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for the discussion of new trends in education

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**HIV/AIDS Education
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National Curriculum
National Assessment**

Editorial Board

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Michael Armstrong, Harwell County Primary School, Oxfordshire.

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Mary Jane Drummond, Cambridge Institute of Education.

Lee Enright, Emmanuel Middle School, Verwood, Dorset.

Jill Hoffbrand, Haggerston School, Hackney.

Peter Mitchell, Chief Education Officer, Camden.

Roger Seckington, The Bosworth College, Leicestershire.

Nikki Siegen-Smith, Wilson County Primary School, Reading.

Brian Simon, Emeritus Professor, Leicester University.

Liz Thomson, Senior Advisor, Buckinghamshire.

Harvey Wyatt, The Woodlands School, Coventry.

Editors

Nanette Whitbread, Adult Basic Education, Leicestershire.

Clyde Chitty, School of Education, University of Birmingham.

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Business information: correspondence relating to subscriptions etc. should be addressed to Lesley Yorke, FORUM, 60 Elms Road, Leicester LE2 3JB. Tel: 0533-700429.

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The Next FORUM

The main focus for the next **Forum** in January 1990 will be a symposium of articles on religious education and collective worship under the Education Reform Act: teachers and advisers will discuss the implications from a variety of standpoints. Other articles will continue our discussion of aspects of the Act which directly impact on schools. David Halpin considers how to make sense and be positive about the national curriculum and Gordon Kirkpatrick examines the local management of primary schools with delegated budgets. We hope to include a further report on important developments in Scotland.

Editorial

'At the end of the 1980's, British education is in disarray.' Thus began a wide-ranging article by Peter Wilby, Education Editor of **The Independent**, given front-page prominence in the newspaper on July 17 this year. The headline said it all: 'Schools pay the price of Baker's folly.'

According to Peter Wilby, two overriding weaknesses had brought the education service to its present sorry state. In the first place, Kenneth Baker had no understanding of what computer experts call 'system overload'. With a good eye for short-term publicity advantage but a poor one for under-lying problems, he had introduced a wide variety of changes to the country's education system without bothering to consult teachers, union leaders, local authorities or parents. New directives were descending on schools almost daily, sapping the morale and energy of headteachers and their staffs.

And this brings us on to Wilby's second indictment of the former Education Secretary: his failure to understand that educational improvement was impossible without the support of well-qualified, skilled and highly-motivated teachers.

A number of important reports have recently appeared to back up Wilby's thesis and indicating that in many areas schools are both failing to recruit qualified and talented teachers, and running the risk of losing those they already have.

In an NFER survey of local education authorities' recruitment practices, published in May, 50 per cent of LEAs reported a significant drop in applications for headship of all types in the past five years, with more than 70 per cent experiencing difficulty in the past two years in drawing up shortlists of suitable candidates. Many LEAs felt that Local Management of Schools and the National Curriculum were discouraging those teachers who believed that their experience and training were for a headship role which was fast disappearing. One authority reported that nearly 30 heads and 10 deputies of primary schools were seeking early retirement, largely because of the National Curriculum and LMS.

In the same month, a Gallup poll conducted for **The Daily Telegraph** revealed that nearly one in three state school teachers were actively considering leaving the profession. The highest proportion wishing to leave were secondary school teachers: 37 per cent; while the proportion of primary school teachers looking for a way out was just under a quarter. Rapid change in schools, increased workload and increased stress were cited as the main reasons for wanting to leave, only 14 per cent mentioning low pay. Ninety-six per cent felt that their profession was 'mis-judged and seriously undervalued'. Nearly two-thirds of those questioned disapproved of testing at 7, 11 and 14; three-quarters opposed the idea of schools being allowed to opt out of local authority control; and nearly half were against schools being given control of their own budgets.

There was some indication towards the end of his period in office that Kenneth Baker was becoming aware of the need to woo the teachers with a few honeyed words. For example: he used the conclusion to his IBM lecture on the recruitment and training of teachers at the Royal Society in London on 23 May to pay them some long-overdue compliments:

Our teachers stand comparison anywhere in professionalism, dedication and imagination. We start from a high base of performance. We are well-equipped to venture on change. The achievement of schools in the last three years in bringing the new GCSE examination to a successful introduction is witness to that. The professional work now going on in schools all over the country to prepare the way for introducing the National Curriculum inspires confidence that that too will be a job well done.

We learn from **The Sunday Telegraph** (30 July) that in one of his last acts as Education Secretary, Mr Baker warned his Cabinet colleagues in a confidential memorandum that the growing shortage of teachers and the crisis of morale within the profession could be overcome only if much more money was provided to improve teachers' salaries. He also gave a strong warning about the deteriorating condition of school buildings and appealed for more money for capital spending.

Yet, vitally important as these things undoubtedly are, they do not tackle the real problem which is not, as we have seen, low pay or bad working conditions, but the whole issue of 'innovation overload' and the inferior role allocated to teachers in the present situation. More than one contributor to this number of **Forum** bemoans the changing role of the teacher from that of 'curriculum developer' to one of 'curriculum deliverer'. The Thatcher Government's well-known contempt for teachers, and indeed for the educational establishment as a whole, makes it very difficult to accept the sincerity of Baker's IBM sentiments.

Whatever we may think of the National Curriculum — and in its embryonic form it must surely represent the most banal curriculum model ever devised — it is only teachers who can rescue the Government from its supreme folly and make an educational reality out of a trivial design. This is the essential point that Her Majesty's Inspectorate was making in its 1987-88 Annual Report published in February:

Whether the future of education is viewed as problematic or challenging, it is clear that the improvements sought for and intended through the Education Reform Act and other initiatives will be achieved only if the teachers are sufficient in number, suitably qualified and experienced, and so committed to the changes that, un-supervised, in thousands of classrooms, they will bring their professional skills and competence to bear upon the job in hand.

Worth bearing in mind, Mr MacGregor!

National assessment and the evaluation of schools

Caroline Gipps

Having previously taught in primary schools, Caroline Gipps is now a lecturer in Curriculum Studies at the University of London Institute of Education. Here she follows up her previous article on the TGAT Report by looking at national curriculum assessment in the light of recent moves to monitor school performance.

There is considerable discussion at the moment about the publication of national curriculum assessment data and its use in the evaluation of schools. It is worth pointing out, however, that there is a history to this move to monitor school performance through assessment results.

The first attempt in recent years came with the setting up of our other National Assessment — The Assessment of Performance Unit (APU). Although the APU was set up in 1974 at a time of concern over the education of minority children, and had as one of its tasks to identify 'underachievement', in reality its main task, as far as the DES was concerned, was to operate as an indicator of educational 'standards' and to give ministers information on whether, and by how much, these were rising or falling.

In the growing atmosphere of accountability in the late 1970s, when it became clear that the APU was intending to monitor standards, there was considerable concern that the APU was intended as an instrument to force accountability on schools and therefore teachers. The APU assessment programme, though ostensibly concerned with children's standards, was interpreted as potentially dealing with teachers' competencies. The teaching unions, therefore, viewed it with great concern. The idea of accountability of teachers related to pupil assessment came as a considerable shock to teachers, and the teacher unions were allowed to bargain for strict anonymity and confidentiality of data, so that test results could *not* be used to evaluate individual schools. In the event, the decisions to go for light sampling, and anonymity of pupils and schools (the latter being a firm requirement of teaching unions), precluded any role for the APU in teacher and school evaluation.

With the statistical problems in measuring changes in performance over time, the APU's aim of monitoring standards, and thus the performance of schools *in general*, also became weakened. The test development teams, with their background in subject-area research rather than psychometrics, sought to resolve this situation by using the data for research purposes making a more detailed analysis of their findings, for example, in relation to school and child background factors. This was referred to as 'mining the data'.

There is no doubt that the findings from the test development teams include a tremendous amount of

information of use to teachers, whether it is about children's errors in maths, children's misconceptions in science or the linking of reading, writing and oracy skills in language.

It is ironic that this national assessment, which was greeted with such fear and concern by many in the teaching profession, became a research exercise with direct and valuable feedback to practitioners.

How then have schools been accounting for themselves over the last fifteen years, since the APU national assessment was not able to deliver the monitoring of school performance?

School Self-Evaluation

School self evaluation (SSE) has been a major development. This trend began in the mid-seventies and the emphasis was on critical examination by schools of their organisation, processes and/or outcomes. SSE had several purposes: as a response to accountability demands, certainly, but also for professional development and to improve managerial efficiency. The process also took a variety of forms: organisational analysis, process-orientated or issue-based approaches and checklists for self-review. Despite these various purposes and approaches, in general the focus was, and is, on the institution. The institution, not the individual, is the unit of evaluation and change: teacher development and pupil performance issues are considered in the context of *whole school* policies.

This movement, with its emphasis on a professional body carrying out evaluation in its own terms (and research too within an action research framework) to improve professional practice and understanding, was in reaction against managerial and productivity models of accountability, based on economic and administrative concerns for efficiency, tidiness and value for money (MacIntyre, 1989).

A major issue for SSE in an accountability setting, however, is that, although the outcomes of SSE *may* be made public, they are rarely read by the public. Indeed, in some LEAs there is concern that not even LEA staff read the (lengthy) SSE reports.

For schools, however, the importance lies in the process, not the product. SSE is, therefore, largely an 'invisible' method of evaluating schools and is not generally in the public domain. Thus, by the early

1980s, it became clear that professional, school-based self-evaluation was not acceptable to politicians (and to many parents) as a basis for school evaluation in the era of 'value for money' and market place competition.

Publication of Exam Results

Then came the 1980 Education Act, when secondary schools were required to publish examination results. This Act was the first of the new Conservative Government's moves in education and a major plank of the Act was that parents using the state sector should have more information and choice in deciding which schools their children should attend. Thus, from 1982 the annual publication of public examination results (at 16 and 18) was made compulsory.

Reaction to this requirement was mixed: several of the teachers' unions objected on professional grounds, believing that the published information was likely to be misleading and to have a deleterious effect on the education provided by secondary schools; local authority organisations argued that the expense of providing the information could not be justified. On the other hand, there was a widespread belief that schools should be more accountable to the communities they served and that the publication of examination results would help to bring this about (Plewis et al, 1981).

There is no compulsion for schools to provide summary measures of these results such as total numbers of passes and pass rates, although some may choose to do so. The regulations were designed to make school 'league tables' difficult to construct, but certainly in London, the national evening newspaper has published league tables of London's secondary schools.

But the publication of secondary school exam results has not had as much of an effect on schools as perhaps might have been anticipated. Parents clearly have another piece of information on which to base their choice of school, but schools have not become obviously more 'efficient', nor has there been widespread closing down of schools with poor exam results.

Part of the function of the 1988 Education Reform Act is to remedy this situation. It strengthens parental choice, widens the net of publication of (national assessment) results to include junior schools, and strengthens the market place model with regard to the fate of 'popular' and 'unpopular' schools.

Performance Indicators

There is, also, as a separate development, the emergence of performance indicators. The idea is that schools' performance and 'value for money' are to be calculated on the basis of a very wide range of factors including: pupil teacher ratios, qualifications of staff, class management and teaching skills, teachers' commitment and professional attitudes, the quality of curricular management, management of time; students' engagement in the learning process, quality of the learning experience, outcomes of learning, homework policy, attendance and punctuality, attitudes and behaviour including incidents of vandalism and graffiti; and costs per pupil (SIS, 1988).

Of course, at a crude level, school performance indicators are nothing new. Exam results, sports results, the annual school concert have always been used by the public to evaluate schools. However, the increasing emphasis on 'value for money' has resulted in attempts to develop more 'scientific' approaches to the assessment of schools' performance. It is clear that developing sophisticated performance indicators which incorporate qualitative as well as quantitative measures will be a very complex task. At the moment, there does seem to be a commitment to including qualitative information, but we know that where we have numerical and descriptive information, the quantitative data tends to overwhelm the qualitative information.

Performance indicators are still in the developmental stage, but there is no doubt that the 'economics' model of evaluating schools is with us for the foreseeable future. Whether complex performance indicators are used or whether simple league tables of schools on the basis of published national assessment results prevail is hard to predict at this moment.

National Curriculum Assessment

The proposed programme of national assessment to monitor the national curriculum is a very different exercise from the APU national assessment. All children of 7, 11, 14 (and 16 for subjects not assessed via GCSE) will be assessed on tests and activities directly related to the national curriculum. In summary, the arrangements are that each of the core and foundation subjects is divided up by subject working groups into a number of components (eg listening and speaking, reading, writing for language). Attainment targets, which are descriptions of knowledge and activities to be learned (that is what children should 'know, understand and be able to do') cluster within the components. Each of these attainment targets is divided up into 10 levels of performance described in statements of attainment. Children are to be assessed on these by a mixture of external tests (SATS) and teacher assessment and this will give profiles of attainment.

These profiles of attainment are to serve a formative assessment function at 7, 11 and 14 — i.e. to guide the child's future teaching and learning programme. They will also be used as a basis for communication with parents in records of achievement. This detailed, structured information will no doubt be very valuable.

But this detailed information will also be summarised for publication. Children will be assigned to a level of attainment in each subject, and schools will have to publish distributions of performance on these levels at 11, 14 and 16 (for students who have not taken GCSE). Although the Task group did not recommend publication at 7, Mr Baker, the former Secretary of State for Education and Science, did strongly recommend it.

Not only must results be made publicly available for each school, but also for the relevant classes to parents and those responsible for the school. Results for the class may well emerge in the local area as measures of teacher effectiveness. Certainly on the basis of the test scores, local league tables can be formed and parents may make their choice of school.

These school level results are *not* to be adjusted for the socio-economic background of the intake. The TGAT Report argues that using statistically adjusted results to compare schools' performance 'would be liable to lead to complacency if results were adjusted and to misinterpretation if they were not'. Instead, for each school, the results will be set in the context of a written account of the work of the school as a whole and of the socio-economic and other influences that are known to affect attainment.

There is a considerable amount of research on adjusting exam scores for intake and on measuring school effectiveness which TGAT simply ignores (Nuttall, 1988). As Goldstein and Cuttance (1988) point out, the attainment of the children entering a school is the single most important determinant of subsequent achievement. There is a large literature showing that children from socially disadvantaged areas tend to have lower exam scores and test results than those from more socially advantaged areas. Simple school test averages will in part reflect these differences and the students' performance on intake, and thus obscure any real 'effects' due to the school.

The solution of TGAT: to publish results aggregated for the school in the context of a general report for the area . . . 'to indicate the nature of socio-economic and other influences which are known to affect schools', suggests that allowances may be made by parents and others, but at a much less precise level than that of statistical adjustment. Indeed, the responsibility for the interpretation is passed on to the audience, that is to parents and the general public (Goldstein and Cuttance, op. cit).

The reason that statistical adjustment is not to be used is that if the comparison is a direct one parents can look for schools with *actual* high scores — which is what, the Government says, most parents want. This is, of course, partly true, but what this argument ignores is that sophisticated analysis can tell us which schools are performing well for particular groups of pupils, i.e. high or low ability girls or boys, ethnic minorities, etc. (Nuttall, 1989) in which parents will most certainly be interested.

As the assessments work their way through the system there will be 11 year old data against which to analyse 11 year old scores; but, for many schools, irreparable damage to their image and popularity may have been done by then. There is, of course, some scope for an individual LEA to choose to adjust its test results for intake, but how may LEAs will find the facilities to do this if it is not a requirement?

The aggregated assessment results are to be made available in a standard format. This is apparently not so that LEAs can publish league tables: . . . 'LEAs will *not* be *required* to publish league tables' (DES, 1989a, their emphasis!), but so that each school's results can be set against those for the LEA as a whole. And eventually, LEAs themselves will be compared and evaluated: 'In due course, LEAs should also be required to submit to the Secretary of State data on distributions of attainment at the four key ages with comparisons over time for all schools they maintain, as the basis for compiling national data and so that the SEAC and the NCC can monitor standards of attainment . . .' (DES, 1989b).

So, will national curriculum assessment help to evaluate schools?

There is no doubt that the results will be an important factor in school evaluation, although, if unadjusted, they will be highly misleading and could result in the unjustified victimisation of schools in socially disadvantaged communities while failing to locate the poorly performing schools in the socially advantaged communities.

But as parents and teachers know, and the TGAT Report itself acknowledges, a school's performance can be judged fairly only by taking account of many aspects of its work. Notwithstanding this, the TGAT Report proposes setting up a highly significant assessment system requiring publication of results with inevitable consequences: that one indicator of performance becomes *the* indicator, and then the goal itself. In this model, school evaluation becomes straightforward, even simple, but what it loses is validity.

What we must bear in mind, of course, is that not all parents are able, or prepared, to choose a school which is not their nearest one, particularly at primary level.

Also, that what many parents are looking for, as well as reassurance over academic standard, is a school with a warm, caring atmosphere, friendly staff and an all-round approach to education. So, although the unfairness of the direct-comparison league table is what sticks in the throat, it may not come to have as dire an effect as some schools fear.

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A question of choice

Mary Jane Drummond

Mary Jane Drummond is a Tutor in Primary Education at the Cambridge Institute of Education. She has recently become a member of the Forum Editorial Board. In this article she looks at some of the implications of the 1988 Act for teachers of 4-7 year olds.

Contrary to some expectations, the world did not come to an end in September 1989. Instead, according to plan, a brave new cohort of five year olds are now on the receiving end of the National Curriculum. But that is not the end of the story for the children of the Act and their teachers. There are, in the months ahead, some crucial choices for those teachers to make.

First, we must choose whether or not to adopt the ostrich position. We might be tempted to choose to keep our heads down and hope that the National Curriculum and all its works will just go away. I do know one school that barred the whole topic from its staffroom debate until this September, on the grounds that there would be time enough to worry when the Act came into force. But even in schools where the discussion began rather earlier, I believe that our professional unwillingness in the past to debate issues of curriculum may make our present engagement with the implications of the Act less forceful, less questioning and more accepting than it ought to be. Many infant teachers have had more experience of discussing the implications of the Summer Fayre, Sports Day and an impending jumble sale than they have of analysing what children learn, what is and what might be. The seasonal round of trivial pursuits in the staffroom — Harvest, Hallowe'en, Christmas — with occasional diversions into local priorities ('What *do* the children do with the rubbers?') — is not the best preparation for the urgent task ahead.

Next we have choices to make about who will be invited to join us in the present discussion and debate. We can, if we wish, choose to use the next few years as a time when we extend communication *outside* the profession. And if we do so choose we need not look to the DES for support and encouragement, if its view on the role of parental involvement in curriculum matters was properly represented in the original 1987 National Curriculum Consultation document:

Another essential part of the monitoring arrangements will be action by parents, who will be able to pinpoint deficiencies in the delivery of the national curriculum (paragraph 61).

This simply will not do as a model of partnership: pinpointing a deficiency will not be a useful contribution to the dialogue between primary teachers and the community we serve that I believe will be vital in the next few years.

Unfortunately, I do not believe that we will find this dialogue an easy one to open or maintain. Especially when under stress, we have a tendency to sound like

pre-Copernican astronomers, depicting the infant school or department at the centre of the universe, with other minor planets circling around it. We talk of 'my children', 'my parents', 'my school', 'my social worker'. This professional egocentrism must be replaced by an honest commitment to understanding the views of others. There is far more to be done in initiating worthwhile debate about curriculum issues with parents and others than taking down the forbidding — but not apocryphal — notice: 'No Parents Beyond This Point'.

An increased willingness to share our concerns about what is to be taught and why is important throughout the primary sector, but I believe it will be especially important for those involved in early-years education. Being invited to adopt the label 'Year R' (R for written-off, I suspect) for what is, arguably, the single most important year of every pupil's schooling, is insult enough, but the resourcing implications of this epithet may be an even greater injury. If, for example, under L.M.S., we have to fight for proper staffing ratios for the large number of nursery-age children now in primary schools (recently officially estimated at 62 per cent of all four year olds), then we must start talking now to those with the power to give us the resources we need. Governors and elected members must be made party to the educational principles that pervade our practice.

Thirdly, we can choose whether or not to accept the National Curriculum (core, foundation subjects and cross-curricular themes) as an exhaustive description of all there is. This will, I think, be a straightforward choice, since we know very well there is more to effective education for four to seven year olds than is dreamed of in the Act, and the Act cannot take that knowledge away from us. We can choose to stay with a definition of curriculum that is broader and more complex; we can include the unexpected and the unintended; we can keep an eye on moral education, and the way our pupils learn about themselves as persons, male or female, black or white. We can hold tight to a definition of curriculum that is untidy and unwieldy, and we can — and will — articulate our reasons for preferring this way of seeing to that offered by the National Curriculum, which is tidy and fits into ring-folders. We have just been instructed, in D.E.S. Circular 14/89, to engage in 'curriculum audits', and we are now obliged, twice a year, to complete 'curriculum returns': sheets of paper ruled into dozens of little boxes, showing the number of hours spent per year per subject; but we need not let this mindless paper

and pencil exercise distract us from a better understanding of the complexity and challenges of the real curriculum.

Furthermore, we can choose whether or not to accept a view of curriculum that is defined in terms of achievements and attainments at the age of seven. We may, and I believe we will, choose instead to retain an older tradition, dating back at least to the Hadow Report (1933), a tradition that defines curriculum in terms of experiences and learning. The programmes of study, as laid out in the orders, may prove to be a useful antidote to the creeping disease of attainment targets, in that they assert, albeit implicitly, the value of everyday life in schools and classrooms. If we refuse to abandon what we know about process, even for the sake of the improved products that we are told the Act will bring in its train, we will do so because we know there is more to learning than hitting (or missing) a target. Three glorious years in the infant school is a programme worth any number of targets attained.

Next, we will do well to remember that the Act does not legislate for capital punishment for those who disagree with its provisions. The Act does not lay down 39 Articles of Faith, and there will be no public burnings at the stake. So we are still free to choose the educational and philosophical principles that we will use to interpret the practices enjoined on us. So, for example, if we hold fast to the principle of individual difference, we will be able to make mincemeat of the proposition that there are only three kinds of infant — levels one, two and three. If we stay true to the principle that any one individual's learning is rich, varied and complex, and never a mechanical progression along a straight line, we will not be damaged by the impoverished notion that we can say something worthwhile about the child's learning by giving it a number between one and three.

Even if inspectors from a refurbished Advisory service stand over us to make sure we actually write

those numbers beside each seven year old's name, no-one can force us to ascribe meaning to those numbers. We can use our principled understanding of early-years education as the basis for a critical understanding of the practices laid down in the Act.

Lastly, and most important of all, we can choose where to concentrate our efforts as we review and evaluate our post-Act practice. H.M.I. John Stannard, speaking at a day conference for a local branch of A.S.P.E. in January this year, distinguished between the National Curriculum, the delivered curriculum and the received curriculum. He urged his audience to concern themselves with the delivered curriculum, since S.E.A.C. (the School Examinations and Assessment Council) will be concerned with the received curriculum. In the excitement that followed, it became clear that many in his audience were not prepared to follow his advice; many of us will choose to evaluate the National Curriculum not as it is taught but as it is learned, from the pupil's perspective, not the teacher's. There are already too many children in our schools who have fallen into the curriculum gap — that dangerous chasm that lies between what teachers teach and what learners learn. If we are to improve the quality of primary education, as I believe we can, we must find effective ways of exploring the meanings that our pupils make of the curriculum we offer them. This project is a pressing one for all teachers of young children, especially so for the teachers of the youngest children in school, who, typically, accept the curriculum at our hands gratefully and unquestioningly, as if certain that we mean well by them. Four and five year olds in schools will, if we ask them, sit and puzzle over work cards, walk when they want to run, keep silent when they have important things to say. We cannot offer them a curriculum, or even a National Curriculum, worth having, unless we choose to keep their perceptions, their meanings and their learning at the very front of our minds.

On being beaten about the head

Derek Gillard

Having previously been Head of Christ Church CE Middle School in the London Borough of Ealing, Derek Gillard is now Head of a 9-13 middle school in Oxford. Here he writes about some of the frustrations of being a headteacher in the Summer of 1989.

The trouble with being beaten about the head for long periods of time is that, in the end, you don't even notice that it's happening. I suppose teachers have always been beaten about the head — certainly we've always been blamed to a greater or lesser extent for the ills of society. It seems to me, however, that the beating has become very much more violent in the past decade or so and, as a head teacher, I see the effect of this on

my staff: a group of people genuinely dedicated to doing their best for the children in their care but struggling not to feel dispirited, over-worked and under-valued. Much of the blame for this situation lies in recent education legislation. Not that I am suggesting that it is all bad: there are grains of truth and sense in some of it. The 1986 Act's aim of getting parents to take a greater interest in their schools is sensible and

laudable. The idea of a common curriculum — underlining the right of every pupil in every school to a basic entitlement — must be right. The ability of schools to make more decisions about the way they use their funding sounds fine in principle.

However, the purpose of this article is not primarily to discuss the principles, but to look at the practical effects of all this legislation on the school: in this case, my own school. This is, if you like, a snapshot of where we are in June 1989. Some background information will set the scene.

My school is a 9-13 middle school set in a pleasant part of Oxford. I took up my post as Head Teacher here (my second headship) in January this year. The school was formed five years ago by the amalgamation of two neighbouring middle schools. That process had caused a great deal of resentment among staff for a variety of reasons which are irrelevant here. There were still problems five years on, so that I inherited a school with a number of staff on temporary contracts and in which only six of the available nineteen incentive allowance points had been allocated on a permanent basis: another (understandable) cause of much resentment.

On top of all this, the present school year has been the school's OCEA preparation year. The Oxford Certificate of Educational Achievement is a Records of Achievement scheme which has much to commend it: it offers staff an opportunity to think about what they are teaching, how they are teaching it and what, why and how they are assessing it; and it offers pupils a chance to be involved in the whole learning process, making decisions and taking responsibility for their own work. Above all, like all good RoA schemes, it celebrates achievement. It can be a powerful force for whole-school evaluation. But it takes time. Indeed, this year we have one teacher on full-time secondment and five others on one-day-a-week secondments: the equivalent of two full-time teachers for a whole year. As you can imagine, the level of disruption within the school is formidable.

Add to all that a member of staff off sick for five months, a deputy head retiring on health grounds and an acting deputy taking over for the year, an acting head for the autumn term and a new head in January, and you get some idea of the state of the school — and I don't suppose for one moment that this situation is unique or even particularly unusual.

We have spent the past six months sorting out the staffing situation. It has not been easy or particularly pleasant, but we at last know who will be on the staff in September, what areas of responsibility they will carry and what incentive allowances they will be paid. For the first time in twenty-three years I have done no teaching (other than covering occasionally for absent colleagues).

It is into this setting that documents from the DES instructing us about bits of Baker's legislation fall with monotonous regularity. Am I alone in getting a sort of sinking feeling every time a new package arrives?

In addition to sorting out the staffing situation we have spent much of our time considering the implications for us of the 1988 Act. This process began almost as soon as I arrived: Oxfordshire was in the middle of an elaborate consultation process to establish

a formula for delegated budgets: there were meetings almost weekly of various groupings of heads and others to discuss this.

Local Management of Schools worried me enormously for some time. I felt it would diminish my ability to be an educator and reduce me to being a fairly well-paid bursar, making decisions about whether to have this piece of guttering repaired or that floor tile replaced. It's too early yet to say how accurate my worries are: so far, the only effect on the school is that I've spent a large amount of time at meetings discussing the county's formula, my governors and I have spent two evenings agreeing our response to the county's proposals and my deputy and I have had two days' training (which were provided by Oxfordshire and were excellent). I'm still not very clear about how it's going to work, but at least I've given up worrying about it, which I suppose is a step in the right direction!

The National Curriculum is, I suppose, the most significant part of the legislation for the teachers at the chalk-face. Members of staff — in common, no doubt, with staff in all schools — have spent many hours of their own time reading the various documents and considering their implications for our own curriculum. Charts, grids and schemes abound. My science teacher tells me that, for him, the saddest aspect of the new curriculum is that teachers will be under pressure to cover everything. He gave the example of a class which had recently become very interested in some work on electricity — so much so that he had extended the time spent on it and felt that they had benefited from this. Under the new curriculum, he will feel unable to do this for fear of not 'keeping up'.

There is no doubt that the curricula proposed so far are very much better than I had dared hope for (the beaten head syndrome again?) but I still object to members of staff spending hours of their time trying to work out how the work we already do will fit, rather than developing new and exciting curricula.

If I might turn to principles just for a moment, there are four main reasons why I think school-based curriculum development is so important.

Firstly, education should be concerned with the needs and interests of the individual child, and it is clearly only the teacher who is in a position to understand the needs of the individual: 'A curriculum consists of experiences developed from learners' needs and characteristics (as opposed to the needs of society), and a large measure of freedom for both teacher and learner is a necessary condition for education of this kind' (Kelly, 1982). It is clear from many of the comments and documents emanating from this government that the needs of society — and of business in particular — are now paramount.

Secondly, teachers have the classroom experience necessary for appropriate curriculum development: 'Curriculum research and development ought to belong to the teacher' (Stenhouse, 1975).

Thirdly, schools must take their full share of responsibility for curriculum development if they are to be lively educational institutions: 'We cannot expect a school to be a vital centre of education if it is denied a role of self-determination and self-direction' (Skilbeck, 1984). Unfortunately, teachers are now forced to adopt a reactive role rather than a proactive

one. I met the head of maths in school on the Friday of the recent half-term: he had spent almost the whole week in school working out how our work will 'fit into' the Attainment Targets and how to fill any gaps. This surely cannot make for 'lively' education.

And fourthly, schools have been shown to be the most stable institutions to undertake this important function. Many other bodies which over the years have been involved in curriculum initiatives no longer exist or have lost their independence: the Schools Council, for example.

The main effect of the National Curriculum so far, then, has been to change teachers from being curriculum *developers* into curriculum *deliverers*. But we've hardly started yet: we are still waiting to see how the whole testing and assessment apparatus is going to work and many teachers are even more concerned about this aspect of the legislation than about the curriculum itself. A recent survey indicated that a third of all teachers now want to leave the profession. I'm sad, but not surprised.

I'm worried, too, that we shall soon be in the business of comparing pupils, classes, schools and LEAs. This flies in the face of all the efforts which have been made to try to avoid such comparisons which are so often misleading and sometimes just plain odious. Schools are being forced more and more 'into unnecessary and unhealthy competition and into defensive postures which do nothing to raise or maintain the morale of the teachers in them' (NAHT, 1987).

Open Enrolment encourages this competition. Until now, neighbouring schools have had 'gentlemen's agreements' about the manner in which they can try to attract pupils: I hope these agreements can survive the education market economy.

There are, of course, other issues arising from the 1988 Act which are having, or will soon have, a profound effect on schools.

The new rules on charging for educational visits involved me and my governors in a considerable amount of time last term in writing our Charging Policy. It is a concept new to teachers that the wording of a policy has to be so carefully constructed that it will avoid problems of a legal nature arising. We formed a Governors Sub-Committee to construct our policy: this meant another evening meeting and time to read the available guidance and write the policy and the new standard letter that we send out when organising a visit. So far the new rules have had little effect in practice, though we wait to see what happens to parental contributions as people become more aware of the new rules. It would be sad if the end-result of a law designed to ensure fairness for all was a diminution of a valuable educational opportunity for all.

The section on Collective Worship has also had its effect — again, mainly on my time. I've had to write a School Assembly Policy which governors have approved, and we now keep an Assembly Log showing who took each assembly, what its content was and whether it was 'wholly or mainly' Christian in character. I have to ensure that at least 51 per cent of our assemblies fall into this category. I find this section particularly tiresome. Of course, as a Christian myself, I would be happy if children learned more about Christianity — and religion in general — because of these new rules, but I find it ironic that rules should be necessary to achieve this — hardly in the spirit of Christianity itself. And, once again, it involves me in a considerable amount of extra administration keeping the log and checking that we are staying within the law.

There is a more important point, though: for me, the most important aspect of our school assemblies is that they are inclusive — that is, every member of the school (staff and pupils) attend them. I would not want to do anything which changed that. As a Christian, I want assemblies which make every member of my school feel comfortable. I think this might be possible within the new rules, but it certainly won't be any easier.

It's difficult to be positive and optimistic when faced with a government which spends more on three City Technology Colleges than on introducing a National Curriculum to 30,000 schools in England and Wales (Chitty, 1989). It's difficult not to compare the provision of time by the local authority for the introduction of OCEA into my school (two teacher years) with the provision by central government for the introduction of the National Curriculum (two days per teacher).

Despite all this, we are still dedicated to offering our children the best opportunities we can. Despite all Baker's insults and criticisms, overt and implied, we still take a pride in doing the job well. Despite the lack of time to cope with the absurd number of initiatives, we still keep our heads above water. We will, after all, still be here when Baker is just a half-forgotten nightmare.

Being beaten about the head doesn't make the job any easier, but it won't stop us remembering that 'at the heart of the educational process lies the child' (Plowden, 1967).

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Forum Conference

OWNING THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

This conference has now been postponed to the late Spring, 1990

Details in the January Forum

The dear little deadly question of how to do it

Peter Cornall

Previously Head of Carisbrooke High School, Peter Cornall has been Senior Inspector in Cornwall for the past eight years. He is a trustee of the Centre for the Study of Comprehensive Schools. He writes here in a personal capacity.

1. Reasons, Right or Wrong?

The Editor poses me a technical question — how to get a quart into a pint cup in Years 10 and 11 — yet questions of principle push themselves forward! The more certain I become that the present Government does not believe in the possibility of an equally good education for all, the more a deep sense of guilt by association sours the promotion of even those parts of the Education Reform Act with which I have a basic sympathy. The statutory curriculum — though obviously imperfect — has merits, and potential for good: yet its implicit role as the educational equivalent of the food labelling regulations, enabling the consumer to decide what to buy, takes me straight to Eliot's couplet

The last temptation is the greatest treason:
To do the right deed for the wrong reason.

In the end, Becket took his chance of being misinterpreted, and so, I suppose, must we, in accepting the risk of seeming to work in concert with those who are prepared to discount the life-chances of so many of their fellow-citizens. Nevertheless, I want to approach the planning problems of today and tomorrow not directly, but historically. If I can show that the problem I have been set — of how to fit into the week all that to which we believe our students entitled — is not new, but belongs to an honourable tradition, at least my hands, and perhaps yours too, will feel cleaner.

2. In the Nineteen-seventies

At Carisbrooke High School on the Isle of Wight, from the early 1970s onwards, we operated a curriculum for Years 4 and 5 which had these features:-

All students spent 80 per cent of the week in common, studying English, mathematics, history, geography, physical education, science, a 'creative art' and 'social and religious studies', each for 10 per cent of the week.

Some students studied science for a second 10 per cent and a modern language for 10 per cent. Those who did not to do this increased their practical/applied study in place of science, and had certain other choices in place of a modern language.

Students wishing to take a second language had to miss 5 per cent English and 5 per cent P.E. — a contrivance which one regretted, and which may in the 1990s be avoided either by a

longer school day for all or by self-selected 'overtime' for curricular enrichment.

Certification at 16-plus was possible in a maximum of 11 courses, for those who studied two languages other than English, and took two English syllabuses. Such totals were of course exceptional. For many students the entry total fell within Mr Baker's preferred national curriculum range of 7 to 9.

Our only use of modules in the 1970s, as far as I recall, was in the CSE in 'Social and Religious Studies'. Although we already sensed that the building blocks of our curriculum were too large, we had not yet seen how the monolithic structure of the O-Level course, requiring 10 per cent of time in its own right, was to be broken down. (The necessary pioneering work was to come from Peers School and others a few years later, with enormous potential benefit for all schools today and in the future).

3. The Seventies and the Nineties

If we set this curriculum of the 1970s alongside today's national curriculum, how do the two compare?

The present-day CORE demands were fully met, except that not all students were taught science for 20 per cent. If the lack of science teachers continues, how many schools of the 1990s will be forced, law or no law, to compromise as we did in the 1970s?

The FOUNDATION list actually requires a higher commitment of time to applied/practical/aesthetic study than we did, by including both art and music as obligatory, in addition to design and technology. (Many mature readers will recall the sense of achievement which came from making ONE such course part of the required curriculum!). It also makes one modern language compulsory; here, as with science, one fears that the 1990s will, for many schools, see a re-run of the Carisbrooke 1970s, simply because there will still be far too few teachers to make worthwhile courses possible for all. (Official indifference about the future of language teaching, when faced with the desperate statistics on teacher supply, justifies one's doubts about the scope of curricular concern within our governing class. The successful schools will get the teachers they need, and who cares (much) about the rest?).

Had the new rules of today applied in the 1970s, we could not (it seems to me) have continued with separate history and geography; nor would the single option between aesthetic and practical courses have been possible: modular or composite solutions would have seemed unavoidable, and we might have looked to our modular social and religious studies for a model, because this syllabus contained our careers and health

A DESIGN GUIDE for the curriculum of Years 10 and 11, derived from the “FORM A” mentioned in the text.

| | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | I | J | K |
|--|------------|--|----------------------------|-----------------|--|--|---------------------------------|---|--|-----------------------------------|--|
| TVEI TERMS | Maths | Balanced Science | Communication and Language | | Social, Environmental Economic Awareness | Design and Technological Capability | Aesthetic, Creative, Expressive | Physical | Religious and Moral | Personal Guidance and Development | The time available in this column will depend on a) allocations A-J; b) whether optional extra time is made available to students in Years 10 and 11 The time can be used for courses <i>not</i> included A-J, or for the <i>enhancement</i> of courses to allow GCSE entry. Obvious examples are:- Second modern language (e.g. Russian) Classical language Enhancement might apply to courses in columns E,F,G. |
| NATIONAL CURRICULUM TERMS | Maths | Science | English | Modern Language | Geography, History | Design and Technology | Art, Music | Physical Education | Religious Education | | |
| EXAMPLES OF POSSIBLE ASSOCIATED COURSES, COMPONENTS AND THEMES | | Ceramics Food Science Geology, Photography Rural Science Textile Technology | Drama, Business Studies | | Economics, Environmental Studies, Multi-Cultural Education, Politics | Craft, Design, Technology Drama Dance, Home Economics (Food and Textiles), Rural Studies | | Active leisure, Dance, Environmental Studies, Health Edn., Outdoor Edn. | Careers Education, Health Education, Home and Family, Multi-cultural Education, Political Education. | | |
| POSSIBLE % ALLOCATIONS OF TIME | 10 | 20 (Lower option rejected.) | 10 + 10 | | 10 15 | 15 10 + 10 | | 5 10 | 5 5 + 5 | | 15 -5 This lower set of allocations leaves scope for a GCSE course in column K, with time to spare. This high set of allocations is obviously impossible without “overtime”. |
| GCSE at 16+? | 1 syllabus | 2 syllabuses (equivalent) | 1 or 2 syllabuses | 1 syllabus | 1 composite syllabus | 1 or 2 syllabuses | | Possibly 1 syllabus | Possibly 1 syllabus if composite | | Possible scope to increase total syllabuses by 1 or 2? (e.g. Latin, and enhancement of Art or Music.) |

education for older students, in addition to a range of modules in the field of morality and religion.

4. Cross-curricular Approaches to Entitlement

This mention of what we would now call 'cross-curricular themes' allows me to move forward a few years, to the early 1980s, the time of *The School Curriculum*, and of the first accounts of how a few schools were experimenting boldly with modular GCE syllabuses. Here in Cornwall, I was particularly eager to explore the idea of entitlement, under the stimulating influence of Red Book 3, the final product of the major collaboration in the later 1970s between HMI and a group of LEAs. I persuaded five secondary schools to join in an attempt to analyse the curriculum of Years 1, 2 and 3 (now 7, 8 and 9) creating a matrix based on a horizontal listing of Skills and Information components, set against a vertical listing of all distinct courses offered by each school in the three years under scrutiny.

The horizontal list makes interesting reading, as I return to it after the passage of six years:-

SKILLS CONTENT

LANGUAGE; speaking, listening, writing, reading
NUMBER; computation, measuring, estimation, presentation
INFORMATION; discovery, selection, application
THINKING; logic, analysis, testing, self-criticism
THE EYE; efficient observation
THE EAR; attentive listening
MAKING; designing, planning, dexterity
BEAUTY; music, 2-D, 3-D, drama, dance, literary
THE BODY; exercise, development
HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

INFORMATION CONTENT

The Human Condition upon Earth
The Relation of the Individual to Society
The Essence of being Human
Healthy and Safe Living
Science, Technology and Human Life
Homemaking and Parentcraft
The Maintenance of a House
The Market and the Consumer
Education and Training after 16; employment and self-employment.

This list, presumably, encapsulates my personal and perhaps idiosyncratic design for a curriculum of entitlement! (Several echoes of it have been heard in the LEA 1989 policy statement referred to below.) Needless to say, the results of our analysis varied from school to school. Some visually impressive presentations were developed, and one felt sure that the interest of many teachers had been caught, if only for a short time. How far the lessons of the enterprise had been understood, and as a result permanently changed the mutual attitudes of specialist teaching teams, I cannot guess. What does seem clear to me, from the process of re-discovery, is the sharp relevance of this attempt not only to the introduction of today's cross-curricular material, but also to the sharing-out of responsibility for the growing list of Attainment Targets set for the Core and Foundation Subjects of the national curriculum. The type of analysis which was undertaken for me in 1982, partly from interest, partly (no doubt) to humour the Chief Inspector, will be an inescapable part of the process by which every school,

primary and secondary, comes to achieve, in the most economical manner, its coverage of all the Targets and all the cross-curricular elements expected of it nationally and locally. I naturally hope that folk-memory in the pioneer schools serves to make their latter-day tasks a shade easier.

5. The Extension of TVEI, and Form A

Time moved on. The Pilot TVEI schemes, in spite of the money they offered, struck many of us as having no legitimate place in the comprehensive pattern, for the double reason that they involved the selection both of schools and of students. Our commitment was limited, our attitude watchful. Then came the first details of the Extension, and an increasing certainty that the deployment of these resources, remarkably, would be consistent with the purest of comprehensive principles. Even if the scale of funding was to be very much lower, it could be used in the interests of all students to 16, and of all who made themselves available to the age of 18. What was more, the TVEI expectations were far more explicit in the areas of personal development, civic awareness and at least some aspects of social justice, than were the current pronouncements of the DES, where curricular traditionalism, 1902-style, seemed at least temporarily dominant.

As 1987 closed, however, we knew that this traditionalism would soon be presented to us in the form of statutory obligation, and that the necessary processes of manipulation and subversion would take time! Meanwhile there were TVEI submissions to be prepared, school by school, and how were the hard-pressed and deeply-worried curriculum planners to be helped? Was there a means by which what could appear to be totally distinct and even contradictory expectations, from two branches of Government, might be reconciled and even shown to be mutually supportive? This was the origin of our Curriculum Development Unit's Form A.

Form A was designed to produce a statement, in matrix form, of each school's proposed curriculum. It simply aligned, on the horizontal axis, the elements of the National Curriculum as proposed to Parliament, with the expectations for Years 4 and 5 (no 10 and 11) of the TVEI. The vertical axis represented the time dimension, so that schools could show how their current practice (described in the topmost section) would be changed over a three-year period; within each school year they would distinguish between courses required of all students and those available but not compulsory, thus showing their rate of progress towards a largely common curriculum.

There seems to be no doubt that Form A was useful in many of our Cornish schools, because it helped to resolve the possible confusion between statutory and TVEI objectives, while permitting no doubts about the stringency imposed by the arithmetic of a largely obligatory and common curriculum, applied to the years of GCSE certification. Schools responded with proposals which became increasingly realistic, and in many cases revolutionary, as they looked ahead one, two or three years. As one reviewed the ideas of thirty schools, certainly developing in consultation, but each

reflecting a peculiar set of local circumstances, the conditions essential to any reconciliation of curricular objectives (statutory, TVEI and LEA) with GCSE certification became very clear.

The ready availability of modular or other types of composite course is a *sine qua non*, for the inclusion of the foundation subjects of art, geography, history and music in every student's programme, if they are to be certificated. Most schools foresee the use of 'humanities' courses, and of 'combined arts' courses. Some can see religious education falling in with humanities; others, probably a majority, are planning a composite course, probably non-examinable, which will offer a secure place in every student's programme for religious education, careers education, health education and possibly other cross-curricular elements which are not firmly adopted by core and foundation subjects, acting in concert.

6. Completing the Curriculum

The final item in this local record is the LEA statement **Completing the Curriculum in Cornish Schools**, issued to our schools in March. In addition to its treatment of Cornish Studies and Classical Studies, which it expects all pupils to experience during their schooldays, and its emphasis on Multi-cultural Education and Information Technology, this deliberately short booklet lists the cross-curricular themes which the Authority regards as essential from 5 to 16, and has some explicit advice to schools about their handling of certain core and foundation subjects.

It regards as incomplete any curriculum for pupils between 5 and 16 which fails to provide for study of the following:-

- careers education;
- economic awareness;
- education for active leisure;
- environmental education;
- health education;
- home life;
- political education.

It expects dance and drama to be placed on a similar footing to the foundation subjects of art and music. It can see no solution to the GCSE certification of geography and history outside a composite syllabus. It regards the study of literature as unquestionably part of every pupil's cultural entitlement.

More controversial, perhaps, are its comments on science and on modern languages. In both cases, it faces up to the strong likelihood, if not certainty, that some schools (even in Cornwall!) will be unable to recruit sufficient teachers to discharge their statutory obligations in any effective manner. In spite of this, the advice on science is very clear — 'that all pupils in Years 4 and 5 should follow courses of equal length, leading either to double certification in GCSE, or to alternative patterns of approved qualification'. If schools are unable to meet this expectation, then alternative courses offered should be ones which as far as possible have scientific content, such as Rural Science, Food and Textiles courses with a strong science bias, or appropriately-designed geographical, technological, aesthetic or physical education courses.

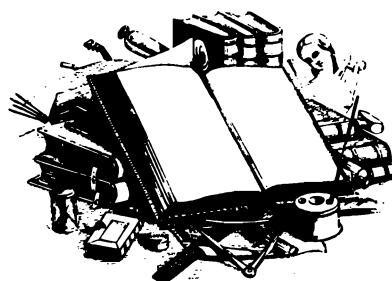
On modern languages, the advice is that schools should deploy their teaching resources in accordance with a clear list of priorities. In the last resort this set of priorities will leave some students in Years 4 and 5, who have not asked to continue foreign language study, without this subject, in order to allow those students who want to study a second modern language to do so. It might be argued that this will, eventually, constitute a breach of the law.

Completing the Curriculum in Cornish Schools comes right up to date with its very clear recognition of the need for unprecedented levels of collaboration between teachers, and between schools, if current demands for breadth, continuity and progression are to be met.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that because a theme can be supported by a range of specialists it necessarily will be; or to imagine that vital cross-curricular themes can do without planning, co-ordination and management. It may not always be necessary to dedicate a separate slot of time on the timetable to a cross-curricular theme (although sometimes it will be), but an arrangement for co-ordination is simply essential. Without this, what is called everybody's responsibility so easily becomes nobody's.

What is true for cross-curricular themes is equally true for collaboration to ensure that the Attainment Targets are covered, school by school, in a manner which employs the skills and experience of all available teachers to greatest possible advantage. Such an objective takes us straight back to the matrix charts and rigorous analysis foreshadowed in the pilot scheme of 1982, described in Section 4. A similar continuity with the past links the Carisbrooke-style curriculum of the early 1970s with the products of Form A all over Cornwall, and its equivalents elsewhere. There are respectable roots for us, if our consciences require them, well outside the age of Mr Baker's 'Reform' (what intolerable hubris that word betrays!); and the knowledge that there was wisdom in the earth before ERA may give us the confidence we need to keep our values safe in a period of acute challenge.

Copies of **Completing the Curriculum in Cornish Schools** can be obtained from Peter Cornall at the Education Department, County Hall, Truro, TR1 3BA.



Towards HIV/AIDS education

Jean Jones

Jean Jones is in charge of Social Studies at the Institute of Education, University of London and co-author of **About AIDS — Teaching to Care**, a recently-published video package for teachers, parents and governors.

HIV/AIDS Education in this country has been fitted into a pre-existing structure of possibilities, meanings and expectations that often appear to combine to narrow and compartmentalise a phenomenon which is broad and which crosses conventional boundaries. Jonathan Mann of the World Health Organisation signposted the problem when he said in 1988 in his Address to the First International Conference on the Global Impact of AIDS that education against discrimination was now a global priority. Consider that that was said in March 1988 when in this country we had just had the 1986 Education Act followed by Clause 28, both constituting in the eyes of many people blatantly discriminatory legislation.

Section 46 of the **Education (No 2) Act 1986** required that:

The local education authority by whom any county, voluntary or special school is maintained, and the governing body and head teacher of the school, shall take such steps as are reasonably practicable to secure that where sex education is given to any registered pupils at the school it is given in such a manner as to encourage those pupils to have due regard to moral considerations and the value of family life.

In December 1986 the House of Lords introduced an amendment (Clause 28) to the Local Government Bill. Despite protest and debate, this clause became section 27 of the *Local Government Act 1986*:

27(1) the following section shall be inserted after section 2 of the **Local Government Act 1986** (prohibition of political publicity):

2A — (1) A local authority shall not —

- (a) promote homosexuality or publish material for the promotion of homosexuality;
 - (b) promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship by the publication of such material or otherwise;
 - (c) give finance or other assistance to any person for either of the purposes referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) above.
- (2) Nothing in subsection (1) above shall be taken to prohibit the doing of anything for the purpose of treating or preventing the spread of disease.

HIV/AIDS Education work in schools has been fashioned within this reality but also, and equally importantly, within the meaning of HIV/AIDS set by the government and the media during the first years of the epidemic. Remember the early TV advertising campaign 'AIDS — The tip of the Iceberg' and recall the hysteria of some of the newspaper headlines of 1985:

'AIDS is the wrath of God', says Vicar

Warning over AIDS. The work of 'killer bug' set to rival heroin.

Terror of the 'Plague'

'Gay Plague' brings new havoc

March of the 'Gay Plague'

Is it any wonder that in 1987 when the D.E.S. had produced their video intended for use in schools, children were playing a game called 'AIDS Tag' and were constructing their own mythology of AIDS?

We have also to remember that during recent years while HIV/AIDS Education has been fashioned there has been an increasing centralisation of control of the curriculum. This process not only attempts to determine where content will be located, so the DES Curriculum Consultation Document (July 1987) talked about health education as a cross-curricular theme, but has also attempted to proscribe certain areas where AIDS Education would have been likely to occur. So Personal and Social Education, Social Studies and Integrated Humanities are vulnerable and marginalised by their non-appearance as foundation subjects or as options in the National Curriculum. These are curriculum areas of great significance to many of us who would point to a tradition of grass-roots development which has brought with it a sensitivity to learners and to their community and to social and political problems that our new curriculum masters are so desperate to dismantle. It is essential to look at the National Curriculum from the vantage point of what it seeks to destroy as well as what it seems to implement. There is no neutrality or balance in all of this.

Within this climate, the need to codify and to limit takes on the appearance of empire. It is at least possible to influence Subject Working Parties but this is not true of D.E.S. statements and initiatives. Circular 11/87 went so much further than the 1986 Act in recommending what sex and HIV/AIDS Education should be like. It also singled out 'homosexual behaviour' for special censure:

22. There is no place in any school in any circumstance for teaching which advocates homosexual behaviour, which presents it as the 'norm', or which encourages homosexual experimentation by pupils. Indeed encouraging or procuring homosexual acts by pupils who are under the age of consent is a criminal offence. It must also be recognised that for many people, including members of various religious faiths, homosexual practice is not morally acceptable, and deep offence may be caused to them if the subject is not handled with sensitivity by teachers if discussed in the classroom.

This was followed by:

23. The Government has emphasised that the key to limiting the spread of AIDS lies in enhanced public understanding about the disease and the ways in which infection is and is not transmitted. Schools can contribute towards the general level of awareness through the teaching which they offer. The Secretary of State believes that education about AIDS is an important element in the teaching programmes offered to pupils in the later years of compulsory schooling.

Where in all the government literature is there anything about learning to care for ourselves and for others? How do we examine our own entrenched prejudices which marginalise very significant groups of people in our society or change accustomed patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values which make the adoption of safer sexual practices a threat to our image, to our femininity or masculinity or our investment in sexual freedom? Where is the essential scrutiny of the actions of societies and governments in their tardy response to developing knowledge in this area? Where is the knowledge of the disease itself — changing, advancing and arising not only in the scientific research establishment but amongst people with AIDS who have had to seek to understand and therefore gain a degree of control over their own lives? Where is the space to examine the consequences of contracting the illness, the loss of jobs, of insurance and of homes? Where do we examine the significance of the death of young people in a society which shies away from an admission of human mortality? Instead we have the callous misuse of the dying, for example as a warning to young people in the 1987 D.E.S. video and following that in the Catholic Church's response to it, **The Time to Embrace**. Here AIDS is set within a carefully constructed imagery of death and dying that rules out the possibility of the real learning that can come from looking at how people are living courageous, productive and fulfilled lives with AIDS. The point I want to make is that we can learn so much more from those people with AIDS who make their lives available to us than that their present condition could have been avoided by use of a condom. The assumption that the present epidemic could have been avoided by safer sexual practice obscures the likely reality of a disease contracted five to ten years ago when knowledge about the nature of transmission was not widely available. The list is incomplete, but all this and more is surely the knowledge that should constitute HIV/AIDS Education.

Essentially HIV/AIDS Education should begin from where the learners are, but immediately this raises problems — who are the learners and where is their starting-point of knowledge and experience?

There are very real issues here as we attempt to define and come to terms with a complex and multi-faceted reality. For how many of us does HIV/AIDS Education evoke ideas of safer sex — and do we view that as the use of a condom or the restriction of numbers of partners? If either spring to mind does that suggest the success of the Health Education Authority and government campaign, or may we be the unwitting dupes of a carefully constructed but perhaps unwarranted commonsense? We need to recognise that we all are and have been influenced by information and attitudes that have been made available to us over the

past few years. Who, then, are the learners? The young people we teach certainly need HIV/AIDS education, but what about ourselves, their teachers? Are we seen, or do we see ourselves, as indeed in so many areas of what we teach, as largely removed from the category of learner by virtue of superior age, education or lifestyle? Consider that when HIV/AIDS exists in the heterosexual population, its rate of increase is exponential, whereas in gay male communities in both Great Britain and the United States the rate of increase has significantly slowed. We all have so much to learn.

Two points then: first, let us take great care with our definition of what counts as HIV/AIDS education and then be quite clear that it has to be education for all of us. Second, that when we consider our policy and practice in relation to HIV/AIDS education we should at the same time make provision to meet our own need for knowledge, understanding and support.

I would like to amplify each of these points in the context of the curriculum planning work that schools need to be involved in.

The Place of HIV/AIDS Education in the Curriculum

First, then, is definition, and inextricably linked with this is location in the curriculum. At the onset it is important to be clear that responses such as 'we simply can't fit anything else in' or 'when are we supposed to fit it in?' are hardly surprising. The dictats of recent months have given little credibility to the view or reassurance of those who maintain that the school curriculum can be responsive to needs, whether they are the needs of students, schools, communities or societies.

An enormous strength and vitality in teaching in this century has come from just such responsiveness, sometimes in the form of new examination syllabuses and new forms of examinations, sometimes in the form of the careful construction of new forms of delivery of existing subjects as in integrated science or integrated humanities.

Many initiatives have arisen in school or in the Local Authorities, but others have come from central directives such as TVEI. These suggestions must suffice to indicate that over a number of years the teaching profession has created new forms, introduced new content and restructured its work to take account of a whole variety of needs. HIV/AIDS education is itself such a need and crosses the boundaries of student, school, community and society, for it has to respond and take account of all of these. How do we do this when at first sight our freedom of action is being curtailed?

Not only is the general educational context one which is seen as inhibiting and restrictive; but in HIV/AIDS education itself we have seen the unwarranted censorship of the work of leading professionals in the field. It is worth recalling the controversy and delay surrounding the publication of Doreen Massey's **Teaching about HIV and AIDS**, finally published by the Health Education Authority in 1988.

The channelling of government funding through the HEA is a matter of concern for workers in the field, and this has been reinforced by recent government

attempts to divert aspects of the HEA's work from the community to the individual. **The Independent** reported on 16 May 1989:

David Mellor, the Health Minister, has told the authority that it must 'work fully within government policies' and reconsider its plans for community projects in which local people define their own health needs.

At the heart of the new argument is the Government's adherence to the view that people are responsible for their own health, while health promoters argue that the issue is much broader . . .

Already the authority has had to scrap its Aids campaign for schools and to modify the language used in its Aids media campaign aimed at homosexual and bisexual men.

It is within this emerging context that practice in schools has to be developed, but I do believe that real possibilities exist. If these possibilities cannot be realised in practice, then the curriculum revision we are at present involved in will require fundamental change. Any curriculum requires flexibility of structure and of focus and HIV/AIDS education provides us with the possibility to examine the receptiveness and adaptability of our new forms.

The National Curriculum that we all face is perhaps deceptively simple in its subject emphasis. Were it to be transcribed literally into school timetables, the fare of our young people would appear narrowly proscribed. However, throughout the period of consultation and planning, mention has been made of 'cross curricular themes' and of the need for cohesion and balance across the whole curriculum. The Inspectorate is now talking of the vital distinction between the expression of curriculum and its delivery. Is this some recognition of the vitality and energy that we may be in danger of losing, or is it some belated acceptance that the Secretary of State simply cannot know what is best for each and every student without reference to their actual constellation of needs, resources and priorities in particular situations?

There are issues of power, control and direction which we cannot go into here, but they impinge forcefully on our thinking about HIV/AIDS education. If we are to be effective in the long and the short term, we need to work from our strengths, whilst attending to our weaknesses. However, many schools may not be totally clear where these strengths lie. Partly this is to do with definition, for if HIV/AIDS education equals safe sex and is therefore put with sex education, then we look in a different direction than if we see the focus of HIV/AIDS education as being to do with decreasing discrimination. Perhaps at this point we need a check-list — not exhaustive but one which may suggest the breadth of our concerns.

HIV/AIDS education is to do with:

- i. changing sexual behaviour
- ii. changing sexual attitudes and values
- iii. changing social and personal perceptions
- iv. reducing discriminatory behaviour
- v. understanding the aetiology and epidemiology of the disease
- vi. fostering attitudes of caring for others and for ourselves
- vii. fostering attitudes of responsibility

Ideas about the aims of our work need to be debated widely within each school before we are clear about

what it can and should mean in that particular context. Discussion needs to occur in departments and in Governors' meetings as well as in senior planning and management teams. Consideration should be given to both strengths and weaknesses. Strengths may be of process as well as of content, for in this area expertise may come to consist far more in ways of relating both to knowledge and to students than in the possession of particular types of knowledge.

Health education has developed and promoted an idea of process but the absence of health education from some schools should not blind us to the possibility that some of these skills and ways of relating may be found in other areas. The expressive arts with their emphasis upon the realisation and expression of feelings will be essential, the very particular knowledge of young people acquired by a tutor who has spent several years with a tutor group will be invaluable, the particular clarity of the scientific search for knowledge of disease and of cure is vital, and so we could go on. HIV/AIDS education needs to draw upon, contribute to, and be found in all of these areas. Above all, it brings into school some features which will require the utmost sensitivity, others which are controversial and challenging, and yet others which will lead us to question what has previously gone unquestioned.

I am suggesting that schools look at what they do and how they do it in relation to what they as a school want to achieve, and here I mean the whole school as a community of students, teachers, parents and governors. And beyond this, there should be consultation with voluntary and statutory agencies in the local community for both the incidence and response to HIV/AIDS in any community is likely to be critical for educators. It is worth noting in passing that we do not have well-tried channels for initiating and establishing these channels of enquiry and response.

If HIV/AIDS education is accepted as a genuinely cross-curricular theme, the location becomes much less of a problem. It may be possible for schools to examine their future work in such a way that progression, continuity and coherence are integrated and so that students in their own thinking and behaviour realise that integration. Missing out the steps in the argument because of space, I want to suggest that, however elegantly and adequately we map out the location of cross-curricular themes, students will still require access to some curriculum space, which allows them to pull together what otherwise may be disparate strands.

A persistent obstacle to any integrated approach is students' entrenched ideas of what counts as History, Social Studies, English, etc., and a more alarming tendency to divorce them all from their real life. So the dispersal of all the elements of PSE, whilst it may achieve a not-unhealthy redistribution of responsibility and expertise, should not allow us to lose a sense of care and awareness of the results of our collective efforts. This is not easy when much of what we are trying to achieve lies in the students' future rather than in their present, and we have to take care to make the links available and to let it be our students' HIV/AIDS education that is our guiding aim and not some woefully inadequate idea that we have uncritically accepted.

The Need for Knowledge and Support

This brings me to my second point, which is our own need for knowledge and for support. Here teachers' sense of responsibility and commitment is central for whilst it provides the necessary motivation to take on urgent and difficult work, it may also distract us from the need to prepare and support ourselves. In part, this is a realistic approach to the decreasing availability and restructuring of in-service support. The high visibility of Baker Days, important as they may be for school-based initiatives, do not replace the earlier pattern of much longer-term in-depth support and study pursued by individuals — usually in their own time with the support of the school and Local Authority.

The necessity to provide HIV/AIDS education should make us look carefully not only at what we want to provide and how we want to provide it but at what human as well as material resources we have available and what support and education teachers themselves require. As a society, our progress as sex educators or decreasers of discrimination is lamentable. Parents want teachers to provide sex education; many Local Authorities find themselves attacked when they attempt to provide anti-sexist, anti-racist education. These are areas which only rarely do we subject to rational scrutiny. We continue to base our attitudes and our behaviour upon the unenlightened if not barbaric assumptions of previous ages. Teachers as a whole are no exception to this — sexism and racism can still be found in schools and sex education frequently still stops at penetration and procreation. HIV/AIDS education straddles our worst fears, our most regrettable omissions, and our most reprehensible prejudices. And they cannot be willed away — they can be acknowledged, worked with and changed but this involves our own education and support. Just as with our own students we should not be thinking of what can be done in a limited period of time but rather setting a realistic time scale to explore our needs. They will be both personal and professional and perhaps the most progress will be made where there exists a tradition of continued professional education and personal support.

Over the last year (1988-9), I have been involved in making a video package to support the HIV/AIDS education of student teachers, tutors, governors and parents. One of the things which struck me was the extent to which HIV/AIDS educators were drawing upon their past skills which involved various kinds of professional education and support. It did not necessarily make their HIV/AIDS work easy but it gave them a base of confidence from which to work. Perhaps one or two examples will clarify this: a teacher responsible for PSE with the third year draws upon her skill as an English teacher to construct role plays and organise group work to enable students to work with complex issues. In the same school, a teacher finds that the girls group she helps to run after school provides girls with a safe space in which to talk about sexual experiences, sexuality and their own responses to AIDS. In another school, the Head of English, also a teacher of PSE, works with her local authority HIV/AIDS Adviser and the local TIE (Theatre in Education) team to plan introductory and follow-up work to the play 'Plague of Innocence' by Noel Greig

which takes her class into discussion of social and political responses to HIV/AIDS. The cast of the play follow through their own needs for education as does the HIV/AIDS Adviser — previously a teacher of science who had become aware of young people's needs for counselling and sex education.

A variety of starting-points, numerous directions and different needs. There is little chance that we can all become omni-competent which is one reason why it is so essential that HIV/AIDS education is framed within whole-school policy and practice. Whilst many of us can reasonably be expected to have an overview, few will be expected to put all of this into operation. The multiplicity of demands upon teachers as well as the opportunities available to them means that there will be an uneven distribution of relevant knowledge and skills throughout the profession. What schools need to do is to accept the task of organizing the skills and knowledge, making it available and above all providing for its extension and support.

An integral component of what it means to be a professional is access to knowledge and expertise. At the moment we have a government which, whilst requiring higher degrees of knowledge and expertise, is seeking to devalue and dismantle the means by which both are acquired. 'On the job training', 'learning at the chalk face' mean just that — they are limited, limiting and conservative. They cannot bring about breadth of view or considered, reflective and forward-looking practice which requires practitioners to reach out beyond themselves to shape what might be only a dimly-perceived reality. And this is what HIV/AIDS education means. To face mortality, responsibility, sexuality for ourselves and for others and do this with care and without discrimination is to take part in shaping a future that has few roots in the body politic and social that is being fashioned around us. But that is not all. For all of us in our own personal lives and in the communities from which we come and in which we live there are countless strands of caring, commitment, and responsibility which have shaped an unofficial response to HIV/AIDS. All of this is available to us as HIV/AIDS educators — it offers us strengths, possibilities, support and direction. It is up to us to utilise it and to shape it into an education which can be radical, useful and liberating.



Thinking AIDS — young people's beliefs about HIV infection and AIDS

Peter Aggleton and Ian Warwick

Peter Aggleton is Director of AIDS research and Ian Warwick is a Researcher on the Young People's Health Knowledge and AIDS Project in the Department of Education at Bristol Polytechnic. Preliminary findings from the Young People's Health Knowledge and AIDS Project are reported on in the book **Social Aspects of AIDS**, published in 1988. This article makes use of some of the findings of a longer follow-up survey, conducted at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989.

Introduction

At the Vth International Conference on AIDS in Montreal in June this year, numerous papers were given which described the extent to which young people are now acquainted with the medical and scientific facts about HIV infection and AIDS. The majority of these studies show that on the whole, young people — like many adults — score high marks when it comes to an acquaintance with the relevant medical and scientific issues. They know about HIV, the virus that causes AIDS. They know about its modes of transmission and the steps that can be taken to reduce the risk of infection. They know too about some aspects of safer sex, particularly condom use, as well as about the risks associated with sharing needles and syringes. Yet, paradoxically, at this same conference there were demands that young people (or adolescents as they are usually called in this context) be 'targeted' with yet more information, with yet more facts about HIV infection and AIDS. Why was this, and is there good reason to be sceptical about the effectiveness of further health promotion initiatives of this kind? In this article, we will reflect on these issues in the light of recent findings from a major three year study — the Young People's Health Knowledge and AIDS Project — carried out at Bristol Polytechnic.

Health beliefs and health behaviour

Commonsense and everyday experience tells us that there are often significant discrepancies between what people know and what they do — particularly when it comes to health issues. For example, even though people may know that too much sugar may be bad for their health, they may still sweeten the cups of tea and coffee they drink. Similarly, there are many smokers who, all too aware of the dangers of tobacco use, persist in smoking twenty or more cigarettes a day. Likewise, even though we may know that colds are caused by viruses and not by wet feet, we may still dry our feet carefully after being out in the rain in case we catch one.

These contradictions have a number of causes. First, they arise because human behaviour is context bound. Health promoters, for example, may behave differently when working professionally with adults, with young people and with their peers. They may 'know' the same things in each of these situations, but they may behave differently — their actions being influenced by the circumstances they find themselves in, the expectations of those around, and the goals they are trying to achieve within each of them. The same is true for all of us. The extent to which we are able to sustain safer sex in our own lives, for example, may be mediated by how we see our partner(s), the situations we find ourselves in and the pressures on us to have safer sex in certain ways.

Second, discrepancies between knowledge and behaviour can arise because of the popular or lay beliefs people have about health, illness and disease. These lay beliefs frequently exist alongside bio-medical understandings, with individuals switching from one mode of explanation to the other depending on the circumstances. Sometimes lay beliefs about the common cold may encourage us to take to our beds in order to 'sweat it out'. On other occasions, our actions may be influenced more by bio-medical understandings, such as is the case when we take aspirin or other antipyretics in order to lower our temperature. Lay beliefs about health often have their origins in shared cultural experiences — in politics, religion and superstition. They should not be laughed at or decried because they can have important consequences for health-related behaviour.

Beliefs about HIV infection and AIDS

Ideas like these were important in encouraging us to begin a study of young people's lay health beliefs about HIV infection and AIDS in late 1986. In contrast to many other researchers, we chose not just to examine the extent to which young people were acquainted with the facts about HIV and AIDS. Instead, we wanted to examine their lay health knowledge too. In order to

do this, we first carried out a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews with 50 young people (25 women and 25 men) aged between 16 and 25 — the aim being to identify the range of ways in which HIV and AIDS were popularly understood. We examined the views of young lesbians and young gay men as well as young heterosexuals. Most of those we talked to were in local authority or voluntary sector youth clubs, although a few were on training schemes.

A number of interesting findings emerged from this work and these have been helpful in enabling us to construct a more detailed questionnaire which we have recently administered to 650 young people aged between 16-19 in Avon. First, in our initial work we found that many young people drew a distinction between getting 'the virus' and getting something else which they called 'the actual AIDS'. While some were clear that they could not get 'the virus' from sharing a cup with an infected person, they were concerned that they might 'catch the actual AIDS' that way.

Militaristic language was often used to describe AIDS and HIV infection. One young person we talked to remarked, 'your immune system sends out little *signals* to its little *soldiers* that the AIDS virus *hits straight* at the cells before the immune system can put out any signals. It's a bit like going under the level of the *radar* in the *war*, isn't it?' These kinds of metaphors are, of course, peculiarly modern ways of thinking about the body and the causes of ill health.

Some young people held the belief that AIDS or 'the virus' could be transmitted like a mist or miasma through the air. These beliefs seemed to be linked to the apparent invisibility of people with HIV infection or AIDS. The young lesbians and young gay men interviewed, however, made more detailed reference to particular sexual acts when talking about transmission. Luck or 'bad luck' seemed to figure in the accounts that some young people gave of the circumstances that might lead themselves to become infected. Other categories of people such as 'junkies' or 'homosexuals', it was felt, might expect to get the virus, whereas heterosexuals were simply unlucky if they got it. Given the pressures on young people in Britain today to assume a heterosexual identity, even though their behaviour may be otherwise, this finding raises important questions about the extent to which risk perceptions are accurate.

Although some young lesbians were concerned about HIV infection, they stated that there was no relevant information for them as yet. This was felt to be related to the processes by which lesbians and lesbian sexuality are rendered invisible and unacknowledged by society.

Finally, there was reference to endogenous beliefs about AIDS, with the syndrome being likened to an essence within us all. As one young person put it, 'AIDS? People are born with it. It's in them from the start. It's something you carry without even knowing it . . . rather like cancer really'.

The survey

We have followed up many of the above issues in a larger survey conducted at the end of 1988 and beginning of 1989. We are in the process of analysing data from this at the moment, but are able to report

on some preliminary findings. For example, in response to a question asking those completing the questionnaire if it was largely a matter of chance whether or not they got the virus, 21 per cent agreed or strongly agreed, while 66 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed.

A majority of young people (93 per cent) felt that if they took the right actions they could avoid getting the virus, but when asked how much they felt that forces beyond their control influenced their everyday lives, 25 per cent said they were influenced all the time by factors such as 'parents', 'boyfriends', 'girlfriends', 'the government', 'politics in general' and 'astrology'. These findings are encouraging us in our ongoing work to examine more closely the situations in which luck or chance factors are implicated, as well as the situations in which young people feel they have some degree of personal control over their actions.

Young people were also asked what they could do if they had the virus. In contrast to the impression created by sensationalist media reports, which often suggests that those infected might wish to pass the virus on to others, and in response to a number of non-exclusive choices, 72 per cent of the young people surveyed said they would find out more about safer sex, 63 per cent that they would practise safer sex and 35 per cent that they would have no more sex. Worryingly, 16 per cent said they would commit suicide.

With respect to the ways in which HIV is transmitted, 95 per cent of those surveyed agreed or strongly agreed that they could get the virus if they were to share needles when injecting drugs. 92 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that they could get the virus if they had vaginal or anal sex with an infected partner. On the question of oral sex or masturbation with a partner, opinions were more divided however. 60 per cent agreed or strongly agreed that they could get the virus if they were to have oral sex with a partner, 26 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed and 13 per cent were not sure. 27 per cent agreed or strongly agreed they could get the virus if they masturbated with an infected partner, 52 per cent disagreed or strongly disagreed, and 19 per cent were not sure.

AIDS health promotion and young people

We have only just begun the detailed task of analysing the data from our survey, but what is clear already is that many young people have a sound awareness of the medical and scientific facts about HIV infection and AIDS. In this respect, our work parallels numerous other studies from Europe and North America which paint a similar picture. However, co-existing with this knowledge are lay or commonsense understandings about these same phenomena. These beliefs are what lead some young people to adhere to notions of serendipity or chance when assessing the risks that confront them. They are also factors that encourage some to believe that whereas 'the virus' is not transmitted through shared cups and cutlery, 'the actual AIDS' might well be. Finally, they are the factors to lead many young people to be more certain about the behaviours that pose a risk of infection than about those that do not.

In this kind of situation, AIDS health promotion which relies solely on the provision of further

information is unlikely to be effective. What we need now are interventions which provide opportunities for young people to distinguish fact from fiction, prejudice from understanding and safer forms of behaviour from those that pose a risk of infection. This more participatory style of AIDS health promotion will need to have its starting-point in what young people already know and feel and should be facilitated by adults who are sensitive to the fact that they, too, share lay beliefs about HIV and AIDS. It should provide opportunities for debate, dialogue and discussion, focusing not only on the bio-medical facts but also on the social, economic and political factors that influence popular

perceptions of AIDS. We can already see the beginnings of such initiatives in the work of some of the more forward-looking teachers, youth workers and training scheme co-ordinators who are beginning to incorporate AIDS health promotion into their work.

But let us not under-estimate the challenges that face those who wish to adopt this more participatory approach. It may, after all, be much less threatening to give a fifteen-minute lecture or to show a video than it is to encourage young people to participate in open debate and discussion. After all, the latter may open up to public scrutiny the values and behaviours of adults themselves.

Safer sex education — conflict today; tomorrow the world?

Ewan Armstrong and Peter Gordon

Dr. Ewan Armstrong is a Senior Lecturer and Researcher in Health Education. Peter Gordon is a Sex Therapist and Counsellor. He is co-author with Louise Mitchell of **Safer Sex: A New Look at Sexual Pleasure**, published by Faber and Faber in 1988.

It is good to realise that sex education cannot be neutral. Sex education has a message.

The content and subject matter are not free of values. The themes you choose and the structure you use are strongly dependent on your vision of the world, your picture of people and the way you look at sexuality.¹

For they [heterosexuals] have so much more than us to learn about the workings of repression, and they are tragically far less well prepared to accept the unconditional and absolute necessity for Safer Sex.²

Safer sex offers an opportunity for a considerable improvement in our sexual lives. For many women and for some men, safety from abuse and exploitation, as well as from infection would be welcomed, not to mention the honesty, sensitivity and responsibility towards each other which safer sex necessitates.

However safer sex also offers an opportunity for conflict: for the individual between sexual desire and the risk of HIV infection, and for society between the reality and complexity of sexual diversity and the demands of a blinkered and uncaring morality.

This potential for conflict is perhaps most apparent in the arena of education. Teachers working with young people on safer sex have had to acknowledge the conflict between the needs of young people and the hidden (and not so hidden) agenda of those with the power to veto or endorse the use of particular teaching materials in the classroom.

For example, consider one officially recommended educational resource. **Your Choice For Life**, a video resource package for use in schools with pupils in the 14-16 age range, produced by the Department of

Education and Science, is accompanied by teaching notes which demonstrate the truth of the first of the above quotations; the authors of these materials take the point even further by arguing that:

It is not sufficient for schools to be neutral: pupils should understand clearly that the best way for them to avoid AIDS is to refrain from sexual activity until, as adults, they establish a stable, loving and mutually faithful relationship. The minority of youngsters in schools who may already be sexually active must be made aware of the risks they are running.³

Apart from the fact that it is nowhere stated that a 'stable, loving and mutually faithful relationship' does not, in itself, provide any protection against HIV infection if either partner is already infected, it is made clear that those who may be already sexually active have only themselves to blame for the possible consequences, never mind the fact that there may be a complex range of social influences which determine their sexual activity, everything from low self-esteem to sexual abuse.

The authors go on to emphasise that young people should be aware of the 'physical, emotional and moral risks of casual promiscuous sexual behaviour'⁴. What then can we deduce, as the first quote suggests, of the authors' vision of the world, of people and of sexuality?

It would seem that the world is made up of individuals, rather than communities, entirely responsible for their behaviour: a world where social distinctions and inequalities such as class, race, gender and sexual orientation play no part. It would also seem that we live in a world in which there is a global moral

consensus, where sex is, as Gayle Rubin⁵ puts it so succinctly, 'guilty till proven innocent'. A world where moral value is placed only on the adult expression of sexuality within a mutually monogamous married relationship. Our world, our students' world or their world?

The vision of people with HIV infection projected by these notes is equally revealing: people with AIDS are no longer people, only 'sufferers' or 'patients'; the woman on the video who is living with HIV infection is no longer a woman but reduced to, and objectified as, a medical diagnosis — 'the female HIV antibody positive'.

Gay men and drug users would appear not to inhabit the same world as these authors; instead they are members of 'special groups', by definition excluded from the mythical 'general population'. Comforting indeed for the many young people in our schools who every day are forced to conceal the true nature of their own sexual identity or that of their parents. Moreover, together with prostitutes and bisexual men, gay men are identified as the bridges across which HIV will visit the (presumably as yet uninfected) heterosexual community. Such materials reinforce the confused link between homosexuality and HIV disease and leave the privileged and assumed naturally superior status of heterosexuality unchallenged. In part, this can happen because sexuality is seldom if ever adequately defined in any sex education or safer sex curriculum, and the values implicit remain unacknowledged. As Simon Watney argues:

... there is no intrinsic connection between HIV and gay men or their sexual behaviour ... the continued homosexualisation of HIV disease in the face of all the worldwide evidence concerning the diversity of social groups already affected strongly implies that the notion of HIV as a 'gay plague' in fact protects heterosexuals from facing up to something which they find even more frightening than AIDS — namely, the diversity of sexual desire.⁶

If knowledge is power, then education can, through the transmission of that knowledge, empower or empowerish. The dearth of information concerning how sexuality is actually lived and expressed means that apparently commonsense advice can become dangerously misleading. For instance, while reducing the numbers of sexual partners or entering into and remaining in a monogamous relationship may be for some morally desirable, in themselves they are merely hollow incantations if, for example, the partner with whom one has such a relationship is already infected with HIV, or if one's sexual repertoire does not involve sexual intercourse.

For safer sex to be truly educational, it must be firmly grounded in the realities and complexities of sexual life. It should acknowledge the central role of pleasure in sexual behaviour and raise awareness of, and challenge, the abuse of power inequalities of class, age, and gender. For instance, it is all very well to educate young men and women as to the role of condoms in safer sex. However if culture dictates that a woman who carries a condom in her bag is a 'slag', and that for men to assume responsibility or express concern about safer sex is 'unmanly', our education will have been of little value.

If we can begin by accepting that sexuality means different things to different people we might allow safer sex education to be truly an educational process of stimulating learning, what Bruner⁷ calls 'an act of discovery'.

Braeken and Wijnsma suggest that:

From a preventive point of view ... it is more effective to adopt a lifestyle approach, meaning that the education displays respect for different sexual lifestyles and the freedom of individuals to adopt their own lifestyle, focusing solely on the promotion of safer behaviours as an integrated part of these lifestyles instead of using the promotion of safer behaviours as a vehicle for hidden moral issues.⁸

Furthermore, they affirm that it is the duty of the health educator to select objectives which are realistic and practical, and they acknowledge that 'this duty to be realistic and pragmatic may bring the expert into conflict with society'.⁹

Like sex education, safer sex education is inherently political, charged with the potential to do more harm than good considering the difficult issues, both personal and professional, raised for teachers themselves¹⁰. On the other hand, teachers can be equipped with sufficient awareness, confidence and skills to tackle this complex task; only through this professional response can they hope to enable young people to navigate their way through the often troubled waters of their own sexuality. Facing up to such conflict they may yet find their way; and education may yet make a world of difference.

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9. *Ibid.*
10. Professional training courses on sex education and related issues including HIV infection are available to teachers from:
Education and Training Department
Family Planning Association
27-35 Mortimer Street
London, W1
Tel: 01-636 7866

Science studies for a pluralistic society

Les Jones

Formerly Head of Science in a Birmingham comprehensive school, Les Jones is now Head of Science at Hassenbrook Secondary School, an 11-16 mixed comprehensive school in Essex.

A science education that does not develop an understanding of 'the nature of science' and its interaction with society will be incomplete. Such an awareness will foster greater toleration between its ethnically diverse citizens and counter the stereotype images of science which act powerfully against women and minority groups. This recognition must result in a greater emphasis being placed on learning about science, a range of activities collected together under the umbrella of 'science studies'. This paper explores some of the issues and suggests a possible approach that could prove effective.

The image of science

The socio-economic climate that slowly emerged in Europe was such that it fostered the growth of a particular scientific and technological way of viewing the world. This has become entrenched as the dominant mode of thought, involving a complex set of values and norms which order experience and shape reality. Efficiency, rationality and materialism are given pride of place and the image of science that is projected has been male, white and ethnocentric. On this view 'science' is clearly differentiated from, and superior to, other forms of knowledge. Closely linked is a belief in science's ever evolving ability to 'conquer nature' and find solutions to technological problems as they arise, the 'technology fix' syndrome.

An individual holding such beliefs is not likely to value other cultures and traditions. When viewed through the spectacles of 'Western Science', they may appear backward and primitive. This is monocultural science, for a science education that is truly multicultural will place science within a world context, will downgrade the emphasis on 'Western Science' and will develop a respect for and understanding of all cultures. This can happen only through a recognition of there being different but equally valid modes of rational thought. Only then can science education change belief systems and attitudes and challenge implicitly-held views and assumptions.

A part of this process will occur by educating the young to a better understanding of 'the nature of science', to see it as a human and cultural activity that does not occur in a social vacuum but reflects the goals and aspirations of its proponents. Once the link between the socio-economic, cultural influences and

technological development are established, the way is open to destroying prejudice and myth. In developing a multicultural curriculum, care must be taken that the teaching material that is developed is not superficial and tokenist. Having a science curriculum rich in examples from differing cultures will not in itself be enough as multicultural education has more to do with approach and perspective than with content. A failure to view other cultures from a perspective that is internal to them means they are judged in terms of inappropriate norms and values which reinforce prejudice and fuel beliefs such as 'backward' and 'primitive'. An internalist approach to multicultural science requires sensitive teaching, teachers with a clear notion of the 'nature of science' and the influence of socio-cultural factors. Such teachers will genuinely believe that other cultural groups can have different but equally valid criteria for making judgements and can positively affect attitudes towards cultural diversity.

To break out of this monocultural mould requires an understanding of the role of 'observation' in science. Once the theory-laden nature of observation is conceded, the whole empirical/positivist foundation of science is undermined and opens the door towards viewing theories, not only as systems of knowledge, but as social artefacts, a complex series of interconnecting ideas created by human minds which attempt to describe the world. Thus there can be no neutral language, no facts (observational statements) which can be used as a point-by-point comparison between rival theories.

Such a viewpoint can lead to claims that science is an arbitrary and irrational activity. Nothing could be further from the truth. The choice of one theory rather than another will be based on good reasons, reasons which scientists imbibe during their training. The real point is that science is a rational activity but no more so than many other activities, and a part of the educator's task is to portray this image of science.

When seeking to explain the success of science, the explanation given has often been in terms of 'the scientific method' or 'the methods of science'. The first of these descriptions should be carefully avoided as it implies that success can be achieved by following a prescribed set of rules. The second, whilst more acceptable, should be used with great care so as not to suggest they are either static or capable of being made

fully explicit. The 'rules' or 'methods' are more often spelt out when attempting to make activities that are not usually associated with science more 'scientific'. Such approaches can be harmful in restricting the breadth of an individual's thinking and giving the delusion of objectivity. And yet these beliefs pervade the thinking of many, scientists and non-scientists alike.

Most of what is taught during science at secondary and tertiary levels continues to be the kind of science which will provide a foundation in knowledge and concepts for a further study of the discipline. The concepts and ideas learnt fit within a particular paradigm, a 'world view' — it is within the traditions of Kuhnian 'Normal Science' where puzzle solving is the legitimate mode of progression. In a puzzle situation there is only one correct answer, and in the acquisition of concepts and theories the pupil comes to see that there is only one correct solution.

School science can try and imitate science at the frontiers of knowledge but will fail if the emphasis is exclusively on the acquisition of concepts and theories. In this world the convergent thinker is supreme. Science could not survive, it could not grow, without such thinking as a part of the scientist's armour. But it is not enough, and there is a real danger that the learner scientist's view of science based on an exposure to such an exclusive diet will lead inexorably to logical empiricism. The 'common sense' or 'observational' view of science is still deeply ingrained in our culture.

Modern science curricula appear to be enlightened and invariably stress the open-ended and creative aspects of science. These techniques, involving teaching strategies which downgrade didactic approaches and give the pupil greater control of the learning experience, are essential ingredients of a good science education. Open-ended problems with many solutions have much to commend them in terms of 'active learning' but they are never solutions that challenge or question the laws and theories of science; the message that will inevitably seep through is the one method of science — logical empiricism.

The 'step-like' methods of science are reinforced by the textbook. In science the role of the textbook tends to differ from its role in many other educational activities. The textbook is the major tool by which the scientist strives for competence and such books are constantly revised in the light of new knowledge. The scientific textbook aims to supply 'rationally reconstructed' knowledge in as precise and simple a form as possible and does not give an account of the process by which the discovery was made. The social and psychological factors involved in the process of discovery are lost and replaced by the logic of explanation. The tendency of the textbook is to describe science as a closed structure and to do so in a cold impersonal style.

Let us not pretend we can do without the rational reconstruction of knowledge. The impersonal nature of scientific results is at the heart of the activity allowing other scientists the opportunity to scrutinise and criticise the claims. Present knowledge is a platform from which advancement is made, and new theories emerge only within the context of established ones. It is the teacher's task to help the pupil reach towards

such a platform more rapidly than has been achieved through the efforts of countless minds down the ages.

It follows that the task of the science educator is a difficult one. In the education of the young the realization must dawn that the methods of science cannot be established once and for all, and there is no unchanging and mechanical book of rules which when used by scientists of any century result in scientific progress. The criteria are constantly being refined and redefined as our knowledge and comprehension grow, for they are not something that exist in a Platonic world of unchanging structures. We need to understand that it has been the refusal of some scientists to be bound by the existing rules that has brought about their modification. Progress in science has often been dependent on finding new techniques and approaches to problems that at present defeat us.

As the learner-scientist is not in a position to challenge theories directly we can break out of this cycle only by teaching about science. This involves being prepared to sometimes look at science and technology in a wider perspective.

Science studies

'Science Studies' involves the interaction of historical, cultural, philosophical, social and economic approaches with science and technology. Over the last ten years teaching materials such as 'Science and Society', SISCON (Science in its Social Context) for schools, and more recently SATIS (Science and Technology in Society), have appeared and are broadening the base of the school's science curriculum. Whilst these initiatives are welcome, there is a tendency to undervalue the role of both the historical and multicultural approach. The 'Science and Society' package which was the first to appear on the scene has little to offer in challenging the traditional view of science or orthodox economic values. SISCON, whilst being less open to criticism on these grounds, is hard going for the average secondary-age pupil. On the other hand SATIS can be adapted for use with most secondary pupils but suffers in having a limited historical perspective and an inadequate multicultural dimension.

A historical perspective is the great unifier, gathering under its umbrella all the different activities grouped together under 'science studies', and viewing discoveries in their social and cultural backgrounds. Short historical anecdotes which tend to glamorise and oversimplify the procedures and achievements of scientists are of dubious value. The achievements of a Newton cannot be denied, but unlikely stories of falling apples are often highlighted whilst the climate of discovery is ignored. Of far greater value might be a discussion as to whether or not the science of ancient Greece perished in response to slavery, an explanation of the importance of ancient Chinese technology, or case-studies of discoveries in the context of the age. Such an approach implies much closer links between the science and history departments and the availability of suitable material.

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Putting the ‘why’ back into teacher education

Barry Troyna and Pat Sikes

Barry Troyna and Pat Sikes teach in the Department of Education at the University of Warwick. Here they outline an approach to teacher education based on biographical life histories.

‘Apprenticeship schemes’, ‘licensed teachers’, ‘designated teaching schools’, ‘assistant teachers’ and ‘the mentor system’ are the current buzzwords in the debate about initial teacher education. Calls for radical changes in the way students are ‘prepared’ for their entry into the teaching profession have come from various sources: The Hillgate Group, Professor O’Hear at Bradford University, Mary Warnock, Professor David Hargreaves, erstwhile Chief Inspector of the ILEA and, of course, the former Secretary of State. Their demands for the reappraisal and (ultimately) reconstitution of courses seem to be based on two main platforms. First, there are acute teacher shortages in certain subjects (CDT, Maths, Physics and R.E. for instance) which are simply exacerbated by the unconditional demand that all new entrants complete initial teacher education courses either at under- or post-graduate level. The other main argument, not entirely separate from the first, is that most of what goes on in these courses is ‘irrelevant’. According to this view, ‘how to’ rather than ‘why’ should be the definitive characteristic of the intending teachers’ professional lives. In other words, practical experience in the form of ‘on the job training’ is presented not only as an alternative to academic study but, most significantly, as preferable. Simply put, practice is differentiated from and contrasted with theory. With such views in the ascendancy, is it any wonder that the term teacher *training* has, once again, replaced teacher *education* in policy documents and popular discussion? After all, ‘training’ students to be mere functionaries

in our schools rather than educating them to assume a more creative and, dare we say it, critical role is precisely the name of the game at the moment. But should we abandon pre-service education courses entirely and hand the reins over entirely to practising teachers? We think not.

Research evidence suggests that many teachers continue, consciously or otherwise, to make important decisions about the organisation, orientation and delivery of the formal and informal curricula on grounds which are racist, sexist and discriminatory in a range of significant ways. Should we therefore succumb to a system of teacher education/training in which these practices could well be reproduced systematically? Or should we, instead, develop pre-service courses geared towards the development of a teaching force which reflects in a critical manner on taken-for-granted assumptions, which can articulate reasons for contesting some of the conventional wisdoms about pupils, their interests and abilities, and which, ultimately, might influence future cohorts? In short, shouldn’t we be encouraging students to be ‘intellectual about being practical’? Ambitious aims, certainly; so how might we embark on this?

Well, as two new appointees to a Department of Education with one of the largest undergraduate intakes in the country, we decided to base our strategy on biographical life histories.

We aren’t claiming that this approach to teacher education is unique. We know that colleagues elsewhere include a biographical component in their pre- and in-service provision. We are all united in the conviction that personal experiences and understandings provide an ideal basis from which to begin to explore why we, and others, hold particular beliefs and values and why we, and they, do things in certain ways.

The course we designed was for first year BAQTS (B.A. with Qualified Teacher Status) students and it took up five two-hour Education sessions during their first term. The rest of their time was spent in lectures and seminars dealing with issues such as gender, class, ‘race’ and ‘special needs’ and preparation for visits to schools.

We took as our starting-point the fact that by the time they get to university, students are already well socialized into the culture of schools and schooling.

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It has been argued that an understanding of the way in which science functions is important for ‘cultural harmony’ and requires a full-blooded commitment to ‘science studies’. This has to involve cross-curricula developments with science linking with departments on the humanities side to create the framework that can allow young people the chance to fully explore the issues involved. The adoption of TVEE with its emphasis on Equal Opportunities and cross-curricula links offers schools the opportunity to build in the kind of modules suggested by the above discussion.

After all, the majority of them will have spent over 15,000 hours of their life in formal education. Consequently, they have ideas and expectations about what schools are like, about what equals 'good' and 'bad' teaching and the 'Ideal Teacher', about 'appropriate' teacher behaviour towards pupils of different ethnic and cultural origins, genders, classes and abilities, and about how pupils associated with those different groups behave.

These ideas and expectations are, inevitably, somewhat limited. Our aim was to help the students to become consciously aware of what had happened to them, to see that it isn't the same for everyone and to reflect on the reasons why.

Our combined classes comprised 34 students who, between them, had had a variety of different experiences of schooling ranging (in stereotypical fashion!) from Roedean to a 2,000 plus comprehensive on an inner-city working class estate. We grouped the students in threes and fours, taking care to ensure that, as far as was possible, each group contained a representative mix of state and independent, single sex and co-ed., denominational and non-denominational, selective and comprehensive pupils, 'mature' students and 18 year olds.

Over the five sessions we asked the students to talk, within their groups, following certain procedures and adhering to certain ground-rules, about their experiences of schools and schooling. They were also expected to contribute to plenary discussions and to record their 'observations' in a diary/log.

Each week the focus was on a different theme. These were: personal educational histories, (i.e. where, when, how, why they had received their formal education); school organisation; the school and its community; teachers' styles; and personal, educational, crises and continuities.

While we would not wish to claim that knowledge necessarily leads to changes in attitude or behaviour, we are confident that by the end of the five weeks our students had begun to appreciate just how much schools and schooling can differ. They were no longer as sure as they had been that they knew 'how it is'. As one of our students remarked:

I think one tends to assume that all schools are similar to the one

that you know yourself and I found it interesting and enlightening to learn about others' experiences . . . I now realise how much schools vary from area to area, from community to community. I can now see that it is important to have an open mind when visiting schools rather than expecting them to conform to the standards that I am aware of through my experiences.

They had also begun to consider some of the differences they were encountering in a problematic, sociological way. For example when 'mature' (i.e. late 30s, early 40s) and 18 year old students discovered that, to their surprise, certain of their experiences were identical (such as didactic teaching methods, school dress requirements, subject status hierarchies, the way in which particular groups of students were treated and regarded), they began to question why this might be and why, in some aspects, schools had not kept pace with the rest of society. The discussion which followed (without our intervention) centred on why teachers continue, to a greater or lesser extent, to reproduce their own school experiences regarding discipline, organisation and views of pupils' capabilities and concerns.

We could cite a host of other examples of students starting to question previously-held assumptions to do with class, gender, religion, and the variety of formal and hidden aims and objectives held by different educational personnel and institutions, but we won't. For a start we recognise that, as they stand, such quotes would be relatively meaningless. We would have to wait and see whether the students' awakened awareness withstood the pressure to conform to the status quo that research tells us they are likely to encounter when they start work in schools. And, in any case, as we have already noted, knowing does not always translate into action.

We obviously can't say that our brief course will lead to 'better' teachers. What we hope that we have done is helped our students to be aware of the social nature of education and more conscious of the part that teachers can and do play in influencing and shaping their pupils' experiences and future life chances. We also hope that we have provided them with a framework for examining their own experiences in a critical and analytical way, which will form an integral part of the routine practice of the reflective professionals they ideally will become. For such teachers theory and practice cannot be separated and 'how to' can only follow 'why'.

The innovation of appraisal

Rob McBride

Rob McBride is a Senior Research Associate in the Centre for Applied Research in Education at the University of East Anglia. His book **The Inservice Training of Teachers: Some Issues and Perspectives** will be published later this year by Falmer Press.

The original intention of teacher appraisal was in my opinion quite clear. John Elliott [1989] captured my feelings when he wrote that the White Paper **Teaching**

Quality 'quite ambiguously proposed appraisal as a strategy of hierarchical surveillance and control over the work of teachers, fulfilling such management

functions as discovering grounds for dismissal, providing a rationale for redeployment and merit pay, and identifying training needs.'

While there seems to have been some retrenchment in intentions, it remains a centrally-imposed change, devised without close consultation with teachers. It is tempting to dismiss appraisal as another bandwagon for the politically unscrupulous and the managerially naive. But for teachers, already running around in ever-decreasing circles, it will be a waste of valuable time going through the motions. Moreover, while it is bound to be underfunded, valuable money will be wasted in the pursuit of a pocketful of mumbles.

What can we say about central innovations?

The nature of change

The history of educational change in Great Britain and the United States is littered with the failures of the Centre to direct the actions of teachers in schools. Teachers tend to subvert or marginalise impositions depending on whether the imposition helps their practice. As McLoughlin and Marsh [1978] report: 'We have learned that the problem of reform or change is more a function of people and organisations than of technology'.

Billions of dollars have been spent in the U.S. pursuing the technocratic ideals of criterion-referenced objectives, cost effectiveness, spreading the influence of industry and teacher appraisal. Maurice Holt [1987] summed up the position well when he wrote:

If this approach were effective, American high schools would now be beyond political reproach . . . For it is precisely these managerial, authoritarian ways of planning change that have been relentlessly pursued by states and school districts since the 'back to basics' movement took off in the 1970s. But the reverse is the case: the cure has proved worse than the disease . . .

Changes in practice do not occur when planning is separated from implementation, when decisions are made in one place and teachers are treated as agents of policy. So what is the relationship between governments and teachers? There appears to be a dilemma here. If teachers are not responsible for carrying out policy, are they free moral individuals able to decide on how to conduct their work?

At present the central administration in Britain is setting goals and adjusting the means accordingly. [If there are not enough teachers to teach the national curriculum, invent licensed and articulated teachers — it was not long ago that Keith Joseph was seeking an all-graduate profession]. The effective pursuit of ends was central to the task of managers in Weber's concept of bureaucracy. Means were subordinate, and if this is the case manipulation is a key task. As MacIntyre [1981, quoted in Holt, 1987] has written:

The whole concept of effectiveness is . . . inseparable from . . . the manipulation of human beings into compliant patterns of behaviour.

As the education service becomes more centralised with a national curriculum, national systems of testing and so on, teachers are treated more as agents and the value of their deliberative judgement is undermined. But the practice of teaching is about responding to

uncertain situations, about the teacher using independent judgement. Teaching is not a technical activity. Given simple directions, most of us can make kitchen furniture from a flat pack. Teaching is not this kind of activity. Teaching is a practice.

A practice is a social group of people seeking to reach their internal ends, yet changing those ends as they go. A practice has traditions; it develops from and through its traditions. 'People come together in recognition both of a common purpose and of the need to honour their differences' [Holt, 1987]. There are common tasks rather than contractual obligations.

Despite the attentions of recent governments, teaching remains a practical activity with traditions, common purposes and a [narrowing] range of individual contributions. It is in using this notion of a practice that we can resolve the difficulty of the relationship between central administration and teacher.

The Centre should be concerned with strengthening the practice of teaching. Once inducted, teachers should then be trusted, as professionals, to use their judgement in the uncertain situations they face in each lesson. To reduce teaching to simple rule-following is to reduce it to the moribund and the insignificant. Innovations and impositions based on such a narrow perception will be changed or subverted. Change should be based upon the concerns and interests of the teaching profession.

With this in mind, let us consider what appraisal could look like.

Basic models

1) Product models

A product model focuses on the measurement of outcomes and compares results to a target or indicator. In the United States, targets have often been set in terms of pupils' examination results. It is plainly difficult to set targets that adequately deal with concepts such as understanding or creativity. Moreover, indicators are insufficient in that they require further criteria: e.g. 'Uses *acceptable* written and oral expression with learners' opens up the problem of what is acceptable.

2) Process Models

An alternative is one that utilises the professionalism of its workers and their ability to satisfy the individual needs of clients. In this model, value is given to *carrying out the model itself* — development takes place as the professionals reflect on their own practice. The process, as opposed to the product approach, does not 'generate "information" *about* teachers work but *insight* for those teachers themselves to use in improving their work' [Winters, 1987].

3) Framework Models

These approaches claim that for appraisal to be effective, it must address the issue of implementation. The individual teacher should perceive improvement as both 'worthwhile and possible' [Wise, quoted in Hopkins and Bollington, 1988], and this requires the individual to act as a member of a group. Accordingly, the first step is for the whole staff to evaluate the school and then individuals are appraised in the context of

what is sometimes called a school development plan: '... school level evaluation builds on and provides a framework for individual staff appraisal' [ibid, 1988]. The teacher participates in forming the policy and is then charged with putting it into practice.

4) Two Tier Models

Accepting that review for management accountability and for the professional development of teachers are incompatible, these models attempt to build review onto development. They give management the authority to promote and develop the expertise valued by those at the workplace.

Strengths and Weaknesses

The product model with the accent on quantifiable data such as examination results seem dear to the present government but such models do not help solve the problem of needs identification. Such schemes reveal whether or not expected outcomes have been met but an analysis of how this came about is not an integral part of the exercise. No information is provided for the remediation of deficiencies. Teachers often have no say in the setting of targets; we have seen this in the creation of the national curriculum and the tests that accompany them.

In the present context of education in England and Wales, it is not easy to see how a process model will be acceptable. The central administration is unlikely to approve of a model of this kind when the accountability of teachers is so high on its agenda.

Framework models too may not satisfy the accountability condition though in Cumbria, one of the six centrally-funded pilot schemes, school-based review is widely used to form a whole-school plan prior to appraisal. My greatest reservation about frameworks concerns the relationship between classroom teacher and the rest of the hierarchy. In what sense will the MPG teacher be able to participate in decision-making; what sense of ownership will she/he have? It is worrying that such arrangements see a separation between implementation and decision-making. Impositions can take place within the school too. It seems to me that this is 'product' mutton dressed up as lamb.

The two-tier model enables self-development to be fostered and management to exercise its legitimate functions of training and selection. In addition, this form of appraisal is widely used in police forces in this country; the appraisal of police constables is an example of a two tier model [see Elliott, 1988].

The two-tier approach has the advantage of resting management functions on teacher practice so peer-group observation is more appropriate than a line management form of observation. Mutual respect between hierarchy and worker is encouraged; workers are not just acting out a job description but are people engaged in a partnership. The present central administration may balk at the prospects for accountability, but there is a school management involvement that could be observable for this purpose and after all if it is good enough for the police . . .

Appraisal as an innovation

If there is a concentration on targets, teaching, especially creative teaching, will become a subversive

activity. If the aim is to redeploy or dismiss or manipulate or reduce salaries or make external and unfounded judgements, the response from teachers will be to cover up, to pretend, to suppress and generally dress up situations to please their masters. Inset based upon the needs unearthed by imposed appraisal systems will be boring and irrelevant [see McBride, 1989]. It is no coincidence that we have Baker Days with partly compulsory Inset; teachers will not choose to involve themselves in Inset if it is no help.

I foresee another swathe of careerist bright sparks, pandering to their masters, producing evidence to show that appraisal is working well in their schools and LEAs. They let us all down. Teaching is not a rule-following workbench activity. We need to help build a responsible professional practice. There is fortunately evidence of some LEAs gently building two-tier models but these are a minority. Hewton [Education, 8.1.88] reports that the general trend is of the line management type where a senior figure such as headteacher or deputy head is the appraiser.

And in the meantime it is anticipated that all teachers will be appraised yearly or over a four-term cycle, each appraisal taking 17 hours per teacher [see: Education, 5.5.89]. This is 17 hours less teaching time, probably 17 more hours covered by supply teachers. What a waste of time.

But hold on, the picture may not look this bad. I recently observed an LEA secondee with responsibility for appraisal hand out booklets at the beginning of an [interesting] lecture and then take them back in when he had finished. He was so badly financed that the literature used to support the introduction of appraisal had to be constantly re-cycled. If this is going to be the level of funding, we can expect teachers to embark on the exercise with minimal disruption.

In a sense, then, we need not worry about appraisal in that it is likely to fade and go away. It is just that in the meantime scarce money and above all teachers' time, will be taken away from teaching and concentrated on making the central administration's dogma look like it is working. Until the Centre works with teachers, building a supportive system of appraisal, the process will not improve our schools, only hinder them.

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Behind the headlines — the L.M.S. connection

Brian W. Bell

Having gained an Honours degree in Guidance and Counselling as a mature student in 1984, Brian W. Bell is now Pastoral and Pre-Vocational Curriculum Co-ordinator in a comprehensive school in County Durham.

A recent batch of educational headlines seemingly unconnected with each other reveals a series of incidents and happenings which are indeed connected.

The headlines chosen are glaringly stark, yet tellingly accurate. Beginning with 'Hunt for CEO may spread to the States', followed by 'Parents' Leaders warn of conflict', 'Three out of four Heads take early retirement', 'Authorities postpone surplus places plans', the chosen sequence ends with the sobering description 'Trail of the Disaffected'.

No doubt other headlines and the contents of other news stories could be included; no doubt they should be included too, for the covert connection between the five headlines quoted is quite simply Local Management of Schools, an issue on everyone's lips, a sighting on everyone's horizon. To place these headlines in context and to prove the idea of connection is an easy exercise in idea association; to interpret the rationale behind their connection is, however, more difficult altogether. The headlines themselves tell stories, the stories tell more, the hidden connections more still.

Kent, for example, are reported to have turned to Korn/Ferry International, a top-level executive employment agency, for help in their search for a new Chief Education Officer. The search, it is said, will reach out to America based on the premise that as a number of key positions in higher education are now held by Americans, there is no real reason why their expertise should not be of use to the consumers of compulsory and further education. There is, apparently, a glut of Chief Education Officers with curricular expertise and a dearth of the same with financial expertise. Here in the last sentence, the first connection with L.M.S. becomes very apparent.

Parents' Leaders warning of conflict has again, among other things, an L.M.S. connection — the National Confederation of Parent Teacher Associations warning that the price tag of per-capita funding under L.M.S. formulae could lead to all sorts of confrontational situations between parents and teachers over issues such as exam results, spending, testing and opting-out, to name but a few.

The very fact that three out of four Headteachers are taking early retirement, even before L.M.S. has really begun to come to the boil, seems to confirm these very fears. Pressure of work — stress in other words — seems to be the primary reason for early retirement.

Much of this stress is, I suspect, caused by what is happening at the moment, mixed with thoughts of what will happen in the future. The 'get out rate' is increasing and as the date set for national L.M.S. implementation grows steadily nearer so the 'get out rate' will increase even more sharply.

The fact that L.E.A.'s are postponing surplus places plans proposed by the Government to take 430,000 places out of the system over three years from 1987 is another pointer towards the L.M.S. connection or at least a facet of L.M.S. perceived by parents. Under L.M.S. parents vote with their feet and the hope seems to be that the always contentious issue of closing schools and thus taking out surplus places will be removed from L.E.A. hands by either the 'self-destruction' of schools not accepted as good or by, as is happening, schools under threat of closure opting out. The latter will not be as effective as the former unless opting out is seen in the context of losing places. From the point of view of the Government it possibly isn't; from the point of view of Local Authorities it possibly is. The issue isn't yet clear; L.M.S. will eventually clarify it.

The last of these noted headlines is the most serious. The trail of the disaffected could refer to the early retirement of headteachers or indeed to the moving on of M.P.G. staff and others to the more lucrative pastures of personal finance, pension planning or personal and corporate insurance where, it is said, teachers as examples of good communicators are in heavy demand. The headline, however, doesn't refer to this aspect of disaffection. It refers to the results of a survey conducted by Dr. Jean Whyte. Means must be found, concludes Dr. Whyte, to make pupils enthusiastic about key curriculum subjects. Although not a large-scale study, Whyte's conclusion is that many youngsters may be drawn to seek Youth Training Places because of poor teaching and badly devised school curricula.

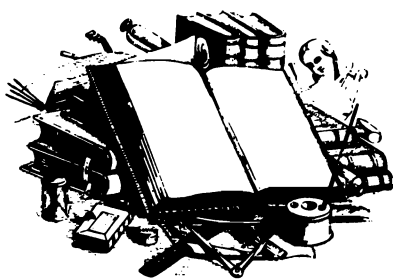
The link between this last headline and the L.M.S. theme is very obviously one of control. L.M.S. is a total concept and not merely a new set of initials for Local Financial Management as it once seemed to be. L.M.S. will be under the stewardship of school governors, and finance will be only one of a set of factors to be

Continued on next page

controlled. Poor teaching will be another. Badly-devised curricula yet another, though one that a National Curriculum ought perhaps to put right in time.

How governors deal with the matters arising from this collection of headlines; how they establish and exert the control that they will shortly have will be of crucial concern in the coming years. The headlines themselves, however, raise a number of L.M.S.-related issues that need to be addressed now. Is, for example, financial expertise more crucial than curricular expertise in a Chief Education Officer? Are parents' leaders right to fear conflict and confrontation? Are L.E.A.'s and the Government secretly looking for 'self destructing' schools? Is stress-related early retirement going to spread because of L.M.S. pressure? Is the trail of the disaffected going to continue and will this trail be littered with pupils and indeed teachers too?

Behind the headlines are reported facts and stories, different but connected by a common thread. L.M.S. may be no bad thing, provided we tread slowly and warily. A look behind the headlines at the turn of the century will determine if competition and market forces did provide the answers we were seeking.



Reviews

Effective Teaching

Appraising Teaching Quality, by John D. Wilson (Hodder and Stoughton, 1988).

It is not easy, initially, to judge the precise audience to which this work is directed. The publishers' blurb with its usual 'catch-all' claims is not helpful. In terms of conveying information and discussing the issues involved in appraising teaching quality, it is not conceivable that such a text can satisfy the needs of the wide range mentioned — '... all who are striving to promote quality in education and training, as well as student teachers and parents'. At the very least, if it is to be 'of interest' to them at all, the different ways in which it might be so could be indicated.

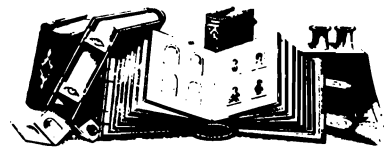
However, a full reading of the text suggests that, in individual terms, it would be of most use to students in training or — more widely — to those younger teachers who, having survived the rigours of the early years in school, are beginning to reflect seriously on their classroom practice, their wider role in school and their future directions. Alternatively, the book could act as an initial focus for in-school discussion of forms of teacher appraisal linked to curriculum and professional development. Given such an audience, it must be said that the language, particularly in the early sections, is not always 'user-friendly'. Terminology is sometimes highly managerial and technical — 'delivery', 'corporate', 'marketing', 'entering characteristics', etc. Additionally, the tone is sometimes partronsing, and occasionally downright punitive.

Salvage attempts to help incompetents improve are invariably unsuccessful.

Although evidence from the USA suggests that incompetent teachers rarely improve, the adviser can effect transfer or secondment which may be the stimulus a teacher needs to find renewed motivation for his work.

Such sentiments are unlikely to increase teachers' perception of appraisal as potentially beneficial.

The main problems with the text are the compression of complex issues demanded by the length requirements of the book and a value ambivalence between managerial/hierarchical and collegial conceptions of teaching in schools. The first can result for instance in a section where the context-bound and interactive nature of curriculum planning is recognised (i.e: it should draw on general theory, but also be deliberative '... in that it brings a wide range of perspectives to bear and results in value issues being made explicit'), but this recognition is followed by an apparent generalised recommendation of mastery learning and diagnostic testing, drawing heavily on a particular model of teaching based in behavioural psychology. The value ambivalence means that, at times, the teacher is presented as a 'delivery system',



with all its connotations of control and passivity, and problems in teaching are individualised:

The better the match between what the teacher is asked to do and her (sic) ability to do so, the more easily differences in quality of performance can be explained by personal capacity factors.

This focus on 'personal capacity', taken together with the claim that 'incompetents' cannot be improved, makes one question whether the author has a model of teachers as 'born and not made', and hence appraisal as essentially a means of control rather than professional development. On the other hand, particularly in chapter 3, he does recognise the context bound nature of teaching, the interactive nature of roles in schools, and the responsibilities of senior colleagues. Elsewhere he quotes Berliner to the effect that '... it is easier to be an effective teacher if one is in an effective school'.

Overall, then, there is a useful setting out (both explicit and implicit) of some of the issues in appraising teachers and teaching quality, but informative as the book is in some sections, it needs to be read critically as offering starting-points rather than solutions.

JANET MAW
*Department of Curriculum Studies,
Institute of Education,
University of London.*

Timely Guide

School Sex Education: Why, What and How? A Guide for Teachers, by Doreen E. Massey (The Family Planning Association Education Unit, 1988), pp.78, £5.95.

Doreen Massey's new book is most timely. It is now a legal requirement that Governors decide upon the availability and nature of sex education in their schools. Teachers need therefore to be clear, precise and committed to their practices and policies in this area. Recent research has shown that schools have a mandate from parents in this area of the curriculum. The need of children and young people for informed sensitive and caring work in the classroom has become increasingly clear as repeated government HIV/AIDS information campaigns have improved knowledge but have had little real impact upon attitudes and behaviour.

We need as teachers to consider carefully the reasons why such campaigns may be ineffective for some young people. It is clear that no advertising campaign, however highly funded, can match the sensitivity and sophistication of a well-planned sex education programme which, as Doreen Massey indicates, 'shares the features of purposeful education in any area of the curriculum'.

The commitment and purpose of many teachers are not in doubt; and in this area, well in advance of national curriculum

guidelines, many sex educators realised and tried to implement programmes which were developmental — beginning in the primary school and continuing throughout formal education. This approach is fundamental throughout the book.

With the support of bodies like the FPA, of which Doreen is now Director, teachers have become aware of and developed an array of participatory classroom strategies. These are shown and discussed with commendable clarity but constantly set by Doreen Massey into the necessity for adequate policy at all levels.

Policy and practice do not emerge ready made or 'off-the-shelf' and at present the lack of an imminent subject working party will give teachers essential time and space to respond to legal requirements and to the needs of their own students and their own capacities. The omission of Personal and Social Education from the National Curriculum is a lamentable oversight for, without doubt, schools will wish to pursue and further the development of sex education within this framework. Doreen Massey's knowledge of legal constraints and her capacity to guide teachers through them are among this book's many virtues. No teacher can work in this area without the knowledge that what he or she is doing is clearly permitted and encouraged by the law.

During the last year, the publicity given to the changing legal structure has made many teachers anxious about both their present and their future practices. This book will guide and reassure them. Not only is the future for sex education hopeful but will be built on the sound foundations laid by Doreen and her colleagues in their work with teachers over many years.

The rabbits and amoebas of our own sex education can now be replaced by the coherent practice of sex education within the framework of well-constructed Personal and Social Education courses which can enable young people to become responsible adults in this as in other areas of their lives.

JEAN JONES

*Department of History and Humanities,
Institute of Education,
University of London.*

Consumer Guide

Choosing a State School, by Caroline Cox, Robert Balchin and John Marks (Hutchinson Press, 1989), pp.168, paperback, £6.95.

Choosing a State School claims to provide parents with all the inside information they need in looking for the best school for their children, with advice on what to look out for in the prospectus, what to ask the headteacher and other members of staff, what to be looking for when visiting the school, etc. It is yet another example of the increasing confidence of the educational New Right in this country, aware that it has now come in out of the cold and anxious to exploit to the full all the potential benefits of recent government legislation. Parents, or at least those who already have the good sense to buy this little book, must be encouraged to demand a greater say in the education of their children; in effect, as ratepayers and taxpayers, parents are to be seen as 'customers' of the education service. The book has, in fact, already been described by Virginia Makins in an article in *The Times*

Educational Supplement (24th March, 1989) as 'the first swallow of the Baker consumerist summer'.

The section on choosing a decent primary school contains much advice that is obvious and common-place, but we are often made aware that its author, Robert Balchin, is the proprietor and former head of a Kent preparatory school. Parents are told to ask whether the teachers have been involved in recent industrial action, how many hours a day are spent on reading, writing and number work, and what choices exist for the children to compete for house points.

Throughout the book, the prejudices of the authors are clearly apparent; we are told that child-centred teaching 'emphasizes the child's personal requirements rather than the understanding of traditional subjects'; that 'mixed ability teaching', in which 'the slowest and the brightest are taught together in one class', is invariably 'to the detriment of both in some subjects'; that a 'CND poster in a secondary school indicates that some teachers promote political views amongst their pupils'.

At the core of the book are arrangements for allowing conscientious parents to compare their chosen school's external examination results with national benchmarks. These are based on the Cox and Marks analysis, carried out in 1980-81, of the published results of sixty per cent of all state secondary schools for GCE 'O' and 'A' level and for CSE. Clearly, the results of external examinations are to be seen as the most valuable objective indicators of the standards of a school.

Heads and teachers might well be somewhat alarmed at the prospect of answering the questions of parents armed with this little red-and-blue booklet. What they need, of course, is the courage to persist in what they believe in, secure in the knowledge that the story of post-war state education in this country is generally one of extraordinary success in the face of daunting odds.

CLYDE CHITTY

The Myth of Childhood

The Politics of Childhood, by Martin Hoyles (Journeyman Press, 1989), pp.127, paperback, £4.95.

Our present myth of childhood portrays children as not being political or sexual, as depending wholly on adults, and never engaged in serious activities such as work or culture.

Martin Hoyles' book is likely to give your thinking a sharp jolt. Then a few questions inevitably follow, especially about the age at which it becomes legal to do certain things that adults can do whenever they want to. Getting paid for doing work, especially boring work, starts early; driving a car, having a bank account and voting come on later; anything to do with sex has a minimum age of course, so for males, enjoying sex with another male person is illegal until 21. Then there are all those things which the law compels children to do, but adults need not — like spending eleven years in full-time education. Listing the legal ages for everyday activities, and for some occasional ones, like inheriting a title, leaving home, owning a

home, playing the stock exchange, seeing some films, having sex the way you like it and with whoever you like, would make an interesting project for a secondary or FE class.

Hoyles is right in pointing out the distinctions made between children and adults are more often to do with politics than with age or size, no matter how much the lawmakers try to insist that they are just trying to protect children and give them a good chance in life. It's obvious, too, that laws designed to protect children from harm or neglect are not always effective. Nobody will want to deny that we need laws to protect children, just as we need laws to protect adults. It's illegal to starve children, but the state doesn't seem to have found a way of ensuring that all children — and many adults — are well enough paid to be properly fed. Racist abuse is against the law, but is found everywhere, and children often suffer most.

Generally the law is not much concerned with what children are *able* to do, only with what they may be allowed to do. It's important to ask three questions. What would happen if children were encouraged to make decisions about their future? What would happen if adults actually took notice of what children want? When school students take part in political struggles in South Africa or China, some organs of the media applaud them, but in this country organizations of school students have always been treated with contempt; and even university students — all legally adult — are sharply criticized if they take political action.

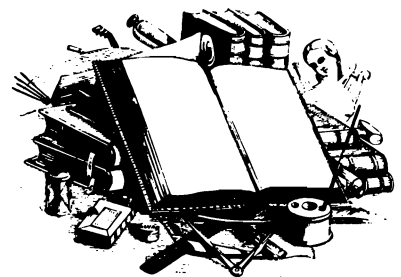
The Politics of Childhood is useful when it looks at history and at other countries and cultures. It is good to be reminded of some notable campaigns, like the 1911 school strikes in 60 British towns, and children's support for the 1984/5 miners' strike.

The suppression of sexuality, the politics of gender, the victimization of lesbians and the criminalization of gays, are put in a powerful political perspective. While the arts and media properly promote sexuality, children and young adults are often taking the brunt of attacks on their sexual freedom by the press and politicians, and the promotion not so much of sexuality but of blatant gender discrimination. The book is excellent on the legal, moral and cultural climate that isolates and oppresses gays and lesbians. It includes a useful bibliography of gay and lesbian books — fiction and non-fiction.

Many young people will want to read it. Teachers and librarians should make it available. The photographs, historical documents, line drawings and cartoons provide a strong and sometimes entertaining back-up.

It's a book about *childhood* and that is a very good reason why it should be read by adults as well as children. As often as possible, together.

ALEX McLEOD



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