relate to his exercise of power and his creation of a space within which to exercise it.We have already seen how the particular backgrounds of Mr Charles and Mr Davis were influential in shaping those headteachers' conceptions of their schools.Mr Baxter's background ,too,was important,but in a different way.He often gave the impression of utilising his background,deploying and displaying it strategically,rather than simply being under its influence.

The frequent references ,for example,to his Northumnbrian background in conversation was more than a nostalgic regional affiliation.They served to establish his position as an outsider in the community and the county in which he worked and as a potential reformer of a long established status quo.He had worked in many parts of the country in the course of his career and quickly drew upon this to establish common points of reference in conversation with staff.Almost none had connections with Northumbria.There were elements,too,in his leadership which appeared to show traces of his long association with the Quakers.There was a considerable emphasis upon moral seriousness and a concern for individual conscience in his

approach,which was neither pompous nor humourless.Certain features of the Quaker meeting also appeared to offer alternative political models to either authoritarianism or democratic voting.Staff at all levels were encouraged to voice their views to him at any time,and frequently did so,however divergent they might be.But decisions were his own,and some,such as all things to do with finance,were very private.There was a full range of consultative meetings in the school,and it was Mr Baxter's reading of the meeting's mood that was decisive,rather than any vote.He talked frequently and at length with many staff and with individual pupils around the school.His wide interests in literature and history,and a passion for Italian opera were apparent in his conversation,and although always eager to discuss particularities of the school or educational approaches,he conveyed the impression to many that school did not absorb all his energies.This was re-inforced by the familiarity he revealed with developments in most subject areas whilst taking great pains to avoid ever declaring his own initial subject specialism.

All headteachers are gatekeepers,but this was particularly so for Mr Baxter.More clearly than elsewhere,the composition of the staff indicated the kind of school which he desired,for he had had the opportunity to appoint all the staff under his authority.Several features were apparent.Staff were predominantly young.Most heads of

department had been appointed in their late twenties or early thirties,whilst a high proportion of staff had joined the school as probationers.Almost none had local connections and very few had been appointed from local schools,so that affiliations for many of them had tended to form around the school.Staff turnover had been very low for several years because,during the period of the school's rapid expansion,there was a steady flow of incomers as opportunities arose for internal promotion.Senior pastoral staff were also young and,with the exception of the deputy heads,tended to be internal promotions.Day to day running of the school was in the hands of one very efficient deputy who had joined the school at its inception and was promoted to a headship elsewhere shortly after its redesignation fourteen years later.The second deputy headship had been filled by a succession of teachers who had moved on more swiftly.

The headteacher's position at the top of a hierarchy ensures a degree of isolation,but Mr Baxter's staffing policy had the effect both of heightening and lessening this feature.The marked gap in age and experience between Mr Baxter on the one hand,and all but a few of the staff on the other,marked his clear separation.He was one of the few staff,for example,who could make explicit comparisons,based upon experience,with other schools.This separation was also neatly encapsulated in the nomenclature adopted in the school:Mr Baxter was addressed and referred

to by all staff at all levels as 'Mr Baxter',whereas he and all other staff addressed and referred to everybody else by their first name,or by their first and surname in the presence of students.There were odd exceptions to this rule,but neither of the other two schools had this consistency or such an accurate reflection of the particular institutional hierarchy in their forms of address.Nor is this to suggest that Mr Baxter was unapproachable;quite the reverse was the case.But this formal acknowledgement of his status in a largely informal school was striking in its contrast with the other schools.The isolation of his post,however,was also lessened because the difference in age and experience afforded Mr Baxter certain advantages in his leadership which freed him from constraints to which his colleagues elsewhere were subject.After all,many of the unpromoted staff were encultured into the teaching profession in conditions over which he exercised unusual control and influence,and all promoted staff owed their presence and position in the school directly to Mr Baxter.Increased isolation,that is,brought with it both increased dependence upon him and a considerable institutional loyalty.

A further characteristic which Mr Baxter appeared to have looked for in his staff was an interest in curriculum innovation and an explicit commitment to progressive educational methods and to provision for

students of all abilities.This had clearly influenced the selection of heads of department as could be seen in the existence of over thirty mode 3 course work based examination schemes at CSE,O and A level,whose negotiation and design Mr Baxter had actively supported and encouraged. Moreover,heads of department had considerable influence over the selection of their departmental members,so that similar characteristics had been sought throughout the subject hierarchies.

Departments were given a great deal of autonomy over their subject content and method as well as the arrangement of their teaching groups.Mixed ability teaching was encouraged but not imposed.In the first three years,all subjects with the exception of Modern Languages,were taught in such groups.There was an integrated Humanities course which was taught in mixed ability groups through to the fifth year and until two years prior to the start of this fieldwork,English had been taught in fully mixed ability groups from years one to five.Tutor groups were formed on the basis of interviews and friendship groups after an extensive programme of junior school visits in the year prior to admission. In the fourth and fifth year,there was no evidence that either social class or sex influenced the placement into CSE or O level groups.Attention from the first had been given in the school to the provision of adequate remedial support;to social education and the

establishment of an extensive pastoral care system.In the option scheme there was a clear attempt to avoid the traditional hierarchical ranking of subjects by status.

As at Draper,uniform was based upon adherence to a single colour which allowed for diversity and choice.Sixth formers were exempt,and girls throughout the school were allowed to wear trousers.Most pupils conformed to the requirements,and the few who did not ,were not identifiable as a group as they were at Chilworth.Uniform was the occasion of some contention at Baydon,but to nowhere the same extent as in Chilworth.There was a very low incidence of oppositional features in the school and,as later evidence shows,Baydon students made a more positive evaluation of their schooling than their peers elsewhere.Teaching styles within the school tended to towards what Woods referred to as negotiation and fraternisation rather than domination (19).Discipline was less arbitrary than at Chilworth and more firm than at Draper.There was a greater degree of attachment amongst students and also of autonomy;less was enforced upon them and more contributed by them in many aspects of school life.(20)

So far it would seem that Mr Baxter is securely enmeshed in the liberal tradition of progresive education.He firmly resisted any move that he regarded as

philistine,or merely instrumental,in its conception of education,whether that suggestion came from within or without the school.But it is important to indicate the limits of his position and to distinguish it from radicalism.There was a marked resistance to radical change,particularly as regards anything which tended in Mr Baxter's view to undermine the authority of the headteacher.Proposals to alter the composition of governing bodies,moves towards greater accountability,a school council that was anything but consultative,were all topics that found no favour with him.Power was certainly devolved within the school to a very much greater degree than in the other study schools,and as we shall see in more detail later,staff and students had a far greater say in the management of their affairs than elsewhere.But the devolution served at the same time to emphasise the power of the central figure who had granted it.Limitations of staff experience,fragmentation into departmental groupings whose orientation was inwards towards subject specific concerns,wide consulatation on a relatively informal basis,and the lack of any organised body of staff,other than subject based,meant that control of the school was also highly centralised.That power was also highly personalised.

The point can perhaps best be made by reference to the parents' handbook,drawn up many years before there was any legal obligation to do so.In the

Chilworth handbook the text speaks of what 'the school' as an institution expects and demands - an appeal is implicit to the authority vested by society in the school as an institution.The phrasing is impersonal and formal with no room for questioning and no perceived necessity for justification.The Draper handbook makes its appeal on behalf of a collective 'we' which assumes collective decisions,with benevolent intentions,an impression reinforced by the tone of patient exposition used throughout.The appeal in the Baydon handbook is characteristically personal,the term of reference ultimately being 'I'.The section on discipline exemplifies this.The trouble with a word like discipline is that it means diferent things to different people.What is certain is that no community of any kind can work without a framework of good order,and this applies just as much to a small community like the family,as to a large one like the school.

In spite of all that one reads in the newspapers or sees on television,the fact is that most pupils today are well-behaved and present no real problem to their teachers,and that is as true of Baydon School as any other.

However,it is also a fact of life in the 1980s that a small minority of children do give us headaches ,and in my experience,these are children who are over-indulged in the home,and whose parents are themselves,in many cases,anti-school.If only five boys and girls in every hundred fell into this category at Baydon,then we would have sixty of them!

I believe it is of the utmost importance that in every classroom there is an ordered environment in which learning can take place,and that if any child is preventing another from learning or making progress,then something must be done by staff and parents.

We have a number of sanctions and punishments at our disposal,ranging from extra work;detention;being'on report'(when at the end of each lesson the pupil has to present to staff a form for their comments on his/her behaviour;corporal punishment (used infrequently

only by the Headmaster himself,but used);to suspension and,if necessary as a last resort,expulsion if the Governors so desire.
I must make it quite clear to all parents that neither I nor my staff are prepared to tolerate insolence or violence at Baydon School.We have created a community here which is adjudged by our many visitors to be a pleasant and happy one and,if pupils cannot co-operate with us then,to put it bluntly,they should seek another school.
Most parents will,I know,support my viewpoint.There are others,a few only,who resent their children being disciplined in any way at school.It is to all parents that I appeal for every support in our efforts to maintain good order,and to those who dislike the thought of their children being disciplined I would point out the danger of giving their children the impression that they support their misbehaviour,and that while a small child who is allowed to do anything it likes can still be quite appealing,children coming into Baydon are being prepared for the adult world where we all of us have to learn to conform to what is considered correct behaviour,to accept sensible rules,be prepared to take instruction and to obey reasonable authority.

There is as much explanation of the procedures as at Draper and very much more so than at Chilworth,but the text is more explicit than either about the nature of the authority and the assumptions upon which it is based.

The stated aims of the school (given in Appendix VI) are presented in similar fashion.They were extensively discussed with the staff some years prior to the study and then framed by Mr Baxter.Unlike those at Draper they are not the agenda for future discussion.(21)

There is a greater attempt here to give an account of what the school aims might look like in practice than was the case in the other two schools.(22) There is a much more marked concern with personal development than at Chilworth,but it is less individualistic than Draper;wider social demands,both expectations and constraints,are more fully acknowledged than in either of the other schools.The handbook also,by implication at times and sometimes explicitly,lays claim to a particularly privileged and powerful position for the school in the community.The limits of the headteacher's powers are clearly staked out in these extracts,but the personal chracteristics of this kind of leadership also indicate its limitations.

There is an inherent frailty in patriarchal leadership.It is too dependent upon freak conditions.It depends upon an unusual degree of control of important factors which considerably reduce the constraints upon the school,factors such as new school,new staff and new curriculum.Such an occasion only occurs once in an institutional history.No successor to Mr Baxter could hope to have the advantages he enjoyed.The absence of an institutional past was the defining feature of the situation

upon Mr Baxter's appointment.But Miss Beal inherited,after the redesignation of the school,an institutional history as complex as that facing either Mr Charles or Mr Davis.The staff in September 1983 comprised original members of Baydon,some new teachers,and many more appointed,or redeployed to the school with varying degrees of enthusiasm from a variety of other local schools some of which had ceased to exist altogether.

It was the threat of just such a future which faced Mr Baxter for much of the period of the fieldwork.Whereas Mr Charles and Mr Davis were busy negotiating the past,he had the prospect of the threatened end of the school as currently constituted with which to cope.But despite the many features which seemed to detach it from history,Baydon,too, had its legacy from the past.A number of problems were evident at Baydon which were subordinated to concerns over re-organisation during this fieldwork,but were never fully submerged.They concerned the conflict between the innovative nature of the school and outside pressures,and the growing separation of the academic,social and pastoral functions within the school.

We have already mentioned Baydon's involvement in curriculum innovation.Its success had been particularly notable with its middle and lower ability students:for a number of years scarcely any students had

left from the fifth year without qualifications and the school had the lowest unemployment rate in the borough amongst its school leavers.However,school reputations are rarely made in public estimation upon provision for that end of the ability range.Although Baydon achieved success with its more able students,other schools in the area which streamed more rigorously and which in many cases had more favoured intakes,achieved more noticed success with their ablest pupils.Falling rolls made parental choice more prominent in the school's consideration and the political climate in education had changed.An innovative school in a time of expansion is one thing,but quite another when public discussion is of a return to basics.There was less mixed ability teaching in Baydon at the start of the research than once there had been and there was a move towards greater formality in teaching styles apparent to many staff.Innovation had ceded to consolidation,or retrenchment,depending upon one's perspective.Such changes provoked differing reactions amongst staff and differing rhetoric about the school's past.

Connected with this shift in the educational climate were other tensions associated with the hierarchies within the school.Many staff could remember times when the separation of pastoral,academic and disciplinary functions within the school had been less sharp.The recent establishment of a 'cabinet' comprising heads of school,but

excluding heads of department,as a regular forum for policy discussion indicated a shift in the balance of power.It is a common enough feature in secondary schools,but its absence until recently at Baydon did not make it any the less potentially divisive.The shift in the balance of power within the school also provoked varied reactions amongst staff as to the direction now being taken by the school.Both tensions were unresolved,though muted by the process of re-organisation.The past had become a force in the school,even if overshadowed by a future which many staff felt would retain few of the features which had first attracted them to their posts.

At the start of the research,the English department was in a transitional state with a newly appointed head of department,some decline in staff numbers because of falling rolls and uncertainty over re-organisation.Mr Black,the new head of department,had been internally promoted following his predecessor's departure to read for a research degree.Despite these changes,there was considerable continuity in the department.Both Mr Black and Mr Berg,the two teachers involved in the study,had joined the staff as probationers:the same was true of all the other six full time teachers in the department with the exception of one who had taught briefly in Africa and another who had completed his probationary year elsewhere.Mr Bracoden,the previous head of department,who had been involved in the

appointment of all these staff, had consciously sought applicants interested in curriculum innovation,mixed ability teaching and the capacity to work in a team.Prior to his appointment at Baydon,Mr Bracoden had worked in a comprehensive with a national reputation for commitment to progressivism and curriculum development.Expectations formed there accounted for many of the features of the Baydon department.(23)

The physical accommodation of the department was good:all teaching rooms were in the same block,together with an office and stores.Displays created a distinct sense of subject area.The organisation and relationships within the department were equally important in creating a sense of group identity amongst staff.Although no older than their colleagues in the other schools,Baydon staff appeared very much more experienced because the department was organised so that experience was shared fairly systematically.All staff had taught at every level in the school,and the examination courses at CSE,O and A level had all been devised over a number of years in departmental discussions.Much of the administrative work was shared on a rota basis to enable staff to gain experience and expertise.Supervision of students on teaching practice,for example,setting ,marking and moderation of course work at all levels were treated in the same way.There was more discussion amongst staff about the work done by particular

classes or individuals than was the case in the other two schools.The department was well established in the school and no more isolated from other groups than might be expected in a school fragmented into subject areas housed in separate blocks.

The teaching groups and staff involved in the study.

The total number of students in the study was 162,of whom 94 were in the O level groups and 68 in the CSE groups.The sizes of the two kinds of groups were similar :O level groups contained 31 and CSE 23 (24).In each case the difference in size between the O level and the CSE group was typical of the school.The less able CSE groups were thought to require more help and therefore were in smaller classes,whilst O level candidates,on a more convergent syllabus and generally presumed to be better motivated,were thought more able to cope with larger set sizes.A more pessimistic reading of the situation would account for set size differences in terms of the degree of social control afforded by a policy which dispersed potential difficulties in the smaller CSE sets.

The balance of distribution of boys and girls was unremarkable,with the exception of the O level group at Draper to which attention has already been drawn.That set comprised 8 boys and 23 girls.So far as distribution

according to social class origins is concerned,however,there are significant differences.Table 3a gives the percentages of students by social class in the total sample from each school:

3a.Percentages of students,by social class.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
Manual	38%	28%	57%
Non manual	55%	63%	40%
Unknown	7%	9%	3%

The table employs,despite its inadequacies, the broad manual/non-manual distinction,based upon the paternal parental occupation.(25) Although it is clear from this table that the intake at Baydon contains a higher proportion of working class children,the differences are in fact sharper than recorded here.At Baydon,the students from non-manual backgrounds include half the proportion from social classes I and II as was the case in the of the two schools.At Draper and Chilworth,paternal parental occupations cited included:solicitor,company chairman,architect,town planner,research scientist,university professor,teacher and a host of higher managerial posts.About half the students at Draper in the O level group,for example,had parent(s) with graduate qualifications.At Baydon almost none was in this category in

either of the sample groups.No occupation cited at Baydon required the level of education demanded by the occupations cited above.Table 3b and 3c give the percentages of students,by social class in the two kinds of teaching groups.

Percentages of students in the O level groups,by social class.

	Chilworth	Draper	BaydonManual
	19%	16%	55%
Non manual	75%	81%	45%
Unknown	6%	3%	0%

chi-square 12.86

d.f.=2

P .01

3c.Percentages of students in CSE groups by social class

	Chilworth	Draper	BaydonManual
	65%	43%	59%
Non manual	26%	39%	32%
Unknown	9%	17%	9%

chi-square 1.55

There is no significant difference between the schools in the social composition of the CSE groups,but the difference between the O level groups (3b) is significant.Table 3b

shows that social class is an influential factor in set placement in Chilworth and Draper but not in Baydon.Other recent studies indicate that the influence of social class upon set placement at 13+ is not unusual.Indeed the 13+ option scheme gives rise to effects similar to those produced by the earlier 11+ selection system,although they are obscured,for both teachers and students, by the fact that the process occurs less formally,within one institution and involves choice,assessment and direction in uncertain proportions.

The picture of the social composition of the teaching groups is amplified by the next table,3d,which gives the percentages of students in each group whose households took a quality newspaper.A quality newspaper here includesThe Times,The Guardian,The Telegraph,or their Sunday equivalent.

Percentages of students taking a quality newspaper.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
O level	36%	52%	13%
CSE	9%	22%	9%

O level.chi-square 10.56 df=2 P .001

CSE chi-square 2.31

The differences between the schools revealed here are similar to those revealed by parental occupations.Moreover,although there is little difference as regards newspaper readership between the two Baydon groups,the differences between the O level and CSE sets within the other two schools are marked.

Baydon kept extensive student records both in the Remedial department and in the heads of school offices;but, unfortunately,the other two schools were less complete in their documentation,so that direct comparison is impossible.Baydon records reveal,for example,that in the whole year group from which the sample was drawn,16% of the fathers were unemployed in the autumn of 1982,and 12% of the households were single parent families.No comparable figures were available in the other schools,but national patterns of unemployment and social class would suggest that they were much lower in Chilworth and Draper.

So far as the reading ages of the sample students is concerned,no tests of reading age were administered in the course of the field work but school records were consulted.Here again comparison was impossible because of the variety of tests used and the incompleteness of documentation in Chilworth and Draper (26).At Baydon none of the students involved in the sample experienced difficulties with reading and at Chilworth and Draper there

were only two who did so.In each school there was a number of students of lower ability than any representeed in this study:two teaching sets in the case of Chilworth and Draper,and in Baydon 16 students.(27)

The six staff involved in the study,five of whom were men,included the three heads of department,two experienced teachers and one probationer.They all belonged to that minority of full-time secondary English teachers who are qualified by degree and training to do so.(28) At Baydon,Mr. Black the head of department taught the CSE group throughout the study,whilst Mr. Berg taught the O level group,with the exception of one term when a student was attached to the group.Ms. Combes taught the CSE group at Chilworth without interruption,but the O level group,normally taken by Mr. Corbridge the head of department,was taken by a student for one term during the fieldwork.The position at Draper,however,was more complicated.Mr. Dauncy who took the O level group during their fourth year,left to take up promotion at the end of that year and was replaced by Mr Dike,another teacher in the department who had just completed his probationary year.The CSE group in that school was the most disrupted in the sample.Mr. Donaldson taught them in their fourth year,but they had a student for one of those terms.At the end of the year,Mr Donaldson was on secondment for a term and replaced by a supply teacher,Miss Dodds,who left at the end of the

first term in the fifth year.She did not have a happy relationship with the group.When Mr Donaldson returned from secondment at Christmas,he took on another group which had proved even more difficult with Miss Dodds and the sample group was taught by a second supply teacher,Ms. Dell,for their final two terms.She established an excellent relationship with the students.

v) Overview

These portaits have indicated some of the features which distinguished each school as a unique place of teaching and learning.The features are important in view of the major differences between the patterns of readership in the three schools which later chapters report and which can only be accounted for adequately by the schools' characteristics as social organisations.These characteristics are not simply a neutral background against which certain readership outcomes wee observed.Nor are they simply causal.They form a structural and ideological framework which offered,and foreclosed on,the possibilities of various courses of action and modes of thought.Before turning to the study findings in detail,it is worth clarifying some of the issues revealed in the portraits and which later chapters will develop.

The most obvious characteristic of the three

schools is their commitment,willing or enforced, to change so fundamental as to call into question their values and priorities as institutions.In each case,the proposed changes were neither universally welcomed,nor the outcome settled.All three schools were moving in different directions ,but from very different starting points.Chilworth was re-asserting a tradition of conventional academic excellence,competition and other practices reminiscent of a grammar school past at the same time as Draper was trying to escape from that inheritance to a more broadly based curriculum in which success was more widely interpreted and community and co-operation received greater emphasis.At the outset of the study Baydon occupied the kind of educational space to which many of the educational changes at Draper pressed,but its future was uncertain.The school was approaching the end of of what its historians might call its progressive phase.

Although the general direction of such changes was clear,the speed with which they were implemented,and their effects upon the schools,was very varied.As the MSC is currently demonstrating,some educational change may be effected remarkably swiftly.(29) The re-organisation of secondary education in which Baydon was involved brought about a substantial change in its teaching force and new leadership with different priorities,all within a year.That change,however,was imposed

from without:left to their own devices,schools can rarely achieve change at such a pace.It may be imposed in peripheral areas,such as the extension of uniform at Chilworth.But structural and attitudinal change is slower,negotiated and contested often over many years. A decade after comprehensivisation,for example,neither Chilworth nor Draper had developed measures to screen their first year intake in any systematic way on standard tests.As chapter 7 below reports,the Special Needs departments in both those schools were struggling to establish themselves.Several consequences stem from this kind of slowness in educational change.It is difficult to be certain as to whether or not change has occurred,or to know at what cost it has been achieved.The status quo tends to re-emerge in a new form and many changes introduced are accompanied by a variety of unintended consequences.For example,both Draper and Chilworth were unaware of the extent to which their banding and option systems tended to operate along lines of social class division. Moreover,it is difficult to sustain the momentum for any particular change over a long period without being overtaken by other events which alter the landscape upon which initial calculations have been made.That was particularly true at the time of this fieldwork as the extent of the economic crisis,and its direct impingement upon the education system,became apparent.(30)

Some pressures for change in the schools tend to lessen the differences between them as organisations,whilst others heighten those differences.Wider societal pressures,for example,such as parental expectations,demographic change,education cuts and changing employment prospects all exerted a powerful influence upon all three schools.They shared a common plight in being obliged to make some kind of response:inertia was not an option.But any responsive action was taken from a position already sharply defined and individuated by the school's inheritance from the past,whether that took the form of institutional history or individual biography.Each action taken further distinguished the schools one from another,as common pressures were assimilated to individual circumstances.The major difficulty for those working in such institutions ,particularly at a time of crisis,is to remain conscious of themselves as agents both produced by ,and capable of transforming,the situations in which they find themselves,rather than as the passive recipients of influences derived from the past or from changing societal demands.How teachers perceived themselves as agents within these three institutions was largely determined by two factors:their enculturation into the profession and the exercise of power within the particular study schools.

So far as secondary English teachers are concerned,enculturation,according to the official view (31)

involves becoming,or learning how to make use of already being,somebody with outstandingly and distinctive human qualities.That is one consequence of the literary training which is the background of most secondary English teachers,and of literature conceived and deployed as "institutionalised subjectivity".The analysis offered here rejects the view that English teachers have to be special in that kind of way,and emphasises instead deeper structural and ideological detrminants of the differences between teachers and their teachung outcomes.In the portraits above,little ttention,deliberately has been paid to the characters and attributes of the individual teachers involved.As later chapters will show in more detail,the study teachers shared a broadly similar view of their subject,were all accomplished classroom practioners (32),with good relationships with their students and a high degree of professional commitment.Whatever individual differences existed between them,they operated within recognisably similar ideological parameters.The differences in readership patterns of their pupils must be sought,not so much in differing personal qualities and professional skills,as in the institutional and other social determinants and co-ordinates which constitute them as practioners.

Apart from their initial subject training,the differentiating factor most likely to contribute to the formation of teachers,and the likeliest to be underestimated

other than their own own education,(33) is the induction they receive as probationers when they enter the system.Their training broadly unites them:their induction separates them.It is during this period of enculturation that teachers make crucial judgments about the extent to which their expectations and aspirations are appropriate to that part of the system of which they now form a part.The portraits above show there to be very significant differences between the schools as regards what is accepted as either possible or desirable within the secondary system.Hammersley (cited Barnes 1984) argues "a teacher does not begin with a set of goals and develop means to achieve them:he is socialised into a culture which simultaneously provides a collection of routine concerns and practices which themselves define teaching (until firther notice) and a set of accounts spelling out its purposes."The cultures into which teachers were socialised in the three study schools were very different.Both Mr Black and Mr Berg were encultured into an explicitly progressivist and innovative view of education in an institution where that view was shared by the majority of staff.That was not the case for the teachers in Chilworth and Draper.Moreover,only one of the teachers in those two English departments had ever worked in an institution or department where there existed the kind of consensus or expectation enjoyed at Baydon.That teacher was Mr Davis,the headteacher at Draper.For the others ,the horizons of expectation and possibility were

very different from those of their Baydon colleagues.Whilst making the point that in helping a child to read "we are also telling them about literacy and society" ,Meek (1983) argues that "the view of reading that a child accepts is the one his first teacher gives him".A somewhat similar claim could be made about beginning teachers.

The second influence upon how teachers perceive themselves as agents in the school is the exercise of power.In this too,the three schools were sharply differentiated.In our society schools have several,often opposing, functions imposed upon them.They are expected to be a,if not the,major agency for the custodial care,cultural induction and selection of employment for our young people.From time to time the emphasis shifts from one to another of these functions in order to accommodate a particular crisis,usually economic or political.At the time of the fieldwork there was just such a change of emphasis underway as a consequence of deepening recession and demographic change.These divergent functions give rise to tensions and contradictions in styles of leadership.Possible resolutions of the problem are further restricted by the present salary and promotional structure.(34) Of the three styles of leadership characterised above as authoritarian,liberal and patriarchal,none seemed capable of resolving the institutional tensions with which the schools were beset.That is not to say they were all equally

desirable.The authoritarian leadership at Chilworth enabled decisions to be made regarding the schools future development,but at a considerable cost.Few staff felt much involvement in that decision making process and there was considerable discontent at the lack of opportunity for participation.There was also in that school a greater degree of pupil disaffection than elsehwere.At Draper,the liberal leadership was unable to achieve the consensus desired by the headteacher in order to move the school in the direction he wished.

The limitations of the patriarchal leadership at Baydon lay in the unique position of the headteacher which could never be enjoyed by any successor.The acquisition of a history at the school was also beginning to cause difficulties.Consensus had been achieved by careful staff selection at the outset.However fragile that consensus proved as time went on,and the school was forced to face a much less clement climate,staff there perceived themselves to have far greater access to power and the decision making process than elsewhere.The exercise of power,and the extent to which staff share in it,is not just another background feature of the schools in the study.The evidence presented in the next three chapters about readership demonstrates that students gained most from their education in those conditions where they ,and their teachers,exercised the greatest measure of control over the

definition,processes and product of their work.They derived most benefit,that is ,in conditions where they were able to see themselves as agents enabled as well as constrained by the institutional framework within which they operated.The school in which those conditions most pertained was Baydon.That school's unusually favourable conditions are,of course,difficult to reproduce

;most schools have long complex histories whose problems haunt the present.Nor was that school without failure.Nonetheless,the example is useful in pointing the direction of desirable change for schools.The difficulty remains of discovering ways of transforming our schools when their present structural forms are so inimical to what Freire calls "dialogical education",in which learning is "a dialectical process involving the mental activity of the learner,not as behaviourists would have it,merely in response to a stimulus,but as an appropriation of the real world." (35)

The next chapter turns to the findings from the questionnaire administered to the students.

Footnotes to Chapter Five.

1. The concept of the "duality of structure",in which both the enabling and constraining aspects of structures are acknowledged,is introduced first in Giddens (1976).It is developed in his two later books,(1979 and 1982),which detail more fully the theory of the acting subject and the location of action in time and space.

> "how should we understand the relation between action and structure?....(we need) a recognition of a duality that is implicated in all social reproduction,the duality of structure.By the duality of structure I refer to the essentially recursive character of social life:the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices that constitute those systems.The best way to illustrate this is by reverting to the Saussurian conception of the production of an utterance.When I utter a sentence I draw upon various syntactical rules (sedimented in my practical consciousness of the language) to do so.These structural features of the language are the medium whereby I generate the utterance.But in producing the syntactically correct utterance I simultaneously contribute to the reproduction of the language as a whole.This view rejects the identification of structure with constraint:structure is both enabling and constraining.The most revolutionary forms of social change,like the most fixed forms of social reproduction ,in this conception,involve structuration....The importance of this relation between moment and totality for social theory can hardly be exaggerated,involving as it does a dialectic of absence and presence which ties the most minor or trivial forms of social action to structural properties of the overall society,and to the coalescence of institutions over long stretches of historical time."
> Giddens 1982.

2. See Ball.S. (1982) and Burgess B. (1983) for discussion of the presentation of institutional histories.

3. See Jones.K. (1983);Wolpe and Donald (1983);and CCCS (1981) for analyses of these shifts in the educational climate.

4. Teacher biographies are a relatively unexplored area in educational research,though see Woods (1979).Three features,particularly,seem worth investigation:the long term influence of their first post which encultures teachers;the influence and powers of professional,informal networks sustained throughout teachers' careers;and the long term influence of particular schools upon the system as a

whole via staff who have served in them.The importance and power of such networks and influences is acknowledged in teachers "common-sense" views,but have not been investigated.Such investigations would provide an invaluable complement to individual school case studies.The life span of an institution,particularly one in an innovative phase is usuallly very short (perhaps 5-7 years).Its life span,modified in other institutions as teachers' careers disperse a staff through the system,is considerably greater.

5.

> "There are relatively few sociological studies of headteachers,and those that are available tend to be somewhat speculative.First there are acounts of the role of the headteacher (Bernbaum 1976;Hughes 1976;Baron1970).Secondly there are accounts of the changes that confront headteachers (Taylor 1973);and thirdly,there some discusions of headteachers as leaders,managers and sources of authority within the schools (Taylor 1976;King 1973b).However,there is very little empirical material specifically on headteachers.A notable exception is a report by Bernbaum (1974) on the social origins,educational and work experiences of a sample of headmasters in the East Midlands.Meanwhile,ethnographic studies of secondary schools by Hargeraves (1967);Lacey (1970);Woods (1979) and Ball (1981) have devoted little attention to the headmasters of the schools,other than incidental remarks that relate to various facets of school organisation.This chapter is therefore intended to fill a gap in the current literature by focussing upon the headmaster at Bishop Macgregor."
> Burgess.B. 1983.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the gap in the literature accurately described by Burgess is related to the relative status in the hierarchy of educational researchers and headteachers.

6. The source of this information was an interview with Mr Charles.

7. see Benjamin.W. 1982.

8. Mr Charles was perceived by his staff to be very explicit as to what he expected them to deliver,particularly in regard to exam certification,and as to what the career consequences of (non)delivery might be.The accuracy of such statements was not checked through,but their veracity is not the point at issue.Only in Chilworth were such perceptions

of the headteacher volunteered.

9. The school was late to provide equal curricular opportunities for boys and girls.In part this was due to problems over the building programme,but interviews with senior staff suggested that there was little enthusiasm to provide such opportunities.

10. see fn 8 above.Staff perceptions at Chilworth as regards participation in decision making were very different from those in the other schools.

11. How educated parents perceived the school was a subject raised by Mr Charles upon almost every occasion that we spoke.See also final appendix on data contamination.

12. This was not the case with the two English teachers involved in the study.It is difficult to evidence such a perception without extensive quotation.Teachers in all three schools had some difficult and demanding classes,but the terms used to convey their expectations and acceptance of them in the other two schools were very much more positive.

13. Mr Corbridge,for example,hoped that more mixed ability teaching in the lower years at least might result from the findings of this study,but there was no sign of such a decision from amongst senior staff.

14. The move to new accommodation coincided with the initial analysis of findings from this study and the department implemented a number of quite fundamental changes as a consequence of discussing them.Books were made very much more available in the classrooms and personal reading time was increased.Wider changes were more difficult to achieve.

15. The effect of a national decline in teacher mobility appeared to be compounded by a local factor.The proximity of the town to an ancient university city with all its cultural attractions made staff reluctant to move away for promotion.

16. At the time of writing these footnotes,the new GCSE is still imminent and even more uncertain due to the prolonged industrial action in which teachers have been engaged.

17. When the school opened,it was scheduled to grow to between 1000 and 1200.In its fifth and sixth years staff were involved in consultative discussions about it growing to over 2400,or forming one of two paired schools sharing the same site.Seven years after its opening it had reached about 1700,after which it began to decline in size.

18. For example,the casual public discussion by interviewing councillors of candidates' interview performances or merits with others around the school.

19. see Woods (1979) and (1980).

20. see Hargreaves (1982) for a full discussion of these issues.See also the Hargreaves Report for their development in the section on aspects of achievement.

21. The aims of the school had been extensively discussed by staff at an early stage in the school's history when the staff had been very much smaller.

22. see Appendix VI.

23. Particularly in regard to curriculum development and working practices with colleagues.

24. There were several pupils who left the school or who changed teaching groups in the course of the two years.There were a small number of late entrants to some of the groups.Data is only presented here relating to those students who were in the teaching groups for the duration of the fieldwork.

25. see fn 27 Chapter Two.

26. The various feeder primary schools had administered different tests at different ages to their pupils.For most children these scores were recorded,but no comparative judgment could be based upon them;for some children no scores,primary or secondary,had been recorded.

27. In Chilworth and Draper these groups of students were taught different courses from their peers in the CSE groups which conformed fairly closely to the descriptions given in Barnes (1984).In Baydon,the English and Remedial departments

met each year specifically to discuss those students ,if any,whom staff thought would benefit fron working in a small group with special needs staff.The assumption was that these students would eventually take the same 100% course work CSE exam.and most did so.

28. See Bullock (1975).

29. See Green A. (1983) in Wolpe and Donald (1983);and CCCS.(1983).pp.228-240 on the MSC.

30. See Wolpe and Donald (1983).

31. This is the implicit view in most official reports about the teaching of English.See Chapter 3 above.

32. They varied of course in the extent of their experience,one was a probationer for example,but the essential point remains.

33. See fn above.

34. The inadequacies of the present structure,overtaken by economic and demographic changes,are central to the long industrial dispute which began shortly after the completion of the fieldwork.

35. Freire.P. (1974).

CHAPTER SIX.Questionnaire Findings.

This chapter reports the findings of the questionnaire administered upon three occasions to all 162 students in the sample.The returns were completed in the first and third terms of the students' fourth and midway through their fifth year.The questionnaire is given in Appendix I.

Chapter 2 explained how the original research question was amended to:how do adolescents become confirmed readers of fiction?This question had to be sub-divided in order to operationalise the enquiry and to retain the dual emphasis upon the social context of fiction readership and adolescent perceptions of fiction.The result was two sub-questions:

a)what is the school social context likely to be associated with the promotion and sustaining of fiction reading?

b)what perceptions do adolescents have of the experience of reading fiction?

The questionnaire reported upon here was designed to elicit information in relation to both questions.The returns were expected to provide information for a baseline record of the

patterns of readership,for individuals,teaching groups and schools,throughout the study period,and also to enable the selection of pupils for interview to be based upon a categorisation of reader types.The questionnaire was also designed to facilitate the analysis of readership patterns in relation to social class,gender and banding or setting arrangements within the schools.

Its function in relation to the second sub-question,therefore,was a check against distortion that might arise from more impressionistic selection of interviewees,and to provide a background and context within which to set any study of individual readers.It did fulfil these functions but the nature of the findings from the first of the returns in the autumn of the pupils' fourth year changed the course of the field work and increased the importance of the questionnaire evidence itself.

So far as the first sub-question is concerned,the questionnaire was designed to help test the hypothesis that the school social context likely to be associated with the promotion and sustaining of fiction reading is a reading community.The phrase reading community referred not to any reified concept,but to a collection of attitudes and practices within the schools which supported readership irrespective of social class,gender or ability grouping.Details of those attitudes and practices are given

in chapters 2 and 7.It will be recalled from chapter 2 that the present study was not designed upon the conventional experimental model in which reading outcomes of an identified reading community were compared with those from a school which did not operate as such a community.Indeed the schools involved had been specifically selected because they appeared to share in their approaches to English teaching,a number of features which suggested they would all to prove to be such communities.However,in view of their differing institutional histories and the unlikelihood of there being any one means of successfully establishing fiction readership in a school,it was expected that some differences would be recorded in the questionnaire returns.I was unprepared for the extent of the differences both between and within the schools which the first returns revealed.Preliminary analysis showed one of the schools to be very much more successful in terms of readership than the other two.Inevitably after that,subsequent questionnaires came to assume a greater comparative importance than had initially been intended,particularly as the differences between and within the schools widened upon each occasion.

Two consequences followed from this.Firstly,the importance of the questionnaire evidence increased.From being a source of background information,a check upon potentially impressionistic interviews and evidence of the reading outcomes in three reading

communities,it became a source of contradictions and questions,which the remainder of the study had to resolve.Instead of three reading communities,with variant practices,there appeared to be two schools which could not be so regarded and one that clearly could.The second consequence of the findings was to alter the emphasis of the enquiry.The study had been predicated upon the assumption that social dimensions of readership were important,but had not anticipated the extent to which they were so.Evidence from the initial phase of interviews suggested that these differences were to a large extent produced by the schools,rather being the consequence of social differences brought to the schools by the students.This led to a greater emphasis in the study upon institutional features which appeared to be responsible for the formation of readers and reading patterns rather than upon the individual responses of individual readers.

The findings are reported in six sections in this chapter:the numbers of books read;non-readers;quality fiction;sources of fiction;magazines and comics;and recommendations and discussion of books.The major differences within and between the schools are indicated below,but interpretive comment upon them is deferred until the subsequent chapter.

i) the numbers of books read.

The questionnaire asked pupils to record the fiction books read in the previous month,excluding their class readers.There were separate questions on magazines and comics as well as on newspapers.Appendix VII gives details of the titles and authors listed throughout the study by students in the three schools.

In a reading community one would expect the numbers of fiction books read to rise or to remain fairly constant.Table 6i/a gives the average numbers of fiction books read per pupil for the three O level groups on each of the three occasions that the questionnaire was administered.

Table 6i/a.

Average numbers of fiction books read per pupil in the O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon.
1.October 1981	3.3	3.5	3.6
2.June 1982	2.7	1.8	3.6
3.November 1982.	1.2	1.8	2.0

The numbers of books read on the first occasion are very similar in all three groups,but there is a marked decline in all three by the middle of the fifth year course.The decline

appears to be considerably delayed at Baydon where reading is sustained at an even rate throughout all of the fourth year.Table 6i/b gives the comparable information for the CSE groups.

Table 6i/b.

Average numbers of fiction books read per pupil in the CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.October 1981.	2.5	1.8	3.5
2.June 1982.	1.1	1.0	2.9
3.November 1982.	1.0	0.7	1.6

The pattern here is similar,although the differences between the schools are more marked with a decline in reading being established very early on in the fourth year in Chilworth and Draper,a feature which was confirmed in interview.The picture begins to sharpen when these figures are broken down according to gender.Table 6i/c and 6i/d gives the details for the O level groups.

Table 6i/c.

Average numbers of fiction books read by boys in the O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	1.6	3.2	3.0
2.	1.4	0.8	2.7
3.	0.9	0.8	1.9

Table 6i/d. Average numbers of fiction books read by girls in the O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	4.6	3.6	4.3
2.	3.7	2.2	4.7
3.	2.0	2.3	2.1

The figures are broadly in accord with Whitehead who found that boys read less fiction than girls,but the differences between the reading of the two sexes is most apparent in Chilworth and Draper.Some of the differences at Baydon may be accounted for the fact that several of the boys in that school had been reading War and Peace,or books of comparable length and difficulty,at the time of the second questionnaire,which was not the case elsewhere.Table 6i/e and 6i/f give the same information for the CSE groups where the differences are shown to be much more acute.

Table 6i/e.

Average numbers of fiction books read by boys in the CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	1.8	1.3	3.3
2.	0.4	0.5	3.3
3.	0.1	0.5	1.7

Table 6i/f.

Average numbers of fiction books read by girls in the CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	2.7	2.0	3.5
2.	1.5	1.3	2.1
3.	1.8	0.8	1.4

At Baydon the boys are recorded as actually having read more than the girls on two occasions,and on every occasion more than the girls in the other two schools.In Chilworth and Draper,however,the most striking feature is the apparent virtual disappearance of fiction reading by the end of the summer term of the students' fourth year.Indeed interviews confirmed that the low level of fiction reading recorded in the summer in those two schools was already well established by January.

These figures give no more than the most general impression of reading habits.They disguise the question of distribution:one girl,for example,in the O level group at Chilworth accounted for 15% of the books read by that group.Whilst the expectation that a reading community would record an increase in the number of books read is not fulfilled in any of the schools,it is possible to say that fiction reading is established more widely across the

ability range and between the sexes thanat Baydon than in the other schools.It is also clear that what appears to be a general decline in fiction reading for this age group is arrested for longer in that school.Further analysis of the returns reveals the differences between and within the schools to be more dramatic than indicated in these figures.

ii) non-readers of fiction.

The questionnaire identified those pupils who recorded having read no fiction book during the period asked about.In almost every case it was possible to check this information either during the completion of the returns or during the interviews or with staff.Non-readers in this section,and subsequently,designates those students who chose not to read a fiction book,rather than those who were unable to.None of the sample was unable to read,and I judged only 3 or 4 to have reading difficulties,and those not sufficiently severe to debar them from print.Although information about non-fiction reading is not tabulated here,in almost every case the pupils recorded as non-readers in these tables below were also non-readers in regard to non-fiction books.

In a reading community one would expect to find a decreasing number of non-readers.One would also anticipate the distribution of non-readers to be unaffected by social class,gender or ability grouping.Table 6ii/a. gives the percentages of non-readers in the O level groups and Table 6ii/b gives that information for the CSE pupils on the three occasions that the questionnaire was administered.

Table 6ii/a.

Percentages of non-readers in the O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	16%	6%	0%
2.	28%	26%	0%
3.	40%	32%	19%

Table 6ii/b.

Percentages of non-readers in the CSE groups

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	17%	43%	0%
2.	65%	57%	4%
3.	82%	68%	18%

The first point to make about these figures is that on each occasion the percentages for both CSE and O level groups at Baydon are far lower than in the other two schools.Previous tables showed a decline in all three schools as regards the average number of books read during the period of the study,but they do not prepare us for the large increase in non-readers at Chilworth and Draper.By the end of their fourth year in those two schools a quarter of

the O level students and over half the CSE students record having read no fiction.By the same stage at Baydon, almost the entire sample are continuing to read.The numbers of non-readers at Baydon have risen by the middle of the fifth year,but although this is in accord with the pattern of arrested decline in readership which previous tables revealed in that school,it is still comparatively low.

Moreover,it is the differences within the schools that are at least as interesting as those between them.The proportion of non-readers in the CSE group at Baydon is at no time any greater than it is in the O level teaching group,whereas,on almost every occasion in the other two schools,the CSE groups contain roughly twice the proportion of that in the O level groups.We have already seen in chapter 5 the extent to which social class is a significantly influential factor in the allocation of students to CSE or O level bands in Chilworth and Draper,whilst in Baydon set allocation showed no correlation with social class.The extent to which social class,fiction reading and banding are associated in Chilworth and Draper may be seen in the following tables.Table 6ii/c and Table 6ii/d give the percentages of non-readers in both kinds of teaching groups by social class and makes the comparison between the schools.

Table 6ii/c.

Percentages of students from Manual class homes who read no fiction.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	26%	33%	0%
2.	61%	66%	3%
3.	94%	80%	13%

Table 6ii/d.

Percentages of students from Non-Manual class homes who read no fiction.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	14%	12%	0%
2.	29%	27%	5%
3.	38%	33%	25%

There is a statistically significant difference between the schools so far as NM pupils are concerned.But on each occasion,the differences between the schools for the M pupils are very significant,being greater than .001 in each case.The following table presents the same information in such a way as to make the comparison of differences within the schools.

Table 6ii/e.

Percentages of students who read no fiction,M and NM separately.

Chilworth		Draper		Baydon	
M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
1.26%	14%	33%	12%	0%	0%
2.61%	29%	66%	27%	3%	5%
3.94%	38%	80%	33%	13%	25%

On no occasion at Baydon is there any statistically significant difference between the proportions of M and NM students who are non-readers.In both the other schools,however,the difference becomes increasingly significant,greater than .05 on the occasion of the scond questionnaire return,and greater than .01 on the third.It is interesting to note that the difference is not evident in any of the schools at the start of the fourth year,but increasingly becomes so in those schools where social class is already seen to have exerted influence upon set placement at the end of the third year.

Chapter 5 showed gender to be an influential factor in set allocation as well as class.The following tables reveal that it is also a significant factor in non-readership at both Chilworth and Draper,whilst being of no consequence at Baydon.Table 6ii/f gives the relevant

information for the O level groups and Table 6ii/g the comparable details for the CSE groups.

Table 6ii/fPercentages of non-readers in the O level groups,boys only.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	29%	0%	0%
2.	36%	50%	6%
3.	58%	50%	31%

Percentages of non-readers in the O level groups,girls only

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	6%	8%	0%
2.	24%	17%	0%
3.	38%	26%	6%

Table 6ii/g

Percentages of non-readers in the CSE groups,boys only.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1	20%	36%	0%
2.	90%	82%	0%
3.	100%	64%	16%

percentages of non-readers in the CSE groups,girls only.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon

1.	15%	50%	0%
2.	46%	34%	10%
3.	67%	67%	20%

The differences between the schools are most dramatic in the CSE groups,where,by the end of the fourth year,the great majority of boys in Chilworth and Draper have ceased reading,and by the mid fifth year so too have most of the girls.There is virtually no difference at Baydon so far as non-readership and gender is concerned in the CSE group.With the O level groups there is a less sharply defined pattern,although two things stand out clearly.Firstly,the proportion of non-readers amongst the boys in Chilworth and Draper is about twice that seen amongst the girls on almost each occasion.Secondly,the figures at Baydon are very much lower,although a substantial number of boys are recorded as non-readers by the mid fifth year.

So far as the hypothesis about a reading community is concerned,it is clear that the findings at Baydon do,to a large degree support the hypothesis in that the distribution of non-readers is unaffected by sex or social class.The other two schools are shown to be considerably affected by those factors.

iii) quality fiction books.

The questionnaire did not make any distinction between quality and non-quality fiction,all titles being recorded in an undifferentiated way.In the analysis,however,Whitehead's quality/non-quality distinction was followed despite the considerable reservations expressed in chapters 3 and 4. The fiction books recorded by students were categorised according to the judgments reported in the Whitehead study.Appendix IV gives the details of all the novels listed as read by the students.The analysis based upon the quality/non-quality distinction is retained here for reasons other than authorial conviction as to the validity of that distinction.It was,firstly,a distinction with which the teachers involved in the study were familiar and within whose terms they tended to operated.Another reason for its retention is that,despite its faults,it offered a means of characterising some differences between the three schools as regards the fiction read by their students.

In a reading community,one would expect a gradual movement to quality fiction amongst pupils as a consequence of developing taste and discrimination.One would expect,moreover,the readership of quality fiction to be

unaffected in its distribution by either banding,gender or social class.Table 6iii/a gives the average number of quality fiction books read by both CSE and O level groups recorded in the three questionnaire returns.

Table 6iii/a.Average number of quality fiction books read per pupil in O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	0.8	1.0	2.3
2.	0.6	0.8	2.0
3.	0.1	0.5	1.6

Average number of quality fiction books read per pupil in CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	0.3	0.6	1.1
2.	0.0	0.3	0.9
3.	0.0	0.3	0.9

On each of the three occasions Baydon students read more quality fiction in both the O and CSE groups.Indeed the lowest figure recorded for the Baydon O level pupils is higher than any recorded by any comparable group in the other two schools.The same is true for the CSE group in Baydon,whose lowest figure is greater than any recorded by CSE groups in Chilworth and Draper.

Table 6iii/b shows the quality fiction read by each group on the three occasions as a percentage of all fiction listed .

Table 6ii/b.

Percentage of quality fiction as a proportion of the whole.O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	27%	29%	63%
2.	22%	44%	55%
3.	5%	27%	80%

Percentages of quality fiction as a proportion of the whole.CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	13%	36%	35%
2.	0%	36%	32%
3.	0%	53%	53%

The question of how widely the reading of quality fiction was distributed in the three schools is best pursued by looking at the percentages of pupils upon each occasion who read some quality fiction.Table 6iii/c gives that information.

Table 6iii/c

Percentages of students who read quality fiction in the O level groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	62%	61%	97%
2.	31%	45%	77%
3.	8%	25%	71%

Percentages of students who read quality fiction in the CSE groups.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	26%	39%	82%
2.	0%	17%	55%
3.	0%	13%	64%

The statistical significance of the differences shown on the first occasion for the O level group is greater than .01. On all other occasions for both CSE and O level groups it is greater than .001.The table shows conclusively that the reading of quality fiction is very widely distributed throughout the Baydon sample during the period of the study.The following tables indicate that the distribution of quality fiction reading was also unaffected by gender,whereas it was so influenced in the other two schools.

Table 6iii/dPercentages of O level students reading quality fiction,boys/girls separately.

	Chilworth		Draper		Baydon	
	B.	G.	B.	G.	B.	G.
1.	57%	41%	37%	61%	94%	100%
2.	21%	35%	25%	56%	56%	93%
3.	0%	14%	0%	48%	63%	87%

Percentages of CSE students reading quality fiction,boys/girls separately.

	Chilworth		Draper		Baydon	
	B.	G.	B.	G.	B.	G.
1.	20%	31%	45%	33%	92%	70%
2.	0%	0%	9%	33%	58%	50%
3.	0%	0%	0%	25%	58%	70%

The pattern here is similar to that observed earlier,in that differences within and between schools emerge and increase sharply over the period of the fieldwork.There is some difference as regards readership of quality fiction amongst boys and girls at Baydon,but it is not significant.At Chilworth and Draper very marked differences appear.The same is true when this information is analysed in terms of social class.On each occasion that the questionnaire was administered,the percentage of M pupils in Baydon who read quality fiction was significantly higher than (.001) in the

other two schools.Table 6iii/e gives the details.

Table 6iii/e.

Percentages of students in the three schools who read quality fiction,M and NM separately.

	Chilworth		Draper		Baydon	
	M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
1.	34%	54%	27%	58%	87%	100%
2.	9%	35%	7%	45%	68%	66%
3.	0%	0%	14%	39%	71%	70%

Social class does not feature at Baydon as an influential factor so far as the quality of fiction read is concerned,but the figures for the other two schools show a great difference between the reading of pupils from different social backgrounds.It is clear that at Baydon there is a great deal more quality fiction read by precisely those students whom Whitehead found to be least likely to read it or encounter it at home.Just as social class in that school appeared to exert little or no influence upon banding and the number of books read,so any disadvantageous effects upon what was read appear to have been minimised.

Yet another dimension to the reading of quality fiction may be gained by an analysis of the rating of liking attributed by students to the books which they recorded as read.The questionnaire asked them to allocate a 1-5 rating of appreciation to each book read.Table 6iii/f gives the percentages of students who expressed a liking for

quality fiction on each occasion the questionnaire was administered.In his study Whitehead found that there was a reluctance amongst pupils to use the extremes of the scale.The same was true of students in this sample.This table therefore is based upon a score of 4 or 5 as counting for liking a book.

Table 6iii/f.

Percentages of O level students who expressed a liking for quality fiction.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	44%	39%	68%
2.	18%	38%	55%
3.	8%	22%	43%

Percentages of CSE students who expressed a liking for quality fiction

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	17%	0%	55%
2.	0%	13%	55%
3.	0%	9%	41%

Despite the fact that at Baydon the liking ratings for quality fiction are lower than the numbers who actually read such fiction,it is clear from this table that both CSE and O level students in that school claim to have derived satisfaction from their reading of quality fiction in very much larger numbers than their counterparts in the other two schools.The table also indicates a marked

difference in expressed tastes between the CSE and O level groups in Chilworth and Draper with appreciation of quality fiction being largely confined to a small section within the O level band.That is not the case at Baydon.

This section on quality fiction has been detailed and lengthy,but its importance is apparent because of conflicting views as regards the constitution of literary culture,and as regards the desirability and possibility of its transmission through education.(1) So far as the hypothesis is concerned,there is evidence that supports the existence of a reading community at Baydon in that the distribution of quality fiction readership is unaffected by banding,social class or gender,and this readership is maintained,if not at an increasing level,then at least to a very much greater degree than is the case in the other two schools.

iv) sources of fiction books.

The questionnaire also asked pupils to specify the sources of the fiction books they recorded as having read.The sources for the overwhelming majority of books were identified in this manner,the remainder being identified in interview.The interviews also gave the

opportunity to check the information in some detail,since book sources was one of the subjects extensively investigated in the interviews.For presentation here the information gathered has been simplified to five major sources:own copy;family;friends;public library;and school.It was possible to categorise these more finely (2) but for immediate purposes these five categories are sufficent to establish the different patterns between the schools.

In a school operating as a reading community ,one would expect school itself to feature as a major source of books for its students,and that it would feature as a major source to students irrespective of social class,gender or banding.There is,in fact,little difference in the patterns established by the CSE and O level groups in each school,so the information is presented as a cumulative percentage of fiction books listed from each source.

Table 6iv/a.

Cumulative list showing the percentages of fiction books listed from each source

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
N	284	298	454
Own copy	39%	39%	16%
Family	22%	17%	8%
Friends	24%	11%	5%
Public library	6%	17%	9%
School	8%	16%	62%

N = total number of fiction books listed on the three questionnaire returns.

Clearly the source which shows the widest difference in usage in this table is school,and I shall return to this shortly.But it is worth briefly looking at the other sources first.Baydon students rely upon own copy,family and friends as book sources to a far lesser extent than is the case in the other two schools.(3) At Chilworth and Draper the use of friends as a source of books declined quite markedly over the course of the study,whilst

staying constant at Baydon.This decline is difficult to interpret from the information in the table above,but is perhaps best seen as a withering away of both supply and demand.The interviews suggested that the friendship patterns based upon either teaching group or tutor group in the early secondary years were much disrupted by the 13+ option scheme and the allocation to CSE or O level groups in core subjects.There was also a decline in Chilworth and Draper in the degree to which family was a book source.This was particularly evident for pupils from M homes,but the reliance upon the family as book source remained constant for NM pupils in those schools.At Baydon the family was not a significant source of books at all,another indication of the very different social composition of that school.

At Chilworth and Draper, throughout the study,the largest source of books for students of both sexes,from all social backgrounds was own copy.But as the next chapter will show this is not to be interpreted as meaning that large numbers of students were habitual frequenters or customers of bookshops.Quite the reverse was the case.The great majority of books derived from supermarkets,corner shops,and newsagents or Smiths rather than bookshops.Only a minute proportion indicated any familiarity with bookshops and those,not unexpectedly,were mostly from NM homes.

The small percentage of fiction books deriving from public libraries is common to all three schools,although further analysis showed there to be some differences between them.Interviews confirmed the very low proportion of students in all three schools who used public libraries for fiction borrowing.In fact the actual usage for fiction was very much lower than the claimed membership,the details of which are given in Table 6iv/b

Table 6iv/b.Percentages of students who belonged to a public library

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
O level	44%	81%	71%
CSE	41%	59%	77%

The information above appears to be inconsistent with that contained in the previous table.The claim to membership is so high in relation to the recorded number of fiction books derived from the public library.This is partly explained by lapsed or infrequent usage,but more usually by a plain distinction between fiction and non-fiction usage.Interviews made clear that in all three schools there was a tendency to see the public library as a supplement to the curriculum,a quarry for projects and a source of information books.Only a tiny minority ever borrowed fiction books from that source.The comparatively low membership at Chilworth also reflects geographical

difficulties experienced by many students.Although the LEA Schools Library Service was adjacent to the school,the scattered village catchment area from which the children came was mostly dependent upon library vans that visited infrequently.

The last source remaining is school itself.Included under this heading are all fiction books which derived from school whether library or departmental.No class readers were included.At both CSE and O level,students at Baydon use school as a source to a quite different extent from their counterparts elsewhere.Moreover,this level of usage was constant throughout the study.Table 6iv/c gives an indication of just how widespread that usage was at Baydon.It also shows the differences between the schools in relation to social class and the use of school as a book source._

Table 6iv/c

Percentages of students who used school as a source of fiction books,M and NM separately.

Chilworth		Draper		Baydon.	
M	NM	M	NM	M	NM
1.0%	22%	7%	21%	90%	85%
2.0%	25%	0%	15%	84%	85%
3.0%	19%	7%	21%	71%	80%

In each case the difference is statistically significant,greater than .001.In addition,there was a significant difference within Chilworth on the occasion of the second and third questionnaires.Throughout,Baydon School remains an effective source of books for the great majority of its pupils in a way that far exceeds the other two schools.The next table shows how this usage of the school was consistently maintained throughout the study at Baydon.The table gives the percentages of students in all three schools who used school as a source of fiction books on the occasion of all three questionnaire returns.

Table 6v/d.

Percentages of students using school as a source on all three occasions.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
O level	0%	10%	58%
CSE	0%	0%	55%

Here,too,the statistical significance is greater than .001 for both sets of groups.

The hypothesis that a school functioning as a reading community would feature as a major source of books for its pupils,irrespective of social class,sex or banding,is supported by the evidence from Baydon.

The evidence so far presented establishes clearly that readership is very different at Baydon from the other two schools.Before looking at some of the institutional and pedagogic differences which might account for them,it is worth considering one piece of evidence that usefully discounts the possibility that the teaching groups with which this study was concerned were in some way atypical of the institutions from which they were drawn.In a reading community centred in a school,one would expect the school library to play a major part in the supply of books,and in Baydon this was indeed the case.Table 6iv/e gives the relevant details of the fiction issues from the three school libraries to the entire year groups from which the sample groups were drawn.The figures refer to 3 four week periods during the course of the study:autumn in the fourth year;summer in the fourth year;and autumn in the fifth year.These periods of time are different from those covered by the questionnaire returns,but a periodic record was kept throughout the study of library issues.The rate of issuing did not vary at all from the pattern shown in this table.

Table 6iv/e.

Numbers of fiction books issued from the school libraries to the year groups from which the samples were drawn.

		Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
	month 1.	13	76	260
	month 2.	14	32	263
	month 3.	12	54	205
Y. 242		200	240	

Y = year group size.

Table 6iv/f presents the same information, boys/girls separately. Table 6iv/f Numbers of fiction books issued to boys in the sample year group.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	9	26	131
2.	6	9	138
3.	1	15	107
N	128	91	125

N = number of boys in year group.

Numbers of fiction books issued to girls in the sample year group

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	4	50	129
2.	8	28	125
3.	11	39	98
N.	114	109	115

N = number of girls in year group

The fact that these borrowing rates from the school library did not change throughout the course of the study and that the pattern of borrowing in each school reflected the patterns in the sample sets,suggests that the differences in readership between the schools were general and widespread.There was no time to investigate this in detail,but so far as fiction was concerned,the fiction issuing rate from the school libraries to the year groups above and below that of the sample one showed precisely the same pattern as that seen in the tables above.(4)

v) magazines and comics.

Although this study was not directly concerned with the readership of comics and magazines,the questionnaire did ask for information about magazine readership.Whitehead found that the interpretation of data

in this area was particularly difficult.The experience of the present study was similar.The difficulty was partly a consequence of the way that such material is marketed upon straightforwardly sexist lines (5),and partly because it was more difficult to establish what counted as reading it.Detailed information is therefore only given in Appendix V and comment here is restricted to a few general observations about the relationship between magazine and book readership.Briefly,the highest readership of magazines was found in Chilworth and the lowest at Baydon on each of the three occasions.This pattern is the reverse of that for book readership and suggests that confirmed book reading is associated with a decline in magazine readership.It is difficult to make any firmer comment in view of the extreme variety of magazine publication and the variety of uses to which they were put.Fiction magazines,for example,were largely confined to the girls in the sample,and non-fiction specialist magazines largely to the boys.It was possible to make interpretive comment upon individual student readers as regards the connection between magazines and books,but not at any more general level.

vi) recommendation and discussion of books

On two occasions that the questionnaire was administered,two questions were added to the original Whitehead format concerning the recommendation and

discussion of books.Pupils were asked to state whether they had been recommended any of the books listed,and if they had,from whom the recommendation had come.There was a similar question about discussion of the books they had read.

The hypothesis here is that in a reading community there would be a large amount of recommendation and discussion of books because they would form an accepted part of the students' social lives.

The questionnaire did not reveal the information for which I had hoped in this section,largely because the formulation of the questions proved inappropriate.Students tended to construe both recommendation and discussion in quite a formal way,so that the differences between the schools which were readily apparent in the interviews did not surface here with the same clarity.Table 6vi/a gives the percentages of students who on both occasions recorded being recommended a fiction book.

Table 6 vi/a.

Percentages of O level students who were recommended a fiction book.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	47%	67%	74%
2.	16%	38%	35%

Percentages of CSE students who were recommended a fiction book.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	48%	35%	74%
2.	31%	9%	32%

The figures for Baydon are more consistent between groups and show a larger number of pupils involved in recommendation than in the other two schools.But there is reason to view these figures with some scepticism.In the first place,the word recommendation was inappropriate in that most students conceived it to be something far more formal than was intended.On each occasion that the questionnaire was administered,students were told that any hint,comment or suggestion from another person that a book was worth reading could count as a recommendation,but the interviews revealed that this was not always understood.Moreover,as the next chapter makes clear,the

level of recommendation amongst pupils in Baydon was so high and so ingrained that it may well have been an activity masked from their attention by its familiarity.Much of the observed recommendation in that school was casual,often monosyllabic and incidental to other concerns.In the other two schools,recommendations were revealed in interview to be very much rarer and consequently stood out that much more in pupils' memories.The distortion,that is worked both ways.One anecdote will perhaps clarify the point.

At Chilworth I observed a lesson with the O level group in which the teacher offered the class the opportunity to borrow 1984mention of which had been made in their class discussion of Animal Farm.It was the only occasion observed upon which such an offer was made by the teacher and students alluded to no other instances in interview.8 students borrowed a copy of the book in that lesson:they account for half of the 47% recorded in the first questionnaire.By contrast,at Baydon more informal and casual offers mentions or recommendations of books occurred in almost every lesson observed,and were taken up by students.

Somewhat similar problems occurred with the question about the discussion of books that they had read.Table 6vi/b gives the percentages of students involved in the discussion of books on both occasions.

Table 6vi/bpercentages of O level students involved in discussion of fiction books read

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	53%	52%	68%
2.	24%	35%	48%

Percentages of CSE students involved in discussion of fiction books read.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1.	52%	35%	63%
2.	27%	23%	41%

Apart from the greater consistency between groups and the larger numbers of students involved at Baydon,these figures,too,are open to scepticism."Discussion" was too dignified a description of what many students ,particularly at Baydon,actually perceived themselves to have engaged in.As with the recommendations,discussion of books read in that school was so frequent as to be fairly transparent to participants.More reliable information was forthcoming in interviews as the next chapter will show.

In view of these reservations,no more detailed analysis of these findings in this section is offered except to note that they did show some general

tendencies which were later amply confirmed by interviews.Only at Baydon,for example,did the English teacher feature at all as a figure involved with the students in recommendation or discussion of books read.Amongst the O level students at Chilworth and Draper,the most frequently mentioned source of both recommendation and discussion of books was the family,whilst in the CSE groups in those schools it was friends.

So far as the hypothesis is concerned,it is neither supported nor rejected by the evidence from these two questions because of the weaknesses already discussed.

Conclusions.

The findings reported in this chapter give a detailed picture of the readership patterns in the three schools over an eighteen month period.It is clear that there are major differences between and within the schools on every measure employed and that these differences increase over time.In comparison with students from the other two schools,Baydon pupils read a larger average number of fiction books upon each occasion;fewer of them were non-readers;more of them read more widely in quality fiction and expressed greater appreciation of it;they used school as their major book source rather than family or friends;they tended to prefer books to magazines,of which they read markedly fewer;and many more of them were involved in

discussion and recommendation of books.For the most part they showed these characteristics irrespective of social class,gender or ability grouping within the school,whereas readership patterns appeared to be closely associated with all of those factors in the other two schools.

The scale of the differences between the schools is underlined by their social composition.The evidence of earlier studies,such as Whitehead (1977) would suggest that Baydon,with its higher proportion of working class students,would be less successful in establishing and maintaining readership than those with a higher middle class intake.Not only did social class appear not to influence the reading outcome at Baydon,but that school was shown to be more successful with both their M and NM students in terms of readership than either of the other schools was even with their NM pupils.Chilworth and Draper both reproduced patterns of readership which might have been predicted from the national findings reported by Whitehead,whereas Baydon appears to run quite counter to such national patterns.

In regard to the hypothesis,that the social context likely to be associated in a school with the promotion and sustaining of fiction readership is a reading community,the position is more complicated.The evidence presented above shows that none of the specified criteria by

which a reading community might be recognised,was in the event met in either Chilworth or Draper,although it was anticipated that they would be.The criteria for a reading community were mostly met at Baydon.The questionnaire,however,only provides evidence of the reading outcomes in the three schools.It gives no information about the attitudes and practices which have given rise to them.Until the relationship between the outcomes and such attitudes and practices has been clarified,there is insufficient evidence either to support or to reject the hypothesis. That relationship is the subject of the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter Six.

1. See chapters 3 and 4 above and also chapter 9 below.

2. For example it was possible to separate students who mostly bought books from those who mostly received them;there was a substantial group of students who were influenced in their reading by elder siblings or parents who were undertaking higher education;and different sub-groups were also discernible in terms of public library usage.None of these,however,was as important as the differences in regard to school as a book source.

3. See Whitehead 1975 for details of book ownership and its asociation with social class.

4. This was clearest in Baydon where the library was a central one serving the whole school.At Chilworth there was a library on the lower site in operation for the duration of the fieldwork.At Draper there was a separate sixth form library.

5. See McRobbie and McCabe 1981.

CHAPTER SEVEN.

Inside a reading community.

> Every school has a view of literacy,not always explicit.The nature of the provisions:lessons,books,visiting experts,materials,announces the policy,the theoretical substructure,the concern of the institution for reading and writing....In facing outwards towards the community,the school announces its views of literacy,at least partly,by the allocation of place,time,people,and resources to bring it about.(Meek.1983)

This chapter seeks to account for the widespread readership differences reported between and within schools,which were not apparent at the outset,were seen to develop swiftly during the pupils' fourth year and thereafter to grow more slowly for the duration of the study.This chapter is in six main sections each of which deals with a particular institutional feature which influenced the school's formation of readers.These are:provision of reading time;access to books;examinations;reports of progress;remedial provision;and library provision.Each is described in three ways.The differing practices of each institution are first described;then their influence upon staff and student consciousness is indicated;and finally their origins within the political structure of the schools are discussed.Differing practices,therefore,are viewed here both as pedagogy and as "deep structures" relating to power

and control.(1)There are also brief introductory and concluding sections.

The emphasis in official publications upon the exceptional personal qualities deemed necessary for secondary English teaching might lead the reader to expect an explanation in terms of individual teacher differences.There is a range of such differences,but they are less striking than the many similarities shared by the teachers and are quite insufficient to account for the very different reading outcomes.All six teachers were accomplished (2),but their differences as classroom practitioners were contained and determined by institutional differences which existed prior to any observed classroom interaction.These institutional differences cannot be reduced to a single isolated factor.They comprise a multiplicity of differing practices,systematically related to the schools' characteristics as social organisations,particularly the exercise of power within them.They form the material and social infrastructure which influences the development of pupils as readers,and their absence or presence seems likely to determine the existence,or quality of a reading community.

Each institutional feature dealt with here is shown to influence the formation of readers.Each involves particular teaching methods or techniques,but implies a

great deal more than that as well.Their crucial importance lies in their effect on the consciousness of both staff and pupils.These features set the limits of what is thought possible or desirable,and they defined the boundaries of constraint and action.Recent literary theory is much concerned with the way that a fictional text positions its readers in such a way as to render them susceptible to its rhetorical effects.(3) This chapter deals with a different kind of positioning,in which the institutional text positions both staff and students as teachers and learners,and as readers,rendering them susceptible to quite particular and differing conceptions of people's relationship to print.Literacy is a necessary condition of freedom,and so the relationship of teachers and learners to print in a school has wider socio-political reverberations.Williams (1983) reminds us that "the introduction of writing and all the subsequent stages of its development ,are,intrinsically,new forms of social relationship",and argues that "even today...it would be wrong to say that there is effectively equal access to written and printed material,or anything like effectively equal opportunity to contribute to it."This chapter seeks to account for the source of some of those persistent inequalities,not simply in pedagogy,but also in the exercise of institutional power and ideological constraint.(4)

Before considering institutional differences,however,it is worth emphasising the shared conception of the enterprise upon which teachers in this study felt themselves to be engaged,and the means thought appropriate to its achievement.The role of fiction in education was explored in considerable detail in interview with all six teachers.The simplest way,perhaps,to indicate the similarity between the teachers is to ask the reader,in the light of the different reading outcomes reported above,to allocate each of the following staff quotations to the appropriate school.

> Teacher 1.
> Reading fiction is a way of understanding themselves and the way they (pupils) are.Because they are reading about somebody else,they are distanced enough to be able to make an assessment,able to find things out which they wouldn't be able to if they were just thinking about their own experiences.Learning about themselves and the world.That's one important point about reading fiction..,being able to read a story and say you've read it is important for everyone,because of the world that you're then able to inhabit,once that story has been read.The imaginative world of the child is enlarged,and that is a major benefit.

Teacher 2.

> Fiction is important because it gets pupils to put themselves in the shoes of the characters,it gets them to think inside the characters and work out what they would do in those same circumstances.It involves a moral choice.It's a question of perspectives,of always trying to see a situation that is presented in the novel from a variety of perspectives so that they come to an understanding of why the characters feel as they do and think as they do.Through seeing and sharing those perspectives,when they're reading,they come to enlarge their experience and to learn from it,to learn about themselves and about other people .

Teacher 3.

.I think literature is a genuinely classless thing...Popular literature,pre mass media that is,did indeed genuinely draw on the well springs of human understanding,human sympathy .They drew on very deep levels of ways of seeing the world.You can't get away from the feeling that literature has deeply to do with the way one understands the situation one finds oneself in,and why one is there...In literature I find a series of affirmations about the worth of being a human being,and the enormous variety that is possible.One of the things that literature gives,as it were,is an encounter with a third ground,which helps pupils to value themselves and their own experience.It can expand a reader's sympathies and become an extension of the pupil's own experience.

Teacher 4.

It is an experience which is an experience of a very particular kind,because it is formulated in a quite particular kind of way.It is not merely an experience which is sensational and evanescent...The way that it is formulated means that it can be scrutinised and rescrutinised in a way that is not often possible with other kinds of experiences,which are generally more diffuse.Literature offers a broadening of their experience too.There is also something distinctive about the nature of the experience,something to do with the kind of thinking involved which is very different from the kind of thinking they encounter elsewhere in school.The enlargement of experience is the first thing about literature,but there are all sorts of other benefits.It is knowledge,a particular form of knowledge,knowledge in the form of experience rather than as something merely to be transmitted.And it's knowledge ofsomething,of experience of a particularly crucial kind that doesn't often get approached otherwise,at least not consciously so.

Teacher 5.

Reading fiction can help in the development of their language,depending of course upon the kind of fiction they're reading,and the quality of it.But if you're directing them at school,they'll come to more literary tastes...It helps them to develop their imaginative powers because it can inspire children to imagine different possibilities in life,different ways of life and different courses of action...And to become absorbed in a book is such a pleasure in itself.You actually feel sympathy for these

characters and so I suppose that in that sense literature does work, I mean in terms of helping you to look at yourself and at other people differently as a result of what you've read

Teacher 6.

In general terms,it's exploring the world as a whole,the world in which they live,and exploring it in a way that no other subject can provide,and exploring themselves through their relation to that environment.So it's a prime source of personal development and of helping them to come to terms with what is going on inside themselves and in the world around them.It's all extending this faculty called imagination,which I'd suggest is the most important faculty we possess.

The quotations are attributed in (5).The immediate point,however,is their evident similarity in theoretical background.Beyond any differences in articulacy or emphasis,these comments share a common discourse,some terms of whose rhetoric have been explored in previous chapters . The pervasiveness of that discourse can hardly be overestimated (7). Nor was the similarity between the teachers confined to how they spoke of fiction in education.In all six classrooms,pupils were,at times,engaged in similar activities;descriptions of some observed lessons would be as difficult to attribute as the quotations above.Teacher differences here,then,are not at the level of differing subject conceptions with contrasting rhetoric and practice.They exist within a shared discourse.(8) The limitations of,and alternatives to,this discourse are taken up later.

i)The provision of reading time.However,private individual reading such as this only took place in the classes which were not taking literature as part of an examination.All

i) The provision of reading time.

> However,private individual reading such as this only took place in the classes which were not taking literature as part of an examination.All 'bottom' classes except one operated a system whereby on occasions pupils could read at their own pace from selected books.Sometimes it was a reading period,at other times it was whilst they were waiting for the rest of the class to finish written talks.It might be described as 'silent reading',but it could be set against a variety of distractions:the most extreme example was when part of an oral examination was going on at the same time.But in the majority of classes,that is those which were being examined in some way on chosen texts,individual reading never took place for more than a minute or two.(Barnes and Barnes 1984)

In Baydon school,both teaching groups,throughout their fourth and fifth years,spent between a quarter and a third of their allocated class English time in reading books of their own choice.The proportion was smaller in the fifth year,but remained nonetheless substantial.In the other two schools,the class time spent in such reading was,for all four groups,nil.This did not mean that the Baydon groups read no class texts:in fact the three O level groups read an almost identical number of books as a class,and the same was true of the CSE sets.(9)

There was a departmental policy at Baydon,agreed some years ago,that all pupils in years one to

five be expected to bring a reading book to each English lesson,and that a substantial proportion of English time be allocated to private reading.The great majority of pupils complied,making any staff check fairly superfluous.Those without a book on any occasion could obtain one from the classroom,library or departmental store.Staff implementation of this policy varied considerably.Mr Black and Mr Berg both tended to have regular reading lessons throughout the fourth year,but both would introduce other arrangements.Mr Berg,for example,would often decide not to give a lesson and tell the class to read.There were other occasions when his group arrived and asked to read rather than proceed with the planned lesson:generally they were allowed to do so on such occasions.Mr Black's class would sometimes read for all the lessons in a week and then spend several consecutive lessons on a play or written work of some kind.In both groups,private reading was almost always an option open to pupils after written work had been set.Some pupils always preferred to read rather than write in class,or vice versa,and the other activity was done at home.It was not a question of pupils choosing work or no work,but of when and where the work was done.(10)

Reading lessons at Baydon were in the classroom rather than in the library.The atmosphere in the rooms was quiet rather than silent.There was no enforced

attention to print.In most reading lessons,typically,a few wrote,some talked quietly,but most read most of the time.Often in both groups,the quiet dissolved towards the end of the seventy minute lesson,reading ceased and talking increased.Although there were clear limits set to the noise level (understood rather than heavily insisted upon),there was rarely any attempt to restore the level of concentration that had pertained until the last ten or fifteen minutes of the lesson.Observation and interviews showed that much,but not all of the talk during these winding down periods at the end of a lesson was work related.Throughout the lesson Mr Black and Mr Berg would either read themselves,talk with individuals or small groups about their reading or work with a student on a draft of writing.Groups of pupils,in twos and threes,often went out of the classroom during the lesson to change or renew a library book,a well established routine that caused little disruption.The atmosphere was relaxed and informal and as the attitudinal tests indicated such lessons were largely welcomed by the pupils.Similar patterns of lessons were adopted throughout the school by the department.At Chilworth and Draper,by contrast,there was no departmental policy as regards the allocation of reading time.None of the teachers in the study chose to allocate time in this way.Both the O level groups were given opportunity to read on their own as part of a specific project,but this involved either little or no choice of reading material.

The influence of this policy,or lack of it,was extensive upon both staff and students in all the schools.What was at stake was less the sanctioning or not of a particular activity,seen as desirable or not,than issues of control and ownership.The difference at Baydon was two-fold.Pupils had a choice,for a substantial amount of their English time,not only of whether to read,but also of what to read:they could decide how to spend time.The consequent foreclosing of both these options in the other two schools made students there much more passive recipients of an education defined by others.Woods (1979),Willis (1977) and Everhart (1984) have pointed to the often symbolic nature of time distribution in secondary schools,indicating how it becomes commodified.Pupils see what is their own time appropriated by the institution for its own purposes with which they are legally obliged to comply.In a multitude of indirect ways _'bunking off',chatting over their own social agenda,causing disruption _ oppositional groups seek to reclaim what they see as theirs.Throughout the study there was very much more evidence of this kind of reclamation at Chilworth and Draper than at Baydon.

The influence of reading time policy may also be seen on pupil perceptions of what they read,of reading as an activity,and in their conceptions of English as a subject.In all three schools,there was almost unanimous preference for reading books of their own choice,a finding

often reported in other studies (11).In Chilworth and Draper,students employed a widespread distinction,apparent in interviews and attitudinal tests,and noted elsewhere (12),between "school books" and "home books".The distinction scarcely occurred at Baydon.Not all books categorised as "home books" at Chilworth were so at Draper,and vice versa,although there was considerable overlap.There was also some,but not total,overlap with the judgments employed by teachers on the quality/non-quality distinction and the familiar litany of mass civilisation and minority culture.The lack of total overlap in these judgments was interesting evidence of the differing criteria employed by staff and students as the basis of their judgments.

The essential nature of the home/school distinction drawn by students does not primarily concern the source of the text,or,indeed any inherent properties of the text,but the social practices with which it is associated.It is a distinction relating to the uses to which a piece of writing is put,rather than between kinds of writing.It is a distinction between kinds of reading rather than kinds of writing.Insofar as it is a distinction between texts,it is based upon criteria of ownership and control.

L.Y.in the O level group at Draper was typical of those who made this point:

> I just see school books as something that I've got to read.I don't get involved in them and I don't set out to enjoy them I think.It's not that I make up my mind not to enjoy them,it's just that I read at it and read at it,just to get it all over with really,and it doesn't ever get any

> better than that.Reading "home" and "school" books is really different_it's,well_If I'd chosen to read To kill a mocking birdthen I think I would have enjoyed it really,but because school told you to read it,I suppose,I didn't.The books I choose I usually do enjoy because that's what I want to read.School books,you just have to read them_there's no escape and no choice_that's all there is to it.

The distinction between home and school books becomes confused with the quality argument also because most pupils have limited access to "quality"fiction at home,and,as the next section shows,school can be a very ineffective source of such books,despite its high valuation of them.For many pupils in Draper and Chilworth lack of choice over what and when to read created a barrier to the fiction that was offered by the school.Resentment at lack of choice became a hostility to a particular kind of fiction.

The manner in which "school" books were read exacerbated this situation.To read a book of one's own choice involves continuous silent reading at a self-directed pace:study of a class text involves interrupted reading and entanglement with the means/ends continuum noted by Everhart(1983).Reading ceases to be free and unconstrained and loses any intrinsic purpose.It becomes instead something instrumental,a stage on the way to something else,another activity or end (discussion,imaginative writing or critical writing) defined,however imaginatively,by someone else.It is often reading in slow motion.Such constrained reading was the only kind experienced at school by Chilworth and Draper students after the commencement of their fourth year.(13)

Students, typically,found these differing practices somewhat bewildering.

HI in the O level group at Draper talks through this distinction perceptively

> I'm reading much less now,because we started to read more in English now.I mean he's given us,say,three weeks to read Animal Farmand it's not such a thick book.When I've done my homework I usually read a few chapters each night,but I've hardly got any time now to read books that I really want to read.In my spare time when I'd normally be reading books of my own choice that I wanted to read,I'm reading all these other English books.I did like Animal Farm,but I don't usually like books from English.I suppose that it's jsut that we're being made to read them that I don't like.I think - I've got to read it by such and such a date,and I can't take my time over them,so I get annoyed with them and then I don't want to read them.It's because I've not chosen them.And I do find,then,that I read them in a different way,because there's always questions and things to do,so that I often have to read them twice,whereas if I read it on my own and I don't understand something, I just miss it out or come back to it later.I tend to think of English books,well,not as books.I just read them because I've got to,and I don't really take it in,or rather,I don't really think about it.I just try to read it and take it in so that when they ask the questions I can answer them.But the books that I read,I read completely differently.They're all books,I know,but I just have different opinions about English books to ordinary books.It's what we're doing with the books that's different really,not the stories themselves.

In describing their view of teachers reading the class novel to their groups,Barnes and Barnes (1984) observe:"it was not the effectivenes of the presentation that was the criteria,but rather the ability to control the text.If teachers were the only readers,they were more able to comment or ask a question in the middle of a sentence

than they could if someone else was reading." In exam classes they found "twice as much time was spent in commenting and asking questions as on the text itself and often the proportion was higher."

At Baydon there was very little evidence of this view that school reading was different from other reading.That reflected very different approaches to a class novel which did concentrate upon effective performance,so that a lesson might involve reading 15-20 pages of a novel to a group,with virtually no comment or question,rather than 2-3 pages as occurred frequently elsewhere.Often at the end of such a reading,the teacher would ask no question other than,"Well?" and leave the students to determine the direction of talk.Most pupils there did prefer the books they read on their own,but there was no sharp categorisation into 'home' and 'school'books,nor of reading.The majority of the Baydon sample expressed their(dis)liking of books,irrespective of their source or the manner of its reading.

The third influence upon pupils of time allocated for reading was in their definition of what English comprised.At Baydon,reading was perceived as a distinctive component;in the other two schools it was not. S.D. at Draper expressed this view concisely

> I used to read a lot until we started to have proper English lessons.In the second year we just used to read books in the lessons and enjoy them,but in the third year we started proper

> to have proper English lessons,and then we were....like... we were picking over the books all the time. (14)

Whereas almost none of the pupils in these two schools rated reading as their favourite activity in English,the great majority of Baydon students did so.

D.E. in the Baydon CSE group was representative of many when he commented:when I got into this group,I started to read a lot more.Most of the time in English you're reading things,going down the library,having reading lesons,geting books and reading them.It's the best thing in English,reading.And after that I like the writing we do.Stories best.You've got your own choice,see,in reading,that's why,apart from the class readers,and some of them are really good.

So far as staff were concerned,decisions over time allocation were equally influential.The agreed policy at Baydon meant staff enjoyed the flexibility of deciding how to implement it and the confidence that comes from knowing they were not acting in isolation.At Chilworth and Draper,however,the absence of such a policy made any decision about reading time into an individual matter.Each teacher was convinced of the value of reading time,but felt constrained by a number of pressures.

At Draper,Mr.Dauncey expressed the influence of examinations on his thinkingso what I'm saying is basically,that the exams are breathing down my neck like hell,and that's why I don't have reading sessions.And I think that's what's expected of me as well.I think if we had these reading sessions ,they would think:"he's going soft,you know.We did this in the third year but we're in the fourth year now and I want him to tell me how to do summaries and he ought to be able to explain what Shakespeare's about and things like that".Mind you,that's not to say that's right,but that's what

I think it is now.(15)

Examination pressures,therefore, confined Mr Dauncy to giving reading time only to his younger classes and to those groups less subject to expectations of high examination attainment.Mr Donaldson gave no reading time to his CSE group either,although for different reasons.The course which they were following included a literature component which placed few restrictions upon the choice of books.He placed considerable emphasis upon the class reader as "a collective experience that would be memorable and meaningful",and devoted a considerable time to it.But in his view,the appetite for storytelling,once catered for by fiction,was now largely satisfied,for most pupils,by television.

> we have a library session every fortnight and I encourage them in our talking and discussion to read their own books.I don't often keep a close check on it.I'm aware that for many of the boys they often don't read much fiction at all at this age,their interest is much more in motorcycle manuals etc.,and that seems to me fine.I used to feel the English teacher's crusading zeal to push good books,or any books,into their hands.I no longer feel that at all.It seems to me that if fiction isn't enjoyable to you and you're not getting anything out of it,then there's no point in reading it.

There was no evidence from observation or interview that in class time there was any regular usage of the library,but this may have been because the group was subject to various staff changes during the study.

At Chilworth there were physical difficulties

which made the provision of reading time difficult.The department's inadequate hutted accommodation was remote from the library,stock cupboards and English office and had poor facilities for keeping books.Mr Corbridge explained

> No,it's not policy to have no reading sessions.It just hasn't happened,that's all.I think it's a good idea to have them,really.I just haven't done it.I suppose that you could say that it's lack of time in a sense,and I'm inhibited by where our stock is and by the arrangements with the library,so that,no,I haven't used the library with them either.And that,too,is a fault.

Physical constraints were also evident upon Ms Combes,to which were added further problems of travel.

> No,we haven't had any reading sessions with this CSE group yet.I must organise this with the librarian.It's very remiss of me,because I'm sure that they should be doing that.They don't,I think,read enough.Basically I've been too lazy.I haven't got around yet to doing it,and because whenever I have this group,with one exception,I'm commuting from the lower school (2 miles away) and so I'm almost always late.

Even without these problems,however,it is unlikely that much time would have been given to reading because Mr Corbridge felt "this awful need to get them the highest grades available" and because of his reluctance "to push books at them too intensively" which he feared might be counterproductive.(16)

The problems acknowledged here are real enough: in each case the problem is identified and seen to be awaiting resolution.But it is perceived in purely individual terms,which leads teachers to attribute to

themselves some degree of inadequacy or blame,whereas each problem involves much more than a decision by an individual teacher in relation to a single class.Each requires group action and the questioning of wider structures.The absence of any group policy on reading time provision magnifies the difficulties and disguises the true nature of the problems which are institutional (library access and usage) or curricular (examination constraints).This tendency is the obverse side of more familiar aspects of individualism.(17)

Two comments made in the Barnes study (1984) are relevant here for the comparison they afford.

> justification for reading was never made explicit to pupils in any of the pupils we observed,but in the bottom three groups reading fiction was presented as an alternative to less pleasant activities....
> we have not come up either from syllabuses or statements with a real set of justifications or even aims against which we can judge the practice.We have,however,the high hopes of some teachers and their belief that what they were offering their pupils was of lasting value.

ii) Access to books.

Each school had three main points of access to fiction books:the English classroom,departmental stock and the school library.The findings showed the schools to be remarkably different in their effectiveness as book sources.One consequence of the decision not to provide reading time in Chilworth and Draper,for example,was that control of the book supply remained firmly within the teacher's jurisdiction.Class readers were issued and

selected by the teacher.Resultant classroom activities required no further access to books.The question of pupil access to reading material became submerged,never needing to be addressed.Teacher control of one text,by teaching it,was effectively extended to control of all others whose presence was thereby made redundant.At Baydon,however,the expectation that pupils read in lessons required attention to be given to the questions of supply and access.

At Chilworth,the English teaching rooms contained neither bookcases nor books.A lockable cupboard contained some current class sets and stationery.The departmental stock was housed in a separate block quite removed from the huts where English was taught.The library was in the same block but effectively closed for all lesson times because of its use as a space where sixth form private study occurred.It was open in break times and lunch hours to all pupils,but its usage even then was dominated by homework.Pupils had to be resourceful to encounter a school-owned fiction book,other than the class reader.At Draper,the English rooms were equipped with shelving or bookcases;the stock cupboard was adjacent to teaching rooms;and stock was more plentiful and appropriate than at Chilworth.But in neither school did pupils have direct access to stock.In Draper,the teacher in charge of stock decided which books were allocated to each teaching group:at Chilworth,the allocation was more random,on a first

come,first served basis.The library at Draper was open throughout the day,although not always with supervision,and staff were free to book their classes in for particular lessons in advance.It was not used for private study in the way that Chilworth library was.But because their English curriculum required no access to books other than the class readers,pupils here,too,had to go out of their way in their own time to encounter fiction books.(18)

At Baydon,each classroom was provided with bookcases,shelves and books,both class sets and individual anthologies,plays,and fiction titles to which pupils had access in almost any lesson.Students were also allowed some degree of access to the departmental stock in lesson times to choose books,and were always allowed to visit the library during a reading session.(19) At the start of the year,the entire class went to the library for several lessons,but thereafter,pupils went down in groups of no more than four,or individually.In both groups,throughout the study,the great majority went to the library at least once a week.Occasionally they would be sent,but generally they asked to go.It was their exercise of an option that was almost always open to them.On a few occasions in the week,the library was not available because of ancillary staffing cutbacks.In theory,pupils were expected to take with them a slip with their name initialled by the set teacher which they were to return,initialled by the

librarian,to the teacher when they came back to the classroom.If the slip was not returned,or contained an adverse comment by the librarian,the matter would be pursued by the teacher.In practice this proc edure was rarely used;the system was remarkably free from abuse.

Differing practices as regards access to books affected student consciousness as much as those relating to reading time.For many pupils in Chilworth and Draper experience in the library in earlier years held little pleasure and it was a relief not to have to go there again.

> I haven't read any books.I read that (picture version of Jaws)last year at home.I don't find anything interesting.We had to read some down the library in the lower school,so I read some there.They was thick and boring,but you had to get them to read them in English.
> (T.D.Chilworth CSE)
>
> I've never been in the school library.I don't like them,they're too quiet.Oh,I did go there once for a Home Economics lesson,when the teacher was away,and I went once for a picture to draw in Art.I didn't go in the lower school one either,except for when we went in for lessons,for room changes and that sort of thing,but I never looked at the books then.
> (A.A.Chilworth CSE)
>
> I dunno why.I just stopped reading.I know there's supposed to be a good library here and all,but.... oh!..I did read one book from the library ..in the first year that was.We were taken there in a lesson,you know the sort of stuff I mean."Choose a book,"they'd say and then take it out and take it home and read it".And then we wouldn't go in there again for weeks and so when you did take it back they all started moaning at you and so I never took another one out.I don't go there now.
> (B.B.Draper CSE)

> No I've never been there in an English lesson,not this year anyway.Sometimes in History you might go up there,I suppose,but otherwise not,not unless there's a room change or something like that.
> (C.C.Draper CSE)

In all four groups in these two schools there were occasional chance collisons between pupils and books from the library,but it was rare for fiction book and pupil to meet as the result of any intended action on the part of the school.

> Sometimes I do go in there now.You see I picked a book in there once last term when we were in there for games when it was raining.And this book was quite good really,so I've got soem more from there.
> (D.D.Draper CSE)

> Normally I go to the school library once a week to get books out.I've started going there quite often now ,because it's cold outside,you see, and it's the only place to go at lunch time.I'd start to read the beginning of a book and I'd find it interesting so I'd take it home.I read more just through going in there I reckon,and seeing all them books,and some of look quite good.
> (F.G.Chilworth CSE)

Many more,however,spoke of the difficulty they had in finding books they liked and were driven to rely increasingly upon sources beyond the school.

The attitudinal tests and sentence completion stems confirmed the impression gained from the interviews.Over two-thirds of the pupils at Chilworth and Draper,for example,considered library lessons were not important,whereas at Baydon over ninety per cent thought they were.Moreover,those pupils at Chilworth and Draper who

did think them important,did so for very different reasons than most Baydon pupils.The latter valued these lessons because they gave access to books;gave choice of books;or enabled them to get on with what they wanted to read;whereas pupils elsewhere thought them important because they taught you about a library;enabled you to find things out;or were simply a relief from other lessons.It is another indication of the greater degree of instrumentalism in thinking about education at those two schools.Instrumentalism is often considered an attitude formed beyond the school which students bring with them to their education,along with their accents.There is good reason on the evidence of this study,however,to examine the school's part in both the formation and re-inforcement of instrumentalism.(20)

The importance and effectiveness of school as book source was apparent in almost all the pupil interviews at Baydon.Several aspects are worth comment.Many pupils emphasised the degree of choice and control over their learning which access to the library gave them.They felt free to pick and explore what they wished ,and to return,unread,what they did not like.

> I got War and Peacefrom the school library.I don't know why I got it really.I'd heard a lot about it.It's a long book,but it was supposed to be good so I thought I'd try it.The Time Machinewas from there as well.We get more time for reading this year,so I'm reading much more,and we're definitely encouraged to read.I can pick my own books,like Great Expectations.That's on the reading list,I know,but I've heard a lot about it so I thought I'd try that one as well.

(T.L.Baydon O level)

I picked Lady Chatterlybecause I just wanted to see what Lawrence was like ,so I picked that one from the library and it was quite good.These other people in class was reading his books so I thought I'd read one as well just to see what it was like.

(T.M.Baydon O level)

I got Mussolini,my part in his downfall. from the school library.I asked the librarian where the Milligan books were and she showed me where there was a couple of them.I get most of my books from the school library and I've just joined the public library so I've started to get some books from there as well,only on fishing though,not story books.The school library has got better books like that.....I've just heard of more books this year,I think.Sometimes I talk to friends if it's a good book that I like.They'll ask me to take it back to the library so they can get it then.Like I was readingThe Two Ronniesin an English lesson and my mate come up and sat down next to me.He said "what's it about?" and I asked him if he wanted a look and he said he liked it and so next time when I took it back he come down with me and he got it out.That was the first time that happened.
(Q.S. Baydon CSE)

Effective library access accounts for the greater range of books read at Baydon.(21)Like reading time,access to books was crucial in sustaining pupils as readers.Most Baydon pupils felt they were reading more than they had done in the past,and most explicitly attributed this to the school in giving time to read and access to books.In the other two schools,pupils,typically,were bewildered to account for their declining reading.The access to books in Baydon also served to incorporate reading into the pupils' social lives."Going down the library" was the phrase used by almost all Baydon pupils to describe what they took to be a

distinctive component of subject English.It covered a multiplicity of activities that were,directly or indirectly,supportive of reading.Such visits,lasting anything from five to seventy minutes,were relaxed,entertaining and much appreciated expeditions from the classrooms and afforded a space in which pupils were able to become aware of themselves ,and of others,as readers.Reading and its necessarily associated activities of browsing,selection,discussion and recommendation of books was made visible in their social lives.As with the provision of reading time,it influenced what they construed subject English to be;and also gave pupils the sense that they retained,to some large degree,control over at least this part of their education.All manner of strategies for example were employed in the selection of books:some went in pairs intent on choosing the same title;others went with friends but chose their own books and simply compared what they had taken with their friends' choice.Some relied upon their friends,the librarian,the teacher or a reading list for their selection;others worked systematically through the catalogue,authors,genres or publishers.Many simply "looked along the shelves until I saw.." The talk in the library proved impossible to record or to retrieve satisfactorily in interviews,largely because so much of it seemed to them inconsequential and natural,but some indication of the degree to which this access to books was influential upon their social lives may be seen in the development of reading

networks.

Most pupils at Chilworth and Draper were unaware of whether their friends were readers,let alone what they read.Reading formed little or no part of their school centred social lives,and little occurred in school to provoke such awareness.What they read,if they read,was largely,as for all the pupils in the study,a product of their social relationships.Chilworth and Draper were relatively ineffectual as suppliers of books,so the pupils' points of access to books centred largely upon their social contacts outside school:family,neighbours,friends.These networks rarely surfaced in school.For some,particularly those from homes poorly provided with books,the access often proved tortuous and haphazard.(22) Every book tells a story.

> I got Wild Geese from the supermarket.My mate was reading it and I was looking at it every now and then like,and when I saw I had some cash left over I thought I'd get it from that reduced basket they have in the supermarket.Another mate give me that Guide to CB Radio and I haven't given it back yet,and my dad,he give me Confessions of a driving instructor.He found it in the back of this old van he's doing up.And,oh yes,Scar faced killerthat's an old book,ever so old,that I got from the junk shop down the Gloucester Road,you know the one where they've got all them old paperbacks.I didn't actually buy it,I just picked it up like and started reading it,and she just said I could keep it,like.I'm reading this big book at the moment,2001.My dad had it ,but he couldn't finish it,and it was up on top of the cupboard collecting a load of dust,so I thought,well,there's not much sense in that,so I started reading it,and it was ok,'cept there's a lot of hard English in it.
> (M.C. Chilworth CSE.)

M.C. had stopped reading by the end of the first term in his

fourth year.

Well,my mate,he give me these books and mags,stuff about the British Movement and that.They show experiments being done on dogs and people,sort of joining them up together like.I'm going to send off for some more of them.There's an issue every month.It's all the stuff they won't put in the other papers,stuff about politics and getting all the Jews out of the country,and there's quite a lot about Pakis,too,and getting rid of them.And I got interested in the Arms Race and all that stuff and I wanted to get a book about that too.I suppose it just started when I saw this picture about Hiroshima.I mean you can't ignore it can you? So you just get interested in it and want to find out about it,don't you? I saw that film on the telly,one of them college programmes in the afternoon,one day when I bunked off school,and then me and my mate,we went into (this radical bookshop) down Gloucester Road and the bloke there,I dunno,he just gets you interested in it like,all sorts of things,and we got this book there called Protest and survive and I read that since.(23)
(Q.T. Chilworth CSE.)

Q.T.stopped reading during the second term of the fourth year.

A few years ago there was a range of books that was just right for me to read,but now I sort of like a book,but can't understand it very well.My sister,she recommends particular books like,and she tells me the interesting bits.She's got this one about skinheads and another one called This time next week She tells me about them.She looks round the trolleys where you can buy cheap books in the supermarket,or else she gets them off her friend at work.My aunt used to help me choose books when I was younger,but now,if you go into shops and look at the books,there's tons of what the little ones like and that I used to enjoy,but now I'm too old for that and I can't just seem to find anything right to read.I liked the one Ms Combes read us in class,but she never finished that one,and I don't know where you'd get that now,do you? (24)
(K.K. Chilworth CSE)

Such comments are typical of many received in Chilworth and Draper and bear out Mann's comment that it is really very easy to live in a world without books.Beneath the individual details of such accounts certain common elements emerge clearly.School as a potential book source is excluded from their talk.It simply does not occur to them that school might be a point of access.Secondly,there is little sign of hostility or reluctance to reading.Quite the reverse was the case with many students.Reluctance derives from having to read what you have no stake in choosing.Above all,there is for most pupils,beyond school and outside home,a quite insufficient supply of books or access points to them.In this respect Baydon pupils were interesting for the degree to which they recognised,speculating about their future readership when they came to leave school,the reading they enjoyed might not be quite so easy to sustain in the outside world.(25) Learning to read and becoming part of a book culture are related but quite different things.

Such difficulties were,of course,greater for those from homes which provided few books.Other students were luckier.Some referred to older siblings or parents in higher education.(26) Some referred to homes that were well provided with books:they spoke with more assurance.

> I got that Moravia book from my mum.She had read it and I just looked downstairs on the shelves for

> it.I don't use the library at school at all now.They've not really got very much of a range there,have they? I used to go to the public library,but most of my books that I read now are from home.We've got loads of them.We haven't quite got them in the bathroom yet,but in most of the other rooms - and the spare room,well,that's all books now really.And I suppose I do get a lot from friends as well,the ones who live near me.They go to different schools and they give me a lot of science fiction and modern stuff that I like.And the others,mum and dad tell me about mostly.
> (G.G. Draper O level)

The situation at Baydon was very different.Equally circuitous ,random social connections determined what pupils read,with the important distinction that the social contacts were predominantly school and classroom based. It is impossible to describe here in detail the operations of such reading networks,but their main features may be indicated.(27) Some were extensive,involving students from many teaching groups,others were very small.In some it was possible to identify individuals as initiators,transmitters or recipients;in others it was not possible to see who influenced whom.Although staff were familiar with what their students were reading,they were less clear as to the composition of these networks.The networks showed a variety of motivations:shared enthusiasm,competitiveness,simple curiosity,instrumental attitudes that saw reading as a means of getting on in the world.They were more pronounced in,but by no means confined to,the O level group.Not all students were in such a network,but those who were not were more likely to become non-readers.The conversations that sustained these links

occurred in the classroom,on the way to the library and surfaced elsewhere during the school day.Many books travelled from school and circulated amongst friends and relatives at home,although there was less evidence of this being reciprocated.

Like the allocation of reading time ,library access had been agreed upon as departmental policy rather than individual teacher action.Although Mr.Black was also responsible for the library,this decision involved much more than agreement amongst English teachers.The conception of the library as a place to which all pupils throughout the school were entitled to go raised fundamental questions about the nature of the institution.The headteacher very much favoured open access to the library,but in the past awkward issues had had to be faced.Would unsupervised library visits increase the likelihood of toilet graffiti,damage in the cloakroom or truancy? Did an hour spent in going to the library really constitute work? Were pupils free to choose <u>anything</u> from the library? For the most part the broader implications of an open access library policy had been resolved in the past.(28) Such a resolution would have been beyond the capacity of an individual teacher.

<u>iii) Examinations</u>

> the language should belong to the pupils and there is no service done to them by denying them access

> to their teachers' and examiners' criteria. (Barnes 1984)

So far as examinations were concerned,the major differences between schools was that the Baydon English department had devised mode 3 courses for all 16+ examinations and for A level Literature.The effects upon staff and students were considerable.Although conceived within the same discourse of English as pertained in the other two schools,the practices to which these courses gave rise were very different.(29)

Mr Black had been involved in the design,submission and negotiation of all these courses:a participation which had started in his probationary year.The 16+ courses were in operation when Mr Berg joined the department,but he had played a very full part in establishing the course work based scheme at A level.Because the administrative work of these courses was rotated around the department,both had substantial experience of setting O level papers,marking and moderating CSE and O level course work.They had a greater familiarity with all stages of 16+ assessment than their colleagues in the other schools.Moreover,they were very explicit in explaining the machinery and criteria of 16+ assessment to their students.They shared this experience and information with professional responsibility,but they also distanced themselves from the system when they felt it appropriate to

do so,for example,in discussion of some of the criteria used.(30) The CSE was 100% course work based:pupils produced a folder for Language work and another for Literature work,each containing ten pieces of selected work.There were no set texts for the literature folder.One piece of work had to be on a novel,one on a poem and one on a play;the other seven comprised any combination of literature pieces.(31) The O level course was 50% course work in both Language and Literature.Two literature set texts were examined conventionally,but chosen by the school,and the folder contained a further selection of work on texts chosen by the candidates.In the other schools,by contrast,neither staff nor students had very much say in the choice or composition of the examination,or its marking.Staff in those schools were also much less clear about the criteria employed by the boards in assessing their candidates,because they were unfamiliar with the process once the scripts left the school.They had little more purchase upon the system than did their students,whereas Baydon staff had a very real degree of control over the process.

Classroom consequences of this difference were very apparent.Much time was spent at Chilworth and Draper upon the reading and study of books chosen by neither staff nor students in preparation for an examination which both felt to be equally remote and arbitrary.At Baydon,staff were free to teach more or less which texts they wished,and

to a large degree,so,too,were the students.The latter could choose which of the books they had read to use for their folder work,and could also select the kind of written work upon the texts which they do.Quite frequently,in both sets,students wrote about whatever aspect of a text had interested them as a first draft,and only then would student and teacher together work out what question or title the final piece should address.Substantial re-working of drafts was common practice at all ability levels,and would often involve pieces being taken up on a number of occasions over a period of months.The selection of pieces for the final folder was a joint enterprise by teacher and student on an individual basis.Although there were some last minute folder completions,the great majority of the pupils had written and read far more in their two years than was required of them as a minimum for either course.A considerable degree of control over assessment achieved by the teachers,therefore,was passed on to and shared with the students.(32)

This mode of working influenced student attitudes considerably.In general students perceived themselves to be involved in and to have a measure of control over their education.Many were quite explicit in drawing a distinction between what they (and their teacher) felt to be the value of their work,and the final valuation put upon it by the system.Their work did not become

something possessed only of exchange value,but retained intrinsic or use value,or was valued in the context of a school relationship.(33) Such perceptions were very rare in the other two schools.

> It's good when you finish a piece now,it feels good when it's done.It's different from other subjects when it just gets marked and left,because you don't think no more about it then.I've just re-worked these two pieces I done ages ago,last year in the fourth year,and they're quite different now.They're much better.He (Mr Black) seems to know everyone's work,don't he? He knows the differences between the people's work and what bits are good and that.He can just tell you-he'll say 'Yes,I remember when you did that bit' and then he'll tell you all about it,what he likes or how you could change it.You can go up to him and talk to him and he'll take a personal interest in your work.Maths isn't like that:you're just told what to do and you get on with it.You've got choice in English.There's no actual work set now,not this year.It's not complete choice,but you do get choice.In English you know it's got to be done and you don't get punished for not doing it,but you know all right when you're behind,so you think you must do it and it helps you to discipline yourself.Most teachers don't come to you and say:"Look,you got to do this,this and this to get better,"like he does.Most teachers say:"Get on with it".You get much more idea of progress in English.You don't have to work in English,it's up to you really.I reckon I could go in there and sleep if I wanted to,but no-one does.They'd feel guilty,I suppose.With a strict teacher it's different.You sit there then thinking:"I'll skive out of this if I can." But in English if you have all that choice,you're going to work better,aren't you?
> (O.N. Baydon CSE)

These examination schemes were not considered perfect by staff,but staff and students realised the benefits they conferred in comparison with the courses they replaced.The schemes were also a product of group action over a number of years which had,like the features mentioned

above,questioned the current dispensation.Determination to retain some control and exercise some influence over 16+ assessment had led departmental members into protracted negotiations with boards,other schools,parents and other staff within the school.It had served to bring members together in discussion of their aims and objectives and created a strong sense of identity.

The examination results at the end of the research period are interesting in indicating how far the patterns of readership are reflected in the 16+ certification.The following table gives the details.(34)

Table 7a.Examination results in English Language.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
C+ O level	25%	23%	26%
grade 1 CSE	5%	0%	14%
no qual.	13%	17%	0%

Table 7b.Examination results in English Literature.

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
C+ O level	13%	31%	18%
grade1 CSE	7%	0%	31%
no qual.	28%	56%	3%

iv) Reports and progress .

Woods study (1979) was the first to draw

attention to the curious eloquence and status of school reports,and their oblique reflection of the institutional tensions within the school and its ambiguous relationship with the outside world.All pupils in this study received,at the end of their fourth year,a school report in which subject teachers commented upon pupils' work and progress.Some important differences were revealed in the three schools' "implicit views of literacy".It is difficult to say much of consequence within the confines of a document whose audience and function remain so ambiguous. But in all three schools,the teachers showed considerable knowledge of their pupils,commenting upon the conventional range of preoccupations:technical accuracy,homework,anticipated grade or entry ,behaviour or discussion work.At Chilworth and Draper,reading (orreading-related progress) was mentioned on no report in the year group.At Baydon it was almost always commented upon.Pupils in the first two schools existed in these documents as writers,talkers or examination candidates,but not as readers.At Baydon they had this dimension.The contrast was striking and total.Space precluded fully developed comments on this aspect of their work,but it was always acknowledged.Whatever their inadequacies,school reports remain,along with parents' evenings,one of the few occasions upon which the school as an institution comments to its clients upon its work.The terms within which it does so indicate the assumptions,the values and the exclusions.In Baydon reading was considered

sufficiently important to comment upon at such an opportunity:in the other two schools it was not.In itself,perhaps,a thing of little consequence,but at Chilworth and Draper,taken together with the lack of reading time,and poor access to books,it was another indication of their failure to give some institutional expression to the high valuation they claimed to put upon reading.

The extent to which pupils were conceived as readers by their teachers was also revealed by interviews and informal conversation throughout the study.Both teachers at Baydon knew their students as individual readers in a very detailed way.Both kept reading records (35),but even without recourse to these,they showed a familiarity with their pupils' reading possessed only in relation to writing by staff elsewhere.They had a conception of the progress their students had made as readers,and could identify individual tastes and characteristics.Chilworth and Draper staff could hardly be expected to make such comments since the format of most of their lessons precluded the possibility of their acquiring the necessary information.So much class time was spent,up-front,directing activities,they had little opportunity to become aware of the pupils as readers.Too busy teaching.Whereas the selection,discussion and recommendation and individual reading of books were all an integral part of lessons at Baydon,these activities were submerged in the other schools and all but invisible.If they

did occur there,they did so outside the classroom.

The acknowledgement of reading in the Baydon reports was another small,but effective means whereby what actually occurred in lessons could be distinguished from what was required by examinations.Comments in the other two schools were much more contained by those demands.Moreover,as with reading time and access to books,the decision to comment upon reading in every report was a group decision.Finally,the staff at Baydon were known as readers to their pupils to a much greater degree than elsewhere.Students were able to talk about the kind of books their teachers read with some accuracy and detail.

In the later stages of the study,students were asked about the progress they felt they had made as readers during the two year course.At Baydon most could articulate quite clearly what they took to be their progress.Most said they were now reading more difficult,demanding,varied,interesting or simply more books and that they were reading them with greater care,speed,understanding or enjoyment.A minority thought their reading had not changed.There was a markedly different response in the other two schools,where the notion of progress as readers proved difficult for many students to grasp.Many felt they could already read and that was that;there had been no change for as long as they could remember.Some talked about progress in performative

terms:they felt more able to read aloud now without being embarrassed,a skill which was tested in their CSE course.In general,however,it was a discussion that did not engage students in these schools.At Baydon,most pupils attributed the progress they felt they had made to the school features discussed above,whilst in the other two schools,there was a tendency for pupils to attribute any weakness or decline in reading to their own inadequacy.(36)

v) Remedial provision.(37)

None of the sample students received any remedial help during the the fieldwork,although some had done so in the past

..The response made,in an all-ability school,to the needs of those children who are slow learners or who have specific learning difficulties,testifies obliquely to the institutional priority accorded to reading.The differences between the study schools as to how they had met these needs were sharp.

In common with most features at Chilworth,the remedial area was in a state of change and re-definition,whose outcome was unresolved at the completion of this study.A new Head of Special Needs,Mrs Cook,had been appointed in 1975.She was well qualified and experienced,with a clear conception of the provision she

would like to make;she was also involved in in-service work with the local university education department.The allocation of `100 to her department in her first year,however,gives some indication of the low priority attached to this area in comparison with the emphasis upon more traditional academic success.This level of resourcing was surprising in view of the fact that her predecessor had contrived to spend nothing at all on the department in the previous two years.At the time of her appointment,Mrs Cook said

> there was a sad air of neglect over the whole Special Needs area.It was dreadful!Appalling!In fact the low ability kids were called "thickies",and the remedial kids were called "thickies",too.And then the remedial teachers were brought in to teach them as classes.And they allowed themselves to be used like that!I was horrified.God,it was awful.

The situation was exacerbated by the lack of any permanent central base,but after the completion of this study they acquired a new base upon the main school site.Funding,too,improved by then (`475 for 1982-83),as did staffing,but there was an accumulated deficit of teaching materials and books within the department and library which that allowance was quite inadequate to restore.There was a substantial deficit,too,of another kind:staff were relatively unaware of how their work might be aided by the existence of a fully resourced Special Needs area.In her first years in the school,Mrs Cook had concentrated her energies upon the lower school,establishing a coherent approach that she planned gradually to extend throughout the

school.The year group in this study,however,were the last to inherit the previous system's inadequacies.There were no accurate records for the year group and they had received only very patchy provision as regards diagnosis and treatment.In their time at school,they had had access to very little printed material appropriate to their needs and abilities.

Mrs Cook had certainly improved the situation in the lower school.There were,at the time of this study,about 120 suitable information books for the lower years within the department,a far cry from the 700 or 800 she judged necessary,and there were some 200 books (fiction and non fiction)in the lower school library which she judged appropriate.Provision in the upper school (years 3-6),however,was minimal.Her stock for the lowest attaining group of fourth years was about 50 books (copies,not titles) for 35 pupils.Nor could she rely upon there being anything in the library.

> Their needs have just not been catered for.If there are children of the kind I have to deal with in the lower school who come up here and find the library really useful,in terms of the books it provides,then that is purely fortuitous.It is not anything that has been planned by the school.They never have,but never,been catered for in this school,and I think that many of them have never been catered for in their junior schools either.They do not know how to go about borrowing a book,how to look for a book.They just need a whole lot of instruction about books.And they need books.

The improvements introduced by Mrs Cook had co-incided with a major county initiative following the

publication of the Warnock Report,which certainly strengthened her influence in the school,but the extent and status of special needs provision in the school still awaited definition.In Mrs.Cook's view the school had a long way to go before it could be said to be accepting its responsibilities for the whole ability range.

Rather similar circumstances pertained at Draper where transition to comprehensive status had also left major issues unresolved.Mr Dawson,a new head of remedial and Special Needs education, was appointed from a multi-racial school in the ILEA in September 1982,part way through this research.The department then comprised Mr Dawson,a part-time teacher and a PE teacher who was also head of fifth year.The post was advertised as Special Needs in accordance with the county's post-Warnock climate and the headteacher's perceived needs for the school.Mr Dawson's task was not an easy one.His inheritance was a confusion of arrangements in which remedial,low ability and special needs had all been inadequately catered for.Nor was the culture shock of differing levels of provision between the ILEA and a traditional shire county easy to accommodate.(38) The entire area was in need of definition and there were severe difficulties over staffing,funding and formal structures which made change a very long term prospect.

No records or screening tests existed for the study year group,apart from incomplete and incompatible

junior school records.Like Mrs Cook,Mr Dawson intended to introduce a coherent procedure with the new intake,screening followed by diagniostic work,but his immediate scope for manoeuvre was minimal,circumscribed by the timetable he had inherited and the assumptions upon which it had been based.In the past ,remedial teachers had taught the lowest set in several subjects.This inhibited both individual treatment and group withdrawal work.Without the commitment from departments to teach the full ability range,or the appointment of new staff (both of which questioned fundamental assumptions about the school),it was difficult to see how further provision could be made.Provision for slow learners was also severely restricted because so little time was left available for consultaion with other departments as to how such children might most appropriately be catered for.The departmental allowance for 1982-83 was `286,very little to alleviate the poor provision of books and material.The library in Draper was better equipped to cater for the full ability range than Chilworth,but at a departmental level they had little more than 200 fiction books for all years.

Access to greater resources of time money and staffing were dependent upon certain structural changes.Funds had hitherto been allocated according to a formula based upon the number of children taught by each department,which favoured large departments teaching whole classes at the expense of those

teaching small groups.Moreover,departments hitherto had been able to adopt their own policies as regards streaming or setting.Mr Dawson's desire to return to departments the responsibility for teaching the entire ability range to enable him to concentrate upon withdrawal or work within mainstream had implications for the whole school which had not yet been resolved.

The remedial department at Baydon was well established,with five full time members and a considerable national reputation due to the publications of the head of department.(39) It had long been regarded and funded as a major department,receiving in 1982-83 about `1400,a comparable sum to that received by the English department in the school.It was housed in its own unglamorous but functional suite of rooms.To pay for the extensive withdrawal programme,which often involved 30 per cent of the first year intake,staff agreed to teach slightly larger classes and to have slightly heavier teaching loads.They continued to "subsidise" the department in this fashion because it had brought perceptible benefits to all staff.An exhaustive sequence of screening for the entire entry year group was followed by a diagnostic programme and varied treatment.Records upon all pupils,past and present,were maintained,containing scores,details of treatment given and consequent progress and attainment.Such information was available to all staff,in simplified form,upon request,the

raw scores remaining confidential within the department to ensure there was no misinterpretation by those unfamiliar with the limitations of particular tests.Mr Burns and his colleagues had worked closely with almost all other department groups in the school over a number of years to ensure that slow learners were adequately catered for.There were also courses specially designed for lower ability pupils which were available upon an optional basis in the fourth and fifth years.

Over the years the department had built up a considerable body of material,much of it written by Mr Burns and his colleagues,and the range of material was carefully selected to dovetail in with mainstream curriculum provision.Mr Burns explained the department's fiction provision in these terms

> On the fiction side we have getting on for about 5000 books or booklets,I don't know how many titles exactly.But as we don't buy large multiples we must have well over 1000 titles.We have this colossal range running from Monster books at the one end up to Puffin at the other.We do have the full Puffin range,that's the hardest we've got,though we do encourage them to use the library long before they finish with us on withdrawal.There's an overlap with the library at the Puffin end,but not so much at the other end.They have a number of things we don't and vice versa.Partly it's a question of retrieval,because many of our booklets are very slim and get lost easily.We don't classify them on our shelves,they're sorted more for aesthetic reasons than anything,and the pupils are free to choose anywhere.I do think that's very important.I'd like to think we were educating them in the technique of browsing amongst books.That's why they come to us for four lessons a week:for three they will be working on different things and in the fourth they

> browse amongst the books.They should be choosing books.I'm not strict about it,it's flexible.I encorage them to find a book ,read a bit then and there.Sometimes I'll take over 5 or 6 titles,put them on the table and ask them to look at those or try some sales talk.They'll usually take them home and then come back and talk with us about them.They keep a record of what they read.They have regular frequent access to books and they're welcome to bring their friends in,so that if you look through the tickets ,you'll find that many books are borrowed by pupils who have never had and never will have remedial help.We're running a self-support library so that they can go in there whether there are staff there or not.They come in in the lunch hour or breaks,or when they come out of any English lesson or whatever to go to the library,some of them will always come in here.

The assumptions that underlie these arrangements concern,as in the English department,choice,control,trust,access,entitlement and a view of reading as learned behaviour and social codes as well as more technical decoding skills.

Within the school structure the department had earned and sustained a position of real influence and power.Most departmental groups admired its work and supported its achievements.

Several points emerge from this contrasting remedial provision.First,the allocation of staff,money,time and other resources to the Baydon department represented an unambiguous statement by the institution about the importance it attached to reading for all its pupils.It was a major,fundamental commitment,not some peripheral appendage of the curriculum.Secondly,although the expertise and energy of Mr Burns was remarkable,the achievement was that of a

department,a group who worked within clearly agreed policies.Moreover the remedial department shared,with many staff,some basic assumptions about the kind of learning they wished to encourage and the kind of social relationships necessary to achieve it.(40) The approach of Mr Burns,in allowing his pupils on withdrawal to spend a quarter of their time in browsing amongst books,for example,is similar to the approach found in the Humanities or the English departments.The encouragement in students of independence and control over their own work processes was a distinctive feature of Baydon absent elsewhere.The approach involved assumptions about the nature of pupil-teacher relationships,discipline and trust,a powerful implicit curriculum.In her study,Meek (1983) describes how the teachers involved in that project sought to transform their pupils from "dependers" to "copers".That distinction was well understood at Baydon.

The secondary curriculum is heavily print-oriented.Only at Baydon was there any cross school awareness that,in an all ability school,pupil entitlement to the full curriculum entailed an organisation that ensured an adequate and appropriate relationship to print for all its pupils.Ultimately, that is a political affirmation,however implicitly made,in that it seeks to alter

> "the distribution of speaking subjects into different types of discourse and the appropriation of discourses to certain categories of subject".(41)

vi) library provision

Space precludes a full account of the differences in library provision between the three schools.(42) In brief,as regards fiction,Baydon library was better equipped to cater for an all ability intake,had a greater range of authors and titles,and better provision across a number of specialised categories such as science fiction,short stories,children's picture books,easy readers,paperbacks,translated fiction etc.But the low usage of Draper's library,whose fiction stock was also thoughtfully chosen,is a reminder that factors other than the mere existence of a wider range of more appropriate books,were at work within the school.(43)

At one level,better provision at Baydon may be accounted for by the school's simpler history and greater continuity of personnel.The school was purpose-built and there had been broad agreeement in the school as to the library's function for more than a decade.The library had also been blessed with a complete stock replacement following extensive fire damage two years prior to this research.But records showed that neither stock composition

nor library usage had changed substantially since that fire.An established pattern had been interrupted and then resumed.Nor is it sufficient to account for the comparative failure of Chilworth and Draper's libraries by a general referenceto the difficulties of comprehensivisation,real enough as they were.In each case,greater understanding is required of two processes:the selection and acquisition of books by the schools;and their subsequent deployment within them.To examine these processes involves tracing back through the schools,particulars about their power structure and curricular preoccupations.It is a question of fleshing out the relationship of that mysterious phenomenon,school ethos,to particular material and social practices.

Long ago,Spens commented that there was often more learning going on in a school's library than in any of its classrooms.Perhaps so.But the evidence of this study suggests that what happens in the library more often reflects what goes on elsewhere rather than offers an alternative to it.A school library occupies an ambiguous position in the school structure.It is a highly sensitive indicator of the institution's values and priorities and of the tensions to which they give rise.A subject department's position ,by contrast,is more clearly defined by external factors such as parental expectations and examination boards,as well as by internal ones such as definition against other subject areas.The library's position is much

more negotiable within and variable between schools.

Who is responsible for the library? It is a key question in any structural analysis of a secondary school.In Baydon this rested with Mr Black,the head of English.Decisions as to how much money was allocated to the library remained firmly,as did all financial matters,with Mr Baxter.Allocation of those funds between the varying individuals and groups with claims upon them was initially a matter of discussion between Mr Baxter,Mr Black and Mrs Barton,the library ancillary,who selected and ordered most of the books other than the fiction which was dealt with by Mr Black.Mrs Barton worked in co-operation with other department groups,but was scrupulous in ensuring that areas not covered by the departmental subject boundaries were not overlooked.Library policy was generally discussed by these three people before any discussion at other meetings.Mrs Barton maintained close contact with English staff and sometimes attended their departmental meetings.Mr Baxter used the library extensively for his own reading,often taking out several books a week.He saw the library as the school's single most important resource,and was deeply hostile to any threat to minimise its status.Baydon library therefore enjoyed a strong position in the school's power structure,with representation in senior meetings and considerable patronage from the headteacher.Consensus within the school hierarchy as to the function of the library had

largely been achieved through the appointment selection.How far this management style would suffice under the direction of a new headteacher with less predilection for print remains to be seen.

At Draper,Miss Dawes,a History teacher,had inherited a much neglected library which had required considerable help from the Schools Library Service to restore.She had recently completed a teacher librarian's course at the London Institute, was active in the Schools Library Association and worked closely with the Schools Library Service.Since she had been responsible for the library,the stock had been transformed and offered,within tight financial constraints,a well selected,appropriate selection.Her position within the school hierarchy,however,was less assured than Mr Black's.Although entitled to attend some senior meetings,she was on a lower scale than others attending.Politically,she had to operate from a weaker power base,and the issues were political.To argue for the kind of open library access that pertained at Baydon raised questions about discipline,curriculum,modes of working and teacher-pupil relationships - all issues which raised questions about the school's future that were mentioned in chapter 5.The library here was the potential focal point of all the debate about change in the school.(44)

The library situation at Chilworth was equally eloquent,but more ironic.That library was the least well provided for as regards fiction and non fiction.It was that school which had the highest proportion of non readers and whose pupils found it most difficult to obtain books other than class issues.Much more than elsewhere in this study,Chilworth pupils remained or became readers for reasons quite extraneous to the school's agency or intentions.And yet not more than 500 yards away from the school library,lay the headquarters of the County Schools Library Service.Each day library vans threaded their way through the school car park to carry their freight of books to the remotest parts of the authority.How could such a situation arise in which educational apparatuses so manifestly fail to serve their purported intentions?

It is insufficient to seek an explanation in terms of individual responsibility.Mr Cox was responsible for the library,in addition to his duties as year head and English teacher.These split responsibilities ,the imminent transfer of the lower school,with its library,to the main site,and the emphasis upon academic success in a bid to regain parental support,all conspired to weaken the political strength of the library,which occupied a very weak position within the organisational structure of the school.Mr Charles,having delegated responsibility to Mr Cox,held the view that it was wrong to interfere further.Funds were allocated to Mr Cox with the directive

that he consult all interested parties to apportion the monies.A library committee had existed in the past,and Mr Cox hoped that his proposals for a revised committee would be approved.The little time left Mr Cox from his pastoral and other duties meant that certain questions about the library had not been addressed:the monitoring of library usage,for example.

> I don't have what you might call a survey check.If you were to ask 'do I have a policy? 'the answer is 'No.' If you were to ask 'do I do it?' the answer is 'yes'. Because I go in there at lunch times and see how many people are working there - not in terms of 'stop it!' - but also in terms of seeing whether people are actually working,reading books and using books for work.

There was no clear policy for the selection of books,fiction or non-fiction,except on the most impressionistic basis.Mr Cox employed the customary quality/non quality distinction for fiction to decide which books were bought.

> there are certain books ,classified as fiction,which are classics,and so therefore I'd expect to have them on the shelves - not necessarily only those studied for examination purposes at A or O level,but also supplementary to study.I would buy,for example, Katherine Mansfield short stories and I would expect to have D.H.Lawrence on the shelves,owned by the school,but the rest we would borrow from the Schools Library Service.

Selection of the books from the Schools Library Service,however,was left to the library ancillary who felt quite at a loss as to how to do so.In fact very few books indeed had been chosen,far fewer than the number they were entitled to have.During the fieldwork period,the school organised a wine and cheese party for staff and parents,the

profits from which were destined to be spent upon library books.The event was well attended.Two complete new sets of the Encyclopaedia Britannica were purchased with the proceeds,an addition to stock which bore little relation to the needs of the school.

The proximity of the Schools Library Service was of little avail because of the inherent structural problems in the relationship between that body and secondary schools.(44) The contact procedure between the two is uncertain.The school,of course,is free to establish contact with the S.L.S.,but that presupposes an awareness of the extent or nature of the service offered,and a clear job description for the library post of responsibility.All the evidence suggests that such specification is rare.(45) The SLS is free,on the other hand,to establish contact with the school.That pressupposes a clear entry-point to the complex institutional structure of a secondary school.In this case,the person charged,with very little guidance,with contacting the SLS was the unqualified (46) part-time library ancillary,who occupied the weakest position in the institutional hierarchy.The recently appointed head of the SLS felt there were uncertainties regarding her status in secondary schools:she was happy to respond,less so to initiate.Contact was possible with library ancillary staff,but engagement with the senior staff responsible for deciding the library's function in a school was rare.

So far as access to the library for pupils

was concerned at Chilworth ,Mr Cox explained that

> this is the general rule:the library is available for everybody at break and lunch times.It is open,though,officially available,from 9.10 am for sixth form private study and for people doing Art,for instance,or a project,to come and borrow books.It isn't used much by fourth and fifth years in lesson times because most of them have to be in lesson bases.But periodically,especially in subjects like RE they will be sent over,and they may sit in the library and work,or they may borrow a book,take it to a lesson and bring it back at the end.It's not greatly used,if you like,because of the structure of the school,but within that structure,I think it's quite regularly used in that children are sent there.And if I see fourth and fifth years in there,and provided their attendance is legitimate,when I ask them what they are doing,they can stay.(47)

Observation of library usage during the study showed there to be very litle traffic throughout the day.Those engaged upon private study in the library were there for its work space rather than for its contents.The distinctive feature of such private study appeared to be its teacher definition and independence of library resources.

It would be inappropriate to attribute these features of Chilworth library entirely to Mr.Cox's influence or actions,(47) for they were very much in keeping with the school at large.What emerges from these quoted comments,for example,are assumptions about what constitutes legitimate work,acceptable modes of working and the degree of choice and control accorded to students in the school.These assumptions do not originate with Mr Cox,or the library,but

in institutional conceptions of teaching and learning,and their embodiment in the particular curricular demands made and the teacher-student relationships defined in the classroom.In English,for example,in the fourth and fifth year there was no curricular demand or expectation that pupils use the library at all,let alone independently.Most activities,many of them very imaginatively conceived,were teacher-defined,teacher-initiated and closely tied to examination demands.Few occasions arose when students were entrusted with the direction of their own time,movement or work.Such patterns were not confined to English in the upper secondary years.It is these highly controlled and directed practices,which cast students in passive roles,that the library usage and access reflects.The cultural pattern of the school was inimical to any extensive library usage.

Mr Charles himself was aware of some of the deficiencies of the library stock and its usage,but the improvements he hoped for required no alteration to this pattern of assumptions

> Now there's one of those areas,I'm just trying to think which one it is,which we're very weak in.Is it the fiction one that we're weak in this school? I'm not sure.There is one that's weaker.But we should,frankly,have a proper balance of fiction and non-fiction.I see the library as multi-embracing,if you like.I don't see it just as a lending library.I see it in a much wider context than that,and that's why I'm so anxious to see banks of resources being allied to what is there.I think we've got the wrong conception of what the use of the library should be.We're still very

> conventional in schools and we still run it as a lending library system.I think a library is much like a church.The pupils don't have the experience so they don't go.But if you get them to go to the church youth club,then you might then get them into the church.And I think the library is very much like that.If you widen its horizons and fill it with resources,maybe on the history of the motorbike,or the car and stuff like that,then I think you'll get the middle of the roaders as well as the low ability children in there as well,whereas we're only getting the top 10% at the moment.Having got them in there you'll stand a chance of getting them onto the shelves.

The contrast with Baydon is sharp.There,very different conceptions of the library's function were grounded in equally different conceptions of learning and the social relationships necessary to it.In each school,the library was influenced by practices elsewhere in the school - there was a continuity of culture.A school's implicit conception of knowledge (48) may be read off in its decisions about the library.The school visitor is instructed by the old adage to inspect the toilets to discover the reality of the school.The library,too,is worth a visit.

vi) conclusions.

In this chapter the different reading outcomes in the three schools reported earlier have been related to a range of differing practices within the schools.The successful establishment of readership in a school does not arise by accident,nor from isolated instances of good practice or particularly charismatic teachers.It stems from concerted actions ,consciously undertaken,by whole schools,or significantly powerful groups within them,that are desigend to give tangible form to the usual rhetoric that reading matters.All the features discussed here involve more than English subject- specific concerns.None appeared more important than the others;each was re-inforced by the others.There are differences at the level of pedagogy,but the deep structures revealed by these features concern underlying assumptions about a number of relationships:between pupils and teachers;between both and what schools define as work;and between both and print.

All of the features raise political issues.The common element in each,be it remedial provision,access to books,or the criteria employed to allocate resources ot time,staff and money,relates to the exercise and distribution of power throughout the

institution.The evidence of this study suggests that the power relations within the staff hierarchy are mirrored at classroom level.Baydon differed sharply from the other schools because staff and students alike saw themselves able to influence the educational process;they exercised greater control over both the process and product of their work than in the other two schools.The implicit messages to students in such differing practices are powerful,even in a superficially straightforward judgment that a student may (or may not) walk unaccompanied to a library during lesson time.Ultimately they are messages about democracy and knowledge.(49) No doubt there were fewer constraints at Baydon because it was a new school.Nonetheless the practices there were not given,but achieved through negotiation,discussion and questioning of the existing dispensation.Mere newness of the school did not guarantee the reading outcome;it merely highlighted the existence,and necessity,of choice and enlarged its range.

Autobiographical and institutional factors at Chilworth and Draper conspired to disguise the political dimension of these issues and to submerge the possibility of choice.Teachers there had a weaker conception of themselves as agents:they saw themselves as more acted upon.Without the stimulus of a new school that demanded a more conscious

agency on their part,staff in Chilworth and Draper placed greater reliance upon the virtues of individualism for which subject English is such a strong preparation.(50) The greater complexity of those two schools' institutional histories made staff more aware of urgent,seemingly intractable problems about the future,than their colleagues at Baydon who found it more possible to think in terms of opportunities.(51)And as we shall see in more detail in the next chapter,the smaller incidence of oppositional behaviour at Baydon,together with the more favourable evaluation of their education by students at that school,indicates that these practices had substantial influence upon student as well as staff consciousness.

The evidence reported above suggests that greater staff and student control over the definition,processes and product of their work serves to reduce those inequalities in relation to print with which children arrive at school.Without that degree of control,those inequalities,and others to which they give rise,are not just reproduced,but also widened during secondary education in much the manner described by Bourdieu.Baydon indicates that schools are not of necessity locked into the hermetically sealed cycle of cultural reproduction described by Bourdieu.Schools do make a difference.And the evidence here suggests some of the necessary conditions for their doing so.Whether the

practices discussed above are sufficient conditions is another question.It is true that few schools have the opportunity to start from scratch as Baydon did.That may make emulation elsewhere impossible,but it should not prevent judgment as to either the nature of the institutional factors likely to inhibit readership,or the direction of the necessary changes required to promote it.

Some problems in interpretation of the evidence at Baydon remain,however,which are best examined with reference to Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction.In his account,secondary schools are condemned for requiring that their pupils already possess what they themselves do not provide,namely the means of appropriating the cultural goods on offer.Both the class differentiated acquisistion of this cultural capital, and the bourgeois class-based nature of the cultural goods offered ,render working class children susceptible to educational failure.He argues that the means of appropriating the cultural goods offered by the school,that "relationship of familarity with the dominant culture of the society",is generally transmitted through the family and is inscribed so intimately and at such a deep and unconscious level as to make any later attempts,at school,to redress the situation impossible.

Baydon clearly did not,could not,in any sense affect the familial relationship of its students to the

dominant culture.But there is an important sense in which Baydon did attempt,within the school,through the institutional practices described above,to establish a relationship of familiarity with the dominant culture. In ensuring that its students had access to books,time to read and appropriate help with reading difficulties to enable them to cope with curricular demands made upon them,for example,Baydon did more than simply require of its students that they already possess what the school did not offer.(52) The view of literacy in that school was much more explicit.To a much greater extent,the other two schools presupposed their students to have the necessary means of appropriation,but they did not themselves provide them.

Other aspects of the evidence at Baydon,however,are more difficult to interpret.Is the greater participation in print by working class students in Baydon in any sense a re-distribution of cultural capital? Or is it simply some kind of inflation in which the effective class differentials remain,but the base line has simply been raised? Were such practices more widespread would those differentials actually be increased? Without longer term evidence it is impossible to answer such questions which are prompted by the metaphor of the cultural capital theory.Nor are they necessarily the most appropriate questions.The achievements and limitations of Baydon are clarified ,however,by a consideration of what counts as

cultural capital.

The culture of the school comprises all the practices and social relations described above as well as the actual artefacts to which access is given and encouraged.The political choices and decisions made at Baydon certainly made the practices and relations there very different from those pertaining in the other two schools.But this was achieved by staff within a theoretical framework which still,in essence,held to the view of culture itself as a neutral self-evident good,beyond implication in any ideological conflicts of society.To that extent it was in the terms employed by ....and ..... an "incorporative" rather than a "transformative" school,(53) reformist rather than radical.The move from school as a site of cultural reproduction to one of cultural transformation can never be an easy one.The evidence of the next chapter,which considers adolescent perspectives on fiction in education, suggests that that move is not helped by the present dominant ideology of English as personal growth.

Footnotes to Chapter Seven.

1. See Barnes (1984) for discussion of the idea of deep structures.There is also a good discussion in Gibson 1984 of the application of Williams concept of "structures of feeling" to studies in education which is relevant.

2. They varied of course in the extent of their experience,but it is important that they are not perceived as being on different points of a sliding scale of competence.

3. See Belsey (1979) or Eagleton (1983).

4. cf the discussion in Barnes (1984)

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5. Teacher 1 is Mr Black (Baydon);Teacher 2 is Mr Corbridge (Chilworth);Teacher 3 is Mr Donaldson (Draper);Teacher 4 is Mr Berg (Baydon);Teacher 5 is Ms Coombes (Chilworth);Teacher 6 is Mr Dauntsey (Draper).

7. See Barnes (1984);Yorke (1977)

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8. At the outset of the study none of these teachers was aware of,or shared, the criticism of that discourse such as is argued in the present study.By the end of the fieldwork however several had changed their views substantially.

9. see Appendix II for details of the class texts read and chapter 8 section iv below for details of their treatment in class.

10. Throughout the school students in English were given a considerable measure of choice and control over their English work.About one lesson in three on average involved the teacher taking the lesson "up front".

11. see Whitehead (1977);APU (1982 and 1983);Heather (1982).

12. Barnes (1984);Whitehead and Jenkinson all report findings that are somewhat similar.Barnes (1984) is

interestig upon the differing kinds of texts produced for the different teaching groups.They distinguish 3 categories of texts- o level,cse and non-exam.

> "To sum up it could be said that O level fiction and drama texts were likely to be established classics which the teachers enjoyed and CSE texts the social realism of a generation ago.Only poetry was predominantly modern...it was the choice of reading for those bottom sets where they had complete freedom,which most exercised our teachers....In the last ten years or more,educational publishers have been producing special series aimed at this market...The reasons for the choice of books which should be read cannot be considered in isolation from the justification for teaching literature, but it seemed worthwhile to look at them separately because of the distinctions we observed in the choice of books for different groups.The distinctions we have identified were not exclsuive,but if we were given the titles of two books that a pupil in any of the classes had read in class,we would know in which groups to place them".
> Barnes 1984.

13. Barnes (1984) describes such constrained reading of class texts.

> As for reading aloud by the teacher "it was not the effectiveness of the presentation that was the criterion,but rather the ability to control the text.If teachers were the only readers,they were more able to comment or ask a question in the middle of a sentence than they could do if someone else was reading...(in exam classes) twice as much time was spent in commenting and asking questions as on the text itself and often the proportion was higher....Usually the teacher read all so that encounter and reflection stages were conflated and the pupils made dependent upon teacher exposition....There seemed to be some correlation betwen teacher as sole reader and a concentration on details.In the lessons where the teacher was the only reader,breaking up that reading with frequent interruptions and comment,word meanngs and paraphrase were often the focus..In bottom sets there was little or no reflection on what was read."

There was also the use of texts as a stimulus for writing which involved quite different criteria.

> "the lessons where literature was most related to pupils' own experience were when it was used as part of the preparation for writing assignments...texts or authors which were set for O level literature would be used in writing lssons with classes of allabilities.They would be expectd to understand and appreciate the author's intention with the minimum of

> explanation or exploration ,yet the same work would be treated quite diferently if encountered in a literature lesson.We even observed a sixth forrm A level class spend a whole lesson on an Owen poem which was read and apparently understood immediately in one reading in a fifth form class preparing for an assignment on war."
> Barnes 1984.

14. One of the students cited in Barnes (1984) defines subject English as "reading a book and then writing about it"

15. Barnes also attaches importance to the pressure exerted by students in the formation of the version of English they experience.He describes such pressure as "the strategies adopted by pupils to maximise the effect of their existing competences,or alternatively,to make their enforced stay in the classroom less painful"

16. This judgment was based upon his own schooling where he had felt both pressured and intimidated by teachers to read books for which he felt at the time little inclination.

17. See Hargreaves (1982) for an excellent critique of individualism in education.

18. see Mann's work cited in chapter 4 above.

19. At one stage in the past all departmental stock had been distributed amongst the English teaching rooms and there were no class teaching sets at all.That policy had been modified,and at the time of the fieldwork about half the stock was kept as class sets and the rest distributed amongst classromms.

20. see the section on "aspects of achievement" in the Hargreaves Report for a discussion of the extent to which schools are responsible for determining their students' attitudes towards education.

21. see appendices for details.

22. see Mann cited chapter 4 above.

23. Political education did not feature in the school curriculum at Chilworth.Q.T.'s comments here and in other interviews are similar to those reported by Willis (1977).

24. Midnight Express was a book read to the group by Ms Coombes from her own copy.The class enjoyed it greatly,but she was uneasy as to whether it was a suitable text and did not complete the book.

25. see also section iv) below in this chapter.

26. There was a small group of students in all three schools whose reading was clearly influenced by siblings in further and higher education.

27. see chapter 2 for discussion of the problems of analysing these networks.

28. These implications concerned questions about control and direction of students and the extent to which they should be encouraged to work independently.

29. The initial motivation in the development of the courses was to widen the range of activities,texts and modes of assessment.Peim 1986 gives an account of how such liberal courses later proved capable of radical inflection.

30. This tended to be done upon an individual basis in relation to a particular piece of work under discussion with a student.It was essentially an initiation mode in Barnes ' terms.

> at the centre of initiation is the idea that pupils do not merely reproduce another person's account of a text,but engage for themselves in a range of critical proceedures that can give rise to such an account....our culture supplies a repertoire of proceedures for reading and response and literature teachers pass these on to their pupils when they engage collaboratively in reading and commentary.Such proceedures are rarely made explicit and subjected themselves to critical examination but if learned at all are learned through apprenticeship.
> Barnes (1984).

31. The CSE course was eventually adopted by a great many

other schools in the area,but the teaching practices associated with it varied greatly from school to school as regards the extent to which students were encouraged to take responsibility for their work.

32. see Barnes (1984) or Scholes (1985) on the need for criteria to be made explicit and alterations to the power relations in the classroom.

33. see Everhart (1983) for discussion of this idea.

34. The table gives only a broad picture which needs to be treated with some caution.The schools' entry policies were different:there were almost no double entries at Baydon and quite a large number at Chilworth,for example,where it proved difficult to separate them all out for this table.The examinations were with different boards as well as having different modes of assessment.At Draper the number of students who achieved no literature qualification is so high because they took no separate CSE literature exam,but there was a literature component in the English course.

35. This was common practice with all teachers in the department,although it took a variety of forms.

36. Pupils at the other two schools,that is,conformed to the description given by Bourdieu of the legitimation of school failure by students.

37. At the time of the fieldwork a shift of terminology was underway.At the outset,the phrase "special needs" was employed by some staff at Baydon and Chilworth although the departments were called "remedial departments." By the end of the study,as a consequence of Warnock,all were moving towards the adoption of special needs as the phrase to describe this area.

38. The existence of funding discrepancies between leas which are almost as great as those within them makes it difficult to talk of a national education system.Recent evidence suggests that such discrepancies are being widened through other sources of funding brought in by the present government.

39. The department also taught a core course in skills to all first and second year classes.

40. There were staff who did not form part of this consensus,but they were few in number.

41. see Foucault (1970) in Young (1981).
On a much broader scale we are obliged to recognise large cleavages in in what might be called the social appropriation of discoursess.Although education may well be ,by right,the instrument thanks to which any individual in a society like ours can have access to any kind of discourse whatever,this does not prevent it from following,as is well known,in its distribution,in what it allows and what it prevents,the lines marked out by social distances,oppositions and struggles.Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses,along with the the knowledges and powers which they carry.

I am well aware that it is very abstract to separate speech rituals,societies of discourse,doctrinal groups and social appropriations as I have just done.Most of the time ,they are linked to each other and constitute kinds of great edifices which ensure the distribution of speaking subects into the different types of discourse and the appropriation of discourses to certain categories of subject.Let us say,in a word that those are the major procedures of subjection used by discourse.What after all is an education sytem,other than a ritualisation of speech,a qualification and a fixing of roles for speaking subjects,the constitution of a doctrinal group,however diffuse,a distribution and an appropriation of discourses with its powers and knowledges?
Foucault:Inaugural lecture at the College de France 1970.

42. see appendices.

43. cf the findings of the Bradford Book Flood.see chapter 3 above.

44. See also LISC report 1985.

45. See Secondary School Library Provision in Six LEAS. DES 1985.

46. See Bullock (1975) or DES (1985) for further details of the national picture as regards provision of suitably

qualified library staff.

47. Mr Charles,however,after seeing the initial analysis of the present study findings appointed somebody else to take responsibility for the library.

48. See Gibson (1984).

49. See Meek (1982);Everhart 1983;(Gibson) (1984).

50. see chapter 9 below.

51. see Giddens (1982) for the concept of agency underlying this section.

52. See the account of Bourdieu in chapter 4 above.

53. Reynolds and Sullivan (1979) identified two broad strategies in the comprehensive schools which they studied.These were incorporation and coercion.They argue the need for transformative schools.

CHAPTER EIGHT.

The Adolescent Experience of Fiction.

> "nothing less than a sense of life itself." (1)
> (cited in Bullock 1975.)

> students in the top streams tended to accept school versions of English as valid,those in the middle and bottom streams tended to see it as irrelevant to the real business of life....it is likely that English,like other subjects,plays its part in the cooling off of many pupils from working class homes who see little value in it. (Barnes.1984)

This chapter reports the findings from the programme of group and individual interviews and from the sequence of open-ended questions,sentence stems and attitudinal tests conducted at various points during the study.Classroom notes,teacher interviews and students' written work are drawn upon indirectly.This brief introduction is followed by six sections based upon a number of themes which emerged from the data.They are:views of reading;reader histories;reading fiction;class text and shared experience;the reading process;and outcomes.

The evidence considered so far has been concerned with the social production of readers in the three study schools.The markedly different reading outcomes in

the three institutions have been discussed in relation to historical factors over which the participants had little control,and current practices and attitudes towards readership over which they had more.Baydon's greater success in the social production of readers was shown to be closly related to its ability to give expression to its high valuation of literacy in specific material practices,provision and policies.In all three schools the pattern of cultural reproduction was closely linked to the distribution of power;at the classroom and the whole school level,the cultural was closely enmeshed with the political.The concern hitherto has been with the effects of the school social contexts upon patterns of readership.We have already seen something of the powerful influence exerted upon both staff and student consciousness by institutional characteristics:how students construed subject English,for example,or how staff perceived the boundaries of institutional change.Participants' common sense perceptions about various aspects of readership,and literacy,both formed and were formed by the contexts in which they found themselves.

This chapter,however,is concerned with individual readers' responses to fiction,and therefore marks a return to the first of the two sub questions with which this study is concerned.It will be recalled from Chapter Two,that the initial research question - how do adolescents

become confirmed readers of fiction? - was subdivided to facilitate both field work and the presentation of material.The division also enabled the retention of my original interest in the individual response of adolescent readers as well as a growing interest in the social context of readership.Logic would seem to demand the investigation and reporting of individual readers' responses before that of the social contexts in which they occurred.Subsequent analysis of the material,however,led me to reverse that order in its presentation.The reversal was more economic of space and made better narrative sense,enabling the reader to be introduced quickly to the three institutions,before proceeding to an examination of the individuals within them.Reversing the order in which the questions were addressed also afforded certain rhetorical advantages in that it serves to underline ,in the sequence of presentation of the evidence,the interpretation to which I have been led by its analysis:readers and the readings which they produce are largely institutionally determined.(2)

My original interest in the individual response of adolescent readers to fiction arose from a particular view of fiction and reading which I no longer hold.(3) At the outset of the study I assumed that this section would comprise a series of case studies of adolescent readers,in which,whatever patterns or stages of

development had become apparent in the fieldwork,the uniqueness of individual experience of fiction would be paramount.My interest,then,in the response of adolescent readers of fiction centred upon how distinctive an experience they perceived fiction reading to be,how they described the process of fiction reading,and the nature of the benefits,if any,which they felt accrued from such reading.It was a question of ascertaining what relationship adolescent self-reports upon these matters bore to the dominant subject English discourse in which literature was seen to make a unique contribution to the individual's personal growth and development.Some of the limitations to these assumptions which underlay the original project have already been discussed.(4) Although the personal growth view of English teaching generally assumes that the reader's life experiences are an important component in the meaning constructed by the reader,the account given of that process is relatively untheorised.As we shall see,in the next chapter,recent literary theory has radically altered our understanding of texts,the reading process,language and subjectivity to such an extent that the theoretical framework within which this part of the present study was initially conceived may now be seen to be inadequate.The extent of "the author's own development,or,less honorifically,changes of mind,"(5) since the inception of the study has affected the presentation of the findings in this chapter in three ways.Some brief explanation is

required.

Convention demands that the review of literature precedes research findings.That order is reversed here.All I can say to allay readerly anxiety at this point is that the above convention makes good sense when the appropriate literature is read prior to the research design,but less so when a second literature is discovered after the design has been operationalised.(6) The review of relevant literature is therefore incorporated into the case study which follows the presentation of the study findings.

Secondly,the findings are presented in less detail than originally envisaged.Several other studies in this area have recently been published whilst the present one was being written up (Protherough (1983),Benton (1982),Harrison (1983),Jackson (1984),Fry (1985)),which,to some extent,duplicate material offered here.Space and stamina preclude 162 case histories and their diversity makes a selection of a representative sample difficult if not impossible.No case studies of individual readers appear in this chapter.The third alteration arose from the judgement that it was important to retain adequate space in which to discuss the limitations of the assumptions underlying these studies and my own original one,than to detail the findings exhaustively.A case study

is,therefore,presented in the next chapter:that of the personal growth model of English teaching.

i) views of reading

This section reports the findings from the APU material designed to elicit information about students' attitudes towards reading in general.The material was employed in the fifth term of the study,shortly before the end of the students' period of compulsory education.Table 8a.gives the details of the responses to the stem:I need to be able to read because...Here,as subsequently,where it is relevant,the figures from the APU study (1982) which reported in the middle of this research,are given in brackets.The large differences in sample size of the APU makes firm comparisons difficult.

Table 8a.

Response to the stem:I need to be able to read because...

	APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
increased knowledge and understanding	(40%)	35%	41%	49%
need to cope with demands of daily life,including homework	(33%)	40%	17%	20%
pleasure,relaxation, enjoyment	(20%)	22%	42%	40%
reasons to do with employment	(26%)	15%	17%	9%

The sharp distinctions between the study schools so evident in earlier tables are not apparent here.At Chilworth the more overtly utilitarian attitude prevailing is reflected in several ways.The high percentage who felt the need to read in order to be able to cope with the demands of daily life may well be attributed to the more insistent homework attitude in that school.Less than half the proportion of students at Chilworth related the need to

read to pleasure than in the oher schools.Although both Baydon and Draper students saw reading as a means to pleasure,this response was largely confined to the O level group in Draper,but was more evenly distributed at Baydon.Baydon's less instrumental approach,evidenced in chapters six and seven,is also apparent in the low figure for that school in the last row.

Table 8b gives the response to the next stem,which was:The best thing about reading is..Here too the distinctions shown in chapter six are not so evident,although the figures do show a stronger relation of reading to pleasure in that school than in the other two.Such comments were also evenly divided amongst groups at Baydon.

Table 8b.

Responses to the stem:The best thing about reading is..

	APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
self-improvement,know-ledge,schoolwork	(49%)	35%	35%	16%
pleasure,entertainment	(34%)	45%	57%	60%
independence	(14%)	5%	5%	14%
choice	(5%)	5%	1%	4%

Students were also asked to indicate their agreement or disagreement with a number of statements that "referred generally to the benefit of increased knowledge gained from books." (APU) The details are given in Table 8c.

Table 8c.

Percentages of students assenting to the following statements

	APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
I like to use books to find things out	(81%)	70%	70%	74%
I like to read to develop my ideas and opinions	(77%)	51%	54%	65%
I like to read to increase my knowledge	(75%)	64%	74%	80%

In general the response from students at Baydon may be seen to indicate a more positive attitude towards reading.There was no tendency for positive comments to be concentrated in the O level groups as was the case in the other two schools.

The next table gives the percentages of students assenting to statements that "referred to reading to learn about people and human problems."(APU) All of the items so far have related to reading in general,but this cluster comes closer to the immediate concern of this study,fiction reading.Percentages are given separately for boys and girls because of the marked differences in their responses.

Table 8d.

Percentages of students assenting to the following statements.

(boys/girls)

(1) I like to read to help me to understand my own and other people's problems

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(43% 70%)	16% 76%	16% 46%	23% 59%

(2) I like to read to learn about people

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(51% 67%)	29% 52%	38% 69%	32% 80%

(3) I like to read to learn how things work or how to do things

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(85% 67%)	88% 46%	74% 43%	64% 56%

The differences between girls and boys' responses are for the most part,even sharper here than those recorded in the APU sample.We have already seen that in Chilworth and Draper gender influence whether students read,how much they read,and what they read.,whereas at Baydon it did not.This table,however,shows a gender influence on the motives for reading in all three schools.It is less marked at Baydon,but the pattern is similar.The figures appear to support the arguments put forward by

Glastonbury,Rose and White (7) about the way that boys and girls are subject to gender stereotyping as regards their interests and perceived abilities.It relates also to arguments about the construction of English as a fit subject for girls and women.(8)

A further cluster of statements was designed to elicit information about "reluctant or negative attitudes towards reading."(APU) Table 8e presents the relevant findings.

Table 8e.

Percentages of students assenting to the following statements.

	APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
1)I seldom see a book I want to read	(32%)	45%	38%	39%
2)Apart from schoolwork I only read when I want to find out something	(26%)	30%	14%	11%
3)I only read when I have to	(21%)	21%	9%	11%
4)Some of the books we use at school are too difficult for me	(27%)	18%	13%	15%
5)It takes me a long time to read anything	(35%)	32%	22%	26%
6)My life outside schoolis too full for reading	(28%)	51%	44%	20%

These are difficult findings to interpret.The similar number of students in all three schools who agree to seldom seeing a book they want to read appears to contradict the patterns of readership reported in the previous chapters,and the comments of students in interviews.Some avid readers at Baydon,for example,assented to the statement,yet,throughout the study period,showed neither reluctance to read nor negative attitudes to reading.They simply wished they could find more books similar to those they enjoyed:the rarity of really good books did not deter them from looking for them.The figures for the second and third statement confirm the patterns of readership in the schools that were revealed by the questionnaire and interviews,with Chilworth registering a markedly higher incidence of reluctance to read.The fourth statement produces considerably lower figures for all three schools than the APU sample,but it is difficult to interpret the figures any further,since the statement refers to school books in general rather than English ones in particular.Other information is required on an almost individual basis before the figures would take on any significance.For example,not all the students in the CSE group at Chilworth who experienced difficulties with class readers (according to observation and interviews) assented to this statement,whilst some in the Baydon O level group who chose and enjoyed books by Dostoievsky or Tolstoy,but also found them

difficult,did not assent.

Similar problems occur with the fifth statement.Amongst those who assented to the statement were some who read lengthey demanding books with persistence and enjoyment,as well as others who experienced ifficulties with most print.Response to the statement my life outside schoolis too full for reading reflect the readership patterns previously established,but when given as a sentence completion stem,it yielded more information.Chilworth and Drapers students saw homework as major obstacles to their reading,often their social life as commenting upon the increased demands of both during their fifth year.(9) By contrast at Baydon students tended to describe how they modified their habits to accommodate their desire to read.They read less,or later at night,or more at school,or at week-ends,so that reading,homework and social demands could all be met.

No very clear picture emerges from these tables so far.The sharp distinctions in readership patterns established earlier seem to be blurred by this evidence.Little pattern is discernible in some tables,whilst in others a similar pattern is seen in all three schools.How can this be explained?

Despite their later sophisticated analysis,many of these APU materials are very blunt instruments indeed.Changing patterns of readership are susceptible of accurate ,detailed measurement because relatively unambiguous questions can be framed to elicict the appropriate information.But attitudes are more slippery to handle.Many of the APU items raise as many problems as they address.What is to be made,for example,of the fact that 40% of students in all three schools assented to the statementI seldom see a book that I want to read ? How accurate an index of reluctant or negative attitudes towards reading is this? Wittgenstein,who could not understand why anybody could wish to read Mind when there were American detective magazines available,might well have assented to the statement.(10) Leavis could well have assented for different reasons.Little information is yielded until the response is contextualised.We have seen,for example,that Chilworth CSE students had very restricted access to books in and out of school.H.B. in that group assented to the statement.A year previously he said in interview

> Skidpan was the last book that I read.That was over two years ago now.I didn't read a lot,not then.I didn't look for books then.Don't really look for them at all now.If a book comes up to me,or I sees one that I likes,and I starts reading it,then I'd probably finish it.But I don't look out for them particular.I goes to look for a motor cycle book sometimes,but mostly I just sort of waits for them to come up to me sort of thing.Like Midnight Express.But I wouldn't go and look for

something like that till I'd heard of it.
(HB.Chilworth CSE)

H.B. had ceased to read,in any voluntary sense,at the start of the study and read no books throughout other than some CSE texts in class.

N.E.,a boy of comparable ability in the Baydon CSE group,also assented to the statement.A year prior to that,he had said in interview:

> I got Werewolf from the school library,'cos I asked the librarian if she had any books on vampires and things like that.And she said that she hadn't,but she said she'd just got this new one ,and she'd send it to me as soon as she'd got it stamped and all that,since she'd just got it from the buying....I saw Day of the Jackal on the telly and I wanted to know what had happened in the beginning,so I got that out from the school library....Sometimes I just wanders along the shelves,just looking sort of thing.That's how I got Remarkable Warrior.Or sometimes if I see any good books in that Chip Club thing that they sends round,the bookclub,then I'll get them from there.

N.E. continued to read throughout the study,and in the final interview,he thought he would always read fiction provided he could find books outside school,to whose provision he attributed his increased interest in reading.

Both boys' responses are accurate,honest.But both are also relative and highly context-specific.'Seldom' has different implications for them.One speaks from a world,essentially bookless,whilst the second moves with a

degree of confidence in the world of books.It is,of course,impossible to account for each response in this manner,but similar problems arise with most of the APU material.(11) It is also difficult to determine the relationship of any one item to another or to all the rest.How can one bring into any meaningful relationship the fact that 70% of all students assented to the statement that I like using books to find things out with the fact that less than a third agreed with the statement that Apart from schoolwork I only read if I want to find out something?

The material presented so far in this chapter purports to give an indication of student attitudes to reading towards the end of their compulsory schooling.But attitudes are not free floating in a vacuum.They exist in,and have been shaped by,a social context and can scarcely be understood apart from that context.Attitudes have origins and points of formation whose analysis this material does little to facilitate.The last chapter argued that the variations in readership patterns could not be accounted for simply by superior pedagogy at the individual teacher level.Practices were grounded in in complex institutional histories and teacher biographies.As with the institutions,so with the individuals within them.At best,these attitudinal tests provide a dipstick into present consciousness.Their utility depends upon the degree to whcih contact with the students' pasts and social contexts can be established,and the nature of that relationship

determined.To argue the limitations of the APU material is to claim the superiority of other kinds of data.The remaining sections of this chapter discuss some common elements from the students' pasts and social contexts which were revealed in their self reports.

ii) reader histories.

Meek's longitudinal studies of adolescent readers are a welcome reminder of the importance of the reader's past.(1982).The reader's past has too often been acknowledged only in general terms,by looking for example at the reading material encountered by individuals,usually the famous,in an effort to trace their formation as readers or writers .Autobiographical accounts such as J.S.Mill's ,describe the influence exerted by particular books or authors,whilst academic studies trace the process whereby what authors have read is transmuted into what they later come to write,a process akin to diet and physique:we become what we read.(12) Complex as that process may be,"the vast proliferation of more or less tangible distinctions based upon what people have read"(13), it is only part of the story.And the histories of young people as readers are no less complex,simply because they are young and unknown.(14) Moreover there are other things than a reader's actual diet to consider in regard to their formation.

As much as the actual books encountered,it is the practices and social relations associated with them that exert such a profound influence upon people and serve to establish their relationship to print and assign them their place somewhere in "the division between the various shades of literacy and illiteracy".(15) In a literate society everyone stands in some kind of relationship to print.It may or may not be the one they wish to occupy,one for which they bear much responsibility,or indeed one of which they are particularly conscious,but some kind of position they must occupy.The range of possible positions along the spectrum from literacy to illiteracy is immense.How do individuals define for themselves,or have defined for them ,their relationship to print in our society? Education is certainly a major determinant.All children in our society go through the same rites of passage in relation to print,although it is difficult to do justice to the particularities of the process.Such are the discontinuities in the phases of our educational system,the wide,often conflicting diversity of pedagogies within it and the range of possibilities for student success or failure at different points,that any individual reader history is unique and complex.Nevertheless,some common elements stood out in this study.They are:parental expectations ;learning to read;receiving,or not receiving,appropriate help;being read to by teachers,siblings or parents;being tested ;and

studying texts.

Questions about their pasts as readers was part of the interview schedule,but the past was raised by students at least as much by them as by me.It intruded in all sorts of ways.Reminiscences of learning to read was one of the most frequent,and often vividly recalled.Here are H.N. and N.T.,two girls in the Draper 0 level group talking about early days.

> N.T. I don't understand how people can't read.I just don't see how they can't read or don't want to.I mean it's difficult to find good books,I know,but they are there,aren't they,if you look for them?
>
> H.N. I can remember as a kid,wanting to read,to be like my mum.She read these great big books and I just wanted to do that too and to be like her all the time.
>
> N.T. I wanted to read when I was four and no-one would teach me at home.And I can remember when I did learn,I thought how good it all was.It was really exciting.Now I can read all those things the others do at home.I used to long to read when I was very small and then as soon as I could read,I just read everything I could get hold of.
>
> H.N. I used to bring all my reading books home from school and just sit my mum down and make her sit there,holding the book,listening to me read for hours and hours on end.
>
> N.T. My mum,I know,got really fed up with me going on about reading all the time like this and so she'd just tell me to sit there and look at the pages and count all the 'e's,anything really just to keep me quiet.And I didn't mind at all.I thought I was reading all the time.She did that with loads of letters.

Both homes were well provided with books,the parents read widely,and formal education merely served to confirm for these two an essentially happy relation to print begun at home in early infancy.Both girls declined in their reading during the course of the study,due they said to the homework claims on their time and also to the nature of the activities associated with the class study of texts.Their continued readership,however,was never seriously in question,and they confidently assumed that earlier readership patterns would be resumed after the end of the fifth year.

For some,the early introduction to reading cast long shadows over their school years.Sometimes the outcome was re-assuring as for K.B. in the Baydon O level group.He read fiction throughout the study,but always,in interview and written work,expressed some unease with it.It gave him some pleasure,but he felt there was always something about reading fiction which eluded him.(16)

> K.B. It's just that I think that I gotta read more now to help me with my exams and that,'cos,really,reading's a basic,isn't it? You gotta get on with reading,haven't you? And,see,I was a bit slow on reading,starting reading ,like,'cos in junior school I used to have to go to the special class for that.And my mum she helped me.She used to read a lot of books to me and that sort of caught me up in the end.That was when I was about seven.A lot of what they used to do was together like,my mum and the school together,that is.They used to get these books from

> school and she used to read them all through with me,and all the words I couldn't read or understand,she used to underline them,and then the next day we'd go back through them again,reading them,and hoping I'd be able to pass through them words that time after she'd told me what they were.Every other day for about twenty minutes,it was.So they got together ,see,my mum and the school.(KB Baydon O level)

By the end of the study K.B. was reading very little fiction,though enjoying what he did read and was busily engaged in writing a book of computer programmes.

K.U. in the Draper CSE group had also experienced difficulties in the past and like K.B. above ,there remained for her areas of uncertainty and potential threat which could be puzzled over,contained or avoided.

> K.U. Well,my spelling and punctuation were pretty bad at junior school and then I started to read more at home and like to get hold of books.I read hardly anything at junior school,see,or in the first year here,or the second.It was always hard then, whenever I tried to read,see,but then I used to read a bit at home ,to my nan at first.And then,my mum,she began to read a bit to me now and then as well and I began to pick up the story more and what was happening because of that.Then a couple of weeks later I used to read the story myself that my nan or my mum had read to me,and it sort of helped me to understand it more.I did see Mrs Dacre,the remedial teacher,in the first year here,but all she said was to get my mum to read to me at home ,and for me to read at home.I asked my mum ,but at first she said that she hadn't time and she said that for ages and ages.As time went by it got easier to read ,and in the third year,the books I tried to read in the first year,I found I could read them andnow I don't find problems with that sort of book at all now.It's

> now more the sort of...well..books like Shakespeare,I suppose ,I find difficulty with.My mum ,she likes short books and my friends,too,they'd rather go and see the film than read the book.Some of my friends though,they read more complicated books.They may be complicated to me ,but then,maybe they're easier to them,see,'cos my friend,she's in the top set for English here and she's reading Shakespeare and that,and I don't really know much about all that,'cos I just ...well,I haven't got sort of...to understand them.I can't talk to her about books that much now like I used to,but I still do with my mum and some of her friends.

No doubt her earlier difficulties with learning have made K.U. more sensitive to distinctions between readers,but it is clear that,for her at least,achieving entry to the world of print is not the same as knowing one's place within it.

For students at Baydon being read to by their teachers was a feature of English right through to their fifth year.(17) Almost no adverse comments were revealed in interview about this practice,which was generally enjoyed and valued.Students in the other two schools also talked of being read to as something pleasurable,but in those schools it was for the most part a memory of something which might have occurred in junior or lower secondary years.Being read to was a different practice altogether from studying or "doing" a book.It was rare in those two schools to find reference to it as a normal procedure.More often it was a treat or a favour.

In the very early junior school we had stories read to us.I can remember we used to sit round in a corner of the room on a mat and she'd just read to us,but that was only very occasionally,and then only when we'd been on good behaviour and,well,that really didn't happen all that much.Most of the time that I remember it was just reading out to the teachers and spelling tests and things like that.
(K.U. Draper CSE)

And sometimes the teacher read us a story when we were very young,but that stopped around the second or third year juniors,I reckon.I like it when someone reads a story to me,'cos you can relax and you don't seem to have to concentrate so much.Sometimes I do follow it on the page and sometimes I just listened or sometimes I read ahead a bit.What I like is that when someone's reading to you,all you have to do is tolisten.When you read it to yourself it is all so much more effort,and it gets really hard.
(T.C.Draper CSE)

I enjoyed being read to then,that was in the junior school,because you could just listen to her and you didn't have to concentrate or worry about whether you were going to be asked to read out loud.I wasn't ever read to at home by my parents,but I remember when I was ypounger,if I was still awake,I used to listen to my sister read out loud.I liked those books at home,because I could always choose what to have and there wasn't ever no test or anything like that after she'd finished.
(T.C.Chilworth CSE)

Reading aloud in class was perceived as an altogether different thing from being read to,a potential threat rather than a pleasure.None of the Baydon students referrred to this practice except as something that had occurred in their junior schools on occasions.Reading parts in plays in class or small groups they described with enjoyment.At Draper and Chilworth,however,reading aloud a

passage from a book was a compulsory part of the CSE examination and one that few welcomed.(18)

> I'm no good at reading out loud,so it doesn't ever sound right and then they all laugh at you for not doing it right.
> (U.I. Draper CSE)

In the form it's not so bad,everyone knows what you're like,so you can just stumble on through it as best you can,but in that oral examination it's different.You get someone out the class,sit them down here or in one of them other offices down the corridor and it's all different then,isn't it? When they give me that paper thing with the bit to read on it,I just didn't want to read anything at all,you know.It just didn't bloody feel right ,sitting in there.You know it's not...I mean,you don't think of it in terms of reading at all,do you? It's not reading,that isn't,is it?
(E.C. Draper CSE)

> Just before we broke up at the end of the third year,I started reading a lot more,'cos I really didn't like reading at all then.But our third year teacher,she said that,that in our CSE exams we'd have to read out loud and I don't like reading out,so I started reading more to try to get better.See,I stutter a lot when I read and I don't like it.In the primary school I didn't like it either and in the first year here when we had to do it,I didn't like it.We used to go all round the class then ,in turn,and it was,oh! it was horrible in front of the whole class in turn.It made me worry ever such a lot about school then in the first year,'cos you see I wasn't in a class with any of my friends at all and I thought they'd all laugh at me.It's just the same now really - it doesn't get any better.
> (T.C. Chilworth CSE)

These comments upon reading aloud are particularly interesting in the light of a passage where Bakhtin (1981) talks of how the "word is always half someone else's". He describes how difficult it is for speakers because "not all words for just anyone submit equally easily

to this appropriation,to this seizure and transformation into private property :many words stubbornly resist ,others remain alien,sound foreign in the mouths of the one who appropriated them and who now speaks them;they cannot be assimilated into his context and fall out of it;it is as if they put themselves in quotation marks against the will of the speaker."For many of the students in this sample the practices associated with reading out aloud in class were prime examples of "language...populated - over-populated - with the intentions of others." (19)

What stands out in these reader histories is the way that the various practices asociated with reading,pile up on one another like layers on an archaeological site in infinite combinations.In none of the teaching groups was the reader's past consciously acknowledged by the teacher,although it was clear from these interviews that for many it would have helped to have done so.At Baydon the amount of discussion in class meant that teachers there were more likely to know their students' histories but in the other schools that was not the case.The essential,relevant point has been well expressed recently by Baker (1984) in reference to listening to young children read.She speaks of her need

> to show them how to make sense of print,assist them to find ways of acccommodating the meanings they are making into their lives and also help them to feel increasingly comfortable in the world of books.It seems to me that I can't do these things if I try to separate the children as

> readers from who they are as people,nor if I stand in judgment over them.I have to learn to accept,value, and trust the children as learners with their own particular ways of coming to know about reading.That is,I have to create a relationship with each of them in which they are free to define and evaluate themselves as readers,in which they are free to be (20)

iii) reading fiction.

This section reports on how students in the sample perceived fiction reading in comparison with other reading which they did.One cluster of APU material concerned the students' preferences in reading.Table 8g gives the relevant information.

Table 8g.

Percentages of students who assented to the following statements

	APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
I like reading fiction	(76%)	77%	77%	91%
I like reading romance	(42%)	49%	38%	41%
I like reading non-fiction	(73%)	45%	60%	56%
I prefer non-fiction	(42%)	34%	27%	19%
I prefer reading about my hobbies	(37%)	36%	29%	24%

The figures in the first row confirm earlier findings about the greater widespread popularity of fiction at Baydon.The second row shows little difference between the schools in the proportion of students,mostly girls,who said they enjoyed

reading romances.The low level of enthusiasm at Chilworth for non fiction shown in the third row,taken together with the information for that school in the final row,perhaps indicates a more widespread dissatisfaction with schoolwork than elsewhere;an interpretation which interview material would support.The popularity of fiction at Baydon is underlined by the figures in the third and fourth rows ,which show a very low preference for non fiction together with a higher proportion of students who enjoyed it.

This material is subject to the same limitations discussed earlier:it requires contextualisation.Over a year prior to responding to this APU material,students were asked the question:<u>How does reading fiction differ,if at all,from other reading that you do?</u>(21)

There was almost universal agreement across the sample that there were differences between reading fiction and non fiction.The only exceptions were some of those whom the questionnaire revealed to be non readers.The simplest and most frequent observation was "you read all of a novel" whereas "you don't read all of a non-fiction book,you just look up the information you need in it." Only a minority saw non-fiction books as ones to be read in their entirety.This distinction was often elaborated by a further one in which fiction was characterised by choice and non

fiction by obligation.Novels were what you "chose to read,but you have to read non-fiction whether you want to or not." Novels were generally described as more "interesting,exciting,enjoyable" or as giving pleasure,whereas non-fiction "you read just to get them over with." Non-fiction was often described as being "confusing, hard to follow,needs much more thinking about" so that "you really have to concentrate upon them".Most frequently,they were simply perceived as "boring" in comparison.

In addition to this choice/obligation distinction,students drew another between participation and passivity.Non fiction was "just facts","just pages and pages of facts which you had to learn","nothing but facts",so that it "was the same all the way through,drumming facts into your head all the time," with the result that "you can't take so much of it".By contrast,fiction offered greater enjoyment,because greater involvement, for the reader.The reader's tasks were different.Reading "a story tells you exactly what you want it to.You can imagine the whole scene and add and subtract different ideas from it to make it just how you want." "Stories make you use your imagination," and they "make you think,laugh and cry," so that "you find your own interest,freedom and imagination in stories." By contrast in factual books "everything is already given to you," "in ordinary books everything is already spaced out for you," but with fiction" it's really you doing the

reading" and "you have to make it yourself."

Similar terms were used to describe the experience of reading fiction.The underlying perception in student comments was that fiction offered greater control of the reading process than did non fiction.This in turn gave rise to different effects upon the reader.Typically,this was described in terms of involvement:
"you feel you're there;" "you share their feelings";"you get some feeling out of it";and "the stories affect you" whereas "non-fiction books don't give over the impression of life same as stories do." Most students,that is perceived the experience to be different in kind.

A minority chose to contrast fiction with comics or magazines.In almost every case they were students who had already abandoned or never started as readers of fiction books.(22) They employed the same terms as the other students,but with different points of reference.They drew the same distinctions between choice and obligation,passivity and activity,and the capacity to affect the reader or not,except that for these readers,novels held the qualities which non-fiction held for the other students.All books tended to be associated with compulsion or difficulty,so that "I read magazines just to get away from reading page after page after page of continuous writing.They just get to the point and you can really get

involved in them." For these students,magazines gave the same sense of control and active engagement in the reading process which their peers derived from books.

Students,then,clearly perceived a distinction between fiction and non-fiction.The underlying assumption of their comments is that the differences between fiction and non fiction are intrinsic qualities of the two forms of writing rather than something derived from the uses to which the forms of writing are put in different areas of the curriculum.

iv) class text and shared experience.

Class texts were read with each group in the study because teachers felt there was educational value in the shared experience of works of fiction.Even without the constraints of examinations they would have chosen to read some texts with the whole class.Although a similar number of texts was read by each comparable group,the classroom treatment of texts varied considerably between school.At Baydon,the emphasis was upon the shared reading of the text as performance.(23) The book was read aloud by the teacher

in extensive stretches,with little interruption for comment or questioning.Discussion afterwards was led more by the students' response than by the teachers.The teacher might end a reading session of a class text simply by asking whether anybody wanted to say anything about what they had heard.Silence was an option in such cases.Written work did not always follow a reading,and much of the writing was imaginative work based upon the book.(24) In the other two schools the book was read in shorter stretches in class,or else at home,with many more interruptions.Perhaps 2 or 3 pages might be read in comparison with about 20 at Baydon.Discussion was much more teacher directed and closer to comprehension exercises than discussion;writing was predominantly of the essay kind.At Chilworth and Draper the word used by students to describe most kinds of written work was "essay";in Baydon it was "piece".The teaching of class texts was more examination oriented and intensive in those two schools.

One cluster of items on the APU material used concerned discussion of class texts.Table 8h gives the relevant information.

Table 8h.

Percentages of students assenting to the following statements.

1) Talking about a novel in class helps me to understand it more.

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(85%)	62%	86%	85%

2) Talking about a novel in class helps me to enjoy ot more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(60%)	45%	52%	58%

3) I like talking to my friends about books I've read

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(55%)	30%	46%	54%

Here too interpretation requires contextualisation.In Chilworth and Draper,discussion was only about class read books,whereas at Baydon there was a great deal of informal discussion about students private reading books in class time.It is not possible from these figures to tell which discussion is being referred to .The figures in the last row appear to confirm findings reported earlier,with the proviso that at Baydon much of this discussion spilled over into other areas from the classroom.in a way that did not occur in the other two schools.The main point in all three schools,however,is that discussion (presumably organised class discussion) is seen to aid understanding to a greater extent than enjoyment.(25)

Other points about class discussion were made consistently in interviews.There was almost universal agreement,that discussion was only helpful or enjoyable if the students felt a degree of engagement with the book being discussed.Where there had been little enjoyment in the

reading,discussion only provoked disaffection or boredom.All the teacher-desired outcomes - clarification of ideas and opinions;greater understanding of events,characters,or themes;interest in others' opinions or changes in their own;all occurred only if the student had enjoyed the book.O.F. in the Baydon O level group gives a representative account of the kinds of benefits she felt derived from discussion

> It's helpful because if you're not quite sure what's going on,then someone else can describe it for you,and everybody sees it differently,and that's helpful too.If you don't see it straight,then they help you out and answer your questions about it.Most of the versions you get are similar and that's reassuring 'cos you don't think then that you're the only one who thinks like that.It doesn't often change my mind about things,but sometimes it can.I remember when we read The Horsedealer's daughter in class,everybody had nearly the same idea,and somehow I didn't know quite what was going on,and then after a while I got to understand it.That was good.You see I couldn't understand why all the characters were going away from home and why she tried to drown herself.But after a bit in the discussion I realised what had happened.And in the end she tries to make him love her,force him,she sort of forces him to love her.In the end he agrees,but I found that puzzling altogether.I'd never thought of people that way before,with her getting him to love her.Usually it's the other way round,isn't it? Usually it's the man who does it.

There was also widespread agreement that discussion was enjoyable and helpful when the topics were those defined by the students as interesting or important;wholly teacher-defined topics were thought to be less fruitful.Interrogation of the class by the teacher of a simple closed question and answer type were universally

disliked.

Another cluster of APU material related to students' perceptions of the writing activities associated with the study of fiction.Table 8i gives the details.

Table 8i.

Percentages of students assenting to the following statements.

1) Making notes on a novel as I read it helps me to understand it more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(53%)	23%	42%	19%

2) Making notes on a novel as I read it helps me to enjoy it more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(33%)	15%	11%	11%

3) Writing about a novel after reading it helps me to understand it more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(63%)	32%	50%	52%

4) Writing about a novel after reading it helps me to enjoy it more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
(41%)	15%	21%	29%

The figures here indicate the sharp differences between all three study schools and the APU which I am unable to explain.The most likely explanation is that the statements are insufficiently focussed.To what kinds of notes and writing do the statements refer? In the three study schools the kinds of writing employed and the

conditons under which they were produced were very varied.As with the previous table,it is clear that students feel a great difference between the enjoyment and understanding which writing about class texts affords them.The interviews revealed another similarity to the findings on discussion.There was almost universal agreement that notes or writing about a novel which had not been initially enjoyed rarely led to either understanding or enjoyment.Without this enjoyment,any subsequent writing activity was perceived to be a watse of time ,mere compliance with requirements from which students felt alienated.By contrast,written work upon a book that had been enjoyed was often welcomed at all levels of ability.H.B.,for example,in the Chilworth CSE group read no books throughout the study other than those which he was required to do by school.One of his CSE English books he read with enthusiasm and wrote about it with interest.

> I don't really take no notice of that book (Catcher in the Rye).Sometimes I listens to it and sometimes I don't.I do catch bits of it now and then,like,but at times I don't understand it,so I don't,well,it just don't seem to sink in somehow and then I can't put it all together in my head,like,but with this other one Midnight Express it's quite different,it's not the same at all.I listens to that one.I listens in a different way.I like that book and I understands it.Well,you read a book like Catcher in the Rye all lesson and then you have to go home and write about it,and you have to write a hell of a lot.If you read a couple of chapters in a lesson,then the teachers says,go back,like,and go to chapter seven,read it all over again and tell it in your own words,like,or something like that.It all seems a hell of a waste of time.But this other book I listens to and the writing's all right on that.I enjoys that too.There you had to write as if you was in a prison,too,like the one he was in in the

book.
(H.B.Chilworth CSE)

Over a year after this interview,H.B. recalled the work he had done on this book with evident enjoyment,but other texts and tasks had aroused only dislike.At Baydon,it will be recalled,students had greater choice over the texts which they read,and subsequent written work.

Throughout the sample,imaginative writing based upon books read was more popular than formal essays.The former were perceived to lead to greater involvement with the original text and to increased understanding and enjoyment of it.At Chilworth and Draper,writing generally took the form of essays because,teachers argued,of examination demands,but the Chilworth O level group early in the fourth year wrote a number of imaginative pieces based upon Animal Farm.For most it was an unusual but welcome way of working.

> We did this letter and a postcard from one animal to another,and you were trying to put yourself in the position of the animal and how it would feel.You were mainly writing about what you knew,but you did also have new thoughts about it as well,imagining things.Apart from the piece on the revolution,we didn't have any essay writing at all.It was all conversations and scripts for scenes that could have been in the book.I'm glad it was like that because it helps you remember the book much more than essays do and takes you into

it more as well.
(K.K.Chilworth O level)

T.S. in the same group drew distinctions between this kind of work and essays with which many in the group would have agreed

> This work,it's not got to be essays,you know.Essays you get a bit bored with them.You just keep writing pages and pages,but with these speeches and scripts and things,you can have jokes as well,and you can sort of ,well,add life to it.It's more your own sort of interpretation.In an essay you're really only doing it for the next lesson,aren't you,so you can get a high mark.But for these ,you can discuss them with your friends,but it's still yours in the end.
> (T.S.Chilworth O level)

As examination pressure mounted this group did far less of such work but,in interview,they continued to refer back to their study of this book with enjoyment a year later.Such forms of writing were much more common in Baydon throughout the two years in both groups.

In Chilworth and Draper,essays were perceived to be very different in kind,involving a process whose characteristics were not always clear to students.

> InLord of the Flies we were sort of challenging the characters and breaking them dowm all the time and seeing how they worked.I don't really like that.We always do that with characters in a book at school now,and then we usually have to write up some of the characters in an essay.I don't like that.In the book it's written in a certain sort of way,the character's there,and then we seem to go within the character that's there.We're trying to put facts there which aren't really there,make facts which aren't really written down,so we don't know whether they're true or not in the end.It's not so bad when it's a book we enjoyed,but if I

didn't like the book,then I can't just seem to push myself to write anything at all about it.
(N.T.Draper O level)

Some students perceived that the problems started with the removal of all decisions from them:they were not involved in the question framing.

It's horrible having to answer other people's questions in the first place.I mean you can always think of good questions that you want to ask and try to answer,but you can't do that,can you? You always have to answer someone else's.It's so stupid really.When he writes the questions up and they don't click with you at all,then you have to work out the questions ,and see the book as he does before you can even start to answer the question at all.That's difficult.It's trying to get us to do too much in one go and it's also boring when it needn't be.
(N.Ty.Draper O level)

Some students found it difficult to articulate the distinctions between various kinds of writing,but most were aware that they existed.What stands out in their comments is not so much the difference between two genres of writing (essays and imaginative work) in any formalist sense as the different modes of production.The comments above about the Animal Farmfor example,(and there were many) speak of a process which students feel they control and in which the finished product remains,in an important sense, theirs.The next two comments speak in terms of alienation from the work process,compliance wih arbitrary requirements,a product in which they have no stake.The contrasts are between external control and some degree of

autonomy;a process that is overdetermined and one that involves participation;between products that are unpredictable and those that are predetermined.The expressed desire of all the teachers was to encourage authentic response from their students.For many students,particularly at Chilworth and Draper,English is a training in inauthenticity.In those two schools the evidence agreed with the findings of the Barnes study (1984)

> (we were)often asked whether we found any evidence th in writing essay pupils discovered or ever learned any things which they would not have done by any other means.Our conclusions on the basis of what we saw would have to be that they did not.Essays were either practice for the final examination or intended for assessment as a course work folder.Teachers had 2 models:what could be written in about 35 minutes under examination conditions and what could be substantial enough to provide at least 250 words or 4 or 5 coherent paragraphs.(26)

There was one other aspect of writing activities associated with reading that was only mentioned at Baydon.Many students there expressed the view that what they read influenced their own writing.T.T. in the O level group is a typical example

> Well,Ivan Denisovich that's really clever.I never thought you could manage that all to happen in 24 hours.That sort of changed me.Because of all the descriptions and that I could imagine myself being there.Descriptions are so important in that book.So much happened in 24 hours,it seemed like 5 days at least.I just can't explain it properly,but whereas I used to be very sort of lax on my descriptions in my own writing,now I try to put in as much as I can without making it boring.Like

with that Hunter's Album by Turgenev.That had too much description,I reckoned.Conversation in that was all right,there was just the right amount of that.But now I'm trying to get them both more evenly spaced out,the description and conversation,so you're kept interested all the time.
(T.T.Baydon O level)

IB in the same group made similar points

No,I never go back to a book after I've read it,not unless I'm trying to write in that particular style and then I'll go back to it .If I like the way that they're writing,then I'll study the way they're doing it and try to write like that ,in the same way.I've tried that with that Gillian Beckwith book,but it didn't quite work out in the end.And Mervyn Peake as well.I like the way he does everythng in his books,so dark and gloomy.It's fascinating and I'm trying to do that myself now in my writing.
(J.C.Baydon O level) (27)

The final cluster of APU items in this section concerned students' attitudes towards the class study of texts.Table 8j gives the relevant information

Table 8j.Percentages of students assenting to the following statements.

1) Studying novels in English helps me to enjoy reading more

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
45%	32%	31%	56%

2) I enjoy reading other books like the ones we read in class in English

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
60%	45%	40%	52%

I like readding when I can choose for myself what I read

APU	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
96%	92%	96%	96%

So far as Baydon is concerned,it is difficult to know which books are being referred to in the first two rows,because students there read both individual readers and class texts in lesson time.The most striking feature in this table,however, is the last row which underlines much of the argument in this chapter.Students wish for greater control over their reading and if schools are to take readership seriously they must acknowledge that fact.

v) the reading process.

At the end of the first term of the study students were invited to make a written response to the question What is reading fiction like? - a topic which was pursued in interviews.Students were under no obligation to answer the question but there was a significant difference between the schools as to the numbers who did so.At Baydon only 11% chose not to make a written response;in Chilworth and Draper the numbers who made no response were 33% and 35% respectively.In presenting the comments of the remainder the categories devised by Protherough (1983) and others have been adopted.These have the advantage of being familiar,and their limitations are best left till the next chapter which discusses their theoretical assumptions.Because many of the comments gathered in this study are similar to those reported by Protherough,extracts have been kept to a minimum to avoid duplication.

Protherough categorises children's comments upon the reading process along a detachment/immersion continuum.(28) "In distinguishing between the accounts of different children,the key factor is the amount of distance between the reader and the people and events of the story." He distinguishes five modes:projection into a character;projection into a situation;associating between

book and reader;the distanced viewer and detached evaluation.Examples of each were found in the written and interview material.

a) projection into a character.

Protherough defines this process as "imaginatively to become one of the characters,to lose yourself in that character's personality and situation".Comments of this kind were amongst the most frequent.

> I imagine I'm there when it's all happening.It happened with Black Hole and it happened with Clash of the Titan. I was captain of the spaceship and I was Perseus,they were the main characters,the heroes.And it's more fun like that,than if you just read the books,and it sort of pleasures you.It's quite horrible really,sometimes though,like when you imagine you're going to get killed.If you're Perseus,say,and it's you that's going to get your head chopped off,then you try to stop just before the axe comes down.It's like dreaming really,isn't it?
> (T.M. Baydon cse)

b) projection into a situation.

Here readers see themselves as "spectators on the outskirts or margins of events,emotionally involved but unable to affect the action."

> No,it's more as if,well,like in All quiet on the western front ,for example,it's just as if I'm in the trenches alongside with them,next to them and as if I'm there all the time watching it all happen to them.
> (N.E. Baydon CSE)
> I found the description of the scenery so good,the whole area,that I could imagine myself walking through the deep snow and ski-ing with all the other characters..it really made you think you were there.
> (T.C. Chilworth O level)

c) associating between book and reader.

In this category,readers "try to establish links between themselves as readers and with their own actual experiences and the people and situations of the book." Readers try to visualise the book in terms of their own world.

> I prefer stories to be about people about my own age.I can compare their life with mine then and I know what they feel like then some of the time.I mean,if they've been at school for example,and everything's gone wrong for them and everybody's getting at them,well,that's happened to me as well so I know just what's it like then.
> (K.D. Baydon cse)

Readers also think how they would act and feel if they were one of characters in the book.

> You don't really feel that you're that person,not really being that person.It's just that I sort of tend to think what I would do if I was that person.I don't think,for example,all the way through 1984 that I'm Winston when I'm reading. Like when he's being tortured and they say 2+2 = 5 and he just says it's 4 all the time.Well,I reckon I'd have said it was 5! I don't actually think I am Winston,ever,if you see what I mean.
> (K.K. Chilworth O level)

d) the distanced viewer

In this category the reader is "outside the action,but emotionally involved and wanting to be able to influence the outcome."

> Sometimes,when I'm reading a book,I don't know,I

just want to read on and think it out on my own and work out my own views on it and I tend to think against the book,even though I am involved in it all the time.Well,you know in Animal Farm ,for example,I just thought that was all wrong,after the revolution I mean,and so I tried to re-write the book all the time and change it as I was reading it,change it against the pigs.I just got so involved in the book,so tied up in it,but I wanted to change it as well.

(H.I. Draper O level)

e) detached evaluation

In this mode,the reader "seems neither to be identifying with nor to be empathising with the figures in the story,but to be analysing them more coolly." It is often retrospective.Few examples of this mode were encountered outside essays,although some of the comments from Baydon cited previously about the influence their reading had upon their own writing perhaps comes into this category.

In subsequent interviews I drew upon Iser's phenomenological account of the reading process (29) in asking students to what extent they anticipated or retrospected whilst reading,or modifed their expectations of the narrative.Many students talked at length about these processes.

Sometimes when I'm reading a chapter I'll pause and think:will such and such happen,but if it's a really exciting book,I can't put it down until I've reached the end.I sometimes think ,then,what I'd like the end to be.Not what will be the end,but what I'd like the end to be.I think up my own ending all right,but when it doesn't happen I'm not really disappointed.I always know there'll be a different ending to the one that I want there to be.When the ending does come,I think,well mine wouldn't have worked out properly anyway.Like this book I've just finished reading.My ending to that was happier,but in the end in the book people get burned and I thought first of all:why should that have happened? And then later,well, the unhappy ending does seem right when you've thought it over.(H.I.Draper OL)

In Iser's account,the reader becomes entangled in a fiction through this process of anticipation and retrospection,and struggles to produce a satisfying ,coherent final image in which all elements of the fiction are incorporated.New information is assimilated by and reconciled with what already exists until,finally a closed gestalt is formed.(30) Such a process was described by many students in non-technical language.

if I read a book before I go to sleep,then I sort of think about it before I finally sleep.I sort of add it on to the rest of story,sort of remembering it,but not just the same as remembering it.If I read two chapters now,say,I'll have imagined what has happened,and then,when I read another chapter,I sort of go through those two chapters and somehow add that one on,so that it all fits.

(T.M.Baydon CSE)

After I've read a novel,I usually like to see it in my mind's eye,what they're all doing and that.Then I can fix them in my mind.But I just couldn't do that with this ine book.There was this bloke,see,he was supposed to have spectacles.It was,you know,the one in War and Peace,yes,that's it,yes,Pierre.Well,anyway,I just couldn't see him as fat,but I could see him with glasses.Or I could see it the other way round,but I couldn't put the two together.I dunno why.So I thought I'd have to change him at each stage,but I couldn't incorporate him like that at all,and I couldn't still by the end of the book.I could grasp what sort of man he was,but it was just that the appearance wouldn't fit in right.I got really annoyed about that.I saw the Russian film of it later on tv and I thought:yes,that's better.Now I can see him alright.

(T.T.Baydon O level)

Once you've finished a book,then you think about it,don't you? You think about it all at the beginning,and then,like,you put it all back together again,so that it's like one long thing,and then,you,then,then you just think about it for a couple of minutes ,or longer sometimes,I reckon.The last time that happened to me was last term when we finished reading that war book,yes,"All quiet on the Western front," that's it.

(D.G.Baydon CSE)

These students are describing their active making of something.Articulating precisely what is made they find difficult,but it is clear that they perceive it to be both important and pleasurable.It is a process described as involuntary,but also something over which they have charge.The product is indubitably theirs.

The comments throughout this section are representative,both in their range and the terms employed,of many throughout the sample. As Protherough concedes,there are difficulties with the categories he proposes.They are not easy to keep distinct.Many comments defy classification and few readers fall neatly into one pattern.Indeed,in referring to the same book,a reader may move between several categories,or they may employ different categories to describe their reading of different books.No clear pattern emerged which showed any relation between the kind of book read and comment made;or between the comment made and either school,teaching group,social class or gender.Nor was it possible to see how this evidence would allow of an interpretation of these modes of response as stages in a reader's development.Are the modes alternatives, or points in a hierarchy? How far can such comments take us in our understanding of the reading process,or in the development of more effective practice?

If the description of the reading process implied in Protherough's categorisation is accepted as unproblematic,two broad lines of conclusion are possible.One is to account for readers' failure to become engaged in the detachment/immersion continuum in psychological terms;their immaturity or personality deformation (Harding) manifests itself as an inability to tolerate uncertainty,or attend to the author's intention.There will always be those for whom the demands of reading fiction will be too great.Such a line of argument suppresses any acknowledgement of the extent to which any narrative and interpretive codes in a culture are socially determined and learned and ,as was argued in chapter 4,it also fails to recognise the arbitrary nature of the culture offered and recognised by the school.

The second possible conclusion is to accept the essentially divided nature of the reading process (Benton 1982) and to concentrate upon developing procedures designed to foster reader-text interaction.The major weakness of both these lines is that they rely upon a model of language and of subjectivity discredited by recent theory.(31) They both overlook the exttent to which experience ,upon which this view of the reading process is predicated,is "the homeland of ideology". They also overlook the extent to which this view of the reading processs is founded upon a particular aesthetic,realism,which is a quite specific mode of relating to a quite particular and partial

range of texts.There are other kinds of texts and other modes of relating to them.Moreover,the reader self-reports upon which this account of the reading process is constructed,canot simply be taken as neutral,self-evident proof of universal categories.For these reader comments upon the reading process are infinitey slippery.Do these reports refer to currently existing (or perhaps recollected) effects produced by the interaction between the reader and text? Or do they purport to describe the interaction itself? Like reports of dreams,they are subject to an endless process of deferral and slippage (32) To say that,denies neither the existence nor the importance of the dreams.But in order to gain any analytic purchase upon them we must move outside their frame of reference

vi) outcomes of reading fiction

Most people have no clear idea of art's consequences,whether for good or for bad.They suppose that a spectator who is not inwardly gripped by art,because it is not good enough,is not affected at all.Quite apart from the fact that one can be gripped by bad art as easily as by good,even if one isn't gripped something happens to one.....There is no play and no theatrical performance which does not in some way or another affect the dispositions and conceptions of the audience.Art is never without consequences,and indeed that says something for it.
(Brecht.ed Willett 1964)

At the end of the first term of the study students were invited to make a written response to the question what,if anything,do you learn

At the end of the first term of the study students were invited to make a written response to the question what,if anything,do you learn from reading fiction?As with other questions of this type,students were not obliged to answer and the topics were taken up later in interviews.Although their teachers shared a common ideology of English,some sharp differences,as well as similarities,emerged from student perceptions.

Twice as many students at Chilworth and Draper chose to ignore the question in written form as did at Baydon.Interviews confirmed that there were many more students in those two schools for whom the idea of learning from fiction was very difficult to grasp.They tended to be boys,non-readers (in the sense used in this study) and came predominantly from the CSE groups.It must be said that this group showed no hostility at all,simply puzzlement that fiction and learning could be associated.Of the others who did make a written response,15% at Chilworth and Draper thought they learned nothing at all from their fiction reading.At Baydon the proportion making that response was 3%.

Examination of what students thought they had learned from fiction revealed further differences between the schools.Most Chilworth and Draper students thought their fiction reading helped them to understand or improve their spelling,punctuation or paragraphing."You learn spelling because it has lots of posh spellings in it and you learn when and where to put full stips and things like that," was a typical response from a Chilworth CSE student echoed by many with varying degrees of sophistication.30% of students in those schools expressed such views as opposed to 3% at Baydon.Where language was mentioned in that school it was (as with T.T.and J.C.cited above) in terms of their fiction reading helping them to write better fictions of their own.Over 40% of students at Baydon expressed such comments as opposed to 7% in the other two schools.

Some students thought they learned about the world,other people and themselves through their fiction reading.At Baydon 47% of students who responded talked in such terms,whereas in the other two schools only 14% did so.For those who claimed to learn from their fiction reading.fiction was described as "virtual experience."

> I think that reading a novel helps you to understand the way of life of other people,or of people long ago,without making it like a history book.You learn,for example,how people or families cope together in difficulties and how they feel about the

things that happen to them.
(K.L.Baydon O level)

Students who expressed such views thus shared broadly the perspective of their teachers as to the educational potential of fiction.Very many more students did so at Baydon than elsewhere.Nonetheless,there remains a substantial proportion of the sample who made no conscious connection between fiction and learning.Nor was this because they chose to privilege pleasure above learning in their reports about fiction reading.In fact in all three schools,those who did not make the connection between fiction and learning for which their teachers hoped were in the majority.For these students ,there was little overlap between their views and their teachers' as to why fiction was in the curriculum.(33)

conclusions:the limits of a discourse.

The evidence of this chapter shows the differences in the schools' readership patterns to be largely paralleled in students' attitudes towards reading and their self-reports about the process and outcomes of fiction reading.Differences in social context are reflected at the level of individual student consciousness and experience:"it is not consciousness that determines being,but being that determines consciousness".It was argued

earlier that the more evenly sustained readership at Baydon was a factor of particular practices and social relations in which power was more widely distributed both within the institution at large and at classroom level.The evidence in this chapter lendsfurther support to that interpretation.Baydon students were seen to be more active participants and stakeholders in their work and learning,and to derive greater pleasure and satisfaction from them than their peers elsewhere.Their experience of fiction was more consonant with expressed teacher aims.Baydon students were not unique in registering such responses,but they did so in larger numbers and to an extent less influenced by social class,gender or school ability grouping.

In arguing against both the cultural determinism of Althusserian views of schooling,and naive individualistic utopianism,Rosen (1981) makes the point that within the system

> there is movement,conflict,imperfect control which makes it possible,inside limits which are always shifting and need therefore to be discovered in practice,to contest the terrain....But the mistake which many have made....was to behave as though the contested space were solely a matter of persuasion,the sheer force of better ideas.Thus the tendency towards a euphoric rhetoric which took little account of institutionalised obstacles and snares....Spaces do not simply exist in the system,they have to be won,defended and extended.

St.John Brooks' study testifies to the dangers of not winning such institutional spaces;Medway's

testifies to the difficulties of retaining them.Teachers at Baydon had contested just such a space,but the re-organisation of secondary education in the area which overtook the school is a reminder of the fragility of such gains.But however , "the institutional base has been eroded" (34),the situation did exist and its lessons have been incorporated into teachers'lives to be used elsewhere.(35)

St.John Brooks (1982) acknowledges that the teachers in her study "demonstrated triumphantly,if sporadically,that complex literature can be meaningful and illuminating to all sorts of young people",but argues that nonetheless "the English department unintentionally and ironically still acted to reproduce the class structure".

> By denying that such structures exist and penetrate the classroom,by being unwilling to to recognise that they are embodied in individuals through their possession or lack of cultural as well as financial capital,the department failed to develop consistently effective strategies for intervening in the process.A laudable refusal to categorise children by ability paradoxically resulted in the real needs of some disinherited children remaining unmet.

The deep-seated conflict between the English teachers' ideological commitment to personal development through literature and the "credentialist and rationalist values" espoused by the rest of the school led to their failure to win any adequate political base:they were marginalised within the institution.Baydon staff,by contrast,had considerable institutional strength.St.John Brooks also argues that the teachers in her study failed to develop an

adequate means of mediating literature in the classroom by creating adequate "bridges" between their own and their pupils' culture.The teachers insisted upon a "specific mode of relating to literature and experience whilst giving only implicit indications of how it is to be achieved".In this respect,too,Baydon appears to have been more fortunate in devising more appropriate practices and making their criteria more explicit.

So far,the argument,concentrating upon Baydon's differences - and they are real enough -from the other study schools,leads towards the optimistic conclusion that readership elsewhere could be substantially improved by practices similar to those pertaining at Baydon.And that is at least part of the conclusion.But not all of it.

The differences between the schools in the present study are twofold:in the degree of success with which they produce readers;and the extent to which they initiate their students into a particular kind of relationship with fiction.Chapter 6 showed that Baydon produced more readers and this chapter has shown that more of their students were initiated into the kind of relationship with fiction advocated by their teachers.But although the schools are very different as regards the production of readers,the kind of relationship to fiction which they all desired for their students is similar.This

similarity must also be addressed.In each school,a varying proportion of students is initiated into,or excluded from,a discourse which is,to a greater or larger degree,accredited by the institution.Two types of students are produced,two types of effects,one for the excluded and one for the initiated.The terms used by the initiated about the process and outcomes of fiction reading do not vary between schools.They bear a family resemblance,not just to each other,but to the terms and assumptions employed by their teachers.At Baydon the means of effecting entry for students are more successful,but it is entry to the same discourse in all three schools.It is insufficient,however instructive,to seek to improve simply the means of entry to this discourse.The appropriateness and desirability of that discourse must also be questioned when so few gain access to it.The majority,in all three schools,who were excluded,for whatever reasons, possessed no alternative terms.(36)

Another way of putting it is to say that the differences between the schools are all at the level of stage management rather than of the text performed.In his account of literary production,Macherey (1978) argues that all texts are shot through with ideology,whose contradictions and conflicts are only exposed - "staged" is his word - when they are produced in reading.Something of the kind is happening in these three schools.The same text,a

particularly long-lived educational narrative about fiction and personal development,is being produced,or read,in all three schools.This educational narrative embodies quite specific and limiting social,linguistic and psychological theories.The same contradictions,differentiated as a consequence of varied practices in very different institutions,are produced in all three schools because the reading in all three is <u>with</u> the text.Its assumptions are not questioned.What is required is either reading <u>against</u> the text or a change of text or both.New less exclusive relationships to texts of all kinds are required.

No alternative text was used at Baydon.No alternative discourse.Teachers there shared the same assumptions as their colleagues elsewhere.For this reason,it was argued in the last chapter,Baydon remained an "incorporative" rather than a "transformative" school.The same protean ideology is at work in all three schools.Baydon stretched a particular view of literacy to its limits whilst remaining within,not questioning or even recognising them as such,its ideological parameters.To say this is insufficient is not to deny the school's achievements,but to recognise its limitations.For schools to work as sites of cultural transformation rather than,to a greater or lesser degree,as sites of cultural reproduction,an ideological ghost must be laid and an alternative proposed.That is the subject of the next chapter.

Footnotes to Chapter Eight.

1. From "Black Boy" by Richard Wright.Cited at the head of chapter 9 in Bullock.

2. see Leenhart (1980) and also chapter 9 below.

3. The view I then held was more consonant with those expressed by the teachers involved in the study,cited in chapter 7.above.

4. see chapters 2,3 and 4.

5. see Kermode (1983).

6. There can be no easy answers to such a situation,but the extent of the difference should not be underestimated.Comparison for example of the bibliographies cited in Allen (1980);Benton and Fox (1984);Harrison (1983) with those cited in Widdowson (1983);Scholes (1985);or Belsey (1980) reveals almost no overlap.

7. see also Allen (1983) for a detailed account of this.

8. see Batsleer (1985);Baldick (1984);Spender (1980);and the excellent collection of essays produced by the ILEA English Centre,The English Curriculum:Gender.(1985).

9. Homework differences between the schools were considerable and instructive.More English homework was set and required in a formal way at Chilworth and Draper.More homework was actually produced,however,at Baydon,where more was expected but less insisted upon.

10. see Malcolm's biography of Wittgenstein.

11. see Rosen (1983) for a detailed critique of these materials.

12. see,for example,Strickland's study of Stendhal.

13. Goody and Watt (1972)

14. see Meek ed.(1983) or Steedman (1982)

15. Goody and Watt (1972)

16. There were many of whom this was true.See Barnes (1984) on the need to make criteria in literature teaching more explicit.

17. Barnes (1984) comments that much of the class reading they encountered in their study was geared to retaining

control of the text by the teacher,rather than performance.At Baydon the emphasis through years 1-5 was upon performance with the minimum of interruption.

18. There was no such component in the Baydon CSE scheme.

19. Bakhtin (1981)

20. A.Baker in Listening to Children Read. (1984) NATE.

21. This question and two others (what,if anything,do you learn from reading fiction? and what is reading fiction like?) which were asked at the same time,were preceeded by discussion with the class.They were also taken up in interview.

22. The picture as regards magazine reading was complex.In general fewer magazines were read at Baydon and there was a larger number of students in the other two schools who read only magazines.

23. see Barnes (1984).

24 The personal growth and cultural tradition versions of English are often accompanied by a "deep-end " pedagogy;this is hinted at in the use of the word "stimulus" for a literary extract used as a preliminary to writing.Perhaps pupils are "stimulated" by momentary contact with literature before being thrown in at the deep end.Teachers who give a high value to the spontaneous expression of personal experience are often highly suspicious of the teaching of skills,whereas those who reject the personal growth perspective frequently describe themselves as "formal" and turn towards decontextualised exercises.Young teachers need to be set free from this unreal dichotomy.....these raise a central pedagogic question:how can a teacher best engage with pupils while they are composing - not before or after - so that they begin to grasp how an experienced writer sets about organising material and taking account of situational considerations.
Barnes (1984).

25. Most discussion was class discussion in Chilworth and Draper.Group discussion at Baydon tended not to be structured but occurred incidentally during other activities.

26. See also Protherough (1983) and (1986).

27. Such comments were often made by students when they talked in interview about written work they had done.Generally they had not been set "to write in the style" of a particular writer or text,but made the connections

themselves between their reading and writing.

28. see Harding;Britton;and Iser for similar accounts of the reading process.

29. Iser (1978 and 1980).Iser is discussed more fully in chapter 9 below.

30. See also Gombrich: Art and Illusion.

31.see chapter 9 below.

32. see Derrida (1978) for the notion of deferral.See also Jefferson (1982) or Eagleton (1983) for an account of Derrida.

33 cf Barnes (1984),Protherough (1986) who report similar findings.

34 Rosen (1981).

35 Many staff have left Baydon since its re-organisation and taken syllabuses,practices or simply expectations formed at Baydon with them to other institutions.See for example Peim (1986).

36 Some students in all three schools held narrowly conceived skills based conceptions of English,a view with which none of the teachers in the study were in sympathy.At the outset of the fieldwork,the teachers were aware of all the versions of English mentioned by Barnes (1984) with the exception of the public rationality model. By the end of the fieldwork they showed a growing awareness of more radical alternatives made possible through structuralist and post-structuralist thought,but to an insufficient degree to alter practice substantially.

CHAPTER NINE.

The Individual Response and beyond:a critical review.

> Literary theory does not just exist in some pure realm of thought,but in a world of institutional structures and political forces,which means that theoreticians must theorise not only over texts themselves,but over the role of literary and linguistic study in the development of citizens who will themselves play many institutional roles in their lives,either critically aware or as insensitive dupes and victims...Reading and writing are important because we read and write our world as well as our texts,and are read by them in turn.Texts are places where power and weakness become visible and discussable,where learning and ignorance manifest themselves,where the structures that enable and constrain our thoughts and actions become palpable.
> (Scholes 1985).

This chapter is a case study of a particular version of secondary English teaching which privileges the individual response to fiction.An introduction to the chapter is followed by two sections,the first of which reviews some of those theoretical accounts of the relationship between a fictional text and its reader,upon which so much current practice in subject English is based.The second section argues that these accounts are inadequate because theoretically unsound:they fail to acknowledge or incorporate new understandings about language,texts and subjectivity developed in recent theory.

The concern throughout this study has been,in

one form or another with stories:the story of a developing research interest,stories of three institutions and of some of the teachers and students within them,and the story of subject English.Several contributory stories to this narrative have already been brought to a conclusion sufficiently final to allow of interpretation,although finality is of course illusory,a simple research or narrational convention.

The concern of the present chapter is also with stories,with what Culler (1983) calls "stories of reading".What kind of stories do we,as teachers,tell ourselves and our students about the reading of fiction and its educational benefits? Whose interests and what purposes do they serve? What is their origin? The most familiar story current on this subject tells how fiction reading promotes the reader's moral and emotional education:the interaction between text and reader contributes to the reader's enhanced understanding of self,others and the world.Like most stories,it exists in many variants.(1)

In one guise or another,it is this story that remains the conventional wisdom for many now involved in secondary English teaching.The present study was conceived within its framework;all the teachers involved in it shared this view and many of the students participating were aware to a greater or lesser degree of its terms.Yorke (1978)

reports a similar remarkable conformity of opinion on the subject.(2) Teachers in his sample believed that

> literature helps the pupil to develop personally and socially.It helps him to be tolerant of others' views and ways and offers insights into their personalities and motives,needs problems and behaviours and enables them to understand what is involved in social and group relationships and in situations of conflict and choice.It helps him to seek moral standards,to love nature and to understand his physical environment.Literature also offers the chance to face safely the ideas of war,death,loss and the problems of adult life.The pupils might also gain a wider perspective on the world and an understnding of the state of affairs in other countries and at different periods.

The Bullock Report agrees as to the story's widespread currency:"in Britain the tradition of literature teaching is one that aims at personal and moral growth and in the last two decades this emphasis has grown".Indeed,it endorses and repeats the story in chapter 9.It is re-iterated in official reports and books about English teaching as well as in other,seemingly unlikely places (3),with great regularity.Though the sound of battle over the future direction of subject English has been fierce since 1965 (4) the same story has continued to be told,perhaps whispered at times but never lost.Only very recently have alternative stories become available.But the story's happy ending,with the reader striding towards a sunlit horizon of enlightenment and self knowledge,has long been subject to sceptical criticism.Steiner,for example,reminds us that evidence from the death camps suggests that for many readers the scream in the novel may prove more real than the one in the next door room,while

Hardy questioned the optimism of the developmental view implied.(6)

> Educationists still suggest that the process of maturation involves a movement out of a fantasy life into a vision of life 'as it is'.Teachers have constructed syllabuses on the assumption that we begin with fairy tales and daydreams and work gradually into realistic modes...There is a widespread,and I suggest,dubious but understandable assumption on the part of wishful believers in life enhancement that human beings begin by telling themselves fairy tales and end by telling truths.

There is also increasing evidence of a shortfall between the educational claims made for literature and classroom actuality.St.John Brooks' study (1982) indicates that the claims are none too easy to substantiate in the classroom.Woodhead argues that the theory is incomplete and suggests that learning from literature is too intense and demanding an activity to be accessible to many (perhaps the majority) of our students.Moreover,schools and classrooms,as currently constituted,he argues,are essentially inimical to such a delicate and sensitive process.To initiate the requisite searching, interpersonal exchange involved in such learning is intimidating for students who feel their privacy is invaded,and threatening to the teacher whose authority is thereby put in jeopardy.(7) Such criticism does little,it seems,to dent the story's popularity and currency.Nor should that occasion any surprise,for the criticisms tend to be taken to refer to the storyteller or its audience rather than to the text itself.The functions and assumptions of the story remain unquestioned.

Previous chapters have indicated the extent to which the formation of adolescent readers is determined by social and material factors within the institution.Earlier,the emergence and changing composition of subject English in the secondary system was seen to be one attempt to meet the recurrent crises to which nineteenth and twentieth century capitalism has been subject.In the articulation of the discourse of English,the story that literature promotes moral and emotional education has fulfilled a key ideological function,for teachers at least as much as for their students.(8) This chapter examines that story and argues both its theoretical inadequacy and socio-political undesirability.Subject English has long been resolutely hostile to theory (9) but it is impossible to make such a claim for fiction in education without some kind of theoretical grounding.However repressed,there is always theory.As Eagleton (1983) notes,"hostility to theory usually means an opposition to other peoples' theories and an oblivion to one's own".What kind of theory underpins the personal growth model?

Any theory of literature,even an account as apparently transparent and common-sensical as the personal growth model,operates upon assumptions about five issues:the definition of the literary qualities of the literary text;the relation between text and author;the role

ascribed to the reader;the relation between text and reality;and the status accorded to language,the medium of the text.A theoretical assumption made in regard to any one of these issues affects those made about others.None of the issues is easy,or indeed new.(10) But we will not cease to be crucially influenced by our assumptions simply by claiming to have made none,or by denying that there is indeed any choice involved.Each assumption,that is,has its price in terms of its,perhaps unseen,implications,its effects upon practice.The history of subject English shows it always to have been associated with implicit assumptions and inexplicit criteria.To understand,let alone change,our practice we have to theorise,to be reflexive.As Barthes says:

> theoretical does not of course mean abstract.From my point of view it means reflexive,something which turns back upon itself:a discourse which turns back on itself is by virtue of this very fact,theoretical.

i) Readers Rule,O.K ?

We have developed elaborate vocabularies for classifying and anatomising literary works;we scarcely know how to talk about their power and effects.We have an immense acccumulation of knowledge about authors,periods,movements and individual texts;we know next to nothing about the process of reading and the interaction of man and book.
(Slatoff 1970.)

We need a more sophisticated and apposite account of the psychological economies of both readers and writers.
(Culler 1981)

The various stories of reading,dating from the 1920s,discussed here all,in one way or another,articulate a belief in the capacity of the literary text to contribute to the individual reader's moral and emotional education.For reasons of space and brevity,they are all treated as inflections of the same idea-the personal growth model.(11) Any differences between these inflections are insignificant in comparison to their shared ignorance of,or hostility to,the theoretical revolution brought about by structuralism and since.The stories are told from the perspectives of various disciplines - psychology,philosophy and literary criticism - and all make assumptions about language texts and subjectivity which are rarely made fully

explicit.The reader is accorded an important position in each of these stories,a position that appears to increase in importance and centrality over the decades.But ambiguities remain:is the reader hero or victim in these narratives of the reading process? At what price has reader-power (or the illusion of power?) been achieved?

When English was triumphantly installed in the secondary education system as the most important subject,the dominant literary theory was that of objectivism.(12) This view held that the literary text

> is a self contained verbal artefact,a unique structure of language.Its mode of existence is linguistic,not historical;it is to be studied as a complex of integrated verbal patterns,not as the product of social forces or of the psychology of an author..Nor is the literary text a social force in its own right....it is misleading and irrelevant to regard the text as in any way influencing the world around it.
> (Fowler 1981)

This view,developed by the Anglo-American New critics,derived from the work of Richards who made a sharp distinction between emotive and referential language.In what amounts to a materialist rewriting of Coleridge's theory of the imagination (13),Richards attempted to formulate criteria by which the experience that reading produces might be evaluated.Underlying this project is the belief that "man is not in any sense primarily an intelligence:he is a system of interests". As a consequence of trying to follow the "exercise of the impulses and the satisfaction of their appetencies" people are subject to psychological

conflict."No life," he argues "can be excellent in which the elementary responses are disorganised and confused". Literature is of value because,more than anything else,it can restore harmony to the warring self and induce contemplation rather than action.For Richards,the skilled reader was able to create in himself,more or less completely,the collection of impulses which the writer expressed in the work,or,more accurately,the relevant experience of the writer when contemplating the finished work.Few nowadays would share his optimistic conviction that "poetry can save us" and "tell us what to do",but there remains a considerable residue from this enterprise in the practice of close reading;the faith in purely literary critical judgment,literary values,independent of any broader perceptions,beliefs and expectations;and adherence to a view of the integrative effect of literary texts upon the self.(14)

In this theory the text is assumed to be merely a transparent vehicle for conveying the experience of the author.There is no sense that language predates the individual or that texts and subjects are implicated in ideology.It is a profoundly asocial view in its assumption that readers are independent of any social determinants:they are seen simply as autonomous individuals whose responses can be accurately assessed.Whilst being asocial,the theory does have,as Baldick (1983) points out,very real social

implications. (15) The intended destination for Richards' readers is social passivity.

Harding,like Richards,combined a career in experimental psychology with a significant contribution to the formation of English as a discourse.(16) His experimental work,too,embodies individualistic assumptions which treat the individual and the social as two separate influences upon action.He attempted to produce situations in which people make evaluations of what they read without any social pressures upon them.(17) But,as Potter et al.(1984) point out,all response will be made by some interpretive criteria and resources,and these will ultimately derive from specific social contexts.It is simply not possible to isolate response from the use of conventional and systematic forms of sense making.The experiments are predicated upon a "correct" reading of the text,against which other readings are judged as aberrant.The text here remains firmly in control and the particular productions of the text by actual readers are judged in regard to the dominant production.It is a common feature of empirical reader response research in which any interest in readers and the variability between them tends to disallow the same variablity for the text.Acknowledgement,let alone investigation,of what Bennett calls the "social destinies of particular texts" is rare.(18)

Control of the reader by the text may be seen elsewhere in Harding's work in a view of fiction which has proved very influential in subject English.(19) Harding's central claim is that "all forms of narrative invite us to be onlookers joining in the evaluation of some possibility of experience." Factual and fictional narrative are thus on a continuum.Fiction and gossip belong to a perfectly familiar process that starts in childhood with games of "what if?" or "suppose".The receiver of the utterance (whether reader or listener) and the producer of the utterance (whether author or teller) are engaged in "wish formulation and definition-wishes are stated and their results contemplated in imagination".The relationship involved is social in two ways:firstly,with the author ("the bond with the author") and secondly,with other readers with whom evaluations of the considered experience may be compared.Both relationships are potentially educative because they involve the contemplation of possible experiences,whose evaluation may be checked intersubjectively and then incorporated in the same way as life experience.Literature is "virtual experience".

> Fiction is thus an institutionalised technique of discussion by means of which an author invites us to join him in discussing a possibility of experience that he regards as interesting,and to

> share with him attitudes towards it,evaluations of it that he claims are appropriate.

It proved an influential formulation,well suited to teaching methods which foregrounded the child's experience and talk.

He identified several preconditions for this process to occur successfully:acceptance of the onlooker role and a willing attendance to the work;elementary perception and comprehension;and the adoption of a position on a detachment/involvement continuum which enabled response to,as well as with,the fictional characters.It is unlikely that everyone is able to fulfil these conditons:

> a developing interest in fiction is tied up in some way with an interest in other people...it is not likely that fiction will have any appeal for those whose social interests are largely instrumental....;the reluctance to read of those whose pursuits are extensively non social..is likely to be due to more serious personality deformation...Those whose comfortable social adjustment leaves them feeling no particular need for fiction..have presumably not realised the possibility of a rewarding interaction between fiction and the social interests they accept as natural.And they are not likely to,until they have found something puzzling or disturbing or challenging in the social life around them.

The divisive and questionable implications of such comments have proved far less influentialupon teachers.Harding,again like Richards,further assumes the category of great works of art to be self evident.This becomes problematic when considering his idea of the continuum between fiction and gossip.It is clear from his account that it is literary narrative that he regards as potentially educative,but he offers no satisfactory explanation as to why written should be so privileged over

spoken narrative.(20) So far as the reader is concerned,Harding argues that "response is a word that reminds us that the experience of the work of art is a thing of our own making,an activity in which we are our own interpretive artist." The rewards for the succesful reader are great:"responding to a great work of art means becoming different from your previous self." Progressive English teaching certainly took heart from the potential transformatory power attributed here to literature,without paying sufficient attention to the small print.It is not just that the freedom offered here is very circumscribed.The author remains very much in charge,carefully controlling the reader's responses,and the reader "must not read into the work meanings the author could not have intended,since otherwise the social relation implicit in the act of publishing of a literary work will be severed." Ultimately this is a uni-directional process,an interaction in which the text controls the reader.There is no sense of reading relations.The author,meanwhile,is doubly privileged - not only is his social contract in publishing sacrosanct,but s/he is assumed to be in full control of the text and its medium.Meaning is fixed and unitary.Finally,as in Richards' model,fiction here exerts a transformative,ameliorative power,but not everyone is eligible for these benefits.The text presupposes a certain kind of reading subject,and the instrumentally minded,the complacent and those with deformed personalities must look elsewhere.

The story of personal development through literature has also attracted much attention from philosophers.Literature and philosophy have long been quarrelsome neighbours,each claiming to be the meta-discourse,each only able to exist by distinguishing itself from the other.(21) Hepburn,for example,is one of several philosophers who have taken an approach much influenced by Wittgenstein to the subject.The starting point for his succinct,sympathetic exploration of the personal growth claims is Kenny's work on the emotions.(22) Emotions have both an evaluative and a cognitive component and these two aspects may be brought together,he argues,under the Wittgensteinian notion of seeing-as (23).Emotion is not,therefore,the inchoate mass of incoherent and spontaneous feelings often assumed,but is necessarily selective,active and interpretive.Moreover,because emotion has both cognitive and evaluative components it is therefore susceptible to intersubjective check and hence amenable to reason.Emotion,logically,on this argument is educable.

Anything that claims to educate the emotions,he proposes,will involve:

> ousting vague,imprecise and crude emotions by more specific,appropriate and discriminating ones;with preventing emotion experience from stagnating by replacing jaded repetitive habit emotions with fresh and keen emotions that are coupled logically with new and individual ways of

seeing.

This whole process will be furthered if pupils are exposed to some objects of emotion that are

> so contrived as to control his ways of feeling with unusual accuracy and to facilitate quite unhackneyed and richly variegated emotions:that is to say,if they are works of art.

Literature is educative of the emotions by eliciting new ways of seeing that are logically inseparable from new ways of feeling.The technical devices in literature enable readers to experience quite precise emotional responses to complexes normally beyond their capacity to hold together in perception or imagination.The educational gain from this process is emotional freedom,by which he does not mean freedom from emotion,which would be the reverse of what was intended,but rather the access to a greater emotional repertoire upon which to draw in one's response to life.As a consequence of attending to the work "just this gesture has been made accessible to you". (Wittgenstein) (24) This unique capacity of art,he concludes,makes it at least as important to the moral life as is the holding to principles or maxims.

Hepburn concedes that the view is likely to be over optimistic.Social history has too many examples of readers who have replaced one jaded emotional stereotype with another fictionally derived one.(25) Moreover,although philosophy can demonstrate that it is logically possible for

readers to learn in the manner he has described,there can be no certainty that they will do so.Indeed the potentially threatening nature of the exercise is likely to ensure that only a minority ever would do so.Casey (1973) reaches a similar conclusion:"perhaps attaining to sincerity and adequacy of feelings is not possible for everyone."(26) In common with the previous accounts considered there are elitist and romantic social implications in this conclusion.

The argument hinges upon the distinctive status of certain objects,organised in such a way as to articulate finely controlled responses in readers.But,as was argued in chapter 4,liberal humanism has yet to come up with a ready way of distinguishing such objects other than by the circular route whereby their recognition is determined by the effects they produce.Language in this account is a neutral, transparent medium,untainted by ideology and perfectly controlled by the autonomous subjects who employ it.The argument also implies that works have single unitary meanings that are fixed for ever,which are fully intended and controlled by the author.As for the reader,she is assigned a relatively passive role,the victim of a manipulative text,self selected,because already sensitive,for further sensitising.

The relationship of Harding and Richards ,both psychologists,to mainstream literary studies in the

academy was tangential,but both had very considerable involvement with education.Their interest in the reading process and reader responses was untypical during this period of objectivism,when most academic attention was fixed securely upon the text.Consideration of the reader was held to be an instance of the affective fallacy,"a confusion between the poem and its results....It begins by trying to derive standards of criticism from the pschological effects and ends in impressionism and relativism."(27) Hence the long neglect and later re-discovery of Rosenblatt's work.(28)

During the last twenty years,however,there has been a shift away from such objectivist views towards a communication model of the literary text.This movement is paralleled by similar develoments elsewhere,in socio-linguistics;in an "interactionist brand of social psuchological theory in which the crucial theoretical concepts include 'negotiation','transaction','problem-solving'";and also in social theory whose key terms were participation and partnership. (Fowler 1981) In the communication model "meaning is not IN the text,but the text is so arranged that the reader produces a meaning from it".Those accounts of the reading process that set their face against literary objectivism drew upon very different psychological traditions from the ones earlier

discussed.(29) In America it was ego-psychology that proved influential,whilst in this country it was the object relations school and also gestalt psychology (30) to which many accounts of the reading process had recourse.

Growing interest in the role of the reader and how to describe her interaction with the text has led English teachers to draw upon the object relations school,founded upon the work of Klein and developed by Guntrip,Fairbairn and Winnicott (31) This work has proved attractive and influential to educationists because of its emphasis upon the way that the individual seeks and constructs meaning.Although they were not concerned with English teaching,their work has been used to support the personal growth model.The "object relations school" of psychology is interested in the psychic processes which mediate the relationship between the world and the self.In early infancy the child is unable to distingush itself from the external world and can only do so by an interaction "that establishes object relations,the structurings projected outwards and introjected inwards which form the pattern of a self's dealings with the external world,including other people".(32) Winnicott's work in particular has proved influential because of its emphasis upon the links between early infancy and adult cultural activity,both of which,for Winnicott,give meaning to people's lives and serve to define the self.(33)

His speculation about the place of cultural artefacts in our lives derived from his work as a pediatrician and psychoanalyst upon the intersubjective nature of play.This led him to develop the concept of "transitional objects" (for example a teddy bear or a blanket) which are used by the infant to mediate between the worlds of inner and outer reality.These phenomena in his view form a continuous line of development through play to culture:they fulfil the same function for adults and infants.It is in our dealings with these transitional objects and their cultural descendants that we mostly live.(34)

> We spend most of our time neither in behaviour nor in contemplation,but somewhere else:I ask where.

The place where we live,he defines as "the location of our cultural experience".It lies between the world of object relating and usage and inner psychic reality.Elsewhere he calls it a "third area",or a "potential space".It is a place full of promise and capable of being shaped to our purposes and benefits.The other two worlds are determined:the inner world is fixed biologically,whilst the external world is subject to a multiplicity of other contingencies.By contrast,the potential space is highly variable because it is the product of the individual's experience of the world,and we value it in a special way because it links past,present and future:"it takes up time

and space".It is also the individual's most prized possession;it is what we essentially are."The absence of psychoneurotic illness may be health," he observes,"but it is not life." In tracing through the continuity between transitional objects and adult culture he says

> that in using the word 'culture' I am thinking of something that is in the common pool of humanity into which individuals and groups of people may contribute,and from which they may draw,if they have somewhere to put what they find.

His specification of the conditions necessary for play and the encouragement of creativity have proved widely influential in progressive primary and nursery education,but they have also served to underwrite both the fictional content and particular teaching methods of secondary English.(35) Although there is no explicit literary theory,here his account of play appears to offer an analogy to the reading process in which the intentions of the author and reader are subject to the negotiation of meaning in the potential space of reading and writing.It offers,that is,a confirmatory account of what appears to be similar practices in an adjacent professional discourse.There are, of course,similarities in imagery in the accounts offered by Leavis of what he calls "the third realm".(36) These similarities derive from their theoretical assumptions,for example,about the self or learning.Underlying Winnicott's theory is a reliance upon a model of learning as similar to the process of hypothesis

testing in science in which subsequent modifications are made in relation to the consequences that are discovered.Knowledge,thus,is seen as the product of experience,an assumption that is shared by the personal growth model of English teaching,but which later theory has done much to destabilise.

However,this account of the essentially dyadic relationship between mother and infant,which forms the basis of his theory,is seriously flawed in that it does not account for either ideology or indeed any other social determinants.The chief difficulty is caused by the failure to take any account of the child's accession to language."It fails to allow for language reaching out to more than the analyst/analysand or reader/author."(37) Whereas more recent theory emphasises the individual subject's constitution in language,Winnicott's account depends upon the self and the outer world being separated before the formation of transitional objects and transitional phenomena.Any transference or extension therefore of this account to the reading process tends to assume the separate prior existence of the reading subject and the literary object,but it is precisely the pre-existence of

individual subjects prior to the accession to language and of the free standing autonomy of the literary text that recent theory questions.

Meanwhile in America,as critics moved away from objectivist views of the text and took a new interest in the reader,they drew upon a very different psychological tradition.Their interest in readers has accorded well with institutionalised ego-psychology -a rewriting of Freud,which in its adherence to the doctrine of the unified self and its suppression of the social and political,strips the original of all subversive and critical potential.At its simplest the consequences for the reader in these stories are not that dissimilar to Richards' model.

Lesser (1957),for example argues that we read "because we are beset by anxieties,guilt feelings and ungratified needs.The reading of fiction permits us to satisfy those needs, relieve our anxieties and assuage our guilt". A supposedly Freudian framework is posited to explain this claim.Thus,fiction works as an id function in giving pleasure through the creation,out of mere words,of an illusionary three dimensional world that is so realistic that we can believe we are living in it,whilst still having awareness of it as an illusion (participant/spectator).In

its guise as ego function,fiction facilitates perception through its reliance upon our capacity for imaging:"fiction has a language that seems more real than our mother tongue:the picture language of fiction".The super ego function is to relieve our guilt and anxiety,which it achieves through inducing a process of analogising.In this,the reader rehearses or improvises upon episodes in the fiction and thereby becomes involved in something akin to a day dream that is bound by some textual constraints.The reader is assigned only a passive role in which her fantasies are aroused only to be summarily dismissed.The reader is anaesthetised into a socially acceptable and depoliticised harmony by a process of reading which is essentially normative.

A more sophisticated account is given by Holland (1968) and (1975),whose work has proved influential in this country,despite reservations about the psychological approach.In his first book he takes what Bleich calls a very "text-active" view of the relationship between reader and text:texts are fixed entities which produce calculable effects upon readers.He "recasts the traditional formalist description of the literary artefact in psychoanalytic categories",by retaining the notion of a semi-autonomous literary structure,whilst assigning "each component in that structure a psychological function."(Ray 1984) Fiction here has an adaptive, defensive function,by means of which the reader's unconscious wishes get past the censor.Readers'

fantasies become transformed into something much less threatening because of what he calls core fantasies in the text.

> All stories-and all literature-have this basic way of meaning;they transform the unconscious fantasy discoverable through psychoanalysis into the conscious meeanings discovered by conventional interpretation.
> (Holland 1968)

Whilst reading,as in psychoanalysis or dreaming,Holland argues,"our minds are split in two".Reading is a "form of self actualisation and self analysis through which the innermost text of the self surfaces in the guise of the literary narrative."(Ray 1984) The model is modifed in his later work and he divests the literary work of any autonomous content or independent identity and it becomes simply the occasion for some person's work.

> We use the literary work to symbolise and finally to replicate ourselves.We take the work into ourselves and make it part of our own psychic economy-identity recreates itself.....the individual relates to the world as he does to a poem or a story;he uses its physical reality as grist with which to recreate himself,that is to make yet another variation of his single enduring identity.
> (Holland 1975)

This "transactive" model of reading,based upon the concept of transference in psychoanalysis,seems to give a very much more purposeful role to the reader.A text cannot be divorced from its readings,and in any reading there is a continuous alteration of cause by its effect. Everyone,he argues,has an identity theme ,determined in

early infancy by their relationships with their mother figure,which remains throughout their life as a defining psychological characteristic.It is the uniqueness of identity themes which ensures that texts can only exist in their individual readings.The reader response to,or transaction with,the text comprises four stages.The initial approach is one of expectation,unique because of the identity theme's distinctive quality.This is followed by a defensive stage in which the reader selects from the text what they feel they can cope with.There is then a projection onto the modified text by the reader of wish fulfilment fantasies which are then finally transformed and incorporated into the identity theme.The text thus becomes the analyst that triggers off responses in the reader.

> The reader filters a text through his characteristic patterns of defence,projects upon it his characteristic fantasies,translates the experience into socially acceptable forms and this produces what we would call an interpretation. (Tomkins 1980)

Although the reader is certainly the centre of this account,no doubt the cause of its appeal,serious problems are entailed.The account appears to describe an interaction between text and reader,but as Ray (1984) argues,"the central transaction does not after all take place between personal text and objective text,but between the reader's core identity and his conscious identity".The 'other' that we encounter in reading is none other than the reader himself.The reader is simply returned to him/herself.There is no new knowledge possible here,of

self,let alone of others or the world.How is one to distinguish literature from therapy? To what extent is the reader's interpretation based upon something in the text? Too many such questions are begged.(38)

Tomkins argues with justice that Holland's moral aim determines the nature of his literary theory.The avowed aim is to achieve knowledge of the self,and its relation to other selves and to the world,hence its appeal in English teaching circles.(39) But it is a very limited kind of knowledge.There is no acknowledgement of intersubjectivy, for example,and his five readers remain isolated individuals who have had their identity recreated:they have simply been returned to themselves.They have used the literary work to symbolise and finally to replicate themselves.(40) The whole process is a good example of what Eagleton has recently called a "moral technology",designed to produce a certain kind of subjectivity.The members of the Newbolt Committee,alarmed by post war unrest,would no doubt have deplored the "jargon" of Holland's account,but applauded its social consequences.The main concern is normative,how the ego can be adapted to social life,as currently constituted.(41)Moreover in its assumption that both text and interpreting self exist independently of each other,his model , surprisingly,shares ground with traditional

objectivist thought.This leads him into contradictions which are fully detailed in Ray

> Holland wants his transactive model to found a critical practice,but it can't because (despite shifting) the referential thrust of reading from the text or work to the reader....the lack of an intersubjective model of validation deprives Holland's work of any theoretical consistency or institutional value.His resolutely private notion of identity does not lend itself simply to a theory of shared understanding.
> (Ray 1984).

The source of his appeal to English teachers is likely to be precisely those tendencies recently deplored by Barnes (1984),namely "cherishing private souls." Whilst claiming to place such a premium upon independent autonomous selves,Holland's account is of isolates with little capacity or motive for social action.

Other accounts of the reading process from critics working within a communication model of literature have been produced,largely in an attempt to reform literary studies in the academy.Most tend to privilege the reader.Fish (1970),for example,argues that a text is "not an object,a thing-in-itself,but an event,something that happens to,and with the participation of the reader",and proposes an analysis "of the developing responses of the reader in relation to the words as they succeed one another in time".(42) One potentially beneficial consequence of the refocussing on the reader is that pedagogical problems are put high on the agenda in a way that was not true of the

objectivist model.

Bleich (1968),for example, opposes the idea of education as a process in which there are agents and patients (teachers and learners) with a model in which all parties are involved in "developing knowledge".Responsibility for the production and definition of knowledge should no longer rest,he argues ,with traditional authoritative sources (teachers,institutions and texts),but should be given instead to those who are seeking it.Much current teaching reveals in his view an inadequate conception of knowledge as something purely objective,with a consequent downgrading and denial of the validity of subjectivity.The whole issue of reader response is defined as an epistemological one.Earlier work is criticised for making one of two mistaken assumptions.The first group he considers assumes that the response to the work of art can be isolated as an object of study and treated either as an independently analysable item,or else as a member of a class of responses that is analysed statistically.The work of Squire,Purves and Wilson is subject to these strictures.The other mistaken assumption is that response is conceived as the outcome of a relationship or transaction between reader and text where the text is considered to be a real object or a person,rather than as a symbolic object.In this category he places Harding's model of fiction as gossip.

In his view,by contrast,there are three entities:people,symbols and objects.Texts are symbols:they are objects only insofar as they have a physical existence.They have no autonomous meaning:any meaning depends entirely upon the process of symbolisation that takes place in the mind of the reader.He refers to the initial process of symbolisation as response:the later attempt to understand that response he calls interpretation.Neither is constrained by the text.The response,which is entirely subjective,becomes transformed into knowledge by the sharing of interpretations with others in what Bleich refers to as 'interpretive communities' (the school class or analysand and analyst) in an attempt to arrive at a consensus.The first stage in this process is a decision by the group as to what it wants to know;the second is the production of response statements,written reactions to a text produced by the individuals involved.

> Finally,through negotiation,the community of interpreters...arrives at a satisfactory collective resymbolisation of the response statement,thereby increasing the self-awareness of both the individual respondent and the class.Experience is translated into knowledge,as individual motive merges with collective motive (Ray 1984)

The reader/learner appears to gain a good deal at first sight in this model,but there is an inherent contradiction in it.Transferred to the level of the institution,this notion of interpretive communities leads straight back to objectivism:"the subjectivist paradigm of negotiation,the

assumption that facts are facts by virtue of satisfying a plurality of subjects,leads naturally to the procedures of objectivism."(Ray 1984) Fish's recent work,which has also developed the notion of interpretive communities,is subject to similar criticism.What on the surface appears to be an offer to the reader/learner of a substantial say in the undertaking,turns out to be essentally authoritarian and limiting.By overlooking "the differences within the reader,who is never a unified member of a single unified group,and by ignoring the fact that readers operate with many and not a single interpretive code,the model denies the reader interpretive space".(Scholes 1985) (43)

In recent years the best known literary theorist introduced to and adopted by English teachers has been Iser.(44) As Holub (1984) argues"his theory is filled with statements that most students and teachers of literature would like to believe but that lack any analytical justification or empirical proof".His work has been used in an attempt to flesh out traditional claims made for literature with a sounder theoretical basis.Despite a theoretical density,so alien to subject English,his work clearly belongs to the same recognisable liberal humanist discourse as Bullock.He draws upon many disciplines (45) to support an account of reading as a fully interactive process

based upon an explicitly communication model of language.

> 'if the reader and the literary text are partners in a process of communication..our prime concern will no longer be the MEANING of that text...but its EFFECT.

To describe the reading process,Iser compares the interaction between text and reader to an assymetrical social relationship-a conversation with only one of the parties present.The reader is forced to take the initiative based upon contextual clues.She produces a series of open or provisional gestalts which are then constantly modified and assimilated as new information is received.This process operates,he argues ,from the level of the sentence right up to that of the entire plot.Readers are constantly forced into making adjustments to a provisional gestalt in a search for meaning,harmony and closure.The emphasis is upon the reader's creativity being stimulated into activity just at the point when communication breaks down through insufficient or contradictory information and the reader has to adjust.It is a process of modifed anticipations and retrospections,of gap filling and settling indeterminacies.

It is educative because the reader,in being forced to make constant adjustments to established perceptions and attitudes,is thus made to become aware of them for the first time."A fictional text by its very nature calls into question the validity of familiar norms" (Iser).It is profoundly moral in intention "building a

better self through interpretive enterprise. " (Tomkins 1980)This moralism is no doubt why it has been so rapidly assimilated into books about English teaching in an attempt to revitalise a tradition and the values of the academy.(46) The acknowledgement of the complexity of reading is certainly welcome.But few of the difficulties encountered with earlier theories are resolved in this global account said by one critic to suffer from "terminological overload" and compared by another to Spaghetti Junction.(47)

So far as the text is concerned,it is said to contain "intersubjectively verifiable instructions for meaning production,but the meaning produced may then lead to a whole variety of different experiences and hence subjective judgements".These instructions are built into the text in two forms,the repertoire of the text and the strategies of the text.By the strategies,he means the structural methods employed by the writer to change the perspectives of the text.Devices such as changes of narrator,variation of plot,or character contrasts are employed to ensure that the reader realises it is a perspectived,incomplete view of the world offered in the text, and that this fragmented view will have to be made into a coherent whole by the reader.By the repertoire of the text he intends all the extratextual reality from which the text has emerged -references to earlier works of fiction,socio-historical norms or a whole culture.The

repertoire is not a replica of the world,nor could it ever be so.Any reference to any particular extratextual reality in the repertoire entails modification to it because its original function and context have been changed.Whatever has been selected for inclusion in the text can therefore be seen in new connections and aspects.It is this selective feature of fictional texts that enables texts to "alter the reigning rules of perception" (48),making new things familiar and familiar things new.Their very selection for inclusion in the text changes them,offering the reader possibilities of new insights and knowledge.

The central problem,however,with this view of the literary text is the degree of determinacy accorded to it.Aiming at a middle course between objectivism (one fixed meaning) and subjectivism (meaning as totally the product of the reader's mind),Iser is often less than clear as to how far the text is determined.Despite the complex account of the actualisation of the text so often quoted nowadays,it seems,to judge from his own rather conventional readings of texts,that Iser does not envisage infinite interpretations :only a limited number of patterns are available.Ultimately,it is the text that directs the reader's realisation of it,although how exactly the text limits the reader's activity is never made clear.Moreover,although the vocabulary seems new,the indeterminacies and gaps, for example,upon which his theory

hinges are not so distinguishable from old style ambiguity and irony.

There is nothing here that takes account of the claims of ideology or the problematisation of subjectivty ,and the relationship between language and experience is suppressed.The book perfectly embodies the expressive realist approach to the text as the author's vision attacked by Belsey (1980) and others:"we may assume that every literary text in one way or another represents a perspective view of the world,put together by,though not necessarily representative of,the author."(Iser) This vision is transmitted to the reader:"the structure of the text sets off a series of mental images which lead to the text translating itself into the readers consciousness".(Iser)

Iser's concept of the implied reader is an attempt to avoid the problems posed by the numerous other readers posited by literary theorists in recent years.(49) It is an attempt to construct a reader based neither upon real empirical readers nor upon abstractions.It is not successful.The division of the implied reader into textual structure and structured act makes for an unwieldy degree of abtsraction.In Iser's view "the implied reader is not a historically specific individual,but rather a transhistorical mind that embodies all those predispositions necessary for a literary work to exercise its effect".Any taint of ideologcal commitment will impede the proper

understanding of the text by the implied reader.The snag here,of course,is that this transhistorical model approximates,as has been pointed out by Eagleton,Holub and others,the ideal of an educated European liberal.The assumption throughout is of a unified self,,and as Eagleton argues 'the only good reader would already have to be a liberal:the act of reading produces a kind of human subject which it presupposes...It is as though what we have been reading in working our way through the book,is ourselves".

Iser's account of the reading process is in many ways "an excellent theoretical account of what ,in all their variety ,most liberal humanist readers in the second half of the twentieth century probably actually do when they read." (Belsey 1980) It is,however,by no means the neutral,self-evident position,the complex rendering of a natural process,that it is often presented as being.Like all literary theories it is closely allied to social theories.What Fowler calls "this individualistic,interactional,model of literary communication... fits very well with the bourgeois aesthetic ideology which emphasises individual creativity,the singularity of the art object and the private individual character of reading".(50)

> It is a view which enshrines a quite partial and specific (and in my view undesirable) social theory.It suggests that the individual constructs himself,the discourse he utters and the texts he reads,under weak general constraints such as 'appropriateness' etc.Thus discourse is regarded

> as freely chosen and structured by the speaker or writer according to his assessment of what is suitable for the occasion.

A similar point is made by Barck:

> One can interpret Iser's theory of communication as the reception aesthetic explication of bourgeois freedom of opinion;it magnaminously allows the reader the right to construct the meanings of the texts,as if there were no ideology of the ruling class and no social mode of reception determined by it."(51)

In his discusson of recent storis of reading,Culler (1983) identifies three recurrent problems.The first concerns the question of control.Although Bleich,Holland,Fish and Iser all offer stories in which the reader appears to be fully in charge of the text,reader and text often switch places.

> A story of the reader structuring the text can easily become become a story of the text provoking certain responses and controlling their reader.The re-emergence of the text's control in stories that sought to recount just the opposite is a powerful illustration of the constraints discursive structures impose upon theories that claim to master or describe them.Theories of reading stories and descriptions of reading stories seem themselves to be governed by aspects of story.

This characteristic,he argues,should not surprise us,"it is an essential structural feature of the situation" because reading must be theorised from the perspective of the text's and also of the reader's dominance.Ray (1984) makes a rather similar point in his discussion of the seemingly openly negotiating interpretive communities posited by Bleich and

Fish which prove to be extremely conservative,if not authoritarian in effect;and Scholes (1985) argues forcefully that the freedom offered the reader in Fish's interpretive community,where readers seem in full control,is in fact a confused tyranny.

The second problem that Culler identifies concerns what is actually in the text.Is the text a determinate structure with some gaps which the reader must fill,or a set of indeterminate marks upon the page upon which the reader must confer meaning? It is similar to the question of whether science makes or discovers its findings.Are there properties in nature which science discovers,or are those discoveries simply the creation of their conceptual framework? Hard and fast distinctions between fact and interpretation,text and reader are,he concludes,simply impossible."There must always be a dualism,an interpreter and something to be interpreted;a subject and an object;an actor and something that he acts upon or that acts upon him." The problem with Iser's attempt at a dualistic compromise in which the reader contributes something and something is provided by the text is that it is then open to interpretation that is monistic:either in favour of the author or of the reader.Sartre's earlier formulation,"Ainsi,pour le lecteur tout est a faire et tout est deja fait",is ,he argues,preferable because it preserves the essentially divided quality of reading.Accounts from

both perspectives are required.In a similar discussion,Ray (1984) argues that

> the tension between these two incompatible but curiously coexistent notions-between what' I mean' and what 'the word means'-recurs under a variety of guises..normally manifesting itself in the shape of a binary opposition such as subject vs object,instance vs system,performance vs competence,parole vs langue,figural vs referential,or event vs structure.

Most stories of reading suppress one or other of these identities and it is only post-structuralist work that "defines and practices reading as the tension between meaning's two meanings."(52)

The third problem identified by Culler as common to all these stories of reading concerns their endings.

> adventures about reading generally turn out well..readers may be manipulated and misled,but when they finish the book their experience turns into knowledge.Their stories follow an innocent reader confident in traditional assumptions about structure and meaning,who encounters the deviousness of texts,falls into traps,is frustrated and dismayed,but emerges wiser for the loss of illusions.It is as though what permits one to describe reading as misadventure is the happy ending that transforms a series of reactions into an understanding of the text and of the self that engaged with it.The text's manipulation of the reader makes a good story only if it turns out well.

Post-structuralists do not take such a sanguine view;indeed they posit a scenario in which "the possibility of reading can never be taken for granted" (de Man),and where "nothing is to be gained by continuing to idealise reading as if it

were not an art of defensive warfare" (Bloom).Empirical evidence would appear to support this view,for "when we consider what particular prior readers have achieved,we tend to conclude that they have failed to understand what they were doing,were influenced by assumptions they did not control,were misled in ways which we can describe but they could not". (Culler)

Culler's answer to this dilemma,argued elsewhere (53),is to incorporate into the educational system a programme designed to promote literary conpetence - a proposal that amounts,in Eagleton's ironic description,to "demands that reader/workers should be allowed access to the closely protected secrets of the boardroom-to the codes,blueprints,paradigms and techinical know-how which govern the manufacture of commodities". (54) These participatory,essentially reformist rather than radical or revolutionary stories of reading,those with the happier endings,are being enlisted,in suitably domesticated forms that pass over the theoretical difficulties,in an attempt to shore up subject English as presently conceived.They do not,however,either acknowledge or address the theoretical problems which precipitated the present crisis in English.The problems will not disappear simply by being ignored.The shift to readers (when conceived as learners) has benefited pedagogy,but in many ways old difficulties have simply been relocated.Readers may now have rights and representation,but it proves no easier to say what is in

the reader's experience than what is in the text."Experience is always deferred and divided-always something to be be recovered,yet still before us to be produced".(Culler 1983) Sooner or later there is always the "confrontation with determinacy".The problem remains,perhaps because of inherent features of reading,but more probably because of the manner in which it has been theorised.The terms in which the problem is couched construct as well as describe the problem.Ray (1984),for example,notes how stories of reading,whether they accord primacy to event or structure in the production of meaning,almost always suppress the institutional contexts in which those meanings are produced,with the result that a whole dimension is excluded from discussion.Bennett (1984),too,argues that the theorisation of many stories of reading

> constructs a terrain in which subject (reader) encounters object (text),a paradigm in which what is at issue is the use of the text,its interpretation or decoding by the subject....However varied,this approach construes the text as an object a structure,a system of necessary relations,that is pre-given to the reader.Readings may vary,but they are all finally readings of the same thing,of the text as a set of necessary and objective relations conceived as existing in some pure and limiting condition of in-itselfness,independently of the historically active reading relations which regulate its productive activation in the different moments of its history...such an approach cannot help but be normative,cannot help but rank and assign readings their place according to their degree of conformity to that reading which the analysis of the text itself confirms as the most correct,the most meaningful,the most valid or whatever.

To escape from this cycle there is a need for

other terms,other understandings,other questions about texts and their readers.They are provided by recent theory.Culler is correct in arguing that "these stories of provocation and manipulation lead one to ask what justifies the happy endings".If the answer to that question is,as I think it must be,'very little',then we have to ask what stories we are to tell ourselves and our students about the relation between texts and their readers.The stories considered so far in this chapter represent a considerable achievement of the "Readers Liberation Movement",but the "shift from nakedly dominative textual relations to later incorporatory or social democratic forms clearly still leaves much to be desired."(55) .Eagleton's comment neatly brings into sharp focus an aspect of these stories all too often overlooked,namely that theories of texts and readers,like theories of subjectivity,are always related,in however inexplicit a way,to social and political theory.They do not exist in isolation from it.As Eagleton concludes "A socialist criticism is not primarily concerned with the consumers' revolution.Its task is to take over the means of production".(56) All these stories of reading reviewed above view the work of art of object and theorise an account of reading upon that premise.What is needed is an account of reading that takes as its starting point what Williams (1980) refers to as "the alternative view of art as a practice." For that task, materialist theories of language,texts and subjectivity are required.It is to such

new understandings that we turn in the next section.

ii) literature as social practice and discourse.

> "growth" in itself is nothing;"experience" in itself is nothing;"imaginative sympathy" in itself is nothing.These are the formal,empty phrases of a Kantian morality.Only when they are imbued with a specific social and historical context can we know what we're arguing about.
> (Eagleton.1985)

In his discussion of the complexity of hegemony,Williams (1980) carefully distinguishes between various kinds of residual,dominant and emergent cultures.These are helpful distinctions to recall when considering the multiplicity of stories of reading now current.Those stories with which the previous section was concerned were the dominant and residual ones.For all their differences,they share institutional power,discursive space and a number of theoretical assumptions about language,texts and subjectivity unproblematised by recent theory.Their power and space is currently being contested by the emergent stories which the present section considers.As Barthes (1971) points out, "discourse ..moves,in its historical impetus,by clashes." Whether the new stories will prove,in Williams' terms,to be "emergent incorporated or emergent non incorporated" remains to be seen,but it is clear that the present crisis in subject English will continue as long as the challenge they represent is unresolved.Whatever the outcome,the challenge will not go unrecorded,for such cultural and discursive struggles are always dialogic (57)

and the dominant will always both define itself against,and bear traces of,the suppressed and the incorporated.The present section,therefore,seeks to pull together from recent theory those new understandings of language,texts and subjectivity which are likely to provide the basis for stories of reading theoretically sounder than those they challenge and less likely to perpetuate the inequalities of cultural reproduction in which their predecessors have been so heavily implicated.It is not directly concerned with questions of classroom pedagogy,but the implications for practice are clearly there.To be conscious of the adoption of a particular theoretical position means that particular practices and proce dures are rendered more,or less, desirable,possible or appropriate than formerly they were.New understandings prompt different questions and expectations,whose need is generally apparent before their precise formulation or implementation.The section is in three parts - language,texts,subjectivity - although in a sense they are all language.

a) language

> Through linguistic difference "there is born the world of meaning of a particular language in which the world of things will come to be arranged..It is the world of words that creates the world of things."(58)

Our century has been bewitched by language.It is impossible to do justice here to the range and variety of work concerned even with language and education.What is now needed is an attempt to accommodate what has been learned about language since the intervention of structuralism with

what is already known about language acquisition and development.

The common sense view of language upon which all inflections of the personal growth model is grounded is succinctly summarised by Belsey (1980)and others.(59) Language is seen as a neutral and transparent medium "in which autonomous individuals transmit messages to each other about an independently constituted world of things".It conceives the origin and source of meaning as human:knowledge and concepts to be the product of experience;and "this experience is preceded by and interpreted by the mind,reason,or thought,the property of a transcendental human nature whose essence is the attribute of each individual".At the level of secondary subject English Barnes (1984) finds this view manifesting itself in the personal growth version of English which employs "an essentially aesthetic model of language in which the key terms are truth to experience,language as being and the realisation of the self".The construction of this view of language for specifically educational purposes at the turn of the century has been interestingly traced by Rose (1985) (60)

These presuppositions have been unsettled by structuralist thought which views language as essentially relational:"a system of signs that express ideas" in which

each unit is made up of two halves,the signifier (the physical shape or sound of the sign) and the signified (the image or concept produced by the sign).The signs in a language are quite arbitrary-there is no particular or necessary relationship between any signified and any actual referent in the outside world.The signifier is only able to signify because of the particular ways in which it is differentiated by sound or shape from other signifiers,by virtue,that is,of the system to which it belongs."The sign,therefore,only achieves meaning diacritically ,through the system in which it is differentiated from all other signs....meaning is made possible by the existence of underlying systems of conventions which enable elements to function individually as signs".(61) Words,that is,do not depend upon reality for their meaning.Language is a system of inter-dependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others.Instead of being seen simply as a way of naming things which already have an independent existence in the world,language is viewed as a self-contained system of differences with no positive terms.Language precedes the existence of independent entities and makes the world intelligible by differentiating between concepts.No longer is it possible to see reality out there,a fixed order of things which language merely reflected..."reality was not reflected by language but produced by it".

If language predates the individual and,"in an important sense speaks us.. it is much less his or her product than he or she is the product of it...the way that you interpreted the world was a function of the languages you had at your disposal".(62) We experience language as nomenclature because its existence precedes our understanding of the world.The consequence of this realisation was to call into question the reliance upon,and privileging of,experience as the guarantor of what is most real.This undercutting of the innocence and validating function of experience in the personal growth model has extensive ramifications.So far as the production of literary texts is concerned,the common sense view "that literature reflects the reality of experience as it is perceived by one (especially gifted) individual,who expresses it in a discourse which enables other individuals to recognise it as true",(63),was no longer tenable.The notion of the innocent reader with nothing but alert attention and full sensitivity intervening between her and the text was a similar casualty.Literary texts are quite unable to reflect what the world is really like;all they can do is to reflect the order inscribed within a particular discourse.The meanings produced,either by writers or readers,depend,not upon some individual vision of the world or unique perception of human nature,but upon the currently available systems of differences,upon interpretive codes and the extent to which they are shared.

The old certainties of the personal growth model were thus destabilised by the structuralist distinction between the signifier and the signified and the consequent separation of the sign from the referent.Whilst structuralism was resisted by liberal humanists for its attribution of meaning to system rather than individual agency,it was subject to a more damaging and eventually fruitful critique from Marxist theorists which led to the development of post-structuralist theory.Its evident ahistoricicalism had always made structuralism vulnerable to Marxism.But in addition,Macherey,for example,argues that structuralism shares with traditional theory a number of crucial notions.In seeking an interpretation from within the work,hoping that the work will reveal its secret,the "myth of its interiority",structuralism retains "the entirely unscientific hypothesis that the work has an intrinsic meaning".It is also essentialist in the Althusserian sense (65) in its attempt to discover the coherence and rationality of the text thus presupposing the traditional notions of harmony and unity.Other critical attention focussed upon the profoundly asocial view of language proposed by structuralism:"it stripped language of its sociality at the point where it matters most:at the point of linguistic production,the actual speaking writing,listening and reading of concrete social individuals".(66)Post-structuralist thought - primarily in the work of Foucault,Derrida and Lacan whom Young (1981)

justly called "the names of problems,not the authors of doctrines" - develops these critiques of structuralism in an oblique way,building upon and transforming rather than refuting them.(67) All three have had enormous implications for our understanding of language,texts and subjectivity,only the main features of which can be sketched here.

Derrida accepts that signs in a language are arbitrary and differential,but "argues that the traditional concept of the sign as a vehicle or substitute for an idea or thing can fairly easily be transposed to the structure of the sign itself,with the signifier being regarded as a substitute for the signified".(68) This leads him to develop the concept of <u>différance</u> to explain

> both the fact that any element of language relates to other elements in a text,and the fact that it is distinct from them.The function or meaning of an element is never fully present because it depends on its association with other elements to which it harks back and refers forward.At the same time,its existence as an element depends on its being distinct from other elements.
> (Jefferson 1982)

Structuralism separates the sign from the referent:Derrida separates the signifier from the signified.Whereas Saussure's view is of a near symmetrical unity between any one signifier and its signified,Derrida argues that any signified is the product of a complex interaction of signifiers which has no obvious end point.In any language system,therefore,there is no transcendental signifier which

will give fixed meaning to all the others.Meaning is never fully present because the meaning of any sign is partly determined by what it is not,and by what is absent.All signs inevitably carry traces and echoes of other signs so that meaning is endlessly dispersed along an infinite chain of signifiers.This feature of language is accentuated by its temporality:as signs succeed each other in any utterance,they further disperse their meanings as they relate to other signs in that context - and no context is ever identical with another,even within the same text.Fixity of meaning,therefore,is very much less stable than was previously thought,as indeed is language itself.

Foucault's work on discourse may best be seen as an attempt to rectify the asocial and ahistorical nature of structuralism,by shifting the emphasis from the study of "langue" to the organisation of linguistic units at a level beyond the sentence.Whereas conventional discourse analysis is predicated upon an essentially communication model of language and is dependent upon the transparency of language and the autonomy of the subject,Foucault by contrast fully accepts the constructedness of both language and subjectivy and is concerned in his analyses to show "the relation between knowledge and power,at the level of social practices within the functioning of specific discursive practices".He explains his project

> consists of not - no longer - treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as

> practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.Of course,discourses are composed of signs;but what they do is more than use these signs to designate things.It is this more that renders them irreducible to language (parole) and to speech (langue).It is this more that we must reveal and describe.

His innovative work upon law,medicine and punishment in which particular discourses are shown to be concerned with the production of certain forms of subjectivity and tied inexorably to specific institutional and social practices,has proved widely influential.For Foucault "discourses reflect relations of power and the purposes of social control.Developed within specific historical circumstances,they serve to organise and order what it is possible to think".(Burgess 1984) Foucault's summary comment upon the education system indicates the scope of his concept of discourse

> Any system of education is a political way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses along with the knowledge and powers which they carry.....(ensuring)the distribution of speaking subjects into the different types of discourse and the appropriation of discourses to certain categories of subject.....those are the major procedures of subjection used by discourse.What after all is an education system ,other than a ritualisation of speech,a qualification and a fixing of roles for speaking subjects,the constitution of a doctrinal group,however diffuse,a distribution and an appropriation of discourse with its powers and knowledge.
> (Foucault 1970)

Others have applied his notion of discourse - which includes any institutional practice and technique "in and through which social production of meaning takes place" - specifically to subject English.(69) Scholes (1985) for example argues that "these notions of institutions,genre and language-immaterial things with material and behavioural effects-are powerful tools of thought,whose interrelatedness has only recently become apparent," and argues that English is best considered as a "generic concept,an epistemic institution or apparatus that limits and enables the specific manifestations of English as a discipline or field of study,including its political embodiment in this or that English department,each of which can be seen as a political and economic instance of a generic arche-department."The Foucauldian project has proved such a powerful tool because of its

> "ability to unmask discourses and knowledges which ,from various institutions,and in the face of all the inequality that divides our society (the basic inequality of class,the imposed inequalities of race,gender and religion),claim to speak for on behalf of everyone,saying in effect:'we are all the same:we speak the same language and share the same knowledge,and have always done so.'
> (Macdonell 1986)

Ultimately,it is this notion of discourse that has enabled the operations of textual and institutional sexism and racism to be laid open for analysis and challenge.(70)

This restoration of a social dimension to

language at the macro level has been reinforced by the recovery/re-discovery of Bakhtin's work on a materialist view of language that operates at both macro and micro levels.(71) The reality of language for Bakhtin is discourse and dialogue -"word is a two sided act.It is determined by whose word it is and for whom it is meant".(72) Although he does not use modern linguistic terms,Bakhtin sees language neither as the expressive medium of liberal humanism,nor as the closed system of structuralism,but as a stream of utterances produced in dialogue between speakers who are always and inevitably specifically situated in social and historical contexts.It is thus a very much more conflictual view of language,and one that accords well with more modern writers such as Pecheux (1982) who have taken up the linguistic implications of Althusser's work in arguing that "words,expressions,propositions etc change their meaning according to the positions held by those who use them".(73) In Bakhtin's account,the clash between various groups for mastery and dominance,apparent everywhere in society in socio-economic terms,is evident also in language.This dialogic interaction is apparent at every level of language use,both in individual utterance and in whole discourses.For Bakhtin,as for Foucault,society cannot be separated from either language or ideology.His analysis covers a whole range of speech events in their social and historical specificity,according to their social group and power relations.

> The word in language is half someone else's .It becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention,his own accent,when he appropriates the word,adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention.Prior to this moment of appropriation,the word does not exist in a neutral and impersonal language (it is not after all out of a dictionary that a speaker gets his words!) but rather it exists in other people's mouths,in other people's intentions;it is from there that one must take the word and make it one's own.And not all words submit equally easily to this appropriation,to this seizure and transformation into private property;many words stubbornly resist,others remain alien...language is not a neutral medium that passes freely into the private property of the speaker's intention;it is populated - overpopulated - with the intentions of others.Expropriating it,forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents,is a difficult and complicated process.
> Bakhtin 1980.

His model of language is a dynamic one in which centripetal forces seek to unify and homogenise it against centrifugal forces which seek to tear it apart.Language is split,conflict-ridden and heterogeneous:it is,however,also homogeneous,regular,patterned,coded and systematic.Both these poles of language operate to produce meaning.All utterances therefore become to some degree sites of struggle as societal conflicts are lived out in language.It is a view of language similar to those developed in modern theories of discouse,which hold that "it is through the discourses in which words are used that words take up positions in struggle.The positions,by reference to which words in discourse acquire meanings,are in the end antagonistic...Meanings are gained or lost through struggles in which what is at stake is ultimately quite a lot more than either words or discourses".(74) For Bakhtin these

pressures keep language constantly mobile and in a state of transformation.Language is thus seen as a material means of production "whereby the material body of the sign was transformed through a process of social conflict and dialogue into meaning".(75) Nor does specification of the material and social determinants of language inhibit or deny creativity:on the contrary,this very acknowledgement of all the lived complexity of language guarantees it.

The implications for education of Bakhtin's view of language,set alongside the work of,for example,Barnes and Rosen,are profound.A recent essay by Burgess (1984) spells them out clearly

> language is never simply the dead purveyor of fixed and permanently established meanings.In society,in history,it is always the site of dialectic process,continuously reconstructed and remade....Once teaching is seen as inserted into these wider cultural processes,it cannot be right to see classrooms as simply and necessarily the means by which culture is reproduced,though it is a danger that an alternative may be made to look too easy.Classrooms may be part of the <u>production</u> of culture;and it becomes possible to see this when notions of language and society as merely fixed and static systems are overturned.(76)

Although the terminology employed by many of the writers discussed in this section appears new,there is much in the work reviewed,as both Eagleton (1983) and Tomkins (1980) point out,which is very traditional,a restoration of the traditions of rhetoric,

> which saw speaking and writing not merely as textual objects to be aesthetically contemplated and endlessly deconstructed,but as forms of <u>activity</u> inseparable from the wider social <u>relations</u> between readers and writers,orators and

> audienes,and as largely unintelligible outside the social purposes and conditions in which they were embedded.
> (Eagleton 1983)

In effect this theoretical shift in regard to language amounts to a restoration of the political to a domain from which it has for all too long been excluded

> The insistence that language is constitutive of reality rather than merely reflective of it,suggests that contemporary critical theory has come to occupy a position very similar to,if not the same as,that of the Greek rhetoricians for whom the mastery of language meant mastery of the state....The similarity lies not in the common focus upon literature's audience ...but....rather in the common perception of language as a form of power.
> (Tomkins 1980)

b) texts:"the always-already-read".(79)

> The frontiers of a book are never clear cut:beyond the title,the first line and the last full stop,beyond its internal configuration,its autonomous form,it is caught up in a sytem of references to other books,other texts,other sentences:it is a node within a network..the book is simply not the object that one holds in one's hands;and it cannot remain within the relative paralleliped that contains it:its unity is variable and relative.As soon as one questions that unity it loses its self-evidence;it indicates itself,constructs itself,only on the basis of a complex field of discourse.
> (Foucault 1972.)

"Not literature,but writing,"insists Barthes.(78) The old certainties about literature and a canon of texts,pre-supposed by the stories of reading reviewed earlier,have been destabilised by contemporary theory.New understandings about literary texts,how they work,produce their effects,and about their authors and readers entail radically different assumptions that will influence classroom practice by enabling or foreclosing upon certain kinds of activities.

The distinction between literature and non-literature,which Scholes (1985) identifies as one of the three major organising binary oppositions of subject English,cannot "survive a critique that succeeds in separating literariness from value,yet that is precisely what all the formal and structural studies of past decades

have enabled us to do." Both the content and the practices of subject English are thereby called into question.The objectivist model which viewed the literary text as an autonomous verbal structure or as the unified organic expression of an individual's heightened sensibility has been undermined by a communication model of literature as discourse.(79) Such a model regards the literary text as being on a par with other texts as "socially situated,enabled and necessitated discourse." In this model a text may be defined as a set of signals transmitted through some medium from a sender to a receiver in a particular code or set of codes.The receiver of such a set of signals,perceiving them as a text,proceeds to interpret them according to the code or codes that are available and appropriate.Its literariness is understood in terms of the "various productive and receptive behaviours of literature-using societies" rather than of any inherent textual properties.Literary discourse is simply one of many discourses operating in society and like others it is "the product and expression of the broadly based facts of social and economic organisation".The pedagogical implications of the development of a theory of literature as discourse are far reaching:"to put it directly,and perhaps as brutally as possible,we must stop teaching literature and start teaching texts."(Scholes 1985) But which texts?

Literature,Barthes observes bluntly,is what gets taught.But if,for example,the canon,at whatever level,for canons are differentiated,is revealed as a purely arbitrary selection of texts,then its composition may be contested and what was once excluded may be restored.Just such a canonical re-arrangement has been achieved by feminists of a liberal humanist persuasion.(80) But this reformist position is unsatisfactory insofar as the promotion of an "alternative canon of women's writing has upheld both the idea of a canon and the dominant practices of reading within education."(81) A similar objection may be made against the manner in which media studies is often included in the English curriculum.(82) A reformist move of this kind is ultimately counter productive because it is "caught between negativity (rejecting what is dominantly affirmed) and complicity (granting primacy to what they oppose)".(Macdonell 1986) An altogether different starting point is required which rejects the terms of the existing framework as inappropriate.Such a radical new starting point is provided by the notion of texts as signifying practices.There is no shortage of texts,verbal and visual,and beyond them,the "institutional practices and social structures that can themselves be usefully read as codes and texts." (Scholes 1985) The field of signifying practices is nothing if not extensive,(83),easily encompassing last night's tv news,King Lear,a school science text book,parental handout,a recorded classroom discussion

or Adrian Mole. Several consequences follow upon such a broad conception of texts.Curriculum is a selection from culture,and the notion of a canon,externally derived,worked against any great participation by schools in that selection process.To reject the idea of the fixed canon enables the transformation of the classroom from a site of cultural reproduction to one of cultural making.(84) The onus for the selection of texts rests more firmly upon those in the classroom.It may well be that teachers and learners in the classroom would wish to acknowledge what is culturally dominant in society,as well as what people actually read and the actual meanings they attached to particular texts,but there is no longer any need or justification for that cultural arbitrary being seen as either immutable or inevitable.(85) Moreover,the notion of texts would bring a far wider range of genres and forms into the classroom and so break the damaging virtual monopoly of literary realism now current.(86)

A further important consequence of literature viewed as discourse,the restoration of rhetoric,is the acknowledgement of the uses of texts,the ways in which they are employed and put to work in the world.It is a restoration of texts to their social contexts.:"we must open the way between the literary and verbal text and the social text in which they live...if we are to find our proper function as teachers once

again."(Scholes 1985).Texts do not simply exist in some free floating autonomous state,nor in some purely private individual interpersonal relationship between author and reader.Spoken and written texts are forms of activity and cannot be severed from the wider social relations in which their producers and audiences are involved.Texts are interventions in those social relations:"words,expressions,propositions etc., change their meaning according to the positions held by those who use them,which signifies that they find their meaning bty reference to those positions,i.e. by reference to the ideological formations in which those positions are inscribed."(Pecheux 1982) It is just such an understanding of the rhetoric of texts that underlies Stedman and Rose's respective studies of the Tidy House and Peter Pan texts.(87) It is an approach that is applicable to any text,fromKing Lear to an infant reading scheme.The recognition of the rhetorical function of texts entails the acknowledgement of what is normally excluded:contradiction,struggle,the material and social existence of knowledges,discourses and consciousness.This recognition of what Bennett calls the "social destinies of texts" calls for very different questions from the conventional ones of liberal humanism to be addressed to texts and their readers.To view the text as an instance of discourse is to focus upon the modes and conditions of the text,its origins,ownership and control;it is to question

what meanings and contests for meaning it displays,and to question whose interests are served by the dominant meanings attached to it.(88)

Whereas liberal humanism sought the meaning of a text,generally supposing it to be unitary and universal,structuralist and post-structuralist theory is concerned with how meaning is possible."The goal of all structuralist endeavour,whether reflexive or poetic,is to reconstitute the text so as to manifest the rules of its functioning." (Barthes) Genette's work (1980,1982) on the mechanics of narrative,for example,reveals how realist effects are produced by the text and made convincing for the reader.A position is created for the reader (narratee) and the narrator in and by the text,a position from which the text is intelligible.The reader is thus located in the text as part of the process of meaning construction.Genette concentrates entirely upon the textual structure,elucidating how it is possible for the text to mean.But the fact that a position exists within the text for the reader does not guarantee that the reader will necessarily come to occupy it."It is possible to analyse a discursive organisation,a system of address,a placing - a construction of the spectator...but this is not to say that any and every spectator will be completely and equally in the given construction". (89)

To theorise the way in which texts connect with their readers,how the reading position offered by the text comes to be occupied by the reader,Barthes posits five codes. (90) This series of codes is superimposed upon the narrative structure of the fictional text.They refer outwards from the text to establish connections for the reader with all the common sense knowledges and presuppositions current in society,with what Barthes refers to as the "scientific vulgate "of a culture.They are specific to particular cultures,but not to particular texts or even to a particular medium. The five codes enable but also constrain meanings.They allow,even enforce,plurality of meanings,but refuse the possibility of purely subjective meanings not only because all meanings derived from texts relate to shared codes,but also because subjectivity itself is to a large extent a discursive construct.Knowledge of the codes,generic and cultural,is essential for both author and reader.The author must be familiar with them in order to be able to articulate some combination of them that will be recognised as a text;the reader requires that familiarity in order to recognise the text as a text and to make meaningful connections between the fictional world of the text and the socio-cultural relations to which the text refers.Reading,therefore,is at least as much a knowledge as it is a skill.Knowledge of generic and cultural codes is essential:in order to make sense of a story we have to know what a story is.Without this knowledge,the reader is unable

to construct a fictional world or locate herself in it.Inability or failure to make meaning from a fictional text in this model is thus a factor of a certain kind of ignorance rather than of the "personality deformation" or insensivity presupposed by liberal humanism.(91) Realism is so limiting,doubly so when it is the only mode encountered,precisely because the operation of and reliance upon such codes is rendered so transparent.By concealing the means by which a text produces its effects,realism prevents the reader from recognising the constructedness of reality and of texts.

In recent years,considerable attention in higher education has been devoted to the identification and analysis of such codes in all manner of texts.Kermode (1983) describes how narrative "developed quite suddenly a central importance it had not possessed since Aristotle" and Hardy (1975) draws attention to narrative as a "primary act of mind ...transferred to art from life".(92) Writers from a Marxist perspective equally insist upon "the all informing process of narrative,which I take to be (here using the shorthand of philosophical idealism) the central function or instance of the human mind;"(Jameson 1981) and argue that we "cannot act or desire except in narrative;it is by narrative that the subject forges that chain of signifiers that grants its real condition of division sufficient imaginary cohesion to enable it to act."(Eagleton 1983)

But,as Rosen (1983) points out,teachers,have been absent from this great "academic debate about the value and nature of narrative as a means by which human beings represent and structure their world",a debate in which they have so much to contribute and learn.(93) If it is the case,as the textual evidence suggests,that "inside every non-narrative kind of discourse there stalk the ghosts of narrative,and that inside every narrative there stalks the ghosts of non narrative discourse",then "narrative is an explicit resource in all intellectual activity."(Rosen 1983) The question then posed for those involved in primary and secondary education concerns not so much the extensiveness of the operation of such narrative codes as their acquisition.Rosen pleads powerfully for the oral narratives of children,the texts which they produce from within whatever linguistic resources they bring with them to school,to be incorporated and used in the classroom.The recognition of the very varied narrative competences exhibited by children would amount to a reconstitution of cultural capital,rather than the re-distribution usually attempted by the school.It would also do much to redraw the second binary opposition detected by Scholes (1985) in the practice of English,namely that between production and consumption,with in our capitalist society,the privileging of consumption.There is a real need to

> perceive reading not simply as consumption but as a productive activity,the making of meaning in which one is guided by the text one reads but not

> simply manipulated by it;and to perceive writing as an activity that is also guided and sustained by prior texts.The writer is always reading and the reader is always writing.
> Scholes 1985

The post-structuralist dissolution of the boundaries between creative and critical texts puts the unity which has proved so elusive to subject English within grasp."Our rebuilt apparatus must be devoted to textual studies with the consumption and production of texts thoroughly intermingled."

To view the text as an instance of discourse has inevitable consequences for the author."The authors need us,we don't need the authors",(94) has been the cry of the reader response revolution.As Barthes says,"the birth of the reader must be at the cost of the death of the author".There has been a loss of faith in the universal wisdom of the author of literary texts.A view which assumed that the text,however indirectly,gave the reader access to the personality or world view of the author who was often conceived as a genius,always as an individual,removed from ideology and dealing with transcendental,universal human values,is no longer tenable.For if texts are constructions,rather than expressions,in language and genres whose ideological impregnation may be only imperfectly controlled and recognised by their authors,then the author becomes a less interesting figure,perhaps redundant,eclipsed by not fully knowing what she is doing.

Literature is simply productive labour.(Macherey 1978) The idea of the artist as creator of the literary work from nothing is an illusion,derived from Aristotle.The writer,Macherey argues,is engaged in the process of literary production,which follows exactly the same pattern of other forms of production,namely the transformation,through labour,of "certain determinate materials (the language and ideologies which constitute his conceptual world) into a determinate product (the literary work)".(95) Pre-existing literary genres conventions and ideologies are worked into end products which can never be fully permeated by authorial intention.At the same time that the writer is working upon the world of signs and codes from within,so she is being written by language in the act of writing it.Thus,"the text both says more than it knows,and knows more than it says".Far from being organic unities,texts are necessarily incomplete and contradictory,characterised by absences and silences over which the author has no control.The writer's work makes ideology,and all its suppressed contradictions,visible.Ideology is transformed by the act of writing in the same way that a playscript is transformed by performance:it is staged and thus made vulnerable.(96) As for the author's originality,that is seen to be as illusory as her control of the text.

we now know that the text is not a line of words

> releasing a single theological meaning (the message of an author-god) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings ,none of them original,blend and clash.The text is a tissue of qiuotations draw from innumerable centres of culture.
> (Barthes)

The writer does not express her own subjectivity,but constructs a text by assembling intertextual fragments:"the writer can only imitate a gesture that is always anterior,never original.His only power is to mix writings,to counter the ones with the others,in such a way as never to rest on any of them".(Barthes)

The consequences of literature viewed as discourse are equally far reaching for the reader.For Barthes the most valuable reading is that which highlights the structuring activity of reading."What is at stake in literary work (in literature as work) is making the reader no longer a consumer but a producer of the text." Freed from the constraints imposed by earlier notions of authorial control and the unitary meaning of the text,the reader is able to produce the text without ever exhausting its possibilities:

> In the multiplicity of writing,everything is to be disentangled ,nothing deciphered ;the structure can be followed,"run" (like the thread of a stocking) at every point and at every level,but there is nothing beneath;the space of writing is to be ranged over,not pierced;writing ceaselessly posits meaning ceaselessly to evaporate it

> ,carrying out a systematic exemption of meaning.In precisely this way literature (it would be better from now on to say writing),by refusing to assign a "secret" ,an ultimate meaning ,to the text(and to the world of the text),liberates what may be called an anti-theological activity,an activity that is truly revolutionary since to refuse to fix meaning is,in the end,to refuse God and hypostases-reason,science,law.
> (Barthes 1977)

Although the reader has usurped the place of the author as producer of the text in recent theory,there is very real disagreement as to the implications of this move.For those critics known as the Yale school of deconstructionists (97) the refusal to fix meaning leads ultimately to reading practices which adopt a "hermetic " view of the texts.The text is seen as radically self-reflexive and non-referential,beyond the reach of all criticism and quite disconnected from the world.By contrast,other theorists (98) argue that language is based upon reference as well as difference and adopt a "secular" view of the text which sees the text as "historically grounded in public occasions and socially supported codes".It is such a "secular" view of texts that is advocated here.

Whereas liberal humanism presupposed or advocated an innocent reader,free from ideology and prejudice,one who was simply sensitively alert to the words on the page,a "secular" view insists that "an ideological bias can lead a critical reader to make a given text say

more than it apparently says,that is,to find out what in that text is ideologically presupposed,untold".(Eco 1979) It is not a question of a preference for a reader who is socially and historically situated.No other kind of reader is available or possible.Readers are "divided psyches traversed by codes.Leaving the reader free to interpret is an impossibility.The free reader is simply at the mercy of the cultural codes that constitute each person as a reader,and of the manipulative features of the text,the classroom,and the whole reading situation as well." (Scholes 1981) The only question concerns the extent to which the reader is aware of,or acknowledges,the location from which she reads.Students need to be brought into the theoretical debate so that they can see that naturalism and realism are not simply neutral choices of style,but are world views with particular social consequences.(99) It is in fact easier and more reasonable to ask a student to interpret a text from a particular ideological stance than it is to urge them to look at the text and then into his or her own heart and write.Although the latter sounds natural it is,Scholes argues,more diffficult and confusing "because the novice critic,like the novice poet has no 'heart' to speak of,for what we are talking of here is not some ontological essence but a discursive quality,a function of style".

Macherey (1978) argues that the text may be read in two ways:either for consolation or inspiration,or

for knowledge.The first way of producing the text amounts to a closed circle of repetitions or textual paraphrases.It is ideology in action,unbeknown to the reader,who simply accepts the textual position offered,submits to the effects produced by the text and then is returned to herself at the conclusion.Despite much talk about interrogating the text,it is precisely such submission to the text that so many activities in secondary subject English are designed to achieve.In contrast to this reading "with"the text,Macherey proposes reading "against the grain"(100),a conscious and deliberate practice of analysis,in which the reader is alert to the "more" that the text either says or knows.Whereas as the first kind of reading is merely concerned with the education of taste,the second produces knowledge.It is possible to produce knowledge from texts because "works of art are processes not objects,for they are never produced once and for all ,but are continually susceptible to reproduction".Meaning is thus a transitive phenomenon,as Bennett argues,and only produced and always differently,within the reading relatiins that regulate the encounters between texts and readers.In order to be able to produce knowledge in this manner,however,the reader must have not only acquired the appropriate interpretive codes,but also have come to see them as codes.Reading codes are always learned and texts only come to have meaning in relation to discursive conventions and habits of reading.For that reason,"instruction in reading must both socialise and

desocialise.....students need to acquire the interpretive codes of their culture,but they also need to see them as codes,so that they can appreciate those texts that reshape accepted ideas and at the same time defend themselves against the manipulative exploitation of received opinion".(Scholes 1981)

Texts do "come before us as the always-already-read".They are overcoded and overworked because of their inscription within a whole range of social, material and institutional relationships.They are always "half someone else's" so that it is always difficult to force them "to submit to one's own intentions and accents".But since they have "no meaning which can be traduced",they can be made to "render up our true history in the interests of a politics of change".(101)

c) subjectivity.

> The I that approaches the text is itself already a plurality of other texts,of codes which are infinite or more precisely lost (whose origin is lost) .Subjectivity is generally imagined as a plenitude with which I encumber the text,but in fact this faked plenitude is only the wake of all the codes that constitute me,so that ultimately my subjectivity has the generality of stereotypes. (Barthes 1975)

The stories of reading reviewed in the first part of this chapter envisaged the human subject upon whom literature was held to exert such a transformative influence as unified,coherent and autonomous,the author and origin of action and meaning.What emerges from the accounts discussed in the second half of the chapter appears to be less a person than a role,a mere construction of the text.The stable solid ego or the fragmented discursive construct.There is a world of difference between the two.Like theories of the text,theories of subjectivity do not exist in isolation,but influence and are influenced by wider socio-political theories.They inform our practice as well as our theorising in a far reaching manner.

In a recent discussion of the extent to which social sciences and literature share in common their understandings of the self,Potter et al (1984) identify several recurrent types.The most basic concept of the self

employed in literature is that of the "honest soul" - trait theory is its social scientific equivalent - whose actions are seen to stem naturally from their personality rather than from the demands of a particular situation. For this notion of the self "the frame of reference demands one thinks in terms of characteristics and dispositions maintained consistently across different situations and throughout a lifetime".Traits and actions are viewed as expressive of the subject's true unified nature.The second basic concept of the self,which has various forms,is centred upon the idea of performance.Human life is viewed as a play in which individuals learn to act out several roles during their lifetime.This version accommodates the two basic facts of society and of individual personality "by developing the notion of social roles which describe the site of interaction between self and society and fix the person in entirety".

This idea of roles,however,allows for the possibility of role conflict and identity crisis.A split self,therefore emerges comprised of a social self which acts out the roles and a real or authentic self which surveys the performances.A variety of responses are possible to this double self.W.James,for example,accepts the division and teases out the implications of a private self behind the roles by positing the "I" and the "me".(102) Other versions are more conflictual.The romantic self-fulfilment model of the self (of which there are "natural" and "willed"

versions) assumes that each individual has a distinctive real self - "a set of qualities traits and aspirations that are right for them" - which can only be discovered through discarding the inauthentic.The "real me" thereby discovered,however,bears a remarkable similarity to the "honest souls" of trait theory,solid,consistent and in harmony with the social world.All these "representations of the nature of the self share the assumption that people are indeed defined by substantial entities,their selves,which sit within and,queen bee like,direct and unify operations".(Potter 1984) It is this basic assumption of a unified core self,common to all our everyday conceptions of identity and subjectivity,which recent theory problematises.The subject is decentred:the core is characterised by absence.

Notions of the stable unified self are deeply embedded in our thinking.They underlie the mode of representation in most realist fiction (103) and the dominant liberal humanist mode of reading which seeks character consistency and development.They also underlie many of the assumptions and practices of the personal growth model of English teaching.The teachers in St.John Brooks' study who viewed life as a project of self-fulfilment are only an extreme example of what underlies much current thinking and practice about what students' creative writing

expresses or how students' reading contributes to their development.Whatever else is assumed by the personal growth (or development) model of English teaching,the unified self,author of meanings and actions,is central.As Rorty says "concepts of identity ..remain as undercurrents in our lives,they provide the norms by which we judge ourselves and others.Implicitly,they form our conceptions of the principles that ought to guide our choices."(104)

These accounts of subjective experience,however,are dependent upon the available linguistic resources,upon the existence and usage of such words as I and me;they reflect our systems for making sense of the world rather than a basic inner experience.(105) Heath has argued recently that the "subject/author as originating consciousness,authority for meaning and truth is the mythic site par excellence in our society".The origins of the myth are traceable to particular socio-historical circumstances rather than to a universal human nature.Our language and institutions support and produce both particular forms of subjectivity and also ways of conceptualising it."Any society will produce those modes of subjectivity which it deems in general appropriate to the furtherance of its own ends.(Eagleton 1985) It does so,Eagleton argues,in our society through a "moral technology" such as literature,"whose function is to map,measure,assess and certificate the emotive and

experiential aspects of subjectivity,which in our form of society will tend to be called simply 'human'." Subjectivity,and concepts of subjectivity,can be shown to change,as the influence of the novel witnesses,and we are now,according to Foucault,in just such a period of change as the reassertion of the primacy of language undermines the certainties of man as the source of meaning.(106)

> man is neither the oldest nor the most constant problem that has been posed for human knowledge...one can be certain that man is a recent invention..(the) appearance of man ..was an effect of a change in the the fundamental arrangements of knowledge.As the archaeology of our thought easily shows,man is an invention of recent date.And one perhaps nearing its end.If those arrangements of knowledge were to disappear as they appeared...then one can certainly wager that man would be erased,like a face drawn in the sand at the edge of the sea.
> (Foucault 1970)

This contrasting picture of subjectivity which sees the subject as divided,unstable and decentred derives partly from the work of Foucault on discourse,from Lacan's re-reading of Freud and Althusser's work on ideology.This has enabled a very different picture of the subject to emerge.

> "to think of individual human subjects,coherently unified individuals ,as the source of meanings,the originators of action and discourse is to think ideologically-to fail to realise that 'the individual' is an ensemble of social relations,and that action and discourse are to be accounted for in terms of systems of relations (of production,of meaning,of significance) which are dominant over and actually constitute or construct the 'individual' and of which that 'individual'is largely ignorant or necessarliy unconscious.

.Sharratt 1982

Lacanian criticism has developed a materialist analysis of the speaking subject in which the function of language is seen,not as communication, but as the provision of a place from which the subject can speak.It is a firmly materialist theory in its emphasis upon "the subject in the social process,a subject constructed as always already included by those social processes,but never simply reducible to being a support".(Coward and Ellis 1977) His account of Freud does not deny creativity,but it does restore the sense of subjection to the word 'subjectivity'.The subjection is to language:language has primacy over subjectivity.According to Lacan a human subject only comes into being when it acquires a consciousness,or a concept of self.This occurs in what is called the mirror stage by pointing to an image which does not require self knowledge.The recognition of this difference is the first in a long and ceaseless sequence of splittings of the subject,in which each affirmation,presence or occupation of a discursive space entails at the same time absence,repression and re-location rather than satisfaction of desire.Freud's account of the unconscious is re-written in terms of the signifier and the signified:"the unconscious is structured like a language".(Lacan)
the construction of the subject is a complex matter,since it involves a notion of splitting or separation of the subject:first from its sense of continuum with the mother's body;then with the illusory identity and totality of the ideal ego of the mirror stage;and finally a separation by

which the subject finds itself a place in the symbolisation.It is this construction which creates the subject and the unconscious,and involves imaginary and symbolic relations.
(Coward and Ellis 1977).

The human subject enters a pre-existing system of signifiers which take on meanings only within a language system.Because "no meaning is sustained by anything other than reference to other meaning",(Lacan) the subject's entry into a language system enables it to find a subject position within a relational system,such as that provided by familial relations.To be able to speak,the child has to differentiate between "I" and "you",to employ the correct pronoun and adopt a subject position as boy/girl,son/daughter.All the subject positions from which the child learns to speak entail a whole range of linguistic and behavioural possibilities and constraints which pre-date the child.None of the subject positions fully 'holds' the subject;indeed many of them contradict each other.Subjectivity,therefore,is a "matrix of subject positions".

> Language may be learned before the subject acquires a position in the symbolic (the relations governed particularly by the family,perhaps also by the state church etc. But it is only when this positionality has been achieved that the desire of the subject will develop according to the constraints imposed by these formations.(Coward and Ellis)

All individuals therefore attain their subjectivity by mastering symbolic and cultural codes,by being positioned in

a particular relationship from which they are able to speak.But they can never do so with full presence,the subject of the enunciation and the subject of the enunciating are always discontinuous. Human subjects thus are never finally formed or present but endlessly re-formed by and displaced across all the discourses in which they participate.The subject is a process,not a unity.In a recent book on Renaissance tragedy,Belsey (1985) gives a characteristically clear account of the new understandings of subjectivity as discursive construct rather than stable ego:

> To be a subject is to have access to signifying practices,to identify with the "I" of utterance and the "I "who speaks.The subject is held in place in a specific discourse,a specific knowledge,by the meanings available there.Insofar as signifying practice always precedes the individual,is always learned,the subject is a subjected being,an effect of the meanings it seems to possess.Subjectivity is discursively produced and is constrained by the range of subject positions defined by the discourses in which the concrete individual participates...In this sense existing discourses determine not only what can be said and understood but the nature of subjectivity itself,what it is possible to be.
> (Belsey 1985)

But although language is always there before the arrival of the individual human subject,ready to assign him or her to a range of speaking positions within discursive structures,the subjection to language is not fixed in form for ever.Because meanings are unstable,it is subjection rather than subjugation.

> .Signifying practice is never static and meanings are neither single nor fixed...Alternative discourses propose alternative

knowledges,alternative meanings.For these reasons,signifying practice is always the location of resistances.Since meaning is plural,to be able to speak is to be able to take part in the contest for meaning which issues in the production of new subject-positions,new determinations of what it is possible to be.....fiction as a location of meanings and contests for meaning is itself a political practice.Fiction defines and redefines the subject,problematises the areas of subjectivity which seem most natural,most inevitable most evidently given.It also addresses the subject.A specific text proffers a specific subject position from which it is most readily intelligible.It offers to pacify or disrupt,to impel or to enlist,constructing and naturalising a place for the subject in the process.

(Belsey 1985)

Such an understanding of subjectivity leads us back again to rhetoric,a long way from the stable self envisaged in the personal growth model.

This chapter has sought to bring together

some of the ideas developed in recent literary theory which have a bearing upon secondary English teaching.It has argued that these new understandings of language,texts and subjectivity undermine the often implicit theoretical assumptions which support much contemporary English teaching.The conception of literature as a form of discourse offers the possibility of redefining subject English as textual/cultural studies in such a way as to enable students to "deal critically and creatively with reality,and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world".Such a proposal represents a considerable challenge.It is not just that the new understandings are hard-won and likely to be perceived as a threat to an already beleaguered teaching profession.It is also that our practice is not in conformity with our theoretical knowledge.It is,after all,day to day classroom activities that are subverted by much of the theory discussed in this chapter as well as the way in which teachers think about their work.Institutional changes are slow and the development of new practices consonant with recent theory is likely to be a long struggle.Discourses move by clashes.Wholly fresh beginnings are impossible,and,as Kermode argues,the fate of heresies tends to be either nihilation or assimilation.Subject English is in too fragmented a state to enforce nihilation of recent theory,but the dangers of cosy assimilation,with the attendant drawing of radical teeth,are real,as evidenced by

American ego-psychology and deconstruction.As Scholes argues

in his most recent book,

> we cannot replace the (subject English) apparatus because we are implicated in it.We cannot shut it down because it sustains our professional lives.We must keep it running while we rebuild it extensively.
> (Scholes 1985)

Footnotes to Chapter Nine.

1. The origins go back to Plato,but the modern versions with which this chapter is concerned date essentially from around the time of Newbolt.Even within that space the variations are huge,enabling a multiplicity of pedigrees to be claimed for a particular version.Books such as Practical Criticism are now old enough to be rediscovered by teachers who have never encountered them before.Rosenblatt's work on transactive reading was published between the wars in America at an unpropitious time in the academic climate,but has appeared quite recently in this country and treated as contemporary.

2. Yorke's work was based upon a questionnaire survey administered to over 300 secondary school English teachers.

3. As in the Scarman Report (1981).See fn.3. page 119 above.

4. See Allen (1980) for a detailed account.See Complete Diversity-or disarray in the Times Higher Ed.Sup. 11.ii.1983. for a synopsis of the contemporary battle in higher education.

5. "knowledge of Goethe,a delight in the pooetry of Rilke,seemed no bar to personal and institutionalised sadism.Literary values and the utmost of hideous inhumanity could co-exist in the same community and in the same individual responsibility.....The capacity for imaginative reflex,for moral risk in any human being is not limitless;on the contrary it can be rapidly absorbed by fictions,and thus the cry in the poem may come to sound louder ,more urgent,more real than the cry in the street outside.The death in the novel may move us more potently than the death in the next room.
(Steiner.1966).

6. It is an argument she pursues in Tellers and Listeners as well as elsewhere.See the articles in The cool web.

7. See also St.John Brooks' study (1982) for an account of student perceptions of this interpersonal approach.

8. See D.Hargreaves (1982) and Woods (1979) for discussion of the defensive strategies adopted by teachers.

9. The hostility to theory is certainly evident in Leavis' reply to Wellek (Scrutiny 1937)

> "My whole effort was to work in terms of concrete judgments and particular analyses:'This-doesn't it?-bears such a relation to that;this kind of

> thing-don't you find it so?wears better than that',etc." And it has largely remained."

10. The new emphasis upon language as inevitably socio-historically situated utterance,for example,whilst employing different terminology in fact signals a revival of interest in rhetoric.
The five issues relating to a theory of literature are well discussed in Jefferson and Robey (1982).

11. The personal growth model is referred to throughout this chapter.The critique here is not restricted to Dixon's book Personal growth through English,but bears upon a whole movement within English teaching for which the publication of that book was something of a watershed.Whilst critical of that movement,there is no intention here to deny or minimise its very real achievements.

12 See Fowler (1981) for an excellent overview.See also Jefferson and Robey (1982).

13. Baldick (1983) contains a good account of the work of I.A.Richards.

14. There are major differences between the two as regards their view of subjectivity.Harding was much influenced by Jung and many of his most influential articles upon the teaching of literature in which emphasis is placed upon the integration of the full personality.Richards takes a more conflictual view,but the goal there too is harmony,reconciliation.Neither accepted the radically split subject derived from Freud.The idea of harmony derived from literature is still current for example in the work of Holbrook.

> A man cannot plough a field well,or vote satisfactorily,or take part in the social context of his factory adequately,or raise a famliy competently,unless he is to some degree a mature and civilised creature.How does he achieve that civilisation? Largely through his language:if he speaks the English language,his will be an English civilisation.And his civilisation will largely depend not upon his use of language in a practical "non-fictional" way,but upon the complex flux of language to and fro in fictionaland imaginative ways.
> Holbrook:English for Meaning (1981)

15. See also Eagleton (1983) and Doyle (1981).

16. Both were close associates of Leavis,although both later became estranged.They were also both involved with Scrutiny.Richards' work resulted in the practice of practical criticism,still in place long after he left the country,whilst Harding continued to contribute to NATE conferences until recently.Harding's work was also

influential upon Britton in the development of his model of language.

17. D'Arcy (1973) gives a full account of these experiments.They have been well discussed more recently in Potter et al 1984.Holub (1984) gives a very good overview of empirical work - and its limitations - in reader response research.Purves (1973) reports on an international study of response to literature which,whilst still subject to some of the criticisms mentioned above,does move a long way from the universalising tendencies evident elsewhere.The report concludes:

> Response to literature is a learned behaviour,this study seems to find.It is modified by what the student reads and it is affected by his culture,and,presumably,by his school as an inculcator of that culture.Response to literature might be said to be a "cognitive style",a way of thinking about literary experience, a way of ordering that thinkig for discourse.If it is learned,the curriculum maker must then deal with the question of what is to be learned.The IEA study implies that there are alternatives as to what might be learned.One could learn a single pattern of response which is the cultural norm and which could seek to override any tendency to be influenced by the specific text.One could learn a pattern that is determined by the text-again on a norm of how most people respond to that text.One could learn-or be encouraged -to follow one's whim regardless of cultural norm or textual norm.One could learn a variety of patterns and be left free to apply one or other pattern as one sees fit.There are other possibilities as well.To choose amongst them,one must consider the implications of each possibility for the student,for literature as an art form,and for the society of which that student will be a part.
> Which of those choices educators make is not the concern of this study.The cenrtal point of this study is that educators must realise that they have a choice;that despite the influence of different literary works on these patterns schools seem to indoctrinate students into a pattern of repsonse which may have a larger ramifications than what one asks about a given short stiry.The ramifications touch upon the nature of the material offered in school.The ramifications touch upn the strategy of the Literature curriculum.In sum,although the study leaves uncertain the effetcs of school on the ability of students to read literature and on the students' interest in reading literatrue in their spare time,it points to the potentially profound efects of schools on the patterns of questioning and response of students.To realise that effect and to plan education in terms of that effect might welll be the concern of the curriculum amkers in Literature.

18. See Texts,readers,reading formations by Bennett (1984) in Literature and History.

19. His views have gained wide currency through their inclusion in Meek's The cool webwhich represents,in many ways,the 'best that has been thought and said' about children,books,teachers and reading prior to the advent of structuralism.

20. See for example Pratt's excellent discussion (1977) of the oral narratives collected by Labov.See also Rosen (1983) who discusses more briefly recent work upon oral narrative.

21. See Norris (1985) for an account of the present relationship between philosophy,theory and literature.

22. This is detailed in Hepburn.

23. Wittgenstein (1953).
The idea of seeing-as has been particularly influential in aesthetics.Casey (1966) and (1973) develops the idea in relation to fiction.See also Foreman-Peck (1983) Most writers on aesthetics have tended to employ Wittgensteinian ideas in defence of pre-structuralist ideas of literature,but see Eagleton (1986) for an interesting view of Wittgenstein's "radical" connections.

24. Wittgenstein 1966.

25. Hepburn has in mind Werther or existential hero stereotypes.The underlying romantic assumption,even in Hepburn's criticism,about originality and individuality is revealing.Recent thought is altogether kinder to the idea of stereotypes.Barthes,for example,says that "ultimately my subjectivity has the generality of sterotypes."

26. The conservative views of the text and reader implied in this comment are echoed in his views on other social issues.

27. Wimsatt (1958).The theoretical stance of the American New Critics is well discussed in Belsey (1980) and Jefferson and Robey (1982).

28. Rosenblatt's work was first published in America in 1938,but has only recently appeared in this country.It has

proved popular because of the importance assigned to the reader's life experience in helping to shape the reading.

> "Through the medium of words,the text brings into the reader's consciousness certain concepts,certain images of things,people,actions,and scenes.The special meanings,and more particularly the submerged associations that these words ad images have for the indvidual reader will largely determine what the work communicates to him.The reader brings to the work personality traits,memories of past events,present needs and preoccupations,a particular physical condition.These and many other elements in a never to be repeated combination determine his response to the particular contribution of the text."

There are,however,few new readerly rights in her account,for the text remains very firmly in control during the transaction.Indeed it appears at times to revert to the hypodermic syringe model of reading whereby the author's experience is transferred to the reader:

> "fundamentally the process of understanding a work implies a recreation of it,an attempt to grasp completely the structural sensations and concepts through which the author seeks to convey the quality of his sense of life.Each must make a new synthesis of these elements with his own nature,but it is essential that he evokes those components of experience to which the text actually refers".

29. See Wright (1984) and (1982) for a good account of the background.Farrell (1981) offers a detailed account of psychoanalytic theory from a viewpoint that is less concerned with literary theory.

30. Gombrich's work (1960) has been influential in demonstrating the relevance of gestalt psychology to the arts.

31. See particularly Klein (1959),and also Guntrip (1968),Fairbairn (1952) and Winnicott (1974).A detailed and appreciative account of their work appears in Holbrook (1971),although the discussion there is hostile to Freud.

32. Wright (1984).

33. See Holbrook (1971,1980) and Abbs (1982).

34. The quotations from Winnicott are all from Playing and reality (1974).

35. see Abbs,Holbrook,Harrison.

36. The idea of the third realm is developed by Leavis in several of his later books (1975,1976) where he also draws upon the work of Polyani (1973) whose notion of tacit knowledge offered a similar solution to the subject/object problem.

37. Wright (1984).Wright's account of Winnicott's work includes the discussion of recent work in France by Green who has tried to combine an approach to literature that employs ideas drawn from both Lacan and Winnicott.

38. see Suleiman (1980) for a critical account of Holland.Also Eagleton (1983).

39. Holland's work is drawn upon in Protherough 1983.

40.Holland has always been quite explicit that this process of self replication or duplication .See PMLA 90 (1975) an essay called Unity Identity Text Self.

41. Eagleton's phrase (1983)

42. See Scholes (1985) for a good discussion of Fish's work.Full discussions are also contained in Suleiman (1980) and Tomkins (1980).

43. See also Ray (1984)

44. Articles upon Iser have appeared in English in Education and his work is regularly cited in discussion of literature teaching.See Protherough (1983,1986);Jackson (1983);Hayhoe and Parker (1984);Fry (1985).

45. Iser draws variously upon speech act theory,social psychology;gestalt psychology;phenomenology.

46. Only rarely,however,are Iser's ideas discussed when they are cited in support of the personal growth model of reading.It is as if,at a time when this approach is under theoretical attack from structuralist and post-structuralist flanks,Iser's theory is taken for granted,welcomed simply because it is a theory.

47. The first quotation is Holub (1984);the second is Prawer in a lecture (1983).

48. Saul Bellow.lecture in Oxford 1983.
49.See ,for example:The implied reader (Booth 1961);The real,virtual or ideal reader,as opposed to the narratee (Prince 1973);the mock reader (Gibson 1950);the superreader (Riffaterre 1966).This variety of posited readers is well

discussed in Tomkins (1980) and Suleiman (1980)

50. Fowler (1981).

51. cited Holub (1984).

52. Ray (1984).

53. see Culler (1975,1981).

54. Eagleton (1986)

55. Eagleton (1986)

56. Eagleton (1986)

57. in the sense used by Bakhtin.See Bakhtin (1981) and also p 509ff below

58. Belsey (1980) citing Lacan (1977)

59. see particularly Coward and Ellis (1977);Easthope (1983);Fowler (1981).

60.see "State and language:peter pan as written for the child" in Steedman 1985.She describes how early language policy at the turn of the century drew a distinction between "a language of elementary experience and one of cultural style"

state policy on language was directed towards a rigorous separation of these forms of language between the different sectors of the education system.A whole new concept of 'synthetic' language was developed in the public elementary schools,a language to be based upon the impressions of the visible world,as distinct form the classical and literary language which was simultanesouly taught in the secondary schools.

61. Eagleton (1983).

62. Eagleton (1983).

63. Belsey (1980)

64. see Genette (1980);Todorov (19819;Barthes (1967).

65. Althusser's critique of essentialism includes "all 'epistemologies'that oppose a given subject to a given object and call knowledge the abstraction by the subject of

the essence of the object."
(Althusser 1977 cited Young 1981)

66. Eagleton (1983).

67. see Young (1981).

68.see Jefferson and Robey (1982)

69. See Burgess (1984);Scholes (1985,1981).

70. The two ILEA English Centre discussion documents for teachers,The English Curriculum:Race;The English Curriculum :Gender,both draw upon such a concept.

71. The details of Bakhtin's biography and publications are uncertain,but it seems likely that he is largely responsible for the work of Volosinov.Todorov (1985) contains a good discussion of his work,and Eagleton (1986) contains a fascinating account of Bakhtin's possible connections with Wittgenstein and a good comparison of their views on language.White (1984) (in Gloversmith 1984) argues an extremely helpful comparison of Bakhtin's work with deconstruction.See also the introduction to Volosinov (1986)

72. Volosinov.(1986)

73. Pecheux (1982).
See also Deleuze and Guattari (1981):

> there is no language in itself,nor any universality of language,but a concourse of dialects,patois,slangs,special languages.There exists no ideal 'competent ' speaker-hearer of language,any more than there exists a homogeneous linguistic community...There is no mother tongue,but a seizure of power by a dominant tongue within a political multiplicity.

74. Macdonell (1986).

75. Eagleton (1985).

76. See also Hardcastle (1985);Peim (1986) ;Exton in Meek and Miller (1984).

77. the phrase is Jameson's (1981)

> "we never really confront a text immediately in all its

freshness as a thing-in-itself.Rather,texts come before us s the always-already-read,and we apprehend them through sedimented layers of previous interpretations,or,if the text is brand-new,through the sedimented reading habits and categories developed by those inherited interpretive traditions."

78. Barthes (1977).

79. see Fowler (1981);Macdonell (1986);Easthope (1983).The 3 following quotations are from Fowler .

80. For example by Showalter (1978).This reformist approach has been criticised by Moi (1985) and Greene and Kahn (1986).Showalter's most recent book ed.(1986) includes more radical perspectives.

81. Macdonell (1986).

82. Many early attempts to acknowledge film and tv in English teaching were, often unwittingly,simply a relocation of the great tradition onto celluloid.See Masterman (1985) for a full account and an alternative view of media teaching which challenges the old organisational and selection criteria .

83. See Blonsky (1985) for a collection of essays applying semiotic analysis to a wide range of cultural practices.

84. see Burgess (1984).quoted above.

85. To pretend that the canon does not exist would be a counter productive move.Gramsci's argument is surely correct that the dominant culture must be appropriated.But the ability to do this is likely to be increased if students are enabled to see the codes of excluded cultures with which they are familiar as codes.

86. See Rose (1984) for a full discussion and ilustration of the extent to which children's fiction has become for its writers a defensive laager to protect realist notions from the depredations of modernism.
See also Scholes (1981):

> "Barthes has tried to show that the classic realist text is just as unoriginal as the popular,just as dominated by received opinions and formulaic gestures.realism has nothing to do with reality:it is simply a text that is readable because it is composed entirely of what is known already.The classic realist text is a tissue of cliches."

See also the Open University Popular Culture units for excellent discussions on realism.

87. See also Dollimore and Sinfield (1984);and Drakakis ed.(1985) on Shakespeare.

88.See Belsey :

> The reading practice implied by this entreprise - the production of a political history from the raw material of literary texts - is a result of all that post-structuralism has urged about meaning:its often marginal location,its disunity and discontinuity,as well as its plurality.In this way the text re-appears,but not as it 'reallly is',or'really was '.On the contrary,this is the text as it never was,though it was never anything else - dispersed,fragmented,produced,politicised.The text is no longer the centre of a self-contained exercise called literary criticism.It is one of the places to begin to assemble the political history of the present....The claim is not that such a history is more accurate,but only that it is more radical.No less partial,it produces the past not in order to present an ideal of hierarchy.,but to relativise the present,to demonstrate that since change has occurred in those areas which seem most intimate and most inevitable,change in those areas is possible for us.
> According to Foucault,who invents the verb 'to fiction' in order to undermine his own use of the word 'truth','one "fictions" a history starting from a political reality that renders it true,one "fictions" a politics that doesn't yet exist starting form a historical truth'. (Foucault 1979) I want to add this:the literary institution has fictioned a criticism which unctritically protests its own truth;we must instead fiction a literature which renders up our true history in the interest of a politics of change.
> (Belsey Literature,history ,politics.in Literature and History 9.i.1983.)

89. Heath.cited Bennett (1983).

90. See Hawkes (1977) for an introduction.See also Coward and Ellis (1977);Jefferson and Robey (1982).See Barthes (1975).

91. See the discussion of Harding in section i of this chapter.

92. see Hardy (1975)

> "Nature,not art makes us all storytellers.Daily and nightly we devise fictions and chronicles,calling some of them truths,records,reports and plans.Some of them we call or refuse to call,lies.Narrative imagination is a common human possesion,differentiating us,as Isocrates insisted from the animals and enabling us to

come together to found cities and invent arts.Isocrates is aware that we narrate to each other and to ourselves.
Hardy:Tellers and Listeners.

93. Rosen's later article "Making it Tell" (1984) continues the themes of the two lectures in Rosen (1983).

94. Eagleton (1986).

95. Griffith (1981).

96. See also Belsey (1980) and Forgacs (1982) for a discussion of Macherey.

97. See de Man (1971 ,1979);Bloom (1975);Hartman (1980).See Lentricchia (1980);Norris (1983,1985);Eagleton (1983) for a discussion of their work.

98. See Said (1983);Eagleton (1986);Jameson (1981).See Scholes (1985);Ray (1984) for a discussion of their work.

99. See Masterman (1985) for an account of this kind of approach in relation to the media.

100.
There is no document of civilisation which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.And just as such a document is not free of barbarism,barbarism taints also the manner in which it was transmitted from one owner to another.A historical materialist therefore dissociates himself from it as far as possible.He regards it as his tsak to brush history against the grain.
Benjamin cited Eagleton 1986.

101. This paragraph quotes from Jameson (1981);Bakhtin (1981) and Belsey (1983).

102. James distinguished between the I and the me.The total self is,he says,"duplex",partly known and partly knower,partly object and partly subject.The I is the thinker,the unifying principle of the stream of consciousness and the me is the known,the empirical ego and the contents of the streanm of consciousness.
Potter (1984).

103. Rorty cited Potter (1984).

104. See also Sharratt's account of reading (1982) p33.

To read Donne's Flea 'responsively','fully', 'appropriately' is to enter into a relationship with one's self that challenges the very coherence of that self;it is to create in the process of reading a palimpsest of "I"'s and "Others" in which the known ,stable "I" we normally identify with,identify ourselves as,is constantly effaced and lost;yet ,in the same movement...that coherent I is re-established...In subjecting myself to the reading I partially lose myself as subject,experience the I of the reading as constituted in and by the act of reading.Much of the time that stable everyday I is dominant;in reading extatically it is possible to glimpse the dissolution of that everyday I,to become aware of that I as always constituted.The grammar of the language does not finally allow an articulation of this dissolution,whatever the twist and turns of the offered formulations;inexorably the language leads back to the subject.Yet it is possible to recognise that subject as miscognition,and reading offers an accessible instance of that recognition.....Reading therefore both demonstrates or discloses the non-unity of the subject,opens on to the absence of the subject,yet also offers a constant recuperation of that unity:it is in reading that we can sometimes experience ourselves as most in control of ourselves as sources of meaning.....yet in the same moment of speaking we can seem most intimately obliterated,effaced,replaced by another voice which is not of our making but made by "the poem itself".

106. Coward and Ellis (1977).

CHAPTER TEN.Conclusions.

So far as the general research question addressed is concerned - (how do adolescents become confirmed readers of fiction?) - a number of conclusions may be drawn from this study.Detailed points as regards institutional and classroom practice have been made in chapter 7,and as regards the discourse of English,in chapter 9.This chapter seeks only to put those conclusions drawn from the study in their most general form.

The evidence presented supports the view that schools do indeed " make a difference" so far as the production of adolescent readers is concerned.The class and gender inflected readership patterns reported in Whitehead and elsewhere suggest a fixed cycle of cultural reproduction.The evidence here suggests there is considerable room for manoeuvre,even within the cultural framework as currently conceived.The particular classroom and institutional practices associated with higher readership at Baydon may or may not be replicable elsewhere.The important thing about those practices,however,is less their specificity or their transferability to other situations,than their common "deep structures",which concern power relations within the

classrooms and school at large.What characterised those practices at Baydon which were different from those elsewhere,was the extent to which teachers and learners had control over, and responsibility for,their work - definition,process and product.Those different social relations not only resulted in a different outcome as regards readership patterns,they also produced a different consciousness amongst students which showed itself in very different attitudes to and evaluations of their education,and amongst teachers as to what was possible within the education system.The main conclusion as regards this part of the study is that changed power relations and modes of working are essential if secondary schools are to break the cycle of cultural reproduction that pertains to readership.But that is not all that is necessary.

That part of the study which was concerned to understand the perceptions that adolescents have of the fiction they read,showed that readings as well as readers are socially produced.From the students' responses to the fiction they read,it is clear that for the great majority of the sample,initiation into the discourse of literature employed by their teachers was difficult.The conclusion from this part of the study is that the discourse - the personal growth model of English teaching - is inadequate both in theory and practice and should be challenged in favour of one more likely to produce greater educational equality and justice.No ready-made alternative is available,but the

wherewithal to produce it is there to hand, in the new theoretical understandings of language, texts and subjectivity, if we choose to take it.

NOTE ON TERMS USED.

A number of the term used in this report have complex histories and have acquired quite particular inflections in recent theory.Of these the most important are:subjectivity,ideology and discourse.

Subjectivity The most helpful starting point for an explanation of the new senses which attach to this word is Coward and Ellis (1977)

> Because all the practices that make up a social totality take place in language,it becomes possible to consider language as the place in which the social individual is constructed.In other words,man can be seen as language ,as the intersection of the social,historical and individual.It is for this reason that work on language has created consideration of man as "subject",that is the individual in sociality as a language-using,social and historical entity.Such a consideration can only lead to demystification of the complex and imprecise realm of "the human": it makes possible ,for the first time,a scientific analysis of the concept of "the human" which we suggest is a fundamental presupposition of bourgeois ideology....The "human " can be analysed as a socially constituted process which plays a material role in society.The category of "human essence" ..is no longer necessary....Ideology is conceived as the way in which a subject is produced in language,able to represent him/herself and therefore able to act in the social totakity,the fixity of those representtions being the function of ideology.

See also Belsey (1980 and 1985);Easthope (1983) and Eagleton (1983) for further discussion of subjectivity and its relation to psycho-analytic and linguistic theory.

ideology.

Eagleton (1976);Bottomore (1983);Williams (1976) all contain good discussions of the complications of this word.Boumelha's recent study of Hardy (1982) contains a succinct explanation of the term which accords with the sense in which it is used in the present study.

> It is to be understood,neither in the liberal sense of a body of more or less consciously held,overtly political beliefs,nor in the "vulgar" Marxist sense of "false consciousness",illusion at the level of ideas,either deliberately fostered and manipulated by certain individuals,groups or classes with the conscious motivation of self-or class-interest,or as a "spontaneous precipitate of one's position within the class structure",in Eagleton's phrase.Rather,"ideology" will be used in the sense made familiar by Althusser and some subsequent Marxist theorists:that is,as a complex system of representations by which people are inserted as individual subjects into the social formation.Its role - which is not to say that it is governed by any intention - is to offer a false resolution of real social contradictions by repressing the questions that challenge its limits and transposing,displacing,or eliding the felt contradictions of lived experience in a way that will permit of an apparent resolution.It is not illusory,for it is the condition of the way in which people experience their relation to the social relations of production;nor does it consist of a set of ideas.While ideology is real,then,in that it is compounded of lived experience,it is simultaneously "false",in that it obscures the nature of that experince ,by representing as obvious and natural what is partial,factitious and ineluctably social.That is not to say that it "expresses" or " embodies " class interest ,nor does it stand in any direct or spontaneous relation to modes or relations of production.Eagleton has argued that ideology "encodes the class struggle";in my use of the term,however,it will also encode other relations of power and dominance ,and principally that of male

dominance.But ideology is not a homogenous and overarching unity which is somehow imposedupon a passive or an acquiescent working class or female sex.Such categories are themselves constituted in iedology.There is,at any historical moment and in any domain of discourse,at least the possibility of a number of ideologies that may stand in contradiction or even conflict with one another,and it is in the confrontation and interrogation of these contradictions within and between ideologies that there inheres the possibility of change,as the primacy of the unifeid subject is unsettled by their evident partiality.

discourse.

MacDonell (1986) provides a clear introduction to the sense of discourse as it is used in the present study.

Dialogue is the primary condition of discourse:all speech and writing is social.Within and across countries,discourses differ.As Volosoinov wrote,"village sewing circles,urban carouses,workers' lunchtime chats etc.,will all have their own type.Each situation ,fixed and sustained by socal custom,commands a particular kind of organisation of audience".Discourses differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape,and with the positions of those who speak and those whom they address.The field of discourse is not homogeneous.

Discourse is social.The statement made,the words used and the meanings of the words used,depends on where and against what the statement is made:"in the alternating lines of a dialogue,the same word may figure in two mutually clashing contexts...Actually,any real utterance,in one way or another or to one degree or another,makes a statement of agreement with,or a negation of, something"(Volosinov) The kind of speech proper to the shop-floor of a facory conflicts with that of the boardroom.Different social classes use the same words in different senses and disagree in their interpretations of events and situations.

Recent work on discourse has gone beyond all this

and,while exploring the ways in which discourses are set up historically and socially,it has brought into view other differences in discourse besides those of class.This work has turned its gaze upon what was hitherto considered as a neutral area:the discourses of knowledge.....
A key issue,in several respects,has become that of accounting for "the positions and viewpoints" from which people speak and the "the institutions which prompt people to speak,which store and distribute the things that are said" (Foucault 1979).In accounting for various discourses,recent work has begun to write the history of those forces which shape our thinking and our knowledge.

A discourse ,as a particular area of language use,may be identified by the institutions to which it relates and by the position from which it comes and which it marks out for the speaker.That position does not exist by itself,however.Indeed it may be understood as a standpoint taken up by the discourse through its relation to another,ultimately an opposing,discourse.Managerial discourse spoken to workers can act against workers;and in such ways,a discourse takes effect indirectly or directly through it relation to,its address,another discourse.

APPENDIX I

The survey questionnaire from the Schools Council "Children and their Books" project.(Whitehead et al 1977)

In the present study some minor modifications were made to this form.Questions 14,15,16,17,18,22,were omitted.The other major difference was that in this study respondents were asked to put their names on the forms.

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HOW YOU FILL IN THE BOOKLET

For some of the questions we shall give you a set of answers and you will just have to choose one that is right for you by putting a tick in the box next to it like this ☑

You will only have to put one tick in one of the boxes.
For other questions, you have to write out the answer. You won't need to write very much and there will be a box to write it in.

Your answers will be completely private. Also do remember that this isn't an examination or a test so don't worry about spelling.

1 DO YOU REGULARLY READ ANY MAGAZINES (OR COMICS)?
Put a tick ☑ in the box by the answer you choose.

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 2.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' write a list of all the magazines (or comics) you read regularly. Write only one on each line. If you only read one or two, put those down.

Read down your list and put a tick ☑ after the one you most of all look forward to reading. Now go on to Question 2.

2 HAVE YOU READ A BOOK (OR BOOKS) IN THE LAST FOUR WEEKS?

Don't count books which a teacher said you must read as part of a lesson or for homework. Don't count stories which are told mainly in pictures.

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 8 on page 4.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' fill in pages 2 and 3.

Don't unfold this sheet until you have answered Questions 3, 4 and 5

3 WHICH BOOKS HAVE YOU READ IN THE LAST FOUR WEEKS?

Put down those books you got outside school and those you chose yourself from the class library or the school library.

Don't put down books that a teacher said you must read as part of a lesson or for homework.

Don't put down the names of stories told mainly in pictures.

Now, write down as many of the books that you've read in the last four weeks as you can remember. Put the author's name as well, if you can. It doesn't matter if you've only read one or two books, just put those down.

(We've written two books down to show you how to do it.)

TITLE	AUTHOR	
Journey with a Secret	D. Styles	
The Men and their Boats	B. Ashley	

4 HAVE YOU READ ANY OF THE BOOKS YOU'VE PUT DOWN MORE THAN ONCE? *If you have go back and underline it, like this.*

The Men and their Boats B. Ashley

5 WERE ANY OF THE BOOKS STORIES WHICH YOU DECIDED NOT TO FINISH? *If they were, go back and put crosses after them, like this.*

Journey with a Secret × D. Styles

Now unfold the sheet

Don't start this page until you've written your list of books on page 2

	6 WHERE DID YOU GET THE BOOK FROM?								7 HOW MUCH DID YOU LIKE THE BOOK?			
	I got it from the class library	I got it from the school library	I got it from the Public library	It belongs to me	I borrowed it from a friend	I borrowed it from someone in the family	I got it somewhere else	It was one of the best I've ever read	I liked it very much	I quite liked it	I did not like it much	I did not like it at all
		✓								✓		
			✓				✓					

Now, answer two questions about each of the books you've written down.
For every book, choose one of the answers to question 6 and one of the answers to question 7.
Put a tick on the same line as the book under the answer you choose.

(We've put ticks next to our books to show you how to do it.)

After you've filled in the boxes for the books in your list, you can write anything else you'd like to say about any of them in this space.

8 **DO YOU OWN ANY BOOKS YOURSELF?**

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 9.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' put a tick in the box by the answer which is nearest the number of books you own.

- ☐ I own up to 10 books
- ☐ I own up to 25 books
- ☐ I own up to 50 books
- ☐ I own up to 100 books
- ☐ I own more than 100 books

9 DO YOU HAVE A FAVOURITE WRITER, ONE WHOSE BOOKS YOU LIKE READING MORE THAN ANYONE ELSE'S?

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 10.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' write his or her name here.

10 ABOUT HOW MUCH READING DO YOU THINK YOU DO?
Put a tick in the box by the answer you choose.

- ☐ A large amount
- ☐ Quite a lot
- ☐ About average
- ☐ Not very much
- ☐ Only a little

11 DO YOU BELONG TO THE PUBLIC LIBRARY?
Put a tick in the box by the answer you choose.

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 12.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' tick the answer which is most nearly true for you.

- ☐ I go to borrow books twice a week
- ☐ I go to borrow books once a week
- ☐ I go to borrow books once a fortnight
- ☐ I go to borrow books sometimes

12 DO YOUR PARENTS, OR ANY OTHER ADULTS IN YOUR HOUSE, READ LIBRARY BOOKS?

☐ NO ☐ YES ☐ I DON'T KNOW

13 DO YOU HAVE ANY DAILY OR SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS IN YOUR HOUSE?

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 14.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' write down a list of those you have in your house. Write only one on each line.

14 DO YOU HAVE A TELEVISION SET AT HOME?

☐ NO ☐ YES

15 DID YOU WATCH TV LAST NIGHT? (IT DOESN'T MATTER WHETHER IT WAS AT HOME OR SOMEWHERE ELSE.)

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 16.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' for how long did you watch?

- ☐ Less than 1 hour
- ☐ More than 1 hour but less than 2 hours
- ☐ More than 2 hours but less than 3 hours
- ☐ More than 3 hours but less than 4 hours
- ☐ More than 4 hours

16 ARE THERE ANY TV PROGRAMMES YOU ALWAYS TRY TO WATCH?

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 17.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' write down their names here, one on each line, just the programmes you always try to watch.

17 HOW MUCH DO YOU LIKE SCHOOL?

- ☐ Very much
- ☐ Quite a lot
- ☐ I don't mind it
- ☐ I rather dislike it
- ☐ I don't like it at all

17a WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING SENTENCES TELLS HOW YOU FEEL ABOUT ENGLISH LESSONS?

Put a tick in the box by the answer you choose.

- ☐ English lessons are my favourite lessons
- ☐ I enjoy English lessons more than most other lessons
- ☐ I neither like nor dislike English lessons
- ☐ I enjoy English lessons less than most other lessons
- ☐ English lessons are the lessons I most dislike

17b AT WHAT AGE DO YOU EXPECT TO LEAVE SCHOOL?

Put a tick in the box by the answer you choose.

- ☐ 15
- ☐ 16
- ☐ 17
- ☐ 18

18 DO YOU LIVE WITH YOUR PARENTS?

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' go on to Question 19.

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' write down whom you live with.

Answer Questions 19 and 20 as if they were about the adults you live with.

19 DOES YOUR MOTHER GO OUT TO WORK?

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 20.

☐ YES
If you answer 'YES' write down the name of her job.

Now describe the wort of work she does.

(Note : Questions 17a and 17b were omitted from the 10+ questionnaires.)

WHAT IS YOUR FATHER'S JOB?

Write down the name of your father's job.

If your father is not working at present, write down the name of his last job.
Now describe the sort of work he does.

21 DO YOU HAVE ANY BROTHERS OR SISTERS?

☐ NO
If you answer 'NO' go on to Question 22.

☐ YES

If you answer 'YES' how many of them are older than you?
Put the number in the box.

How many of them are younger than you?
Put the number in the box

22 ARE YOU A BOY OR A GIRL?

☐ Boy

☐ Girl

23 HOW OLD ARE YOU? *Put your age, in years, in the box.*

24 WHAT IS YOUR DATE OF BIRTH?

Day _____ Month _____ Year _____

III Children's questionnaire administration instructions

1 This questionnaire should be completed on either Tuesday 23rd March, Wednesday 24th March, Thursday 25th March, or Friday 26th March, by the children for whom it is intended. It is important that the children who are filling in the questionnaire should do so as a single group as free as possible from distractions and not in a room with children who are not receiving the questionnaire.

2 Each questionnaire has a code number at the top right-hand corner of the front cover. It is very important that each child should receive the questionnaire which has on it his or her number as indicated on the attached list. An additional copy of the questionnaire is provided for the use of the administrator (please return this to us along with the completed copies).

3 To encourage the children to reply as frankly as possible, we have told them that their answers will be 'completely private'. We should be grateful if the teacher administering the questionnaire could lend strength to this assurance by removing the questionnaires from the envelope in front of the class and replacing them when they have been completed.

4 In general we ask the teacher who administers the questionnaire to show as little interest as possible in the content of children's answers and to confine his or her aid to those difficulties in procedure which the children cannot resolve themselves. Before children start answering please call attention

(a) to the instructions ('How to fill in the booklet') on the inside front cover;
(b) to the phrase 'in the last four weeks' in questions 2 and 3. Children may have difficulty in conceptualizing this period of time, and it would be useful to mention any local circumstance which could help to fix it in their minds. In some schools the questionnaire will be administered

APPENDIX II

Class texts studied by CSE groups during the fourth year.

Chilworth:

Salinger:Catcher in the rye;
Chambers:the chicken run;
Hines:Kes;
Naughton:selected short stories;
Hopper:Midnight express.

Draper:

Hines:Kes;
Wyndham:day of the triffids;
Naughton:selected short stories.

Baydon:

Remarque:all quiet on the Western front;
London:White fang;
Lee:to kill a mocking bird.

class texts studied by O level groups during their fourth year.

Chilworth

Orwell:Animal Farm;
Zindel:The Pigman;
Garner:red Shift;
Hall:the long,the short and the tall.

Draper
Lawrence:selected short stories;
Golding:Lord of the flies;
Orwell:1984;
Lee:to kill a mockingbird;
Shakespeare:Macbeth.

Baydon.

Gide:Symphonie pastorale;
Luchner:Woyzeck;
Pinter:three plays;
Shakespeare:Macbeth;
Lawrence:selected short stories;
Plato:last days of Socrates.

APPENDIX III.
Interview Schedules

a) preliminary fieldwork interviews with fourth year students.

These interviews concentrated upon five areas:

1. Tell me about the book that you are currently reading in English.How interesting,enjoyable,helpful etc.?

2. Tell me about the work and activities that are based upon the book.How interesting enjoyable,helpful etc.?

3. What fiction have you read this term outside the class reader?How would you rate the book on a 1-5 scale? How would you rate the class reader?

4. Where did you get the book(s) from?

5. What is reading fiction like?

b) preliminary fieldwork interviews with undergraduates.

These interviews concentrated upon five areas.

1. Tell me about your A level English course:
   - which texts
   - teaching methods
   - differences from other A level subjects in modes of working.
   - the most helpful activities in English.
   - differences from English lower down the school.

2. Tell me about your personal reading during the A level course:
   - increase/decrease
   - source of books
   - encouragement to read
   - discussion with other students,family or staff.

3. What changes,if any ,have there been in your reading,or in the activities related to your reading,since coming to university?

4. Why have you chosen to read English?

5. What,if anything,do you learn from reading fiction?

c) main study student interviews.Stage 1.(groups)

1. Tell me about the book you're currently reading in class.How interesting ,helpful,enjoyable etc.is it?

2. Tell me about the activities based upon that book.How helpful.interesting,enjoyable etc.is it? (The observation that I had done before these interviews meant that comments in this section of the interviews were generally very detailed and particular in their reference.)

3. What other reading do you do in school,in other subjects?

4. What rating of liking on a 1-5 scale would you give to the book you are currently reading as a class?
(students did this individually and then we talked about their ratings as a group)

5. What rating on the same scale would you give to the books you recorded as having read on the questionnaire?

d) main study student interviews:stage 1.(individuals)

1. What other books have you read since the questionnaire was completed?

2. Where did you get those books?
Book sources were explored in considerable detail.

3. What happened to the book after you read it? Did you give it anyone or recommend it to anyone?
With most students I sketched the movement of books between family/friends in order to tace reading networks.

4. Are you reading more fiction now or less than you were a year,two years ago? Why is that?

5. What is reading fiction like?

6. How,if at all,does it differ from other reading that you do?

7. What,if anything,do you think you learn from reading fiction?
(Earlier in the study students had been asked to make written responses to questions 5,6 and 7.Their written responses were referred to in the interviews.The questions were usually related to a particular book.Areas raised included:anticipation/retrospection;detachment/involvement;endings/beginnings;getting into a book etc.)
Why do you think you are encouraged/expected to read fiction in school?

8. What is English like as a subject? Has it changed at all since the first year?

9. What activities in English do you find most helpful/enjoyable/unpleasant? Why is that?

10. How much do you use the school library? why is that?

e) main study student interviews:stage 2.(group or individual)

1. How do you think you have changed as a reader over the last two years? Have you made progress as a reader?

2. What sort of reader were you in the primary school?
Can you remember learning to read?
Can you remember being read to at all?
Can you remember having favourite books or stories?

3. Do you think your present reading habits will change when you leave school next term or go into the sixth form? Why is that?

4. What sort of readers are your friends?
(This topic was often introduced by talking about how they perceived their friends' tastes and interests i music,fashion or sport.)

5. What things have you most liked/disliked in your English lessons over the last two years?
What changes,if any ,would you make?

6. What things have you most liked/disliked about school generally over the last two years?
What changes if any would you make to your schooling?

7.

f) main study interviews:English staff.(first interview)

1. How typical is this group of others in the same band in this year or previously?
Comment upon setting arrangements at the end of third year;ability range;sex distribution;movement between sets or bands.

2. How pleased are you with the overall progress of the group in English this year?

3. Why have you read the class texts that you have with the group?
How much was your choice constrained by resources or exam requirements?
How do you feel the group has responded to these texts?

4. Why have you chosen the particular written and oral activities based on the books that you have.
How successful have they been?

5. What would you change,if anything,in the way of texts or activities,with this group?

6. How much time do you give students in class to read books of their own choice? Why is that?

7. How much use of the library do you make in your work with this group? why is that?

8. Is the pattren of your work with this group different from your work with younger classes?

9. Do you keep records of individual's private reading? do studnts keep their own?

10. As regards the particular individuals (specify) who were interviewed,what view do have of their overall progress in English;their oral ability;their ability as writers;as readers;as examination candidates?

11.Is there a departmental policy as regards reading?

12. What sort of reading demands are made of fourth years elsewhere in the curriculum?

g) main study interviews:English staff.(second interview)

1. What importance do you attach to children reading fiction in English?

2. What is reading fiction like?

3. What,if anything,do you learn from reading fiction? Does it always occur? what factors help or hinder learning from fiction?

4. How does that learning occur?

5. How is reading fiction different from other kinds of reading?

6. How much does your own reading remain separate from or become incorporated into your teaching?

7. How would you describe yourself as a reader?

8. What things have influenced you most as a reader?

h) main study interviews:remedial/special needs staff.

1. How is the work of the department organised?

2. How is the work of the department resourced?

3. What relationship does this department have with others?

4. What part does fiction play in your work?

5. What is your view of the reading demands that are made in the fourth year across the curriculum?

6. What use is made of the school library in your work?

7. What are the main priorities now as regards the improvement of reading in the school?

i) main study interviews:(teacher)librarians.

1. What is the size and scope of the library?
balance of fiction/non-fiction
balance of hardback/paperback
particular shortages/strengths
shelving policy for specialised areas,like short stories,easy readers,children's picture books etc.

2. What is the funding of the library?
how much capitation?
how spent? by whom?
departmental allocations?
committees?

3. What access do students have to the library?
at what times? to what degree?
upon waht conditions? for what purposes? What records are kept of the issuing rate of books,the number of pupil visits,the extent of staff usage?

4. What contact do you have with the Schools Library Service?
how often?
what proportion of the books are SLS books?
how many staff are involved in contact?

5. What ancillary support does the library have?
hours per week.
qualified or unqualified.
support from teaching staff.
student help.

6. What supervision is there in the library during the day?

7. What are the immediate priorities for the development of the library?

8. What senior staff meetings are you entitled to attend?

k) main study interviews:School Library Service staff

1. What contact do you have with secondary school libraries? What are the main problems over contact?

2. What services can you offer secondary schools?

3. What is your view of the secondary school libraries in this area as regards:access;resources;ancillary support;accommodation.

4. What are the main priorities in your work with secondary schools?

APPENDIX IV
APU Test material used during the study.

Section 1.
Put a tick or cross beside each of the following statements to indicate your agreement or disagreement.

1. I enjoy reading
2 I read for pleasure.
3. I like going off and reading by myself.
4. I prefer to read on my own.
5. I read at home a lot.
6. I like reading for hours on end.
7. I like reading to myself better than reading aloud.
8. I like reading to somebody.
9. I prefer reading aloud.
10. It is important to read aloud.

11. I like using books to find out about things.
12. I like reading to develop my ideas.
13. I like reading to increase my knowledge.
14. I like reading to help me with my personal problems.
15. I like reading to learn about people.
16. I like reading to find out how things work.
17. Reading helps me forget my everyday life.
18. Reading helps me learn English.

19. I seldom see a book I want to read.
20. Apart from schoolwork I rarely read at all.
21. I only read when I have to.
22. I prefer to listen.
23. Some school books are too difficult for me.
24. It takes me a long time to read anything.
25. My life outside school is too full for reading.

26. I like reading fiction.
27. I like reading romances.
28. I like reading non-fiction.
29. I prefer reading non-fiction.
30. I prefer reading about my hobbies and interests.
31. I prefer books to comics.
32. I read comics at home more than books.
33. I like reading poems.
34. I prefer reading short books.
35. I like to read long thick books.

36. Talking about a book helps me to understand it more.
37. Talking about a book helps me to enjoy it more.
38. I like talking to my friends about the books that I have read.
39. Making notes about a book that I've read helps me to understand it more.

40. Making notes about a book that I've read helps me to enjoy it more.
41. Writing about a book after I've read it helps me to understand it more.
42. Writing about a book after I've read it helps me to enjoy it more.
43. Studying novels in class helps me to enjoy reading more.
44. I enjoy reading other books like the ones that we study in English.
45. I like reading when I can choose what I read.
46. I enjoy using a library.

Section 2.
Complete the following sentence stems so as to make your views clear.

1. Reading helps me to learn more about English...
2. My life outside school is too full for reading....
3. I need to be able to read because...
4. Studying plays and novels in English helps me to enjoy reading more....
5. I read for pleasure...
6. Library lessons in school are important....
7. The worst thing about reading is ....
8. The best thing about reading is....
9. I wish that books ...
10. It is important to be able to read aloud well...
11. The place I like to be when I am reading is..
12. Out of school I read ... poems.
13. The kind of poems that I like reading are....
14. The kind of poems that I don t like reading are...
15. In school we usually read....poems.

Section 3.
Answer the following questions as fully as you can to make your views clear.

1. How has what you enjoy reading changed since you were 11 ?
2. Explain how what you read in your spare time is similar to or different from what you read in school.
3. What if anything do you learn from reading fiction?
4. What is reading fiction like?
5. How does reading fiction differ from other reading that you do?

APPENDIX V.

Timetable of the fieldwork.

April - July 1981.

Preliminary fieldwork in 8 comprehensives.Observation of fourth year English classes and teacher and student interviews.
Interviews with all the first year undergraduate students reading English in an Oxford college.

September - December 1981.

Classroom observation of the 6 study sample teaching groups in Chilworth,Draper and Baydon.
Questionnaire administered to all groups.
Written responses from all groups to three questions relating to fiction reading.
Stage 1 (group) interviews in all three schools.

January 1982 -April 1982.

Stage 2 interviews (individual) in all three schools.

April 1982 - July 1982.

Questionnaire administered for the second time to all teaching groups.
Interviews with teachers and headteachers.
Library analysis and school records.
Staff reading questionnaire.Some observation of all teaching groups.

September 1982 - December 1982.

Questionnaire administered for the third time to all teaching groups.
Stage 3 pupil interviews.Most of these were individual interviews.

January 1983 - April 1983.

APU test material administered to all teaching groups.
Teacher interviews.
School documentary sources.
Some observation of all teaching groups.

April 1983 - July 1983.

Outstanding pupil interviews.

APPENDIX VI

Extracts from study schools' parental handbooks.

Chilworth	p.578
Richard Draper	p.583
Baydon	p.590.

Appendix A

The Aims of CHILWORTH School

1. To provide a firm moral and disciplinary framework, within which a caring environment may develop and pupils may have the freedom to grow and to learn in a tolerant and united society.

2. As a major element in their education to enable pupils to achieve the highest academic standards of which they are capable and to translate these standards into appropriate qualifications and employment prospects before they leave the school.

3. To develop and encourage all pupils' social, cultural and recreational skills and interests, so as to enable them to play their full part as responsible citizens.

4. To provide a continuous process of staff development.

5. To make the school an integral part of the whole community from which it draws its pupils, and of the wider community of society.

ORGANISATION

Mrs. , Deputy Head, has pastoral oversight of pupils in the Years 1 to 5, and careers needs are handled by Mr. the Head of Educational and Vocational Guidance. The Sixth Form is in the hands of Mr. , Director of Sixth Form. A separate Sixth Form brochure is available on request

Each Year is divided into 6, 7 or 8 forms, and pupils see their Form Tutor twice each day: the First Year Tutor is Mrs. . Before pupils arrive and during their first year close liaison with the Primary Schools is maintained.

Consultation, appointments, reports

For routine matters parents should write to the Form Tutor, e.g. absence notes, requests to be excused P.E. etc. Any matter requiring consultation should be addressed to Mrs. or the appropriate Head of Year, and in the Sixth Form to Mr. The Headmaster is responsible for overall school policy, but is always happy to take personal interest in any matters referred to him.

As all academic staff have a teaching commitment during the day the easiest way to make contact is by note or by telephoning the School Secretary, who will always be pleased to advise regarding the best person to see about particular matters and to make appointments. The School telephone number is

All parents have at least one opportunity each year to visit the school and discuss their children's progress with the Senior Staff, their Form Tutors and their subject teachers. A full report is issued at least once a year, and Assessment Record Cards with interim grades are periodically brought home for parents' signature and comment. Further consultation can always be arranged by appointment.

General educatior guidance is always available from the Senior Staff, and at the Third and Fourth Year stages vocational guidance is provided jointly by the Careers Advisory Service and the School Careers Team. At all stages we can call on the expert services of specialist agencies of the Authority as needed, e.g. the School Psychological Service. The School Secretaries are also available to deal initially with medical problems which arise in school: for further details concerning medical provision please see under "Other Information" (page 18).

We do ask you to keep us in close touch with any special difficulties or changes in home circumstances which may be affecting your children: parental co-operation is especially vital here. We would also like to hear of any school problems which they encounter, which we may not know of.

II CURRICULUM

Pupils throughout the school have the benefit of the full range of specialist ability to be found in the staff. Most of the staff teach on both the school sites, and Heads of Departments control the work done in their subjects throughout the whole age-range of the school. Courses are prepared for all pupils according to their age and aptitude, and the curriculum is arranged as follows:

a. Years 1 and 2

All pupils [illegible] pupils are taught exactly the same subjects, with special arrangements over part of their timetable for slower learners. These subjects are:- English and Drama, Mathematics, Combined Sciences, Humanities. (History and Geography), Religious Education, French, Music, Art and Craft, and Physical Education. The Humanities course lays particular emphasis on group work and projects, and takes place in the Lower School Humanities block with its open-plan work space and library.

All subjects except Mathematics are taught at first in mixed-ability groups. Mathematics is "setted" from the start on the basis of standardised tests carried out at Primary Schools. ("Setted" means "arranged according to pupils' ability in a particular subject".) As the year goes on other subjects also are arranged in sets.

The same subjects are continued and developed in the 2nd Year, and the process of setting is extended further. At this point also a separate form is arranged for slow learners. Special needs are met by the Department of Special Needs and the Special Unit, on a withdrawal basis.

b. Year 3

The curriculum remains basically unchanged, but the most able start German in addition to French, and some of them start Latin as well. Science in the 3rd Year is for most pupils taught separately as Physics, Chemistry and Biology, and formal Careers guidance starts in Year 3.

c. Years 4 and 5

During their Third Year pupils and their parents are consulted about the courses they will choose for the Fourth Year, which lead to GCE 'O' level and CSE examinations after five terms, together with a special course leading to City and Guilds certificates for slower learners. A separate brochure entitled "Choice at Thirteen +" is issued at this stage giving details of the courses available, and on the basis of these choices we then allocate pupils to suitable groups. English and Mathematics are taken by all, and six more subjects are chosen. The choice is limited, however, as it is school policy that all pupils should take, as well as English and Mathematics, at least one Science subject, at least one Humanities subject, and at least one subject from Creative and Expressive Arts (Craft, Art, Music). In addition, all pupils take non-examination courses in Physical Education, and General Studies and Careers. All subjects covered in the earlier years are available, and some pupils have the opportunity to take courses at local Colleges of Further Education.

Sixth Form

The Sixth Form offers courses of both one year and two years in length. Applications for the Sixth Form, both from the school and from outside, are increasing annually.

One-year courses lead to GCE 'O' level, CSE, and City and Guilds vocational preparation courses. Two-year courses lead to GCE 'A' level, and are primarily for students who wish to continue studying further at University, Polytechnic, and Colleges of Education. All students are expected to study a common core of subjects including General Studies, Elective Studies and leisure pursuits.

A 6th Form brochure giving further details is available on request.

Sport

The school has a well-equipped Upper School gymnasium, playing fields on both sites and a swimming pool. In the Lower School the hall doubles as a gymnasium during lesson times. Tuition is given in Hockey, Netball, Badminton, Swimming, Tennis, Cricket, Athletics, Association Football, Rugby Football, Cross-Country Running, Gymnastics, Basketball and other "minority" sports. There are many school teams and regular fixtures are arranged. Those aspiring to school teams are expected to give time out of school to training sessions and for fixtures: a lot of fixtures take place on Saturday mornings. A sports day for the entire school is held in the summer covering a wide range of activities.

Musical Instrument Tuition

The Music Department is able to call upon a large staff of qualified instrument teachers and this provides us with opportunities for suitable pupils to learn to play musical instruments. Lessons with teachers employed by the County are provided at a subsidised rate. Pupils are not expected to buy instruments until they are sure that they have taken to them. The cost of a term's tuition is £15.35 (£28.85 for a second instrument), and a nominal £2.15 is charged for hire of county and school-owned instruments. These charges are waived in the case of pupils who receive free school meals.
Private piano lessons can also be arranged in school.

Parents interested should contact the Head of Music as soon as possible: he will be available at the meeting for parents of the new intake on Thursday 24th June.

Private reading

It is in every child's interests that the habit of reading should be encouraged by both school and parents. Provision is made in school to see that all pupils have the opportunity to read privately and books may be borrowed from the school libraries, or bought in the bookshop. We hope that parents also will see this aspect of their children's education as being of prime importance.

STANDARDS

a. Academic

Naturally pupils vary in academic ability, so we try to construct a curriculum and plan work according to the aptitudes and abilities of the children themselves. But the aim is always the highest standard which an individual child can achieve and we expect children to work hard to attain it.

There is regular internal assessment of individuals' progress through examinations and course work, and parents are kept informed. (See also on pages 9 and 10.)

Homework is an important part of children's education, not only because it helps them to reach a higher standard than would otherwise be possible, but also because it helps to train them to work on their own initiative and not only under constant supervision. We therefore provide a homework timetable and expect pupils to adhere to it: please let us know if it ever appears that too little is being set - or too much. Total homework time should be approximately as follows:

Year 1	1 hour per night	Including constant revision of earlier work and wider reading
Year 2	1¼ hours per night	
Year 3	1½ hours per night	
Year 4	2 hours per night (at least)	
Year 5	2 hours per night (at least)	

The amount set each night in the later years may vary according to pupils' needs and courses.

b. Conduct and appearance

Academic standards are not the only important things in life and we also expect from our pupils the highest standards of courtesy and behaviour. Our experience is that the vast majority of parents support the school in this.

We consider it to be extremely important that high standards of dress and personal grooming are maintained. In the case of boys hair must be worn to an acceptable length. This regulation is in the interest of hygiene and safety as all boys will be using machinery in the workshops. All pupils in the school are expected to wear school uniform (modified in the 6th Form) as it gives a sense of unity and purpose whilst at the same time preventing distinctions amongst pupils and extravagance of taste. The uniform has been designed to be pleasant and serviceable, and a list, when not issued separately, will be found at the end of this brochure.

RICHARD DRAPER SCHOOL

...tion other ...e's ideas ...each their conclusions ...on evidence.	2 Be considerate to, and co-operate with, members of the community.	3 Know their own strengths and weaknesses and have confidence in themselves.	4 Recognise that emotional and imaginative insight is as important as the rational process.
...integrity ...heir ...ions with ...	RICHARD DRAPER SCHOOL intends that on leaving the school pupils shall to the best of their ability		6 Work at a task and follow it through to completion.
...relevant ...mation from ...iety of ...es.			8 Think for themselves and have an enquiring outlook.
10 ...e to develop ...communicate ...arguments ...eelings ...h language, ...rs and the ...ative arts.	10 Respect different ideas, religions and customs.	11 Appreciate beauty.	12 Pursue realistic and worthwhile ambitions.	13 Have acquired knowledge of facts, understandin of ideas, physical co-ordination and other skills of value.

...rs for discussion purposes only, no order of importance is intended.

The school seeks to provide a sound, rich and varied education in which classroom work is complemented by a wide range of other activities. We aim to help and enable each pupil to make the fullest use of his or her abilities, in whatever direction these may lie, and to create an environment in which positive academic, social and personal development will take place.

THE CURRICULUM

We aim to provide sound and imaginative teaching and to offer a curriculum which provides for the varied needs of our pupils.

The curriculum for the first three years is broadly based and is followed by all pupils until they make their option choices for the public examination courses which start in the Fourth Year.

Two distinctive features are that First Year pupils are offered the choice of French or German for their foreign language study and in the Third Year all pupils are given the opportunity to begin a second foreign language.

In all years extra language and number work are provided for those who have difficulty in their basic subjects.

The Religious Education syllabus broadly follows the Old Testament (First Year), the New Testament (Second Year) and the development of Christianity followed by an outline study of other religions (Third Year). In the Fourth and Fifth Years there are Religious Education modules within the Learning for Life course. Parents who wish their children to be exempted from Religious Education (or Assemblies) should inform the Headmaster.

During their First Year pupils spend roughly one quarter of their time on "Humanities" work, following an integrated Humanities course that covers their English, Geography and History, and separate lessons in Religious Education and Library use. The continuity of the Humanities course greatly assists the transfer from the primary to the more diverse secondary school.

A second quarter is taken up by Maths and Science (Science is also taught as an integrated course) and a third by Arts and Crafts, which include separate lessons in Art, Drama, Music and a nine-week module in each of Cookery, Metalwork, Textiles and Woodwork.

The curriculum is completed by lessons in Foreign Language and Physical Education.

In the Second Year English, Geography and History are taught as separate subjects.

In the Third Year pupils are offered the choice of a second foreign language, either French, German, Chinese or Russian. It has always been the custom at Draper to provide this unusually wide range. Those with less ability in this field are advised to take a one-year course in World Studies.

The three science subjects, Biology, Chemistry and Physics, are now taught separately. Drama and Music are no longer part of the common curriculum but are available as options.

Most Fourth and Fifth Year courses lead to public examinations at Certificate of Secondary Education (Southern Regional Examinations Board) or General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level (Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate).

All pupils continue to take English, Mathematics and Physical Education and also follow our own Learning for Life course (non-examination). This vital and distinctive part of our curriculum is well established. It operates through lead lessons with films and talks, followed by small group and activity work, and aims to enhance the personal and social development of each pupil. The course includes elements on Careers, Health and Religious Education, Practical Citizenship and Leisure Activities.

In addition to this core curriculum, which occupies forty per cent of their time, pupils choose six option subjects. These are drawn from a long and varied list and we are able to satisfy most reasonable choice-combinations. In line with DES policy, we require that every pupil continues with at least one Science and one Humanities subject, and we do not allow more than three choices from any one subject area. The available courses are:

Arts and Crafts

Art
Drama
Music
Dressmaking
Food and Nutrition
Parentcraft
Typing
Metalwork
Metalwork Engineering
Technical Drawing
Woodwork

Languages

Chinese
French
German
Russian

Humanities

Commerce
Economics and Public Affairs
Geography
History
Religious Education

Sciences

Biology
Chemistry
Physics
Physical Science
General Science

The school provides its own Social and Community Studies course to cater for the needs of pupils who could not meet the demands of a full range of examination courses. A limited amount of Work Experience is also introduced during the final year.

A full advice and consultation programme on Options Choices begins in January of the Third Year.

The School adopts a generous entry policy, entering for public examinations all pupils who stand a reasonable chance of achieving a positive result. It is the policy of the local education authority, however, to finance only eight entries at one sitting and additional entries are made at the candidate's own expense.

Pupils take the majority of their 'O' level and CSE examinations at the end of the Fifth Year. Some 'O' levels are taken earlier or by candidates from the Sixth Form.

Where the syllabus permits entry for either 'O' level or CSE, the school will enter a pupil for the more appropriate examination. (We are able to arrange alternative private entries if parents so wish.)

At Sixth Form level Draper co-operates with Richard III and Saltlake Schools to offer the widest possible choice of subjects for Sixth Form pupils. At Advanced Level (Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate) all three schools run their own teaching groups in seven major subjects:- English, Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Geography and History. The teaching of subjects for which there is less demand, or for which a particular school has specialist facilities, is shared among the schools by agreement. In addition to the subjects above, Double Mathematics, Social Biology, Economics, French, German, Chinese, Russian, Art, Music and Home Economics are all available at Advanced Level. Since the Sixth Form in Draper is very well established the school has, in practice, always provided more than seven autonomous groups.

CLASSROOM ORGANISATION

During their first few weeks in the school pupils are taught for all subjects in the form groups which are basically determined by their choice of foreign language.

As the first term progresses, however, pupils are setted for Mathematics and Foreign Language and taught in groups according to their ability in those subjects.

At the end of the First Year they are set for Science and at the beginning of the Third Year are set for their second foreign language.

By the Third Year, therefore, pupils are set for a full half of their timetables and this proportion obviously increases in the Fourth and Fifth years when differing examination objectives frequently involve different syllabuses.

We prefer setting to banding or streaming since it enables us to teach subjects to pupils according to their ability in the particular subjects rather than grouping pupils according to a notion of their general ability. A pupil of average ability can, by this system, work in top sets in subjects where he or she is particularly talented or in lower sets if he or she would profit from extra attention. Movement between sets is relatively easy to achieve.

HOMEWORK

It is our policy to set homework regularly according to a fixed timetable which is published at the beginning of the school year. Each pupil is provided with a notebook in which details of homework are recorded and through which both school and home can monitor what is done and set.

Parents with queries concerning homework are asked to contact the school immediately.

DISCIPLINE

The school is committed to enabling its pupils to fulfil their varied talents and achieve their goals, so a good working atmosphere and ordered environment are essential.

Above all else, pupils are encouraged to see the value of self discipline and, to help them, they are given an active role in the running of school affairs.

Sanctions taken against pupils who break rules or disrupt school procedures include reporting systems and graded detentions, at lunch-time, on Tuesday evenings or, exceptionally, Saturday mornings. Parents are always informed of the last two, so implementing the school's policy of involving them in disciplinary problems. Late transport is provided after Tuesday detentions.

For the most serious offences, corporal punishment is used, very occasionally, on boys, as an alternative to suspension. The school will respect the views of any parents who inform us in writing, that they are opposed to this sanction.

Where we consider it necessary to exclude a pupil from the school for a time, we ask parents to meet us to discuss the situation as a matter of urgency, and outside support agencies are often involved.

A persistently disruptive pupil may be recommended to spend some part of his or her timetable in the town's special unit, The Grange.

UNIFORM

The school hopes that parents can continue to help us by providing pupils with our official uniform. Lists are provided with this handbook.

BAYDON SCHOOL

AIMS OF BAYDON SCHOOL

1. To ensure that all pupils, throughout their time at Baydon are happy and useful members of the school, and that the school and its members interact in a useful and helpful way with the community at large.

2. To ensure that all pupils become happy and useful adults in society, are able to view the community constructively, are able to help to initiate changes, make enlightened judgements on changes proposed by others, and adapt easily to change without undue stress.

3. To ensure that all pupils develop their abilities and aptitudes to the fullest extent so that these can be used in their chosen career, in their leisure pursuits and for the benefit of others.

WORKING OUT THESE AIMS

The areas which must concern us if we are to achieve these aims are academic, social (including communal) and personal.

Academic

(a) Every pupil should be taught to read and write, and given sufficient competence in number for everyday needs.

(b) Every pupil should be exposed to and be encouraged to take part in the academic disciplines of the school, with a view to reinforcing and developing the child's separate individuality.

(c) Every pupil should come across excellence in as many fields as possible, so as to be able to develop a critical judgement with sound standards.

(d) Academic skills should be developed with a view to
- (i) widening as far as possible the choice of employment for each pupil;
- (ii) developing special skills that appear likely to be useful, once limiting decisions about future careers have been made.

Social

(a) Every pupils should be encouraged to play as full a part as possible in the life of the school.

(b) Every pupil should be encouraged in every way possible to see the school as his/her own school.

(c) As much decision-making as is practicable should be done by the pupils, and they should be educated in
- (i) choosing representatives
- (ii) briefing representatives
- (iii) reporting back, as representatives, to those they represent.

(d) Every pupil should be encouraged in every way possible to concern himself/herself with values — standards of morality, including integrity and honesty, tolerance and patience. The school is a centre of influence in this sphere, and not a mirror of society.

(e) Every pupil should be shown as much as possible about how the community at large works. This should include not only government and administration, but business, trade unions, communications, etc. This should be done
- (i) to enable sensible careers choices to be made
- (ii) to enable everyone to see the responsibilities and difficulties of people in the community with whom they may never come into direct contact.

(f) Every pupil should be shown how the social services work, so that as a consumer and as an adviser of others they can make sure that the best possible use is made of them. They should also be encouraged to take part voluntarily in service to others.

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BAYDON SCHOOL

Headmaster: RICHARD BAXTER Deputy Heads:

GENERAL INFORMATION

Baydon is a [illegible] for pupils aged 11 — 18. It opened in 1970 with first-year pupils only and in September 1982 it will have a Sixth Form of about 130 students with 1,100 boys and girls in Years 1 to 5.

2. Because Baydon is a large school it is divided into sections in order to make organisation simpler, and so that all children are under the wing of some person who is able to get to know them well. The sections are: —

THE FIRST YEAR with in charge.

THE LOWER SCHOOL with as HEAD OF LOWER SCHOOL, aided by two assistants, and To this all second and third year pupils belong.

THE MIDDLE SCHOOL, with as HEAD OF MIDDLE SCHOOL, aided by and To this all fourth and fifth year pupils belong.

THE SIXTH and SEVENTH YEARS with HOMER TULL in charge.

In this way each section contains a comparatively small number of pupils, with a Head of School whose primary concern they are; the basic group therefore is no larger than the size of the old secondary schools.

3. Each YEAR GROUP below the Sixth Form is divided into seven or eight groups with a GROUP TUTOR in charge who does two jobs. He (or she) teaches one or more subjects to a variety of pupils and secondly, looks after the welfare and progress of the 24 — 30 boys and girls in the TUTOR GROUP. **The GROUP TUTOR therefore will be the person on the staff who knows your child best of all.** In order to maintain continuity, the tutor moves up the school with the children, so pupils have the same Group Tutor as long as they and the Tutor are at Baydon

4. If then you want to make contact with someone at school about your child, who should it be?

Routine matters, absences, dental and doctor's appointments, minor queries, etc. are best addressed to the Tutor.

More important matters which you feel necessitate a visit to school are best dealt with by the Heads of School named above and their assistants. The GROUP TUTOR will also be involved, but because they often have a full teaching timetable it may sometimes not be possible for them to join in discussions. If you wish to discuss a matter of feminine concern, Mrs. will be glad to help. If you feel dissatisfied with the action taken by the Heads of School or Year Tutor, then by all means make an appointment to see me or the Deputy Heads. Do not feel slighted if I refer routine or minor matters to my colleagues — it is their job to attend to them and they are fully competent to deal with them. Remember that the HEADS OF SCHOOL are each responsible for up to five hundred pupils and are roughly the equivalent of the Heads of the smaller schools which most parents attended in their time.

Please do not expect to be seen by staff during the school day without an appointment. Teachers cannot be expected to leave a class unattended, or to set aside urgent work or previous engagements in order to see you, no matter how important you may think the issue is.

On joining the school in the first year, pupils are placed in a Tutor Group of not more than 30 boys and girls, covering the whole range of ability.

This tutor group will also be the basic teaching group in most subjects in the first three years. If a child needs special attention because, say, he or she has reading difficulties or because of a long absence due to illness, then this is done by withdrawing the pupil from one or more periods during the week until it is no longer necessary.

Some setting (that is, placing pupils in a class according to ability) takes place in French in years 2 and in Mathematics in Year 3. Otherwise classes are mixed ability in years 1 to 3. In years 4 and 5 there is a greater degree of setting in all academic subjects with the exception of Humanities.

If at any time it is felt that a pupil is either not being fully extended, or is finding the work beyond his or her capacity, then we can alter the pace, or employ different methods. Parents should not hesitate to approach the appropriate Head of School to discuss this, or if they have any queries about work.

It is not the policy of this school to decide a child's future for ever by placing him or her in a group labelled 'G.C.E. Stream' or 'Technical Stream' or the like. Educationists are generally in agreement that the decision as to which public examinations a child should take and in which subjects, should be delayed for as long as possible, in order to give time for the child to develop. When the time for such decisions to be taken arrives there will be full consultations between parents, pupils and teachers, before final arrangements are made.

Pupils from any Tutor Group can take examinations in any subject in which they stand a chance of success, and even if at some stage it is decided that a pupil is not likely to be successful, this does not rule out the possibility of a later attempt if further progress is made. It is interesting to note that at Baydon School only a handful of pupils left without a pass in some public examination in the six years which have so far been of an age to take them, and our examination results generally are better than the national average.

An unusually high proportion of subjects are studied by all our students to the end of the 5th year. Thus, students cannot drop subjects at the end of the 3rd year which we consider as central to their education. Mathematics, English Language, English Literature, Science, Social and personal education, Careers, Religious Education, Politics, Humanities and Physical Education form this central core. Recent publications by Her Majesty's Inspectors for Schools recommend that schools adopt the very policy which we have followed for many years at Baydon

Additional subjects which can be studied in the last two years of compulsory schooling de French, Design and Construction, Home Economics, General Studies, Music, puter Studies and, in some cases, German. A booklet giving full details is sent to all third parents in the Spring Term.

When, at the appropriate time in the school course, decisions have to be taken about ns and specialisation, this will be preceded by consultation with both parents and Options first appear in Year Four, when pupils are invited to select a number of es which they will follow for four or five periods a week, in addition to the Core culum which all pupils follow. In the Sixth Form too, each student's timetable is ed on an individual basis.

DISCIPLINE

The trouble with a word like "discipline" is that it means different things to different What is certain is that no community of any kind can work without a framework of order, and this applies just as much to a small community like the family, as to a large e the school.

In spite of all that one reads in the newspapers or sees on television, the fact is that pupils today are well-behaved and present no real problem to their teachers, and this is of Baydon School as any other.

However, it is also a fact of life in the 1980's that a small minority of children do give us ches, and, in my experience, these are children who are over-indulged in the home, and parents are themselves, in many cases, anti-school. If only five boys and girls in every ed fell into this category at Baydon then we would have sixty of them!

I believe it is of the utmost importance that in every classroom there is an ordered nment in which learning can take place, and that if any child is preventing another from g or making progress, then something must be done by the staff and parents.

We have a number of sanctions and punishments at our disposal, ranging from extra detention; being 'on report' (when at the end of each lesson the pupil has to present to form for their comments on his/her behaviour); corporal punishment (used ently only by the Headmaster himself but used) to suspension and, if necessary as a ort, expulsion if the Governors so desire.

I must make it quite clear to all parents that neither I nor my staff are prepared to e insolence or violence at Baydon School. We have created a community here which is ed by our many visitors to be a pleasant and happy one and, if pupils cannot co-e with us then, to put it bluntly, they should seek another school.

Most parents will, I know, support my viewpoint. There are others, a few only, who their children being disciplined in any way at school. It is to all parents that I appeal for support in our efforts to maintain good order, and to those who dislike the thought of children being disciplined I would point out the danger of giving their children the sion that they support their misbehaviour, and that while a small child who is allowed anything it likes can still be quite appealing, children coming into Baydon are being ed for the adult world where we all of us have to learn to conform to what is considered i behaviour, to accept sensible rules, be prepared to take instruction, and to obey able authority.

FIRST FIVE YEARS

ART — is taught to all pupils in their first three years in the school in mixed-ability groups, and is an option in Years 4, 5 and 6. There are four Art studios, two of which are designed as sculpture/pottery areas, and the others for multi-purpose use which allows for pupils covering a wide range of artistic skills.

SOCIAL AND PERSONAL EDUCATION — This is a 2 year course in the Fourth and Fifth Years covering Careers Education, Politics, Religious Education and Social and Personal Education. Our aim is to prepare pupils for life and work outside the relatively sheltered and structured environment of the school. This preparation involved self-knowledge, an understanding of the needs and motives of all human beings of all creeds and colours, and factual knowledge of the structure and potential of the society in which we live, and of the world in general. This course will be followed by all pupils on a weekly basis of 2 periods.

SCIENCE — is taught in Tutor Groups who do four periods a week on experimentally based work. We introduce a wide variety of scientific activities and techniques which are important for further work as well as interesting in themselves. The course is based on the Nuffield Combined Science which incorporates Physics, Biology and Chemistry into a coherent course of work. Pupils can explore their own ideas and interests in a scientific way. The Third Year is a natural continuation of this work with Integrated Science studied to examination level. In the Fourth Year all pupils take at least one science, or a combination of Sciences. The subjects offered are: Chemistry (G.C.E. & C.S.E.), Physics (G.C.E. & C.S.E.), Secondary Science (C.S.E.), Integrated Science (2 passes C.S.E. & G.C.E.). The Science course followed by all pupils naturally includes details of the reproductive processes in a variety of living creatures, including human beings.

ENGLISH — In Years 1 and 2 the children are taught in mixed-ability groups. Through a wide range of reading, writing and spoken activities we aim to develop the imagination and maturity of each child. The child also needs to master the mechanics of punctuation and spelling. Each class will read a wide range of fiction, poetry and plays, and learn to write in a variety of ways. There is a good Library which is well used, and children will be taught the use of the Library in their first year. Teaching continues in mixed-ability groups until the end of the Third Year when they are separated into two groups — those taking C.S.E. and those taking 'O' Level. Since the syllabus for both these examinations is similar, children can easily be switched if the need arises. It is expected that all children will take two English examinations at the end of their fifth year, one in English Language, and one in Literature.

GENERAL STUDIES — is taken by all pupils in the 1st and 2nd years and is intended to help pupils to develop the skills of learning, including recording their results and presenting their work in a way that will help them to study well in all other subjects. The work covers spelling; handwriting and layout; work of Dictionaries and vocabulary; some Grammar and a lot of General Knowledge. Emphasis is placed on neatness and care including checking work. This can be followed, in the 4th and 5th years by a BASIC SKILLS course aimed at preparing students for the adult world.

HOME ECONOMICS — In their 1st and 2nd years both boys and girls take Home Economics. Home Economics aims to give an opportunity to explore the equipment available in Cookery and Needlecraft and to work with materials in Food and Fabric. In Cookery, food and its functions is explored and emphasis is placed on simple, and interesting dishes, in addition to experimental work. In the second year basic foods and dishes are put together to make simple meals. Needlecraft gives the opportunity to learn about sewing, both machine and hand, and fabrics are explored, and a range of crafts including embroidery and collage, and leather work are offered. Pupils opting for Home Economics in the 3rd Year will take a general course covering cookery and nutrition; caring for the family; first aid; dressmaking and fabric care; and craftwork including toymaking; tie & dye; embroidery etc. Good grooming and hygiene, consumer education etc. are also covered. In the Fourth Year pupils

DESIGN AND TECHNOLOGY DEPARTMENT.

Technology. Technical drawing. Design. Engineering.

It is the aim of the department's courses to give a wide range of Design orientated craft experience in years one to three. We make a small introduction only to technology and technical drawing in the first and second years. Craftwork is undertaken in wood and metal principally with some work being done with plastics.

Examination courses may be opted for in the fourth and fifth years. These are taken to C.S.E. and G.C.E. level in technical drawing and technology and C.S.E. Mode 3 in Design and 'O' level Engineering Workshop Theory and Practice. The Design Course caters for pupils who have a preference for work in Metal or in Wood.

MATHEMATICS — Most of the teaching material is presented to pupils in the form of workcards and children thus make their own individual progress through the course. The syllabus is a balance of traditional and modern topics, and includes work on the four rules applied to whole numbers and fractions; symmetry; co-ordinates and graphs; angles and bearings; number patterns; arithmetic in number bases other than ten. In Years 3 and 4 the work is developed and examinations loom. Computer Studies may be started as an Option in the 4th Year leading to C.S.E. Both C.S.E. and G.C.E. examinations are taken in the fifth year.

MUSIC — is an integrated course which includes singing; playing Orff-type percussion instruments; listening to a wide cross-section of music and learning the rudiments of musical notation. There is a visiting team of instrumental teachers and the school owns some instruments which are, at the moment, lent to pupils, but since demand exceeds supply, pupils are encouraged to buy their own. Out-of-school activities include Choir, Orchestra, Recorder groups, small instrumental group, Record Club, and Folk Guitar for beginners.

In Middle school the programme continues along similar lines, but with an emphasis in the 3rd and 4th year on listening at length to music and on good singing, so that two-part singing can be encouraged. Specialist music groups in the Middle School enable the enthusiasts to spend more time pursuing their music and to study it to C.S.E. and G.C.E. level. Music is studied by all pupils in the first three years, and is an option course in the 4th and 5th years.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION — All children cover a basic 1st year course in Gymnastics, Modern Dance, Swimming and Athletics.

The major games taught are Rugby, Football and Cricket for the boys and Netball, Hockey and Tennis for the girls. There is a skills course for the boys and a rounders course for the girls.

In later years there are opportunities to take part in Badminton, Volleyball, Basketball, Table Tennis and Fitness work (circuit and weight training). There are clubs for team swimmers and non-swimmers, dance, badminton and basketball clubs, and practices for all major games teams.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION — is part of the Humanities course. In Years 1 and 2 the aim is to trace the development of belief from its place in primitive societies to contemporary society. This will include looking at Creation Stories and Myths, the beliefs of ancient man, and the beliefs of Christians; as well as such groups as the Eskimo and the Masai. In Years 3, 4 and 5 we look at topics such as "Methodism and the Industrial Revolution", and Field Work relating to the growth of the Oecumenical Movement in Swindon. The Family, The Third World and Economic Aid are also studied. Education for Personal Relationships, and Community Service is an integral part of the course.

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HUMANITIES — is the Department covering History, Geography and Religious Education. These subjects complement each other. We encourage self-reliance and staff use an enquiry method teaching technique where appropriate. Students are trained to use a central Resource Bank that is located in the Department from which a wide range of information on the topics being studied can be found. In addition the Department organises Field Trips to museums; archaeological sites and places of geographical interest. The basic theme is "Man and His Environment", concentrating on rural societies both past and present, expanding outward from a series of local studies to a world outlook. In the Middle School the disciplines taught are History, Geography, Sociology, Economics and R.E. In Year 3 the theme is "Industrialisation" with a study of the nature and causes of the Industrial Revolution. In Year 4 students embark on their work for external examinations leading to either a single or double certification at C.S.E. or G.C.E. Course work is included in the assessment, and is an enquiry into the topic of the student's own choice. The Department also offers a Social Economics Option. This is a new course designed to help students understand the industrial and commercial societies in which they live and work. We study a small manufacturing firm and its expansion into a large international company. Students are involved in making decisions which will have an important bearing on the Company's future, and this will help them to understand decision making and the human problems involved.

LANGUAGES — All pupils in the first year will begin a 3-year course in French. They will continue with this language to the end of Year 3 when they will have to decide whether to continue to G.C.E. or C.S.E. in Year 5, and possibly to add a second foreign language in Years 3, 4 and 5. French and German classes use the Nuffield courses "En Avant" and "Vorwärts". First year classes are taught in mixed ability groups, but from the second year onwards languages are setted. In the Fourth Year Languages become optional subjects with G.C.E. and C.S.E. sets in French, and the option of starting or continuing German and Latin.

SIXTH FORM

THE SIXTH FORM — is an "OPEN" one. That is, any student **who can benefit and who is prepared to work** is welcome in the Sixth Form. There are no specified examination requirements. Some courses in the Sixth lead to G.C.E. 'A' Level, but there will be others to the new City and Guilds Foundation Course standard. The Sixth Form has its own Common Room. Our aim is to treat members as much like adult members of our community as we can both with regard to privileges and responsibilities. Grants are available to parents who wish to keep their children at school beyond the age of 16, subject to income. Mr. [redacted] will be only too pleased to give you, in confidence, full details.

All students have the chance to take further 'O' Levels and C.S.E.'s taught in 6th form groups, and the Sixth Form Association Committee elected by students helps to organise the social and academic life of students.

19. SCHOOL RECORDS

School records are necessary in the first instance to tell us where we can contact our parents whenever emergencies arise. Occasionally there is an additional health problem or handicap which we need to take into account throughout a pupil's education. As the pupil proceeds through school his progress both academic and social is recorded to enable us to assess the rate of development or any sudden changes that need attention. Changes of staff and changes in schools necessitate some written information, in fairness to the proper welfare of the pupil concerned, to establish continuity and present a balanced view.

The larger part of Baydon records is compiled by Heads of School as a direct result of contact with parents. Some of the assessments are even made by the pupils themselves. All of the material we retain is considered to be in the interest of the pupil.

Any behaviour serious enough to be recorded or deterioration in achievement is always communicated to parents directly as well as to the tutor by the Head of School and thus the records do not contain any information not already familiar to parents.

There is no reason why Baydon parents should not be told of the contents of their children's records if they felt an urgent need to do so but we hope that parents would feel so well informed as to make this unnecessary.

20. HOMEWORK

Homework is set regularly in most subjects. Each pupil is provided with a homework timetable. This ensures that homework is spread evenly throughout the week, and provides parents with a method of checking that it is being done. First year students are set about one hour's work per evening. We do not wish to overload them, but are concerned to develop the right kind of study habits and attitudes to work. It is essential that these study habits are firmly established if success is to come later. The amount of homework increases as your child progresses through the school, and examinations begin to loom on the horizon. If you feel that your child is doing too much or too little homework, then please let us know.

APPENDIX VII.

Cumulative list of fiction titles recorded as read on the three questionnaire returns.

The letter after each title given indicates the school in which it was recorded.

C = Chilworth
D = Draper
B = Baydon

ADAMS R. Hitchhikers guide to the Galaxy. B.
ADAMS. Plague dogs. C.
Watership Down C.B.D.
AMIS.K. Take a girl like you. B.
Lucky Jim. B.D.
ANDREWS V. Flowers in the Attic. C. B.
Petals on the wind. C.B.
If there be charms. C.
ARUNDEL.H. Girl in the opposite bed. B.
High house. B.
Emma´s island B.
Long weekend. D.B.
ASIMOV I. I robot. B.
Collapsing universe. B.
Moons of Jupiter B.
Bicentennial Man. B.
Best of Asimov. D.B.
AUSTEN.J. Sense and sensibility B.
Pride and Prejudice. C.D.B.
Persuasion B.
Emma. B.

BAGLEY.D. Running blind. C.B.
The last frontier D.B.
BANKS.L.R. The 1 shaped room B.D.
BARKER.R. The two ronnies. B.
BARSTOW. S. A kind of loving. B.
BARTON.S. Staff nurse. C.
BATES H.H. Darling buds of May. B.
The larkins. B.
French air. D.B.
BAXTER. Jump to the stars. C.
BECKMANN.G. Mia alone B.
19 is too young to die. B.
BENCHLEY.P. Jaws. C. D,.B.
Jaws 2. C.D.
BINGHAM. No honesty. D.
BLYTON.E. Famous five (various) D.C.
BOLL.H. Children are civilians too. B.
The end of a mission.B.
BORG.B. Love match D.
BRADBURY.M. The history man. D.B.
BRADBURY.R. Best of Bradbury. B.
Golden apples of the sun B.

	Illustrated man D.B.
BRAITHWAITE.	To sir with love. B.
BRONTE.C.	Jane eyre. B.
BRONTE.E.	Wuthering Heights D,B.
BROWNE.	One of Barney's girls B.
	Santa Claus' plot B.
BRUNER.	The wrong end of time. D.B.
BUCKERIDGE.A.	Jennings. B.
	Jennings again. B.
BUCHAN.J.	39 steps. B.
CAMUS.A.	The outsider. B.
	The plague. B.
CARROLL.L.	Alice in wonderland. D.
CARPENTER	Flight one. D.
CHECKOV.A.	Lady with a lapdog B.
CHAMBERS.A.	Ghosts,spooks and spectres. B.
	Men at war. B.
	Marle. D.B.
	World zero minus. D.
CHESHIRE.L.	Bomber pilot. B.
	Selected short stories.B.
CHILTON.	String of time. B.
CHRISTIE.A.	Seven dials mystery.C.D.B.
	Peril at end house. B.
	Orient Express. D.B.
	Death on the Nile. D.
	Pricking of a thumb. B.
	Roger Ackroyd. D.
	The clocks. C.
	Ten little niggers. C.D.
	One two,buckle my shoe. C.
	Five little pigs. C.B.
	The body in the library.C.D.
	Death comes unannounced. B.
	Death comes at the end. B.
	Blue rtain mystery. D.
CLARKE.A.C.	A fall of moondust B.
	2001. C. B.
CLEARY.B.	Fifteen. B.
CONRAD.J.	Victory. B.
	The secret agent.B.
COOKSON.C.	The tide of life. B.
	Slow awakening. B.
	A grand man. C.B.
	The lord and Mary Ann. C.B.
	Marriage and Mary Ann. B.
	Mary Ann's angels. B.
	Mary Ann and Bill B.
	The Mallen streak D.B.
CONNOLLY.	Starhunt. C.

COOPER.J. 1.D.
2.D.
3.D.
COOPER.S. Under seas,over stones .D.
Dark rising. D.B.
Greenwitch D.
Grey King D.B.
CORLETT. Return to the gate B.
CRAIG. W. Enemy at the gates. B.
CREASEY The man who was not himself. D.

DAHL.R. Tales of the unexpected. C.B.
Switch kitch D.
Kiss,kiss. B.
Danny champion of the world.C.B.
DALY.B. Hans Solo at star's end B.
DEFOE. Robinson Crusoe. B.
DEIGHTON.L. Ipcres file. C.
Spy story.C.
Dogs of war. C,B.
X.P.D. B.
DICKENS.C. Nicholas Nickleby B.
Great expectations. C.D.B.
Oliver twist. B.
Daivid copperfield. C.B.
Tale of two cities. B.
Hard times.B.
DICKENS.M. The landlord's daughter. D.
Follyfoot. B.
DIXON. Aztec mystery. B.
DOSTOIEVSKY. Crime and punishment. B.
DOYLE. Casebook of Sherlock Holmes.B.
Best of holmes. B.
DOUBTFIRE.D. Shy girl. B.
DRABBLE.M. The millstone. D.B.
du Maurier. Cousin Rachel B.
Rebecca. D.B.
DURRELL. My family and other animals. C.

ELIOT.G. Mill on the Floss B.
Adam Bede. B.

FITZGERALD. The great Gatsby. B.

FLEMING.I. You only live twice. B.
O.H.M.S. B.
FOLEY.W. A child of the forest. B.
FORESTER.C.S. African queen. B.
Sky andf forest. B.
FORSYTH.F. Day of the jackal. C.D.B.

	The dogs of war. B.
	The Odesa file. C.B.
FOSTER.A.D.	Clash of the Titans. B.
	Time of the Kraken...B.
FRANCIS.	Dead cert. B.
	Whip in hand. B.
FRANK.A.	Diary of anne frank. C.D.B.

GARNER.A.	Elidor. C.B.
	Weirdstone of Brisingamen.C.
	Red shift B.
GLANVILLE.B.	A bad lot. B.
GOLDING.W.	Lord of the flies. B.
GORDIMER.N.	Occasion for loving..B.
	Short stories. B.
GORDON.R.	Dr. in the House. D.
	Dr. on trial. D.
GREENE. B.	Summer of my German soldier. B.
	Morining is a long time coming.
GREENE.G.	The power and the glory.B.
	The ministery of fear. B.
	The human factor. B.
	Brighton rock. B.
GUARESCHI.	Don Camillo D.
HAGGARD.R.	She. B.
HALEY	Roots. B.
HAINING.	Monster Makers. C.
HALL.W.	The long the short and the tall. D.
HARDY.T.	Tess of the Durbervilles. B.
	The mayor of Casterbridge. B.
	Under the greenwood tree. B.
	Far from the madding crowd. B.
HARDCASTLE.	Striker. D. B.
HARRER.	7 years in Tibet. B.
HARRINGTON	Death of a patriot. B.
HARTLEY.L.P.	The go between. D.
HASSEL.S.	SS General B.
	Blitzkreig. C.B.
	Wheels of terror. C.
	Children of the Reich C.
	Comrades at war. C.B.
HEINLEIN.	The mnan who sold the moon. B.
HELLER.	Catch 22. D.
HEMINGWAY.E.	The old man and the sea. D.B.
	To have and to have not. B.
HERBERT.J.	The rats. C.D.B.
	The lair. C.D.B.
	Survivor. C. B.
	The spear B.
	The fog. C.D.B.

HERRIOT.J. All things bright and beautiful. D.
Let sleeping vets lie. D.B.
Vets might fly C
If only they could talk. C.D.
Vets in harness. C.D.

HERSEY. Hiroshima
HEYER.G. Bath tangle. D.
HINES.B. Kes. C.B.
HOFFER. Midnight express. C
HOLDEN Massacre at.. C.
HOLT.V. Katherine of Aragon. B.
Devil on horseback. B.
HOWATER. April's grave.
HOYLE.F. Fifth planet. B.
HUXLEY. Airport. B.
HUXLEY Brave new world. B.

JACOBS The Ewings of Dallas. B.
JACKMAN Golden orpheus. B.
JAMES.P.D. Unsuitable job for a woman. B.
JAMES.H. Washingtom square. B.
Whay Maisie knew. B.
JOHNS.W.E. Biggles and the baltic. C.
Biggles in the orient. B.

KAMM. Young mother. B.
KESEY.K. One flew over the cuckoo's nest C.
KING.S. The dead zone. C.

LAING.R.D. Knots B.
L'AMOUR. Kilrone. B.
Last stand. B.
The empty land. B.
Heller with a gun. B.
War party. B.
Taggart. B.
Chancy. B.
The Ferguson rifle. B.
LARSAN. Battlestar galactica. B.
LAWRENCE.D.H. Sons and lovers. C. B.
England my England. B.
Lady Chatterly's lover. B.
The virgin and the gypsy. B.
St Mawr. B.
The fox. B.
Love among the haystacks. B.
LEE.L. Cider with rosie. C. B.
A rose for winter. B.
As I walked out one morning. B.

LEESON.R. Grange Hill D.B.
Grange Hill goes wild. D.B.
LINGARD.J. [illegible]
12th of July D.
Across the barricades. D.B.
LONDON.J. Call of the wild. B.
White fang. B.
Sea wolf. B.
LUDLUM .R. Bourne identity. C.
LYDECKER. Warrior's gate. B.

MAILER.N, Naked and the dead. B.
Maclean.A. Where eagles dare. B.
Guns of Navarone. B.
Night without end. D. B
Circus. D.
Bear Island. D.B.
When eight bells toll. B.
Golden gate bridge. D.
HMS Ulysses. B.
MACE..E, Brother enemy. B.
MACLOWSKI Island of secrtes. B.
MALORY. Le morte d'Arthur. B.
MARCHANT.C. Heritage of folly. C.
MATHER.A. White rose of winter. C.
Cindy tread lightly. C.
MAXWELL. Ring of bright water. B.
The rocks remain. B.
McCullers.C. Clock without hands. B.
Member of the wedding B.
Ballad of the sad cafe. B.
MICHENER.J. Bridges at Toko rio. C.
Caravans. C.
Centennial. C.

MILLIGAN. Mussolini my part in his downfall. B.
Puckoon. C. B.
MISHIMA.Y. Runaway Horses. B.
The temple of dawn B.
MONTGOMERY. Anne of green gables. C.D.
Avonlea. D.
Windy willows. D.
House of dreams. B.
MORAVIA.A. Two women. D.
Roman tales. B.
MORGAN. Bullion and old brass. D.
MORTIMER.P. The pumpkin eater. B.
MURDOCH.I. A severed head. B.
The bell B.

NAUGHTON.B. Short stories.D.
One small boy B.
NOBBS. Rise and fall of Reginald Perrin. B.

O´BRIEN E. Girls in their married bliss. B.
Girl woith green eyes. B.
O HARA. Thunderhead. C.ORWELL.G 1984. C. B.
Animal farm B.

PEARCE. Apple tree saga. B.
Cast a long shadow. B.
The land enquires. B.
PEYTON. The room. D.
A midsummer night´s death D.
POE.E.A. Tales of mystery and imagination. B.

PRICE.W. Arctic adventure. B.

QUEEN.E. Finishing stroke. D.
QUENTIN. Fatal woman. D.

RAYMOND. War of the cybernauts. B.
RENAULT. The nature of Alexander. B.
REES.L. Wild pony. C.
REES. Graffiti. D.
REMARQUE.E. All quiet on the western front. B.

SALINGER.J.D. Catcher in the rye. C. D.B.
SALKEY.A. Earthquake. B.
SAUL.J. Punish the sinners..C.
Suffer the children C.
The blind fury. C.
SCOTT. Mark of a warrior.B.
Crossing at San Feilu. B.
SEGAL.E. Love story..C.D.B.
Oliver´s story. D.
SHEARS.S. Courage to serve B.
Corage in war. B.
SHELLEY.G. The devil is loose. C.
SHUTE.N. Pied piper. B.
A town like Alice. B.
Pastoral. B.
On the beach. B.
SLEIGH.B. Carbonel. C.B.
SMITH.P. Incredible melting man. C.
Locust. D.
SMITH.W. The eye of the tiger. D.B.
Hungry as the sea. B.
SOLZHENITSYN.A. Ivan Denisovich. C. B.
Gulag Archipelago. B.
Cancer Ward. B.
First circle. B.
SPRING.H. Time and hour. D.
STAFFORD.L. Fountains of paradise. B.
STEELE.D. Loving. C.D.

The promise. C.
Now and forever C.D.
Golden moments. C.
Summer's end. C.
The ring. C.

EINBECK.J. Of mice and men. D.
EVENSON.R.L. Kidnapped. D.B.
Treasure island. B.
OKER.B. Dracula. B.
RANGER.J. Two's company. B.
Zara. C.
Secret hearts. C.
REATFIELD.N. Ballet Family.
CLIFFE.R. Eagle of the ninth. B.

SWORTH. Tales from the long room. C.
KIEN. Lord of the rings. B.
The hobbit. D.B.
STOY.L. War and peace. B.
NSEND.J.R. The intruder. D.
GENEV.I. First love. B.
Scenes from a hunters album. B.
IN.M. Huck Finn. B.
Tom Sawyer D.B.
Puddnhead Wilson. B.

ABLES. Shoe string. C.
NE.J. 20,000 leagues under the sea. B.
KS.T. Star quest. B.
KER.F. Jack. B.
TERS.H. Caves of Dracula. B.
LACE.E. Room 13. C.
ERHOUSE. Billy Liar. B.

GH.E. Brideshead revisited. C.B. Decline fall. D. B.
LS.H.G. War of the worlds. B.
First men on the moon. D.
Island of Dr Moreau. D.
DER.L.I. The long winter. B.
the shores of the silver lake. B.
. Moonraker B.
HAM.J. The chrysalids. D.B.
The midwich cuckoos. C.B.
Day of the triffids. C.B. YABLONSKY Escape to ory.. C.
EL.P. Teenage baboon. B.
nt Express. D.B.
Death on the Nile. D.
Pricking of a thumb. B.
Roger Ackroyd. D.

APPENDIX.VIII

Staff involved in the study

Chilworth School

Headteacher.	Mr Charles.
Head of English	Mr Corbridge.(o level group.)
English teacher	Ms Coombes (CSE group)
English teacher responsible for the library	Mr Cox.
Library ancillary (pt)	Mrs Cooper.
Head of Remedial/ Special Needs	Mrs.Cook.

Richard Draper School

Headteacher.	Mr Davies.
Head of English.	Mr Donaldson (CSE group)
English teacher group)	Mr Dauncey. O level
English teacher (after Mr Dauncey left for promotion)	Mr Dyke
History Teacher responsible for the library	Miss Dawes.
Library ancillary (pt)	Mrs Duffield.
Head of Remedial/ Special Needs	Mr Dawson.

Haydon School

Headteacher	Mr Baxter.
Head of English	Mr Black.(CSE group)
English teacher	Mr Berg.
Head of Remedial/ Special Needs.	Mr Burns.
Teacher responsible for library.	Mr Black.
Library ancillary (pt)	Mrs Brown.

APPENDIX.IX.

Composition of the sample teaching groups.

O level groups

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
total	32	31	31
boys	14	8	16
girls	18	23	15

CSE groups

	Chilworth	Draper	Baydon
total	23	23	22
boys	10	11	12
girls	13	12	10

umbers from each social class,by parental occupation,in the eaching groups.

pcial class	I	II	IIINM	IIIM	IV	V	Unknown.
hil.O.L	4	13	7	5	0	1	2.
raper O.L.	9	10	6	4	1	0	1
aydon OL.	1	8	5	13	3	1	0
hil.CSE	0	4	2	9	6	0	2
raper CSE	0	4	5	7	2	1	4
aydonCSE	0	3	4	10	3	0	2

APPENDIX X.DATA CONTAMINATION.

> The distortion of a text resembles a murder:the difficulty is not in perpetrating the deed,but in getting rid of its traces.
> Freud.Selected Essays xxiii (1934-8) 1939.

The school in which I once worked was Baydon School.I was appointed there as head of English in September 1971 and stayed until July 1980 when I was awarded a studentship of which this study is the result.Both of the teachers involved in this study started in the school as probationers after my arrival.

The fieldwork for this project was started a year after I had left the school.By that time I had moved away from the area.It is difficult to assess the extent to which the data is "contaminated" by my previous involvement with the school.A number of the students in the sample obviously knew me from the past,but they knew no more,or less,about what I was doing than did students in the other two schools.Nor was there any indication that they were,for

example,more (or less) forthcoming,critical of staff,etc., to me than were their peers in the other schools.So far as Baydon staff were concerned,I tried to ensure,during the period when when the data was being gathered,that I told them no more (or less) than I did elsewhere.Some were,and are,close friends with whom I would have welcomed the chance to discuss my developing ideas in more detail during that period.I did so,however,only after the data collection was complete.Staff interviews at Baydon I found were more difficult than in either of the other schools.

Had I wished to institute an explicitly comparative study of schools,I would certainly not have decided to work in one in which I had taught.As is made clear in chapter 2 the decision to work at Batdon was taken on the assumption that this was not an experimental study.My involvement with Baydon clearly gave me an insider's perspective which I lacked in the other two schools,but it certainly did not make my role easier in that school.The one advantage afforded by my previous involvement was that it enabled me to take a much more critical look at the achievements and limitations of the work of the English department

The decision to write this study with minimal emphasis upon the individual personalities involved is quite separate from my association with one of the schools and derives from my readings in critical theory and social sciences.

should also be declared.During the second year of the fieldwork,our daughter attended the school as a first year pupil,so that I had some contact with the school in a parental capacity.After the completion of the fieldwork,my wife did some supply teaching in the school for a term.Neither of these connections affected either the collection or the interpreatation of data for this study.

My involvement with Baydon and Chilworth (to a much lesser degree) gave me access to information which is not reported here.In regard to both schools,I have sought to employ in the report only that informatiom which could have been gathered by an outsider and which does not breach confidentiality.

The reader must judge for herself the extent to which the text is distorted by this contamination.

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