

Language Awareness & Knowledge About Language: A history of a curriculum reform movement under the Conservatives, 1979 - 1997.

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Abstract

England's long history of education has witnessed many conflicts in regard to language teaching. In this thesis, I investigate the conflicts surrounding two language education reform movements, Language Awareness and Knowledge About Language, during the Conservative administration between 1979 and 1997. The investigation examines official and non-official plans and policy texts produced by various groups and actors, notably Hawkins and Cox, that detail how the teaching of 'Language' should be conducted in England's state school curriculum. The focus of the research is upon identifying what LA and KAL were as pedagogical concepts; why LA was reconstituted as KAL; what the motives underpinning these various plans and policies were; and finally, why efforts to establish LA and KAL were resisted. In the effort to make sense of this history, I draw theoretically and methodologically upon the work of Foucault, Fairclough, Bernstein and Ager. Limitations of my interpretation of this history notwithstanding, my findings revealed that LA was an educational reform movement that emerged from common schooling discourses, and one that sought to improve its educational provision. While LA was originally intended to be a subject in its own right that bridged the English and Foreign Language subject areas, Her Majesty's Inspectorate reconstituted LA and placed its responsibility firmly within the English subject area. The motives underpinning LA and KAL planning and policy are varied. Those underpinning the policies, however, are distinctly ideological in nature, drawing a strong relationship between language education and democracy. Nearly all motives pertain to what Bernstein calls a competence model of education, the modes of which are notably attuned to addressing inequality and promoting social integration. LA and KAL were reforms that were both ill understood and resented, for varying and complex reasons, by educators and the Conservatives alike. The thesis closes with directions for future research.

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Abbreviations

ALA – Association of Language Awareness

AMA – Assistant Masters Association

BAAL – British Association for Applied Linguistics

CATE - Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education.

CILT -- Centre for Information on Language Teaching

CLIE – Committee for Linguistics in Education

EAL – English as an Additional Language

ESL – English as a Second Language

EWG – English Working Group

GLC – Greater London Council

HMI – Her Majesty's Inspectorate

ILEA – Inner London Educational Authority

KAL – Knowledge About Language

LAC – Language across the curriculum

LA – Language Awareness

LATE - London Association for the Teaching of English

LAWP – Language Awareness Working Party

LEA – Local Education Authority

MFL – Modern Foreign Languages

NATE – National Association for the Teaching of English

NCC – National Curriculum Council

NCLE - National Congress on Languages in Education

NCcLA - National Consortium of centres for Language Awareness

ORF – Official Recontextualising Field

PRF – Pedagogic Recontextualising Field

SCDC - School Curriculum Development Committee

TGAT - Task Group on Assessment and Testing

La plupart des occasions des troubles du monde sont grammairiennes.¹

– Michel Eyquem de Montaigne (1533-1592)

1. Preface

In many respects, I am one of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's 'children'. I was schooled in England's state school system and then became a state schoolteacher during the Conservative administration between 1979 and 1997. In the 1980s, I briefly attended an independent secondary school in the South of England. There I remember my English teacher announcing that he would, despite the 'idiocy' of the Conservative government, teach us how to use 'who' and 'whom' properly.

Being curious, I glanced over to the Hong Kong pupils. Everyone in the class knew how much they struggled with in the English class. Finding it difficult to express themselves on paper, they typically resorted to measures like memorising long passages of Shakespeare in order to impress the examiners. They looked positively relieved at the prospect of such explicit grammar instruction. They were not alone; I too struggled in this class. I certainly did not know how to use 'who' and 'whom' correctly. After all, no one I knew ever used it all when they spoke. Furthermore, I seldom saw it used in books. The teacher impressed upon us that the difference was a matter of great importance. We were all sworn to secrecy. At the time, I mistakenly took it all to mean that Thatcher did not want us to learn English grammar.

Conversely, pupils received much grammar instruction in their foreign language classes. At the age of twelve, all students took some sort of combination of Intermediate French, Advanced French, German, Spanish, Latin, and Classical Greek. In addition to French and German, I took Latin, for which my father, a teacher at this school, had prepared me, believing it signified someone of intellectual calibre. The classes themselves were competitive, taught by a tight network of charismatic teachers. All languages, bar Classical Greek, were taught in the same building block, and the teachers interacted frequently in its corridors.

The following year, I was enrolled in a 'very good' comprehensive school. The English classes were as nondescript as French, which was the only available modern foreign language. Language classrooms were located far from each other,

¹ [Translation] Most of the occasions of the world's troubles are grammatical.

and the only French texts in the school were our textbooks and some dictionaries in the school library. I vividly remember the nervous friction in the school corridor one day when the students at the front of the throng came face-to-face with a 'real' French teacher. The pupils instinctively veered away from her like a flock of nervous sheep, and I made a mental note to conceal my interests in French and other languages.

When I began teaching French at a local comprehensive school in the mid 1990s, I largely ignored the curricular debate as reported in the newspapers. Foreign languages seemed a non-issue. However, as a young and bewildered professional, I did question why language and English teachers did not collaborate in the manner I had seen them do in the aforementioned independent school. The science teachers were, by contrast, notably cooperative.

In class, my students bemoaned having to learn French: 'But everybody speaks English, Miss'. I would assure them they were wrong, and we would open the textbooks to press on with the naming of body parts and how to describe varying aches and pains. I received little mentorship, bar the advice that my focus should be firmly upon 'communication' and not 'grammatical perfection'. At night, I devised ways to end their disaffection and motivate their willingness to speak; it proved a difficult task.

At university, I had learned that teaching a language is largely a process of drawing on learning theory, professional values, and learning on the job through trial and error with the support of mentorship. The courses, however, did not include lectures on the 'politics' of teaching. I appreciated universal schooling is a necessary feature of a democratic society. I knew there was a relationship of sorts between what I was teaching and the government in power, and that parents also had reasonable rights to know what I was doing in the classroom. What I did not fully appreciate was the politics of what should be taught, how, and why. And this is what this thesis is all about: contextualising my initial professional experiences in the wider political landscape of this time'.

2. Introduction

The writing of this thesis was inspired by my postgraduate readings of Basil Bernstein, who impressed upon me three points. Firstly, the curricular space, that is to say the whole field of schooling - the syllabuses, school curriculum, school philosophy, and the beliefs of all involved - is a site of inherent conflict. Secondly, language teaching and its curricular development - be it refining the language we have already acquired at home or one taught solely in the school space - can never be a value free act. Thirdly, schools serve to mediate the socio-political relationship between language, knowledge, and power in society.

I did not fully appreciate these points as a language teacher. Caught up in the flux of everyday teaching, I was oblivious to how my teaching practice was being shaped by arguments formulated at the policy making level. Naturally, I was aware of the advancement of various language learning theories and the establishment of various approaches. What I was blind to was the nature of the motives underpinning these policies and plans, and the political conflict therein.

In this thesis, a contemporary historical analysis, I will examine one series of conflicts regarding language education policy and planning under the last Conservative government from 1979 to 1997. My focus will be upon the Language Awareness (LA) movement, which was later reconstituted as Knowledge about Language (KAL) in the English subject area, the purpose of which was to reform the learning of language in the English and Welsh state school system. This thesis, however, will focus upon that reform in England, and not Wales where language education history has taken a different path due to its pursuit of bilingual education.

I first encountered LA as a Modern Foreign Language (MFL) teacher in England's state school system. Since MFL and English teachers seldom communicated about their practice, I knew very little about KAL. It certainly did not occur to me at the time that KAL was directly related to LA. My misapprehension was not unique since languages – English, foreign, community and the Classics – were treated as distinct pedagogical concerns, despite the fact that they have been informing each other for centuries (see Mackey, 1965; Titone, 1968; Kelly, 1969; Howatt, 1984; Musemeci, 1997; Howatt & Widdowson, 2004). My reading of Svalberg (2007) during my postgraduate studies then elucidated the connection between LA and KAL, and her overview of LA's early years raised various questions about this history in my mind that led to the writing of this thesis.

A central aim of the LA movement was to end the curricular isolation of language teaching and promote collaboration. Eric Hawkins argued in *Language Awareness: An Introduction* (1984) that it was the failure of schools to treat language as an interrelated curricular concern that failed pupils, especially those who were unfamiliar with Standard English, notably 'working class' children, and those who spoke English as an additional language, notably the children of migrant workers. It was an attempt to restructure language learning in such a way that language teachers would start collaborating in the effort to better pupils' awareness of 'Language': how it works; how it can be used; how it changes; and so forth. KAL also promised to be a curricular means to personalise and enhance pupils' grasp of English as it is used in varying forms and contexts.

LA and KAL were promoted by distinguished scholars and gifted teachers, such as Eric Hawkins, Brian Cox, and Ron Carter. Despite their efforts, neither reform found favour under the last Conservative administration. It is this resistance towards and rejection of LA and KAL that serves as the main focus of this historical analysis, and it is a question that is of relevance today.

Thirty years later, the curricular isolation of Language subjects still persists. Recent proposals by Conservative Education Minister, Michael Gove, seemingly reflect a strong desire to 'turn back the clock' to the 1950s.² This time, the entire content of the English and MFL curriculum, which will include Classical Greek, Latin or Mandarin, is set to begin at age seven.³ Unlike the 1950s, central government will now determine the 'what' and 'how' of learning and testing. As we shall see, Gove's proposals are directly interrelated to the conflicts surrounding LA and KAL under the last Conservative administration. If the adage, 'We learn from our mistakes' is anything to go by, then the reconsideration of this history should shed light on current Conservative language education proposals.

As we approach the thirtieth anniversary of Hawkins' (1984) seminal work *Language Awareness: An Introduction*, and following the recent deaths of Cox in 2008 and Hawkins in 2010, a consideration of what happened to LA and KAL and why would seem all the more fit. A member of and adviser to several official

² Times Staff, 'Gove accused of 'turning back the clock' on A-levels', *Times Newspaper*, 3 January 2013. Online; Twigg, S. (Shadow Education Secretary). 'Michael Gove is harking back to the past with education proposals', *Telegraph*, 8 February 2013, Online.

³ Vasagar, J. 'Foreign languages to be taught at school from age seven Planned national curriculum reforms also encourage science learning through study of nature', *Guardian Newspaper*, 10 June 2013, Online.

Committees, Hawkins exerted considerable influence over the production of language education policy for about thirty years. In 1973, he was awarded a CBE for his unerring commitment to language learning, and then L'Ordre des Palmes Académiques by the French government.⁴ In 2003, the Association for Language Awareness elected him as their first honorary life member.

Brian Cox, who is perhaps better known for his role in editing the Black Papers⁵, is also associated with the constitution of KAL. A member of the Kingman Committee, Cox went on to chair the English Working Group in 1988-1989 and produced a Report that arguably marks a real achievement in bringing intelligence to the question of how the English language should be taught and valued in schools.

The LA movement began in the early 1980s, and KAL was formulated and promoted in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The dates of the proposed reforms fall within a Conservative administration that ran from 1979 to 1997. What makes this period so interesting is the radical shift in power that takes place as to who determines what is taught and how. In a series of shrewd moves, the Conservative government commandeered control of the curriculum; transforming it from being 'the least state controlled system to the world's most' (Bassey, 2005: 8).

Following World War II, and in accordance with the Education Act of 1944, the state showed comparatively little interest in 'teaching', leaving it to local government who tended to leave it to schools which left it down to teachers' discretion. By the 1970s, Simon (1991) claims most educationalists considered teaching an autonomous undertaking and a 'no go' area for central or local government. In the mid-1970s, however, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development undertook an investigation of the Department of Education and Science and criticised it for being too dismissive about the relationship between education and wider socio-economic objectives (Fletcher, 1995). James Callaghan's *Ruskin College Speech* in 1976, however, launched a framework for a national debate about educational standards, and the relationship between schools, the state, industry, and the public.

⁴ The CBE refers to Commander of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. The British Sovereign can officially recognise a person as a Commander, Officer or Member of the Order of the British Empire for gallantry or for acts of bravery (not in the face of the enemy). The L'Ordre des Palmes Académiques is awarded specifically for those who have made great advances in education.

⁵ The Black Papers were a series of pamphlets - their name contrasts that of the government's White Papers - that criticised the establishment of the comprehensive school system under the Labour Party administration and 'progressive' education methodology.

Although warned to stay away, Callaghan argued the state and others had an inalienable right to say how the educational system should operate. Margaret Thatcher agreed and resolved in her election campaign 'to promote higher standards of achievement in basic skills' (1979:Para 5.5). During her administration, central government not only gained control of the curriculum but also extended control to right wing think tanks and pressure groups run by industrialists and England's social elite who, by and large, like Thatcher, embraced a Hayekian view of socio-economics.

In the first year of Thatcher's administration, Hawkins published his proposal to establish a new subject, 'Language', based on his presentation to the National Congress on Languages in Education (NCLE) in Durham. It represents a rare moment in history when MFL and English teachers convened to discuss how they could collectively improve language teaching. In the same year, the Centre for Information on Language Teaching (CILT) extended this consideration to the public by way of a five-part television series. Parents were made privy to the teaching practices of exemplary state school teachers, like David Cross at the Archbishop Ramsey School in Southwark, who were addressing pupils' lack of 'language awareness' by teaching 'linguistics' units that were designed to familiarize them with 'the functions, the structure, the varieties and styles of language' (Moys, 1978:6). Here on in, a 'battle for the curriculum', as Cox (1995) refers to it, ignited between numerous organisations and central government. In 1997, the Conservative Party lost the general election, but its ministers left office knowing they were victors in this battle. After the establishment of the National Curriculum, isolation between language educators increased, and discussion between them with regard to how language learning can be better facilitated in schools more or less ground to a halt.

In this thesis, I ask:

- What was LA as a pedagogical concept?
- Why was LA reconstituted as KAL?
- What were the motives underpinning LA and KAL planning and policy?
- Why was neither LA nor KAL, despite their espoused educational virtues, ever fully realised in the curriculum during the Conservative administration?

To answer these questions, I shall analyse LA and KAL language learning planning and policy texts between 1979 and 1997, tracing their conceptualisation and identifying the motives underpinning their discourses. Bernstein (2000) argues that educational researchers should not only identify 'the message' of what is conveyed in its discourses but also consider the nature of 'the relay'; that is to say, the nature of the 'mechanism' that determines what can be realised or resisted in the curriculum. To this end, I shall examine this history through what he calls the pedagogic device.

Before moving on, I will establish working definitions for LA and KAL. For the sake of clarity, I shall use those developed in the earliest stage of their conceptual formulation. The NCLE defines LA as: 'A person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Donmall, 1985:7).

Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI) describes the 'About Language' objectives thus:

'There is a fourth aim which applies over all the modes of language. This is to teach pupils about language, so that they achieve a working knowledge of its structure and of the variety of ways in which meaning is made, so that they have a vocabulary for discussing it, so that they can use it with greater awareness, and because it is interesting' (HMI, 1984: 3).

The conceptualisation of LA was largely formulated in non-official texts. KAL, on the other hand, takes shape in official documents.⁶ It is this interplay between the non-official language education planning and official language education policy, overshadowed by the Conservative government desire to centralise control of state schooling that forms the basis of this historical analysis.

⁶ This term refers to documents written under the auspices of central government.

Naturally, governmental intervention in education is a topic that has greatly interested scholars. Summarizing the unceasing flow of legislation, reports, acts, policies and initiatives, educational historians such as Simon (1991), Lawton (1994), Bassey (2005), Tomlinson (2005) and Ball (2008) illustrate how the state school system has metamorphosed from being a pillar of the welfare state to being a prop for the global market economy. Representing a more generic approach, other scholars have analysed the aims of educational policies and their impact upon families, social class, race, gender and 'the disadvantaged' in a democratic society (Grosvenor, 1997; Tomlinson, 2008). At a more specialized level, research has focused upon specific subject fields or areas, such as mathematics, geography, history, and so forth, and investigated the nature of pedagogical practice and 'performance', in differing guises, and contrasted them on local, cross-national, and international levels.

My approach differs from those studies in the sense that I shall be tracing the articulation of LA and KAL as pedagogical concepts. I shall not, however, examine their relationship with actual language proficiency. The work is generic in the sense that I shall also be tracing what LA and KAL discourses sought to achieve. It is this relationship between how language should be taught and its effects on a societal level that forms the central axis of this series of conflicts in England's educational history.

I draw a relationship between LA/KAL and 'society at large' because it is important to understand that these language education plans and policies were not proposals to merely have a 'lingual link' in the curriculum. As we shall see, LA, in its original formulation, was presented as a means by which to integrate language learning in schools with a view to enhancing pupils' awareness of not only English - as a mother tongue or additional language - but also other languages. LA and KAL purported to be curricular catalysts through which England's society could be potentially altered. Their aims were to move pupils beyond the confines of their linguistic backgrounds, enable them to interact more sensitively with speakers of other languages and English varieties, and cultivate their ability to participate more knowingly in the processes of democratic society.

To investigate and make sense of this history, I shall use four lenses: the theories of Foucault, Fairclough, Bernstein, and Ager. Since I am dealing with how LA and KAL were conceptualised by educationalists, official committees, and Her Majesty's Inspectorate in official policy and non-official planning texts, I shall draw upon Foucault's approach to the history of thought and his work on 'discourse'.

Fairclough provides a question framework for text analysis. Lastly, I shall use Bernstein to make sense of these conflicts regarding LA and KAL. I chose Bernstein, an educational sociologist, because he addresses the relationship between language, knowledge and power in society, and his primary focus is upon how schools mediate that relationship. In his book *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity* (2000), he outlines the workings of what he calls the *pedagogic device*, and the role it plays in shaping democratic society. Specifically, his attention is upon how the content and transmission of knowledge is framed and classified in the curricular space and how this in turn serves to (re)produce relations of power between individuals and groups in wider society. Similarly, this thesis will focus on the intended framing and classification of LA and KAL within the school curriculum, and what these proposed reforms sought to accomplish at the societal level.

I must clarify at this point that the policy and planning discourses examined in this thesis are those that are articulated in what Labaree (1999) terms the *Rhetorical Curriculum*. These are the ideas and arguments put forth - as embodied in the books, papers, reports, and so forth - by educators, academics, and policymakers in regard to improving educational practice, albeit with differing motives in mind. The rhetorical curriculum should not to be confused with the official curriculum, which is put into effect by the Ministry of Education, local authorities, schools, teachers and teaching materials. Furthermore, the motives examined in this thesis are those pertinent to language education policy and/or planning during this period.

In Chapter 2, I shall outline three historico-cultural continuities that I see as being the drivers of language learning history in England. Chapter 3 will outline varying theories on language learning planning and policy, notably Ager's (2001); the literature that details the history of language learning in England; and texts that provide accounts of LA and KAL's history. Chapter 4 will provide an overview of what I draw philosophically, theoretically and methodologically from Foucault, Fairclough, and Bernstein's work. Chapter 5 will begin with a historical overview of the historical context in which LA and KAL found form. Each subsequent section will then detail the narrative of the LA and KAL plans and policy history. These sections are followed by analyses of the way different agents formulated and reconstituted LA and KAL for curricular implementation. I do this because these formulations, when looked at through the lens of Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device, help to identify the nature of the motives that underpin LA and KAL language education planning and policy-making. I will also identify who, in particular, resisted or reconstituted these plans and policies at each stage, thereby hindering and thwarting the realisation of LA or KAL in the curriculum. The conclusion addresses

the research questions and explains in what way these understandings relate to and build upon previous literature. I will then outline some the strengths and weaknesses of my 'toolkit', before highlighting the implications of this research. Finally, I shall delineate directions for further research.

2.1 Historical Overview

In this section, my use of the term 'history' simply refers to 'what is past', and its events. The aim here is to highlight three historico-cultural continuities that have arguably propelled the history of language teaching in England. Each informs the broader educational context in which LA and KAL take shape.

What are these historic-cultural continuities? Bourdieu (1990) describes a *socio-cultural habitus* that becomes deposited in individuals and organizations as continuities, dispositions, tendencies, or propensities that can lead us to think and do things in a certain way. These continuities influence thought and behaviour across time. I am not saying that they define all decision-making, nor am I denying other influences at hand; rather my point here is that they are strong undercurrents shaping thought as to how teachers should teach and what pupils should learn. At times, they serve as interstices for agreement; at others they induce conflict between those trying to shape the curriculum. I have framed them as 'wills', in that each is characterised by a strong wish.

- * A will to develop the knowledge industry
- * A will to widen/ restrict access to knowledge
- * A will to treat/not treat language as a higher order of knowledge

The first two continuities are highly integrated socio-economic and political considerations. The third is more a proclivity that operates at the individual-social group level in various forms, and it is intimately related with the (re)production of social class. These will be dealt with in the first two sections that seek to illustrate, albeit briefly, their presence in England's history.

Each continuity revolves in one way or another around knowledge, and this is a central theme in this thesis. Their delineation in this section will serve not only to inform the history of LA and KAL but also Bernstein's work on the pedagogic device. In that, while the LA and KAL plans and policies concern the matter of how 'Language' should be taught, it is fundamentally a discussion of how knowledge should be framed for transmission. It is in regard to how knowledge is framed and

classified in the school system and its implications at a societal level that Bernstein built his theory of the pedagogic device. The main feature of this theory will be explained in Chapter 4.

2.1.1 A will to develop a knowledge industry, and widen/restrict access to knowledge

In my view, England's educational history is characterised by varying struggles to widen/restrict access to knowledge, and this concern holds a complex relationship with a will to develop England's knowledge industry. The two are inextricably intertwined.

They arguably underpin King Alfred of Wessex's educational policy in the ninth century that sought to improve Latin learning provisions so that England could communicate with the rest of Christendom and maintain access to its vaults of knowledge. At a time when there were relatively few speakers of English left, Alfred decided to establish English as an alternative documentary and literary language, and extended its schooling to all free men. The motive behind these reforms is hinted, albeit ruefully, in the following remark: 'There was a time when people came to this land for instruction, now we must get it from abroad if we want it' (cited in de Montmorency, 1902:6).

A desire to restrict access to other pools of knowledge and bolster England's knowledge industry arguably underpins King Henry II's decision in 1167 to forbid English clergy from attending the University of Paris, then the locus of learning on the Continent (Berdahl, 1959). From the fifteenth century, English scholars began pursuing postgraduate degrees in Italian universities (Grendler, 2006). Upon return, Humanist scholars then promoted Classical Greek at Oxbridge and grammar schools so as to advance England's standing in a race to unearth 'new knowledge' in newly discovered Greco-Roman texts. Similarly, their subsequent promotion of Neo-Latin can also be seen as a strategy to create a new arena for knowledge production that would sit beyond the Church's control.

In the seventeenth century, a strong will to widen access to knowledge drove the Puritans' aggressive campaigns against Oxbridge's use of Latin and Classical Greek as mediums of learning (Jones, 1974). Making up the core membership of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge, they rallied to make English a vehicle for explaining the natural world (Baugh and Cable, 2000). The Society's journal, *Philosophical Transactions*, then created a site for the exchange of scientific knowledge that fell beyond the Church's and Oxbridge's jurisdiction.

Oliver Cromwell also tried to weaken Oxbridge's monopoly over knowledge production and expand England's knowledge industry by establishing another college in Durham. He failed, but his cause was taken up by the Dissenting Academies in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Teaching in English, the academies disseminated 'enlightened' knowledge to those who had been excluded by Church of England schools and universities (White, 2006). The 'penny universities' (Coffee Houses) and Salons played a similar but informal role in the eighteenth century.

Twentieth century education in England is characterised primarily by its struggles with mass schooling. In the post-war period, many agreed the general public should have access to good schooling so as to ensure the acquisition of a certain level of knowledge – notably literacy and numeracy. However, preservationists, who had initially resisted the establishment of the secondary school system in the first place, were not willing to dismantle the tripartite system laid down by the 1944 Education Act, which screened access by diagnosing intellectual ability at eleven years old (Knight, 1990).⁷

H.C. Dent, Editor of the *Times Educational Supplement*, Robin Pedley, St. Dunstan's College Headmaster, and Sir Edward Boyle, Conservative Minister of Education, argued forcefully in the 1950s and 1960s that common schooling is a necessary precursor for a healthy economy and democracy (Sumner, 2010). Pointing to Russia and America, Pedley (1963) argued comprehensive schooling would raise educational standards, better tap society's hidden potentials, and promote equal opportunity. Boyle was of the opinion that comprehensivisation would also serve to cultivate a higher level of humaneness within British Society (See Kogan, 1971).⁸

There was considerable optimism at this time as to what the comprehensive school system could achieve, and it is in this context that LA took shape. LA was motivated

⁷ According to their performance on the *Eleven Plus*, pupils were allocated to a grammar school (an academically oriented school that has a longstanding relationship with the teaching of languages); secondary technical school (schools focusing on the teaching of mechanical, scientific and engineering skills); and secondary modern school (schools catering for those who did not make it into the former two types of school). The comprehensive school system brought all the pupils under one roof so to speak. All these schools were state maintained. By contrast, the independent school system charges fees few can afford.

⁸ Such ideas regarding the purpose of common schooling are arguably rooted in *A Common Faith* (Dewey, 1934).

by a concern that many lower socio-economic pupils were failing to realise their potential in the state school system on account of their language. It was thought LA would equip them language-wise, improve their academic chances, and cultivate humaneness. Hawkins never decried comprehensive schooling. As we shall see, he wanted to enhance its provisions.

Conversely, many a Conservative preservationist abhorred comprehensivisation – what it stood for and what it sought to achieve. This is evident in Thatcher’s speedy revocation of the directive that encouraged LEAs to establish comprehensive schooling, and the Party’s ostracism of Boyle on account of his views on the purpose and process of education (Knight, 1990).

Bernstein (2000) argues that such conflicts are, in essence, a struggle to control access to sites of knowledge production. In educational policy, planning and practice, this struggle manifests itself in debates as to how curricular knowledge should be classified and framed. It is to this matter that we now turn with respect to language.

2.1.2 A desire to treat/not treat language as a higher form of knowledge

My use of the term ‘higher form of knowledge’ in this section refers to an organisation of knowledge that has a strong classification and strong frame. Bernstein (2000) writes that a strong classification refers to a high degree of isolation between each subject, and a strong frame denotes a high degree of control by a recognised authority over the selection, organisation, sequencing, and pacing of knowledge transmission. Acquisition of a highly defined body of knowledge is expected to be challenging, if not gruelling, for the pupil. Bernstein (2000) also argues a strong frame emphasises scholastic differentiation so as to stratify people’s access to knowledge.

From the Middle Ages to about the eighteenth century, the liberal arts curriculum was typically arranged into two distinct components: the trivium and the quadrivium. The trivium was considered the very foundation of learning (Huntsman, 1983) and consisted of three language arts that pertained to three distinct qualities of the mind.

‘Logic is the art of thinking; grammar, the art of inventing symbols and combining them to express thought; and rhetoric, the art of communicating thought from one mind to another’ (Joseph, 1983: 1).

Most scholars learned Latin, and sought to attain a level by which they could undertake debate in it. Learning demanded perspicacity and perseverance, and so it became synonymous with the idea that it cultivated the mind. Joseph (1983) indicates that proficient scholars were bestowed with almost divine and intellectual qualities; their minds 'free' of the fetters of irrationality that characterised the common people. They were, in this sense, superior beings.

In this way, knowledge and use of a high status language served well as a 'social marker'. Upon occasion, the state has also seen fit to preserve such markers. In 1332, Parliament decreed that 'all lords, barons, knights, and honest men of good towns' (cited in Baugh & Cable, 2000: 171) should ensure that their children continued to learn Norman French in order to maintain a distinction between the descendants of William the Conqueror's knights and non-descendants.

During the Renaissance, multilingualism intimated not only wealth (having the means to afford language tutors) but also intellectual prowess. The rigours of language learning were widely believed to inculcate qualities necessary for leadership and statesmanship. It also bequeathed access to knowledge because many scholars published their work in a classical or rare language so as to confine readership to similarly educated people (Graddol, Leith, Swann, 1996).

For centuries, English was considered an uncivilised or 'base' tongue, and the derogatory term Lollard was reserved for those educated in English in the fourteenth century. The efforts of the aforementioned Dissenting Academies and other institutes eroded such prejudices by building a direct relationship between English and knowledge production (White, 2006). Thereafter, the sales of English grammar books and epistolaries soared as spoken or written deviance from newly idealized norms of English – Standard English⁹ - came to be associated with social and intellectual inferiority, and even spiritual immorality (Finegan, 1998). Even so,

⁹ Standard English refers to a variety of English (a dialect but not a regional dialect) that is widely understood, but not widely produced (Crystal, 1988; 1995). It is characterised by its expansive vocabulary and grammar. Its status is prestigious, and widely used in professional and institutional contexts. It can be spoken in a variety of accents, and is often found in print. It is often thought of as 'proper English', 'correct English', and 'the King/Queen's English', and is associated with Received Pronunciation.

knowledge of the Classics and other European languages remained a valuable socio-intellectual marker in polite society.¹⁰

The erosion of the Classics' status in the early twentieth century was met by a desire to heighten the status of English. This involved framing English as a higher order of knowledge. English grammar teachers, many of whom had a Classics background, sought to 'out grammar' Latin as it were by turning English into a very complex system of rules, lists, and tables.¹¹ The Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters' *Memorandums* in 1923 and 1953 upheld the importance of 'grammatical correctness' in honing pupils' ability to think clearly and write well. At this time, foreign language learning, notably grammar, also remained the preserve of grammar schools and independent schools until comprehensivisation.¹²

Comprehensivisation then launched a conflict regarding the framing and classification of English and Foreign Languages in the curriculum. Language teachers were now confronted by old-style 'C' stream class type pupils who were not deeply concerned about either 'speaking proper' or 'speaking foreign'.¹³ These, however, were not new attitudes. Disdain towards people using Latin, French and the 'King's English' can be found in the literary works of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Shaw; all considered social commentaries of their day.

In Chaucer, the Summoner is mocked for putting on airs and graces when he speaks Latin. In Shakespeare, the English language is depicted as rugged and virtuous, whereas French is derided for being womanish, deceptive, and effete (See Steinsaltz, 2002). In Shaw's *Pygmalion*, Professor Higgins observes, 'It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him. German and Spanish are accessible to foreigners: English is not accessible even to Englishmen' (1916:5), and so Eliza's acceptance into high society is met by her gradual exclusion from the Cockney community. In

¹⁰ In the Victorian Period, this is evident in the Clarendon Commission's (1864) recommendation that the independent school system retain the Classical curriculum to hone intellectual calibre, whereas the School Enquiry Commission (1868) merely recommends the teaching of English to the 'labouring classes' (Maclure, 1973).

¹¹ Interestingly, Shayer (1972) writes many schools taught 'grammar', 'composition', and 'literature' separately, each being taught by a different teacher.

¹² Oxbridge finally stopped using the Classics as a means to screen access following comprehensivisation in the 1960s.

¹³ The film *To Sir, with Love* (1967), based on the semi-autobiographical novel by Braithwaite (1959), illustrates well the type of apathy encountered by many teachers in such schools during this period. 'C' stream refers to the lowest scholastic banding.

these ways, socio-linguistic boundaries are shaped by top-down and bottom-up cultural continuities.

A widely respected educator, Harold Rosen, headed his English syllabus with the following observation 'aversion to poshness bedevils the teaching of English' (Cited in Clements & Dixon, 2009:15). Rosen, John Dixon, James Britton, and others then headed a movement in the 1960s and 1970s to make learning English more relevant to the pupils' lives. Through the London Association of Language Teaching (LATE) and National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE), they set about dismantling English as a higher order of knowledge in the curriculum. In so doing, up sprung all sorts of difficult questions relating to the relationship between non-Standard forms of English, knowledge, and power.

Burstall's (1975) investigation of the *French From Eight*¹⁴ programme empirically confirmed that lower socio-economic pupils, notably boys, were notably unwilling to learn foreign languages. Deputy Director of CILT, Alan Moys, writes of 'the uncertainty, confusion and flagging morale which has characterised modern language learning in schools over the last decade' (1978:iv). It is at this particular juncture of educational history in the 1970s – when there was considerable pressure to deconstruct language as a higher order of knowledge and a growing concern about language 'standards' in the political and public sphere – that Hawkins puts forward his proposals regarding LA.

2.2 Summary

In this chapter, I have highlighted three continuities that have, in my view, helped to drive the course of England's language learning history. They also underpin the historical context in which the LA and KAL discourses materialise.

The will to expand the industry of knowledge is a fairly stable continuity that seeks to gain some sort of 'knowledge advantage' over perceived competitors – be it domestically or internationally. In the post-war period, Margaret Thatcher actualised this continuity following a period of relative economic decline. Her party rejected Keynesian Welfare State economics and advocated Hayekian neo-liberal economics, one goal of which was the expansion of Britain's knowledge industry (See Jessop, 2003). In part, this enterprise entailed making schools and universities more subservient to the market forces, and increasing their production of 'knowledge based human capital'.

¹⁴ This was a French language programme established in primary schools by the aforementioned Sir Edward Boyle.

There is, however, a complex relationship between access to knowledge and the expansion of knowledge production. It is complex because 'knowledge is power'. As we have seen, one-way access to knowledge and higher society has been controlled by framing language as a higher order of knowledge. It is a simpler exercise when it involves a high status language, such as Latin, that clearly distinguishes 'knowers' from 'know nots'; 'haves' and 'have nots'.

The picture becomes more complex when English, the language of all, develops a direct relationship with the production and dissemination of knowledge. Here on in, language purism discourses established English as a higher order of knowledge to preserve social boundaries. These discourses were maintained in the school system until the early 1970s whereupon various actors and groups begin to clash in a debate about common and selective schooling, and how to teach language in schools.

It is a major premise in this thesis that these discourses are interconnected. The selective schooling model is de facto based on principles of differentiation, so as to filter access to knowledge. As we have seen, one way in which this has been achieved historically is through language teaching/learning. The conceptual lodestar of the common schooling model was promoting equality of opportunity, which would, if realised, widen access to knowledge. As illustrated above, language is an essential component in this framework, principally because Standard English is a primary vehicle for the communication of knowledge. As noted above, comprehensivisation gave rise to all sorts of difficult questions about the relationship between language, power, and knowledge in schools and wider society. Therefore, language became a central focus for the likes of educators, such as Rosen and Hawkins, who were seeking to enhance the educational provision of the comprehensive school system. Thus, this is, in essence, I believe, a conflict about controlling access to knowledge, industry, and power, and one in which LA and KAL discourses became deeply embroiled.

This relationship will be elucidated further in Chapter 4 that details the theoretical foundation of this thesis. Before doing so, I will turn to review the research covering language learning history in England, texts documenting LA and KAL's history, as well as research looking at the motives underpinning language education policy and planning.

3. Literature Review

My aims in this chapter are threefold. In the first section, I clarify what the term language means and its functions, which will inform us of the varying positions held in relation to language education adopted by actors in the Pedagogical Recontextualising Field (PRF) and Official Recontextualising Field (ORF). In the second section, in order to address one of the research questions, I outline an established framework for analysing motives underpinning official and unofficial language education policy and planning. The third section overviews historical investigations into language learning in England, so as to identify their approach. I will then identify documents detailing LA and KAL's history, most of which were written during between 1979-1997, and summarise the authors' perspectives.

3.1 Language

On the one hand, language can be seen as an abstract system of notations divorced from its users. In many respects, this was how classical language learning was looked upon, and it is a perspective that leaked into MFL and English pedagogy. Many people, however, tend to see language as a value-laden system of symbols and signs, written as well as spoken, which enables people to interact in various settings.

In regard to the latter view, Halliday (1978) argued language can be reduced into three distinct functions: expression, interaction, and reference. Firstly, language enables individuals to 'express' thoughts and feelings to an immediate audience, or for posterity. Secondly, interaction is a two-way process between one or many 'message senders' and one or many 'message receivers', a surprising amount of which involves the act of influencing others. Finally, the third function of language allows people to refer to objects, people, ideas, events and other phenomena, whether they are located in the past, present, or possible future.

Ager (2001) terms this Hallidayan view of language as language-as-instrument, and argues it usually entails some sort of planning by the individual to achieve any desired effects in varying contexts. Language-as-object, on the other hand, is when individuals, on any level, purposefully seek to shape the expression of others (e.g. demanding they write and speak Standard English). As we shall see in this thesis, LA and KAL discourses are the thrust of language education policy and planning movements that viewed language, for the most part, as language-as-instrument. By contrast, the Conservative ministers treated English in terms of being language-as-object, in the sense that they sought to present Standard English as a static body of

knowledge in the curriculum, and drew a relationship between speaking 'proper' and 'proper' behaviour.

3.2 Motives in Language Education Policy and Planning

In this thesis, 'language education policy' refers to official texts written by groups in regard to the 'what' and 'how' of language education: namely Report Committees and the HMI. 'Language education planning' refers to unofficial texts written by varying educationalists (e.g. Hawkins) and teaching organisations (e.g. NCLE).

In regard to educational policymaking, in general, Ball (1994) argues UK policymaking tends to be a concoction of intention, cock-up, and conspiracy. Swanson and Burlage's (2006) investigation of 'influentials' in educational policy identifies four interconnected factors: 1) studies, 2) organisations, 3) people, and 4) information sources. Certainly, what makes this particular period of history interesting is the sheer number of people and organisations vying for control over language education. Firstly, Thatcher's Cabinet sought control over the entire curriculum (Pierson, 1998), and invited HMI inspectors and scholars to construct language education policy for them. The scholars' views, especially, differed from central government's. Individuals from unofficial organisations, such as London Association of the Teaching of English (LATE), National Association of the Teaching of English (NATE), CILT and the NCLE, also sought to influence policy formulation. All worked with different aims in mind, sometimes citing differing studies and drawing on differing sources to validate their respective arguments. It is these LA and KAL planning and policy texts that will be analysed in this thesis.

Cooper (1989) argues language policy and planning can be divided in three categories: status, corpus, and acquisition. Status policies/plans determine the status of a language or variety within a society, by elevating the prestige of one language over another or a particular form over others (e.g. the Chancery standard).¹⁵ Corpus language policy/planning seeks to modify language in some way: e.g. graphization, standardization, modernization, and renovation. Acquisition policy/planning refers to the acquisition, maintenance, and development of a designated language. Baldauf and Kaplan (2005) observe that while acquisition policy/planning often constitutes the sole activity in many countries, their influence and implementation is often impeded by a slow rate of dissemination, lack of resources, or a limited audience. In this thesis, the LA and KAL texts can also be categorised as dealing with acquisition planning/policy. Disagreement as to how such planning/policy should be formulated is a point of conflict, but it is one that

¹⁵ Chancery standard was a written form of English used by the government for official purposes from the late 14th century.

intersects with disagreements about status and corpus.

What I am concerned with in this thesis is what end or aim (others might term this the goal or purpose) varying proponents of LA and KAL were trying to attain because this is the point of entry by which we can begin to identify their respective motives. Here, motive simply refers to the reason for advancing a language education proposal. As Ager (2001) explains, motives underpinning language policy and planning are not always easy to identify. This is because motives are a complex socio-psychological fusion of perceived need, personal attitude, individual/cultural belief, and desired end. In relation to education, the picture is further complicated by the fact that policy and planning may or may not appreciate pupils' language needs, attitudes, and aspirations. Furthermore, attempts to formulate new policy may also be overshadowed by the influence of previous policies and plans.

While there is a growing body of research looking at individual language learning motivations, examination of the motives underpinning the formulation of language policy and planning is minimal. Recently, Ager (2001) developed an analytical framework with which to classify the motives underpinning planning and policy. The framework synthesises the work of Gardner and Lambert (1959), Ryan and Giles (1982), Nahir (1984), Kaplan and Baldauf (1997), and Ager (1996, 1999). Larsen-Freeman and Long (1991) report Gardner and Lambert (1959) reduced varying language learning motives into two tendencies in their examination of English-French bilingual education in Canada: 1) An integrative motive seeking the integration of people in the community, and 2) An instrumental motive seeking some sort of economic advancement. Later, Ryan and Giles (1982) argued that when language education policy involves more than one social community the main motives are status and solidarity. Status policies elevate the designated language's status by bringing more affirmation to its users. Solidarity policies instil greater fellowship among users. Ager's (1996; 1999) examination of contemporary policy in Britain and France concluded image, identity and insecurity are major motives. Looking at language policymaking on an international level, Nahir (1984) and Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) produced a huge list of motives (e.g. Language purification; educational elite formation/control; fulfilling legal issues relating to educational equity; etc). They argue policies are rarely generated with a single goal in mind, and are often tagged onto other social policies. In some cases, policies work, intentionally or unintentionally, towards contradictory goals, thus confounding the identification of motives.

Ager's (2001) motive classification framework uses seven categories that all orientate around the dynamics of identity construction:

Identity – motives seeking to maintain and strengthen a particular personal or social identity

Ideology – motives to implement or advance a certain collection of doctrines, theories, and principles that make up a particular 'worldview'.

Image – motives to create a certain image, which is not necessarily akin to one's true personal or social identity, to be projected to other groups.

Insecurity – motives that have been stimulated by a fear of other group/s leading to some sort of defence or reinforcement of one's own identity and/or ideology.

Inequality – motives seeking maintain or correct the repression of 'other' group(s) within the social body.

Integration – motives seeking social cohesion within a particular group or affiliation or assimilation with another group.

Instrumentality – motives seeking some sort of economic advancement.

Ager's (2001) framework also takes into account goal theory that sorts policy and planning into three distinct categories: ideal, objective, and target. Ideal goals are located in the future, and are unlikely to be achieved. Characterised by rather utopian ideals, such as peace, they simply provide an orientation for further policy. Objective goals have an end-goal that, while realizable, may or may not be achieved. Lastly, target goals specifically state what should be achieved and when, making it the most quantifiable goal type.

Ager's (2001) framework would appear to be the most comprehensive framework to date, and for this reason I put it to use in this thesis to make sense of the motives driving LA and KAL language learning planning and policy. One point to be borne in mind is Ager's caveat that language policy and planning are essentially unpredictable endeavours, in that they do not always correlate well with either the actor or the organisations' attitudes or ideology. Thus, it is better, he advises, to consider 'the total motivational structure'. Furthermore, he notes that while motives of those in power are not always intentionally Machiavellian, 'the general political motive is to gain access to power in society and then to keep it' (Ager, 2001: 186). This fits with the theoretical position held by Bernstein. My criticism of Ager (2001) is that he has not fully detail how he comes to the conclusion that England's language policy is ideologically driven, and this will be my endeavour in this thesis.

3.3 Investigations into England's History of Language Learning

There is a paucity of studies investigating language teaching/learning in England's educational history. What follows is an overview of texts written on this matter, and a consideration of how their methodologies and/or findings may inform this thesis.

General chronological treatments include Mackey (1965) and Titone (1968) who traced language teaching from antiquity to modern day. Both concentrate on the writings of renowned educators who detail their language teaching methods (e.g. Roger Ascham, Comenius, and Gouin). Both view history in a similar way, as a pendulum swinging back and forth between 'formulism' – a desire to frame language as a higher order of learning – and 'activism' – a desire to weaken such a framing.

Kelly (1966) also undertakes a broad but non-chronological study over twenty five centuries, which is based on Mackey's (1965) scheme. He analysed 1,200 primary pedagogical sources to identify the origin and development of differing teaching practices as well as shifts in the objectives of language learning. He concluded that 'the total corpus of ideas accessible to language teachers has not changed basically in 2,000 years' (1969:81). Furthermore, instruction changes according to the role the target language plays in society.

Howatt (1984) traced foreign language teaching from the Elizabethan period through to the 'making of its profession' in the twentieth century. He analysed textbooks, diaries, and the writings of influential educators and theorists. His main finding was that 'practical teaching' (meaning-focused) has consistently struggled to distance itself from formulaic approaches (form-focused).

Michael (1987) researched the teaching of English between the sixteenth century and 1870. His analysis of some 2700 texts - mainly textbooks, copybooks, readers, etc – is organised into the following categories: spelling, reading, rhetoric and criticism, grammar, language, written expression, and logic. He highlighted the comparatively low status of English in relation to the Classics and foreign languages. His work reveals the dominant practice of 'particularizing' the English language and sequencing it for transmission, and resistance by advocates of child-centred and holistic approaches.

Collectively, the above histories stress two key points. First, language learning has always been a contestable concern between those who argue the necessity of particularising and sequencing language and those who argue particularising runs

against the very nature of language and hinders the pupil. Secondly, the desire to frame language as a higher order of knowledge has persisted, but historians have yet to fully address why this is the case.

Moving onto to research that has taken the socio-economic context into greater account, Lambley (1920) undertook a chronological investigation of French teaching during the Stuart and Tudor times. She analysed around 150 textbooks and teaching manuals between 1521 and 1699, revealing a shift towards a more pragmatic communication based approach based on the populace's transactional needs in trading and business.

Shayer (1972) traced English language teaching from 1900 to 1970. Through textbook, policy, memorandum and theoretical text analysis, he identified four distinct periods that entertain differing teaching 'fallacies' described as:

'...a tendency to study English in ways quite unsuited to that subject, or study it for entirely for the wrong reasons, with consequent distortion of the study material. Each fallacy operates through a tendency to excess, or the unrealistic promotion of fringe concerns (not harmful in themselves when kept in perspective to positions of central, perhaps exclusive importance' (1972:6).

Shayer concludes, 'There is no reason to suppose that we have stopped manufacturing fallacies, and since English is susceptible to a Red Queen¹⁶ kind of locomotion, we are going to have to move on to retain the ground we have achieved to this point' (1972:184). Again, Shayer does not, however, address why these fallacies (e.g. treating English as if it were Latin) are persistently put to work.

Goodson and Medway (1990) examine how varying socio-economic and political contexts, in England, Canada, Norway, Newfoundland, and South Africa, have shaped the practice of teaching English. The authors employ a Foucaultian approach to show how 'power' is exercised through the English language classroom to discipline the thought and behaviour of individuals to serve politico-economic need. Medway (1990) traces conceptual change in teaching practice in relation to cultural change at the societal level between the 1950s and 1960s as expressed in texts and textbooks. Ball, Kenny & Gardiner (1990) trace various

¹⁶ This analogy appears to refer to the idea that educationists will run as much as they can, only to find that they have not moved at all.

discourses that have shaped the construction of the English subject from the early 1900s through to the 1980s, notably by examining texts by Matthew Arnold, F. R. Leavis, the Cambridge School, and Personal Growth advocates. Importantly, Ball *et al* (1990), Walker (1990) and Green (1990) illustrate how 'givens', such as 'Grammar' and 'Literature', are used as 'technologies' to organise and regulate the public.

Cameron (1995) draws a similar conclusion in her tracing of the Conservative government's 'grammar crusade' in the media. She illustrates how the government equated 'incorrect English' with ignorance and social disorder, and used it to justify their role in 'policing' the construction of the national curriculum.

Soler and Openshaw (2006) trace the politicization of 'teaching kids how to read' in official documentation, parliamentary exchanges, interest group texts, and newspaper reports from 1945 and the 1990s. They reveal literacy levels have changed little. Nevertheless, the Conservatives and New Labourites have portrayed themselves as champions of literacy by disseminating discourses of fear about 'declining' or 'low' standards. The authors, however, did not investigate the role of the educators and professional associations.

Collectively, these histories stress, on one hand, how economic demands result in the modification of pedagogical practice and knowledge. On the other, they illustrate how schooling or its very discussion is used by various power brokers to regulate social behaviour, a point pertinent in the history addressed in this thesis.

Finally, we will now look at first-hand accounts of language learning history. In them, the authors employ no methodological approach per se, but highlight the relationship between classroom practice, new theories, changes in technology, and educational policy.

Hawkins (1996) gave a contemporary account of Foreign and Community Language teaching in England and Scotland between 1966 and 1996. He attempted to provide a 'complete picture' of its varying fields because, 'The need to address a wide readership has become clearer as government intervention in curriculum planning has increased' (1996:2). He concluded that while MFL's future was unclear, a focus must be maintained on cultivating a desire to interact with and relate with speakers of other languages.

Leung and Cable (1997) identified changing perspectives in English as an

Additional Language (EAL) between the 1980s and 1990s in light of new language acquisition and literacy development theory. Interestingly, while the LA movement was motivated in part by concerns about the language/literacy development of EAL pupils, this text makes no mention of LA or KAL. It does, however, highlight the difficulties in teaching EAL pupils are far from resolved.

3.4 Literature Documenting the History of LA and KAL

We will now turn to texts, presented in a chronological order, that outline the history of LA and KAL in relation to England's state school system. At this point, I will make a brief distinction between the terms LA and KAL.

In the literature, LA and KAL are used interchangeably (See Van Lier & Corson, 1997; Alderson, Clapham & Steel, 1997). James (1999) argues LA morphed into KAL at one point, which he refers to as LA-as-KAL, but KAL then becomes something quite unlike LA in later formulations. The terms then are not constant. Nevertheless, I believe the following distinction can be made. LA literature is oriented more towards developing awareness of all-things-to-do-with-languages, and so it emphasises contrastive analysis (the comparison of languages). Conversely, KAL is oriented towards knowing-more-about-how-the-English-language-works. This distinction serves to reveal the following authors' perspectives.

Mittens (1991) wrote a first-hand account of KAL's conceptual development in official documentation in the 1980s. The overview serves as a prelude to his work in which he argues that English teachers need to be more language aware. The text highlights the tensions between those who see language-as-an-object and language-as-an-instrument (see above) at this time.

Hawkins' (1992) 'Awareness of Language/Knowledge of Language in the Curriculum in England and Wales' is another first-hand account of the language learning debate in official reports from *The Teaching of English in England* [The Newbolt Report] (1921) through to the *Survey of Language Awareness and Foreign Language Taster Courses* (HMI, 1990). It also outlines, in brief, the Language Awareness Working Party's (LAWP) formulation of LA and The Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project's formulation of KAL. He concludes 'Language' as a 'bridging subject' has 'not made great progress' (1992:16) and teacher training proposals 'have run up against opposition from proponents of 'rigour' in grammatical teaching (1992:5). He does not, however, analyse the 'opposition'.

Mitchell, Brumfit, and Hooper (1992) briefly delineate KAL's history in a paper that details the research findings of its practice. This article serves as a useful synopsis of the 'dimensions' of KAL as constituted in official texts. It highlights a gap between the policy and practice, and the gaps in how English and MFL teachers perceived KAL. Poulson, Radnor and Turner-Bisset's (1996) article highlights the great effort exerted to formulate a curricular path for KAL. They argue people perceive language learning in very different ways, and so consensus as to what KAL should entail and achieve remains unresolved.

Carter (1996) outlines a first-hand account of Language in the National Curriculum (LINC), which was an official project whose remit was to develop teacher training that would acquaint teachers with KAL. He highlights how the LINC coordinators' perspective of language clashed with that of the central government, and argues the Conservatives obstructed LINC on the grounds it promoted the exploration of the relationship between language and society.

Donmall-Hick (1997) provides a first-hand account of LA history. It details in brief the following: the conceptual history of LA (how it is defined and understood); varying ventures implemented in the school and examination system; the dismantlement of LAWP and the establishment of the National Consortium of centres for Language Awareness (NCcLA) and the Association of Language Awareness (ALA). She writes, 'LA has not assumed a place in the National Curriculum requirements for English (i.e. for pupils up to the age of 16) that Kingman, Cox, Carter, and others had anticipated' (1997: 24). By way of explanation, she points to the 'sapped' energies of teachers; confusion as to what LA is; and lack of governmental support. She concludes by reiterating the value of LA in English and MFL.

Poulson (1998) provides a comprehensive account of English subject development in the twentieth century. In it, she considers why learning about language is so controversial and why it remains unresolved. She shares the findings of a 1992-1993 survey investigating English teachers' views about KAL teaching and learning. The work highlights the 'uneasy relationship' between the academic disciplines of English and Linguistics, and a conflict of aims between English educators and central government.

James (1999) traces and discusses an array of LA concepts that have emerged since the 1970s that concern: a) 'How should learning about language be framed?' and b) 'What terminology should be used?' The argument is complex but seemingly

rests upon how language should be conceptualised as a body of knowledge. To what degree does language knowledge exist externally to the pupil, requiring it to be explicitly 'taught' to them? To what degree is language knowledge innately acquired, requiring it to be elicited from the pupil and examined? The paper concludes by arguing the need for a 'language interface' between MFL and English in the curriculum.

Lastly, John Richmond (2012) has collated various texts he has written between 1975 and 1995. He provides a first-hand account of LINC's aims and activities and their rejection by central government, illustrating well the clash of motives.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, Ager's (2001) distinction between language-as-an-object and language-as-an-instrument is particularly important to bear in mind as we examine LA and KAL's history.¹⁷ I will also use his framework with which to analyse the motives underpinning LA and KAL language education planning and policy discourses.

I have highlighted the paucity of research into the history of language learning in England, which has until recent years neglected the relationship between its teaching and the wider context. In this thesis, my aim is to bring insight into the conceptualisation of LA and KAL, and the conflicts surrounding them just before and after the implementation of the National Curriculum during the Conservative Party administration. How were LA and KAL conceptualised? Why were both, as Poulson *et al* (1996) and Donmall-Hicks (1997) state, so widely misunderstood? This question is important, I believe, in trying to establish why both were resisted. These intriguing questions lack thorough analysis in Hawkins (1992), Donmall-Hicks (1997), Poulson (1998), and Richmond (2012). They are questions that also demand an examination of the PRF and ORF agents' motives.

To this end, this thesis will adopt a somewhat similar approach to Medway's (1990) that looks at conceptual shift in how English should be taught while taking into account what is happening at a wider level over a twenty year span. A key difference is that I shall analyse motives. In the examination of language learning and planning motives, Ager (2001) stressed the need to consider 'the total motivational structure'. I shall treat the three historico-cultural continuities – the will to develop the knowledge industry, widen/ restrict access, and treat/not treat

¹⁷ A further distinction within language-as-an-object policy is noted by the Newbolt Committee who write people use the term 'grammar' in different senses: 'grammar as legislation' and 'grammar as science' (Newbolt, 1921:65).

language as a higher order of knowledge - as key aspects of this motivational structure, and use Bernstein's (2000) theory of the pedagogic device as the means by which to pull everything together. I shall explain how this does so in the next section.

4. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This chapter delineates my theoretical and methodological framework. In the first section, I shall review Foucault's approach to the history of thought and outline his views on discursive formations and discourse. In the second section, I shall turn to Fairclough who provides methodological guidelines for text analysis. The third section will deal with Bernstein who developed a theoretical foundation that enables us to look at LA and KAL's history in relation to the total motivational structure (Ager, 2001). I shall review three aspects of Bernstein's (2000) theory: the pedagogic device; the official/pedagogic recontextualising fields; and control of the unthinkable. In the final section, I shall outline my methodology before summarising my 'tool box'.

4.1 Foucault – Critical-Historical Analysis

Foucault made three important contributions to discourse-based social theory: the function of discourse in social change; the discursive construction of knowledge and social subjects; and lastly the relationship between discourse and power. In his earlier 'archaeological' works, Foucault examined discursive formations in an effort to establish the rules underpinning the constitution of varying areas of knowledge. I shall outline key points relevant to the aims of this thesis (See Hoy, 1986, and Fraser, 1989, for fuller accounts).

History was important to Foucault because it defines who we are today. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969) he criticises traditional approaches to the historical study of thought. He writes, 'A discipline like the history of ideas is an uncertain object, with badly drawn frontiers, methods borrowed from here and there, and an approach lacking in rigour and stability' (1969: 172). 'Archaeology' is Foucault's formulation of a more exacting approach to its study.

Foucault dismisses traditional approaches on the grounds they have two distinct but limiting orientations. One approach seeks to trace conceptual paths in history that have emerged and collectively produce the landscape we know today by pinpointing the emergence of certain ideas (oeuvres). Historians then try to join these points in a dot-to-dot fashion in an attempt to mark out a continuous line of evolution: a smooth cause-and-effect trajectory upon which 'man' is shown to evolve. They then describe the 'whole interplay' of concept formulation from one domain to another, and then relate them to institutional practice, social customs, social behaviour, and so forth from one period to the next. The second orientation treats history as the sedimentation of things written and spoken. Historians seek to uncover these forgotten solidities, and trace their relationship to other conceptual

systems in order to map out their crumbling rejection or reconstitution. The task involves coaxing out hidden meanings and smoothing out inconsistencies to establish the 'best line of fit'.

Foucault's (1969) approach is neither a quest to uncover 'origins' nor an attempt to 'map out the destiny of people'; rather it is a quest to understand what we have become today (Hoy, 1986). By questioning the constructs that underpin our existence (e.g. justice, discipline, medicine, and sexuality), Foucault examines whether we have, as generally assumed, evolved. His approach is atemporal and circular, rather than chronologically bound and linear. His archaeological approach suspends 'calendars of formulations' in order to discern the ragged circumference of bodies of knowledge in each conceptual system, and then reveal the relations that characterize the temporality of that particular discursive formation.

Foucault (1969) identified a discursive formation as a field of thought, such as natural history, justice, medicine, and so forth, for analysis. Each formation contains certain regularities within it that give rise to varying discourses. Each discourse is comprised of a network of statements (enoncés), which is often described as a 'system of dispersion'. Thus, statements are entities that embody preconditioning rules that determine which propositions, utterances and proposals can be meaningful at a particular time. They are also dependent upon the conditions in which they emerge. Statements can belong to other discourses but are governed by the laws of each discursive formation. These 'laws' shape what meaning statements can bestow upon propositions, utterance and speech acts. A discourse is not, however, a unity of these laws, but more an abstract matter that enables these laws to operate: assigning specific qualities to differing statements; allowing the formulation of varying concepts; and enabling evolvment of certain rhetorical strategies (Foucault, 1969). Discourses are:

'[P]ractices that systematically form objects of which they speak...Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention' (Foucault, 1969:49).

Within the discursive formation, archaeology and genealogy is used to analyse:

- * The level of the statements themselves.
- * The level at which concepts, types of enunciations, choices, and so forth appear.
- * The level at which the discursive formation is challenged, transformed, or replaced.

Whereupon the examination considers what constitutes this transformation, and

what motives are at play.

The aim of archaeology is 'to discover the whole domain of institutions, economic processes, and social relationships on which a discursive formation can be articulated...what it wishes to uncover is the particular level in which history can give place to definite types of discourse, which have their own historicity, and which are related to a whole set of various historicities' (Foucault, 1969:182). It is not so much a question of what prompts a new discourse, but rather the identification of operators by which events and acts are transcribed into statements. Thus, archaeology is more a consideration of 'what was conceived/said/written' rather than 'who conceived/what and when' or 'what caused what'. For example, archaeology does not claim that the 1932 cholera epidemic in France was not an event that concerned medicine; rather it seeks to understand why it is at this time a division in clinical discourses occurred that instigated the formulation of a new body of rules that reorganized medical practice. The question at hand is, 'What makes it possible for certain sets of ideas/beliefs to be 'mobilized' at this particular time but not others?

Archaeology is Foucault's first methodological phase. The second is genealogy. Foucault never actually specified their difference. My own view is that archaeology reflects Foucault's first conceptualization of history, as influenced by Bachelard and Canguilhem. Genealogy is influenced by Nietzsche's work on how power shapes history (See Foucault, 1986). In my mind, genealogy is the archaeological approach with an added fixture that is specifically attuned to the exercise of power. The focus is not only about what was thought/said/written but also the nature of the authority behind them (Ball, 1990), in that power relations constrain and shape what can be said. Foucault writes, 'discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it' (1969:101). In this respect, I believe Foucault and Bernstein's work complements each other.¹⁸

4.2 Fairclough – Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough's (1992) work integrates four bodies of work: Foucault on the socially constructive properties of discourse; Halliday (1978) on Systemic Functional

¹⁸ Foucault also writes: '[T]here are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterise and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated nor implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of a discourse' (1980:93).

Linguistics (SFL); Bakhtin (1981) on 'intertextuality'; and Gramsci (1971) on conceptualization of power. I will start with the latter as it theoretically underpins his work.

Gramsci (1971) views modern hegemony as a 'permeation' throughout society of an entire system of ideas, beliefs, attitudes and values that enables one social group to dominate another. It is an abstract 'organising principle' that pervades every area of social life. In modern hegemony, the socio-political elite is dependent on public consent, and so they must continually refine and evolve the nature of their rhetoric as to persuade and convince the people that 'this policy', 'this proposal', or 'this practice' is 'in everyone's best interests', 'common sense', or 'the only way to do it'. To this end, the socio-political elite constructs alliances that will enable them to maintain favourable power relations.

Gramsci (1971) maintained modern hegemony is inherently unstable because some actors who will try to expose things for 'what they really are'. Consequently, modern hegemony is characterised by a constant struggle to construct or repair alliances to block alternative power relations. This struggle takes place at all levels of society – in families, in schools, in companies, in government, and so on. It is evident in the formulation, articulation, distribution and consumption of messages that are used to persuade allies, deter foes, and convince the subordinated.

A proponent of historicism, Gramsci (1971) argued concepts cannot be understood outside their social and historical context. In other words, how we organize our worldly experience derives primarily from the social relations we hold with other users of those concepts. Building upon this understanding, Hall (1986) and Fairclough (1992) write that ideological formation take form within certain 'ideological complexes'. Intentionally or non-intentionally, the ideological formation will then come into conflict or intersect with others. The 'contact' of two or more ideological formations typically triggers the remodification of messages being produced.

Fairclough (1992) treated modern hegemony as a model and a matrix. It is the model by which groups construct alliances that enable them to maintain the subordination of varying groups. However, any attained equilibrium is tenuous at best. Hegemony is a matrix in the sense its exercise necessitates a certain degree of integration with local and semi-autonomous institutions. Over time, shifts in power relationships reinforce, erode, or collapse links with differing institutions.

The 'code model' of hegemony, Fairclough argues, was institution oriented. By contrast, today's 'articulation model' is client/public consumer oriented. Drawing on Jameson (1984), he states the de-centering of institutional power has resulted in the production of 'mosaic' models of discourse 'which characterize discursive practice as a constant minimally constrained rearticulation of elements' (1992:95). The only way to perceive the relationships within and between structures of power for what they really are is through discourse analysis.

While Fairclough (1992) is in agreement with Foucault (1969) with respect to how these relationships are formulated through language, a key point of departure is how we should look at these discourses. Fairclough agrees with Foucault that we need to look carefully at 'what is being said' in its texts, but adds that we also need to consider why it is being said in that way. To this end, Fairclough employs Halliday's (1961) SFL theory to conduct the analysis of any text. It considers the:

Field (what is going on in its context)

Tenor (the social roles and relationships of the authors)

Mode (the form of the communication)

SFL theory emphasizes language in meaning-making processes in terms of textual, interpersonal, and ideational semantics. The theory posits that every form and function of interaction can be understood on three levels: textual, interpersonal, and societal. In a similar manner, Fairclough's textually oriented discourse analysis framework entails the analysis of text, discursive practices, and social practices at local, institutional, and societal levels (Fairclough, 1989; 1995).

Intertextuality, as inspired by Bakhtin's (1981) work on dialogism, describes the idea that 'any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; and text is the absorption and transformation of another' (Kristeva, 1980:66). No text is created in isolation from others. All texts draw on concepts raised in other texts, be they written in the past or the present. The point being made here is, perhaps, best conveyed in T. S. Eliot's observation: 'Immature poets imitate; mature poets steal; bad poets deface what they take, and good poets make it into something better, or at least something different' (1920: 114).

Interdiscursivity then refers to the relations between discursive formations through which, if they are not ceased, are then refined. In Fairclough's own words, 'The stress on interdiscursive relations has important implications for discourse analysis, since it places at the centre of the agenda the investigation of the structuring or

articulation of discourse formation in relation to each other in 'orders of discourse' (1992:43). High occurrences of assimilation or contradiction between texts in a discourse indicate transformations within discursive formations.

4.3 Bernstein – A Pedagogical Discourse Theory

Many educational philosophers draw an intimate relationship between education and democracy. American pragmatist, John Dewey (1879), saw education as a vehicle for positive social transformation and potential emancipation. Bernstein also sees education as a means to transform society, but his perception is somewhat darker. He saw the school space as a complex site where various ideological discourses compete for control. Dominant discourses seek to (re)produce existing power relations, and competing ones threaten to transform them. The point is that they all seek to shape the social identity of individuals and communities, fixing them into certain positions of control whilst giving them the illusion that they are, for the most part, free.

4.3.1 The Pedagogic Device

Bernstein (2000) was less concerned with what is conveyed in the curriculum (the messages) and more concerned with the mechanism (the relay) that organises knowledge and distributes access to it. His work tries to explain how certain rules shape pedagogic discourse about the classification and framing of knowledge, its transmission, and how it serves to (re)produce relations of power in wider society.

Bernstein (2000) modelled the pedagogic device after Chomsky's language acquisition device (LAD). The LAD sorts the cacophony of sounds and symbols that individuals are exposed to 'out there', and transforms them into something that they can recognise as 'a language'. Similarly, the pedagogic device sorts and selects from a wealth of knowledge 'out there' (meaning potential) and transforms it into something that can be realised in the curriculum.

Both devices can be likened to 'black switch boxes'. The question confronting both Chomsky and Bernstein was, 'What sets the device's switches?'. Chomsky (1957) proposed universal grammar (a generative grammar) as a mechanism that governs language acquisition. Similarly, Bernstein argued there is also a social grammar mechanism, the 'pedagogic device', which organises the principles of distribution, recontextualisation, and evaluation that govern pedagogic discourse (explained forthwith).

Like Halliday (1978; 1993), Bernstein (2000) believed language is a 'loaded'

phenomenon, and our worldview is in part an effect of our language. Furthermore, language is a conduit through which our social identity is constituted. A simple example of this is a gender bias in English: for example, consider what is symbolised by the terms 'mistress' and 'master'. Subsequently, Bernstein (2000) argued the LAD is a process that can never be ideologically free, and the same holds true of the pedagogic device.

In terms of knowledge, Bernstein (2000) makes the following distinction. Mundane knowledge arises out of everyday encounters with people, and is the staple of primary and secondary education curricular content. Esoteric knowledge constitutes the type of knowledge that we encounter at the tertiary level of education, in research communities, or in private institutes. What is esoteric in one period can become mundane in another. Importantly, it is the control of what individuals know that is a large determinant of what they can be.

Bernstein writes, 'the rules of the pedagogic device are essentially implicated in the distribution of, and constraints upon, the various forms of consciousness' (2000: 28). This, Bernstein argues, is possible because the pedagogic device has the power to reach into our being to enhance our motivation, confidence, and imagination, or quietly deaden them. It shapes how people perceive themselves and the structural relations between them. They also shape the nature of people's participation in the democratic process and any bias in them can threaten what it means to be a democracy. As an interface between power and knowledge, and between knowledge and social consciousness, control of the pedagogic device is hotly contested.

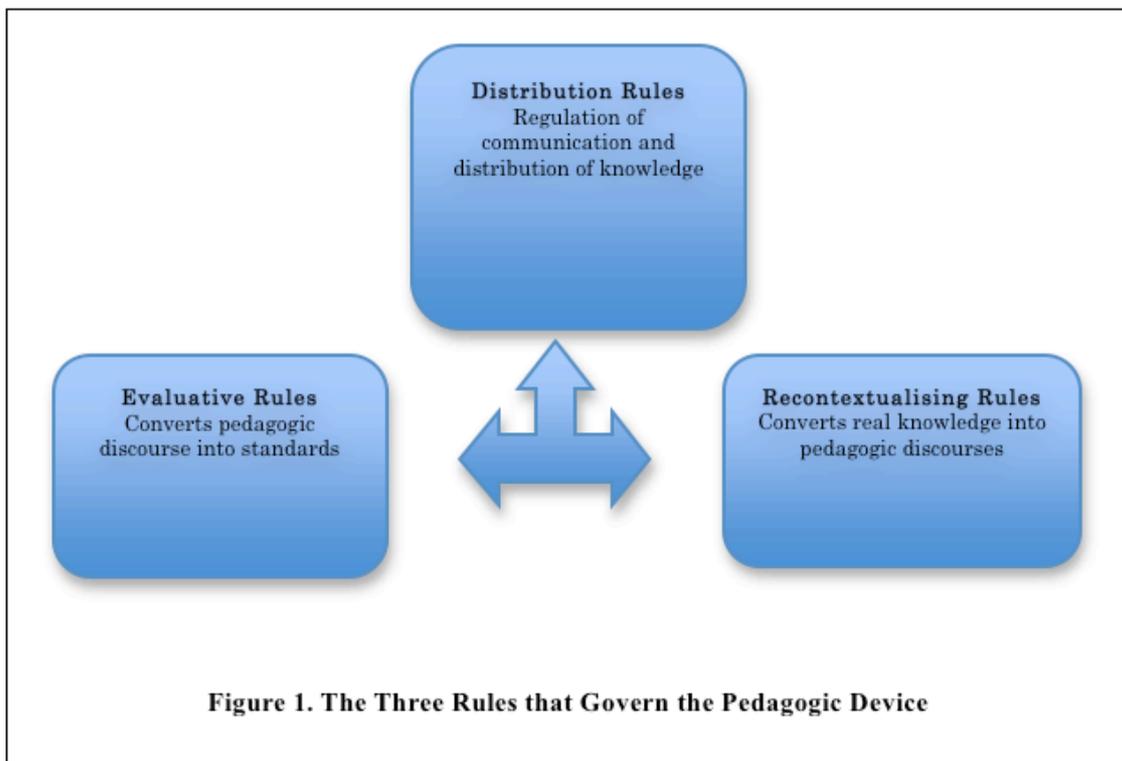
4.3.2 Controlling the 'Unthinkable'

The main purpose of the device is to control access to esoteric knowledge and the unthinkable, which I understand to mean the possibility of creating new understandings that result from individuals' engagement with esoteric knowledge. Access to esoteric knowledge largely takes place in, but is not restricted to, the upper reaches of the educational system.

Bernstein (2000) states the unthinkable is inherently problematic because it is so unpredictable. It is a meeting point of order and disorder, coherence and incoherence. It is a site where the possibility of alternative realisations regarding knowledge and power may arise, and so it poses a threat to the existing social order of power.

4.3.3 The Rules of the Pedagogic Device

Bernstein (2000) identifies three distinct but interrelated principles/rules that govern pedagogic discourses: distributive, recontextualising, and evaluative (See Figure. 1). Distributive rules regulate access to esoteric knowledge, thus controlling access to and engagement with the unthinkable. In so doing, they regulate 'the fundamental relationship between power, social groups, forms of consciousness and practice, and their reproductions and productions' (Bernstein, 1990: 180). Recontextualising rules regulate the constitution of specific pedagogic discourses, and determine what esoteric knowledge should be selected for transmission in the curriculum.¹⁹ Importantly, these rules typically transmute esoteric knowledge from being a real and unmediated discourse into one that is somewhat imaginary but highly mediated (e.g. the transformation of carpentry into the subject Woodwork). Finally, evaluative rules transform this pedagogic discourse into a set of standards that pedagogical practice is obliged to meet, and thus secure its distribution.



¹⁹ Bernstein was well aware of the differing ways in which teaching and learning can be conducted, but uses the word 'transmission' as an umbrella term to cover all approaches in his texts..

4.3.4 The ORF and PRF

The principles of the recontextualising rule create a field in which differing agents try to recontextualise different discourses in order to maintain or create new pedagogical discourses. Bernstein (2000) identifies two primary fields: the Official Recontextualising Field (ORF) and the Pedagogic Recontextualising Field (PRF). According to Bernstein, the state and its agents control the ORF, and actors in schools, colleges, faculties, specialized journals and private research foundations exercise the PRF. Their discourses reflect and distribute the ideologies held by key actors. While the ORF and PRF sometimes operate in concurrence, a tension always exists between them as they vie for control over the curriculum.

PRF and ORF discourses try to establish within the recontextualising field differing types of pedagogic models, modes and principles that formulate and construct differing types of social identities. The two models are performance and competence. These models differ in terms of how they are structured in terms of time, space, discourse, evaluation orientation, text, autonomy, and economy. Their internal structuring is further complicated by the fact that within each model a number of mode variations can be found.

Crudely put, Bernstein (2000) argues performance models operate in strongly framed and classified curricular spaces. Certain characteristics include: curricular subjects highly insulated from each other; restricted investment in teacher training; pupils having little say as to the content and pace of their learning; and an emphasis on monitoring outcomes (e.g. testing). Conversely, competence models tend to operate in weakly framed and classified curricular spaces. Characteristics typically include: low subject insulation; heightened investment in teacher training; allowing pupils to have a say in the content and pace of their learning; and an emphasis on educational processes.

Performance modes are based on 'different from' relations, whereas competence modes are based on 'similar to' relations. Performance modes are geared mostly to serving instrumental goals, and an emphasis on 'different from' relations arguably induces socio-economic inequality. Competence modes orient around the therapeutic construction of new social identities and arguably hinder the production of social inequality because they are based on 'similar to' terms. Matters, however, are never 'cut and dry' when it comes to the identification of modes. Bernstein (2000) maintains both can be found jostling side by side within the school system at any level at any given time.

4.4 Putting Foucault, Fairclough, and Bernstein together

Like Foucault, I view the history of thought as a complex and unpredictable phenomenon. I also agree that its analysis should focus on asking why certain discourses became 'mobilised' at certain times. I do not, however, believe it serves historians to abandon 'calendars of formulations'. Chronological organisation categorises what is messy, making it easier to unravel its complex tangle.

Foucault concentrated on power relations as exercised in the 'code model' of hegemony. I see LA and KAL's history as an 'interplay of power' of Fairclough's 'articulation model'; a flowing dynamic of agreement and disagreement on differing points, rather than polarised conflict, in which texts that absorb, transform and repel each other. Bernstein's theory provides us with a specific location for its analysis; the recontextualising fields in which actors vie to exert influence over the device's recontextualising rules. His distinction between the ORF and PRF also serves as a useful framework with which to categorise LA and KAL texts. However, while Bernstein portrays ORF as being representative of state interests, I will treat the ORF and central government as distinct groups.

In chapter 2, I argued the analysis of the LA and KAL's history must take into account how its discourses relate to three historico-cultural continuities. The pedagogic device provides the necessary theoretical connection to these three historic-cultural continuities because the recontextualising and evaluative rules are directly interrelated with its distributive rules (access to knowledge), which are implicated in the (re)production of relations of power. The connection, I believe, is most observable in the discourse's model and mode, which is directly shaped by the actor's motives.

Finally, Fairclough's framework for critical discourse analysis (CDA) provides a foundation for text analysis. There are some epistemological considerations concerning CDA that I would like to raise here. This is a complex matter, and one that can only be addressed in brief due to the word limitation.

CDA can be defined as the examination of 'how language as a cultural tool mediates the links between power and privilege in social interactions, institutions, and bodies of knowledge' (Rogers, Berkes, Mosley, Hui and O-Garro, 2005:367). One commonality in CDA research is that it takes its starting point in social theory (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). It is unified in its interest of power, which is considered an inherent feature of all social life, and at all levels. Thus, CDA draws heavily on Foucault's (1971; 1977) theories on power, identity, and ideology, as well

as Gramsci's (1971) notion of 'hegemony'. A principal focus of CDA is also upon language (discourse) and social structure.

Rogers *et al* (2005) identify three principles underpinning CDA educational research: 1) Concepts are mediated by a network of power relations, which is defined as a complex strategic situation in a social setting that structures social relations by means of both constraint and enablement; 2) Power relations are obtained/maintained through consent; and lastly 3) Language and its social constructs are not static or consistent, but forever changeable and 'slippery'.

Where then does this historical investigation stand? This thesis will look at how PRF and ORF texts mediated the conceptualisation of LA and KAL, and why they were resisted. I use Foucault's understanding of what a discourse is and some aspects of his approach to the history of thought. I also take on board Fairclough's development of Gramsci's work on hegemony, and I will utilise his SFL theory based framework for the analysis of the texts. 'How it is said' is an important consideration in CDA. In this investigation, however, I will not 'tooth-pick' my way through the texts (e.g. highlighting every change in modality, metaphor, turn-taking, choice of tense, etc), in a manner characteristic of Fairclough. This is because my focus is more upon conceptualisation rather than argumentation, and I will use Ager's (2001) policy and planning analysis framework to help me identify the motives driving these discourses. Finally, I shall use Bernstein's pedagogic device that provides a theoretical link between the construction of these discourses, the three historico-cultural continuities identified in Chapter 2, and the curricular conflict.

These are the frameworks and tools that I wish to put to work, and such an approach falls in line with Foucault's standpoint that historians should have at their disposal 'a tool box' to meet the task at hand. Differing jobs require differing sets of tools. This would also appear to be the stance held by educational historians contributing to Goodson and Medway (1990). 'The paradox', as Hewitt (2009:3) observes, 'means that there are many methods employed and at the same time no method of discourse analysis'.

Naturally, what discourse we are subject to and what theories and methodologies we employ in our inquiries will guide and shape our perspectives of history in differing ways. This brings us, of course, to a highly convoluted matter relating to how a historian interprets history. Much has been written about this topic, and there is no space to address it in sufficient depth here. Suffice to say that what I present here is my interpretation of this history – once a language pupil and then a

language teacher within this school system and period, who will now put to use Bernstein, Foucault, Fairclough and Ager to understand it – and the validity of my interpretation is bound to the weight of my arguments, and also those that refute them.

4.4.1 The View 'Inside'

Figure 2 is an attempt to provide some sort of visual representation of the task at hand. The large blunt rectangle signifies the discursive formation of language education. The formation encompasses all Language subjects that are being taught in the school curriculum. The 'blobs' then signify various discourses relating to the conceptualisation of LA and KAL. The dotted and smooth lines running through the discourses represent the conceptual formulation of LA and KAL by ORF and PRF authors.

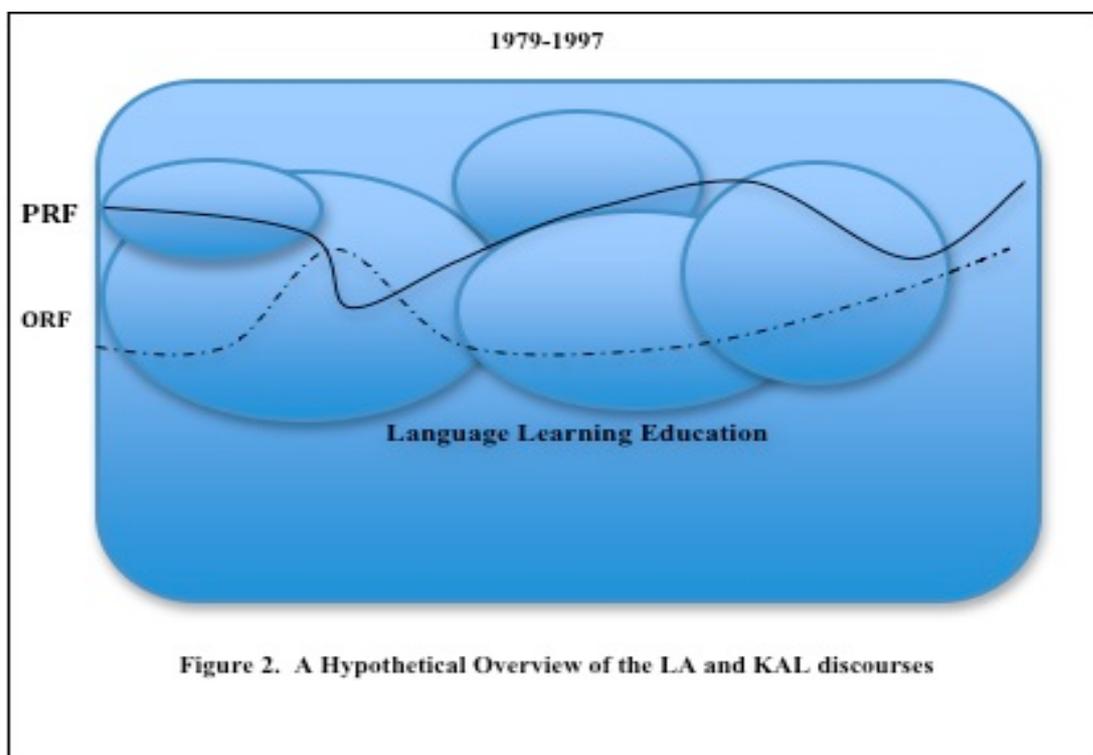
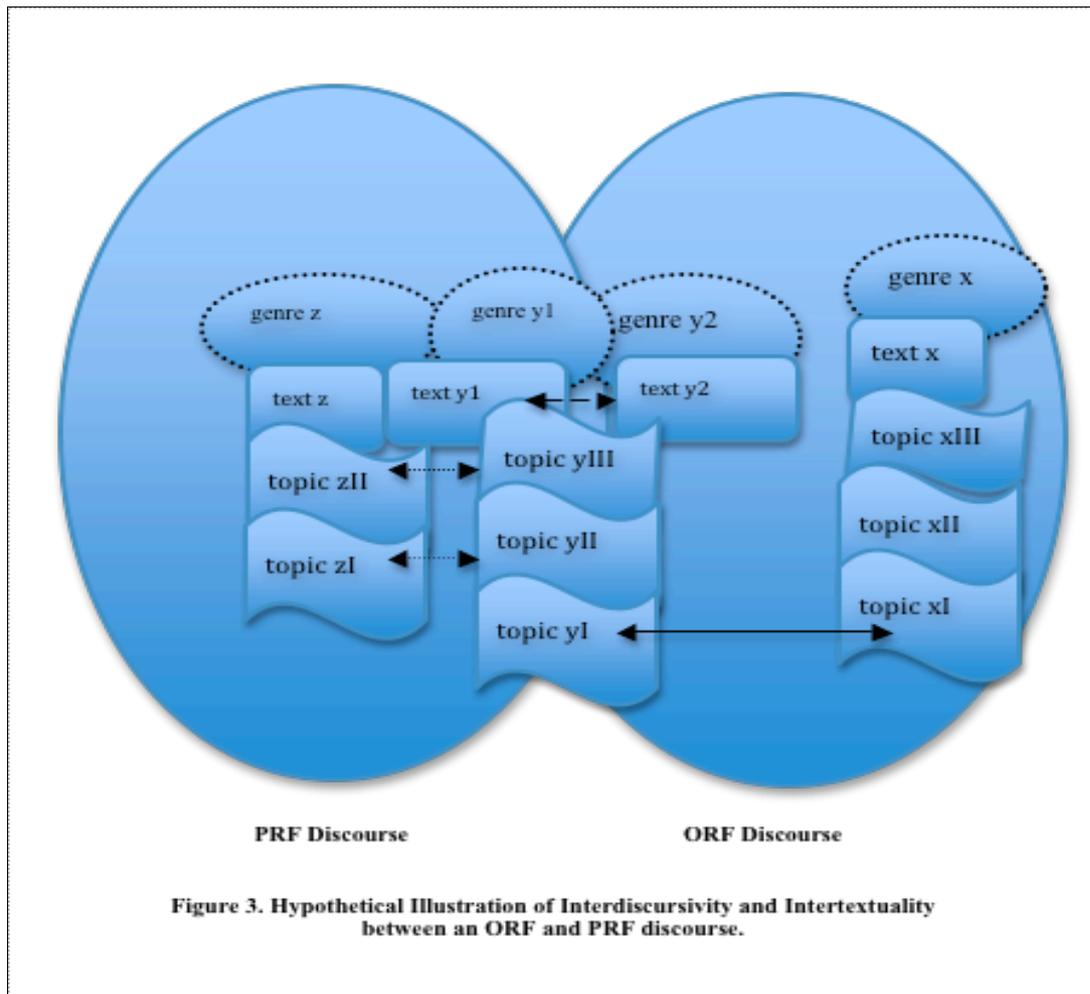


Figure 3 (adapted from Wodak, 2001), below, is a close-up of what happens when two discourses interact. Within each discourse, ideas and arguments can be organized into varying genres. Wodak (2001) describes genre as a social process (e.g. screen directions) that shapes how actors communicate. In Figure 3, we see two fields of discourse (A and B) that have varying genres. Here, genre y is shared by both discourses that approach it from their own discursive orientation: a point of interdiscursivity. In relation to genre y, texts include the topics: yI, yII, and yIII. In the left discourse, the same topics are also raised in relation to genre z, signified by

dotted arrows between topics z and y. These are points of intertextuality. In the ORF, topic yIII raised in relation to genre y then starts to influence a position held in relation to genre x.

Fairclough (2001:124) writes, "The semiotic aspect of a social order is what we call an order of discourse. It is the way in which diverse genres and discourses are networked together". Thus, it follows that when ORF and PRF texts do not always directly reflect the ideologies of their authors, as Ager (2001) warns, a good place to look is varying points of intertextuality and interdiscursivity. These are the points in the text that correlate with the views and opinions expressed in other texts. In other words, while educationists write texts as a means to put forward their views on how language knowledge should be conveyed in the classroom, these views are unlikely to be entirely unique. They have, to a greater or lesser extent, been influenced by what their predecessors or peers say on matters directly or even tenuously related to the topic at hand. They may even be influenced to the point that the views expressed in the text do not appear to match what we already know about the author and his/her pedagogical beliefs. When this happens we have to then look for 'leads' in the text that will take us to the source of influence.



4.4.2 Selection and identification of significant texts

This section describes the location and selection of the texts, and the evaluation of their relevance in answering my research question. Mention is also made with regard to their reliability and authenticity. For the purposes of this thesis, a text is 'an artifact which has as its central feature an inscribed text' (Scott, 1990:5).

My research objective was to trace two pedagogical concepts, LA and KAL, as they were articulated in language education planning and policy texts at the rhetorical level. The matter of locating sources that will satisfactorily address either quantitative or qualitative inquiries is a challenge facing every historian. The twentieth century has witnessed a veritable explosion in the publication of rhetorical level educational texts. On the one hand, this gave me a certain advantage because the texts could be located fairly easily. On the other, it also made the matter of selection all the more important (See Tosh, 2006) in trying locate those that would best answer my questions regarding the rhetorical articulation of LA and KAL in the ORF and PRF fields between 1979-1997.

Initial search terms

My initial search terms were collected from my reading of Svalberg's (2007) paper 'Language awareness and Language Learning'; terms that I encountered as a MFL teacher in the 1990s; as well as terms gleaned from cursory searches on web search engines. I categorised these terms in the following manner:

Concepts

Language Awareness
Knowledge about Language
Subject 'Language'
History Language Awareness
History Knowledge about Language

Actors

Eric Hawkins
Brian Cox
Gillian Donmall
John Sinclair

PRF & ORF Organisations

National Congress on Languages in Education (NCLE)
Centre for Information on Language Teaching(CILT)
Language Awareness Working Party (LAWP)
Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI)
Cox Committee

Location of Sources

Initial cursory searches on various web search engines, like Google and Google Scholar, resulted in the identification of some texts. I then continued the search in the catalogues, databases, and archives listed below.

I searched library and used book catalogues because the publication period starts in 1979, and most of the PRF texts in the earlier years can only be found in physical paper form. Platforms like Educational Resources Information Center identify libraries that hold a physical copy of the text. I could then contact those libraries for an e-copy or arrange an inter-library loan. The web search engine, Google Books was useful in that enabled me to view the content of some texts that are no longer in print or commercially available.

Last but not least, I also searched the archives of the National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE), which can be found on its website, because I wanted to better ascertain the English teachers' views of LA and KAL. I also perused the Hansard Archive, which holds the edited verbatim reports of proceedings of both the House of Commons and the House of Lords. The archive can be found on the UK Parliament's website. The purpose of doing so was to what the Secretaries of State for Education had said in relation to LA and KAL in parliamentary debate. I also approached, to no avail, CILT and the Association of Language Awareness for information regarding the location of conference proceeding texts.

Book Catalogues

Exeter University Library catalogue
British Library
Amazon
Abe Books
Book Depository
Better World Books

Online Electronic Journal Databases

Journal Storage (JSTOR)
Education Resources Information Center (ERIC)
EBSCO Information Services

Web Search Engine

Google
Google Scholar
Google Book

Archives

Hansard
NATE

Singular and combined term searches in these varying databases, catalogues and archives, in their full or abbreviated form, resulted in the identification of numerous published texts. I was able to purchase PRF planning texts from various booksellers. Numerous PRF articles were also accessed via the university's online system; otherwise they were purchased from the journal they were published in. I found most of the ORF policy texts on the *History of Education in England* website (Gillard,

2011). A copy of the LAWP Report, Warwick Report, the Cox Report, and newspaper articles were ordered via the University inter-library system and the British Library.

Having located around seventy texts, I then dealt with the problem of deciding which ones to make the main focus of this thesis. My approach is what Tosh (2006) refers to as a problem-oriented approach of using source material. I had already formulated and posed my questions: it was now a matter of identifying the sources that would best answer them. As Tosh (2006) notes, it is difficult to tell in advance or at first glance which texts will be the most significant or relevant. Texts seldom throw up instant answers, and it follows that there is a danger that something of significance will be overlooked when looked at for the first time. I used the following classifications to help me organize the texts, and identify those which were more significant texts: 1) primary/secondary; 2) influential/non-influential; and 3) ORF/PRF. These terms will be defined in their respective sections.

Primary/Secondary Texts

A conventional classification to be made between texts is whether they are a primary or a secondary source text. I consider primary source texts to be 'first-hand' texts produced by those who were directly involved in the events of the day and written closest in time to the event. In this inquiry, these texts were typically written to convey and promote certain views about LA and KAL and persuade the readership to accept them.

Secondary sources are generally historically removed from the events of the day, and their authors put forward their particular interpretation of the history. As McCulloch & Richardson (2000) observe the distinction between the two is not always clear-cut. This was the case in my own inquiry. For example, Brian Cox, who oversaw the writing of the primary source ORF policy text *English for Ages 5 to 16* [Cox Report] (Cox, 1989), then wrote a personal account of the history of its writing just two years later. While my investigation included the consideration of both forms, primary original texts formed the central focus of my research.

Influential/non-influential Texts

The contents of texts were skimmed and scanned to ascertain their 'influence'. I say 'influence' because my guiding principle in tracing these pedagogical concepts was Foucault's principle of 'dispersion' (as expounded in section 4.1). To this end, I sought to identify the texts which were the most widely referenced or noted to be well known. While the frequency with which a text is referenced in lists and

bibliographies is an indicator of its popularity, each text required careful qualitative assessment to ascertain the actual nature of its influence in relation to my research questions.

As I have noted before, what shapes a concept, in this case one of a pedagogical nature, are the texts that promote it as well as those that reject it. Together, they serve to make more apparent the ragged edges of the LA and KAL concepts. It is for this reason that I have included in my inquiry Honey's (1983) text *The Language Trap*. This text was greatly sensationalized by the press, and it can be argued that it was representative of the Conservative Party's views on English language education. It makes no mention of a subject 'Language' or 'Language Awareness', which may suggest the author's ignorance²⁰ of what Hawkins or the LAWP was trying to promote. Alternatively, it may indicate Honey's utter unwillingness to entertain Hawkins' proposal to have a new subject Language. Either way, LA protagonists then had to work around Honey's views in order to promote LA. In this way, Honey (1983) indirectly influences the conceptualization of LA and KAL, but also its rejection.

Tosh (2006) also makes the observation that unpublished texts are less influential than those that are published. In this inquiry, however, one unpublished text, *Language in the National Curriculum*, was notably influential in the shaping of KAL because the Conservative government banned its official publication. Its subsequent demand by teachers led to its samizdat²¹ dispersal, as copied off on staff room printers throughout the country. This, however, is the only unpublished text that was included in the analysis, which is due to its high level of influence in the PRF. Another reason is due to the fact that it was originally destined to be an official text for use in national level primary and secondary teacher training.

Lastly, although I was looking to identify influential texts, this does not mean I abandoned the lesser-known and less influential ones, for they served an invaluable purpose in confirming or discrediting the content of those that formed the main focus of the inquiry.

ORF/PRF Texts

²⁰ Honey was not an educator affiliated with the state school system at the time

²¹ This Russian term refers to the covert distribution of government-banned literature. This is the term used by Ronald Carter and NATE referring to the distribution of this publication.

In addition to the primary/secondary and influential/non-influential distinction, I also used Bernstein's (2001) ORF and PRF classification (expounded in Section 4.3.4). ORF texts were distinguished from PRF texts on the basis that the former were written or commissioned by government agencies. The ORF and PRF fields operate according to their set of discursive rules as to how they maintain, promote, or create new pedagogical discourses. These discourses typically reflect the ideologies and interests held by key actors in each field. There are times when the discourses of the PRF and ORF may concur, or give the impression that they do. Even when they do, Bernstein (2001) maintains a tension always exists because agents in each field seek control over the curriculum.

ORF texts selected for examination in this inquiry included the evaluations, *Language Awareness and Foreign Language Taster Courses* (HMI, 1990) and *Evaluation of the Implementation of English in the National Curriculum 1991-3* (Raban, McIntyre, and Clark, 1994). The classification includes the curricular proposal *English 5 -16* (HMI, 1984; 1986). Major reports include *Education for All* [The Swann Report] (Swann, 1985); *Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Teaching of English Language* [The Kingman Report] (Kingman, 1988); and *English for Ages 5 to 16* [The Cox Report] (Cox, 1989). I also include the introduction of the unpublished *Language in the National Curriculum* (LINC) materials, funded by the DES, and a National Council for Educational Standards pamphlet *The Language Trap: Race, class, and the 'standard English' issue in British schools* (Honey, 1983).

PRF texts include the books *Language Awareness: An Introduction* (Hawkins, 1984), the NCLE Report *Language Awareness* (Donmall, 1985), *Language Awareness for Teachers* (Mittens, 1991), *Knowledge About Language and the Curriculum: The LINC Reader* (Carter, 1990), *Looking into Language: Classroom approaches to knowledge about language* (Bain, Fitzgerald, & Taylor, 1992), *Language Awareness in the Classroom* (James & Garrett, 1991), and *Language in the National Curriculum* (Brumfit, 1995). Articles include 'Language as Curriculum Study' (Hawkins, 1979), 'Education and Race – an alternative view' (Honeyford, 1984), and 'The Developing of Language Awareness in the UK as a Response to Problems Posed by Linguistic Diversity' (Donmall, 1984).

My search for texts also led to the identification of the PRF's formulation of KAL, such as Smith (1995), Carter (1988), Cameron & Bourne (1989), Goodwyn (1992), and Poulson (1992); as well as views articulated in NATE's journal *English in Education*. I also refer to Committee and LINC project members' reflections on the ORF constitution of KAL, such as Stubbs (1989, 1990), Cox (1991, 1995), Carter

(1996), and Richmond (2012). Also informing the fringes of the research are the autobiographies and biographies - Thatcher (1993), Baker (1993), McSmith (1995) and Denham and Garnett (2001) – and investigations into the history of the Conservative Party and HMI by Knight (1990), Callaghan (1995; 2006), Tomlinson (2008), Maclure (1990), Ball (2009), Pierson (1998), and Bolton (1998).

I also contacted by email a previous Chair of NATE, Henrietta Dombey, who was quoted in a PRF text written by Ronald Carter; one of the most influential PRF agents in this history. My readings of texts in the NATE archive confirmed Dombey played a very active role in trying to promote learning about language in the education of English teachers. This, however, is the only oral evidence given in this inquiry for reasons outlined below.

Relevance, Reliability, and Authenticity

These three classifications helped me towards selecting the texts that appeared to be the most significant in answering my research questions. Some might call this approach to documentary research 'snowballing', a term used in reference to qualitative research. I prefer the term 'excavation', which keeps it in line with Foucault's archaeological approach, and this is a term also used by Peim (2005).

Having identified promising texts, their relevance needed to be determined by whether or not they could shed light on at least one of the following: a) what LA or KAL is; b) how either should be classified and framed in the curricular space; c) whether it rationalizes its purpose in the curriculum; and d) whether it threw light on who or why LA or KAL was resisted.

Establishing a texts' relevance is not, by any means, a straightforward affair. My own experience relates somewhat closely to that of Robinson (2010: 192) who writes in reference to her research:

'The process of accessing, selecting and finding meaning in relevant documents was not neat or linear. Rather, it required taking leads from some documents to seek out other documents and engage in an iterative interrogation of the material...The process can be likened to piecing together a jigsaw puzzle, without a guiding picture or confidence that all the pieces are available'.

The jigsaw analogy works well in the sense of collecting the pieces that make up

the historical narrative – the picture of the history. In this inquiry, I have fashioned together my readings of these texts in order to produce, what I hope, is a coherent and convincing picture of this particular period in language education history.

As in the case of putting together a jigsaw puzzle, we sometimes discover that a piece is missing. My own inquiry is text-based, but when I was unable to fully construe a part of the picture from their reading, so I then collected evidence from Henrietta Dombey (as mentioned above) to fill this 'gap'. Her account served to throw better light on the matter of why KAL was resisted in the PRF when the texts failed to do so. I appreciate this may appear unconventional, but it succeeded in filling a 'gap'.

Where the jigsaw analogy falls short is the matter of interpreting meaning. This is a particular concern when dealing with the history of thought. Working with this particular analogy for a moment, we could imagine that we are trying to put back together the pieces of a damaged painting. We may well be able to collect enough pieces of a particular artwork, say *Las Meninas* by Diego Velazquez, to understand that it depicts several people in a large room. Further investigation of various documentary sources will hopefully enable us to identify the figures and even the room itself, but the matter of interpreting the meaning behind their deliberate postures, the mirror's unusual reflections, and other mysterious imagery is left to the perspective of each beholder. Their interpretation inevitably becomes a matter of continued debate.

What we see and understand of our evidence is essentially a hermeneutical question. In recent years, the postmodern 'turn' has confronted academic historians with uncomfortable questions, such as: What 'regimes of truth' are we working under when we make our inquiries? How do these regimes impinge upon our assertions regarding the importance of particular historical periods, events or actors? How do they define the relevance of our chosen texts? How do they persuade our adoption of certain approaches to the analysis and interpretation of sources, and not others?

The body of literature that grapples with hermeneutics in the history of education is too extensive to survey here (See Gardner, 2010; Coloma, 2011; Butchart, 2011). Suffice to say, as noted in Section 4.4, what I have done is reveal 'my cards' so to speak. I have outlined my own background as a pupil and state schoolteacher in this particular era; stated which historians, methodologists, and theorists influence my perspective; and stated why I undertook this study. This is in part the regime of

truth that I am working under, for it is the lens by which I make sense of the texts that provide me with vestiges of the past that I am seeking to understand.

By way of a self-reflexive practice, as promoted by Coloma (2011), I also tried not to lose myself in the analysis of any one text. Having read a text thoroughly, I put it aside and undertake the reading of other texts in order to re-evaluate its relevance, as well as triangulate and corroborate its content. As Tosh (2006:103) notes, all the amassed texts 'have a bearing on the problem in hand', and so they must be weighed against each other. In doing so, we inch closer to a 'truth'.

Is this approach 'opportunist'? While excavation entails some degree of luck, it still entails pursuing lines of inquiry. What, then, are these lines? First, the research questions serve to guide the inquiry, although, at the same time, they must not be allowed to inhibit what is conveyed in the text. Secondly, as with Foucault's approach to the history of thought, I have tried to trace what I will call 'conceptual wavelengths' that permeate and connect the texts. These wavelengths are the formulation of certain ideas and their counter-arguments, and they serve as the handrails of the inquiry. Similarly, Peim (2005: 25-26) writes of 'atomistic signs' and 'sign configurations' that make up the coherency of text, and make it more significant than others. In terms of text analysis, it is a premise of discourse analysis that these signs can be identified in the reoccurrence of certain buzzwords, turns of phrase, and even the choice of grammar in each sentence. And, I am of the view that the concepts raised in the texts serve as wavelengths as do the texts' reference lists and/or bibliographies. We must, however, also look for wavelengths and signs between the lines of text too, in what is emphasized, inferred, minimalized, or ignored: reveal what has been hidden and hear what has been silenced. It is in the effort to reveal these wavelengths and signs, and identify their configuration that luck diminishes in proportion to the rigour of the undertaking (See O'Gorman, 1999).

A final word must be given to the matter of authenticity and reliability of a text. By authenticity, I mean the genuineness and the originality of the text. The authenticity of the primary source PRF and ORF texts that I selected was relatively high given their fame within their respective educational discourse fields at the time. They are all a product of their time, in that the influence of other texts upon them, some reaching as far back as the 1920s, is readily perceivable. This intertextuality (expounded in section 4.1.1) does not, however, detract from their authenticity. Furthermore, enough time has passed since their publication for any critics to dispute their authenticity.

The reliability of these texts is a more subtle and complex matter. By reliability, I mean the degree to which we can rely on what is being said in the text. Planning and policy texts are as much the creation of the institution as they are of the people who wrote them. On the one hand, there are the vested interests of the authors or the organizations/institutions with which they are affiliated. On the other hand, there are greater, impinging constraints on what can be said, for example, varying historical continuities at work, socio-cultural beliefs about education, the diffusion of market discourses, etc. However, once read within the wider context of the day and its past, these interests and constraints usually become all the more detectable.

Naturally, there are limits as to what can be surveyed by one person. In my own mind, I have focused on what Ager (2001) calls the 'total motivational structure' of the text. One example would be the reading of the Cox Report (1989). Once the interests of the Conservative government and National Teachers' Association are known in addition to the individual research interests of the Committee members, their efforts to craft an argument that would appease everyone but also advance their own formulation of KAL becomes all the more apparent. In fact, fear of a possible misreading by members of the PRF or ORF led the Committee to remove an entire chapter entitled 'Grammar'. These factors, however, do not necessarily make the text less reliable, for we can still tease apart these threads. Thus, the best approach, I believe, is to try to recognize and acknowledge any biases in the text. In analyzing texts deemed significant in this inquiry, this is what I have strived to do.

4.4.3 Text Analysis

My analytical framework, which seeks to identify the field, the tenor, and the mode (See Fairclough, 1992) is as follows, which is somewhat similar to the approach outlined in McCulloch and Richardson (2000). I use the term semiosis to refer to the notion that we should account for concepts in terms of their 'the total motivational structure'.

Questioning semiosis outside the text (Field)

What is the register of the socio-economic context?

What are the Conservative Party's ideologies?

How does Conservative Party exert its influence in the educational sphere?

Why look at the field? As outlined above, what makes this slice of history so interesting is the fact that, unlike previous governments, the Conservative Party becomes an active contender in the effort to wield control over the pedagogic device – a particular interest being language/literacy. Naturally, Conservative

interests and policies are influenced by socio-economic determinants of the day, as well as the theories they embraced about how things should be run.

In Chapter 5, having briefly identified the socio-economic register of this context, I will head each section with a brief account of the ideological tenets and the educational changes inaugurated by the Conservative Party. This should serve to move away from the aridity of what Stephens (1999) terms an 'Acts and Facts' approach, where educational history is recorded, described and interpreted as if it existed in some sort of vacuum. I shall not detail the inner workings of the Conservative government (See Callaghan, 2006) as the main focus here is to give attention to how LA and KAL was configured in the PRF and ORF for curricular implementation.

Questioning representation inside the text (Tenor and mode)

For whom and by whom was the text written?

What concepts are privileged?

How was LA and KAL formulated and reconstituted as a language education approach (e.g. framing and classification)?

How do these questions relate to my research questions? The first question identifies the actor/s in this historical narrative. It seeks insight into who they were and who they were affiliated with so as to better identify their interests and motives. The second question helps us to identify what LA and KAL was as a pedagogical concept. The third question relates to Bernstein's pedagogic device that serves to categorise the nature of the discourse in terms of its model and mode (explained above), and I used this to help me identify the primary and secondary motives underpinning each. Once these motives were identified, I was then in a better position to explain who resisted LA and KAL, and why. Specifically, I tried to locate statements that function with constitutive effects in which a formulation can be recognized and isolated (See Foucault, 1969; Graham, 2005). In each analysis section of Chapter 5, I illustrate the relationship between their configuration and the 'field'.

4.5 Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed Foucault's (1986) approach to the history of thought; Fairclough's (1992) approach to critical discourse analysis; and Bernstein's (2000) theory on the pedagogic device. I have outlined how I will synthesise their work; in what way my approach differs; and how the theory of the pedagogic device serves

to link the analysis of LA and KAL discourses, motives, conflicts, and historico-cultural continuities together.

Recently, Depaepe (2003:190) has argued:

‘[H]istorians of education today require not only adequate tools or concepts to understand the impact of the school on behavior but also theoretical frameworks in which they can explore the implications of the pedagogical paradoxes at the social level from within educational activities’.

In simple terms, Table 1 summarises how the works listed above inform my own approach/interpretation. While a Foucaultian approach remains unpopular in the field of the history of education (See Coloma, 2011), it is still illuminating. Like Foucault, I also readily accept that different jobs require different tools, almost in the same way a mechanic, a carpenter, or a surgeon does. I believe there is no need for the researcher to reinvent the wheel each time she or he attempts to answer a research question. We should use what has been made available to us, and then look towards honing their use or rejecting them altogether.

In the case of this inquiry, Foucault (1969: 1980) provides the groundwork for approaching the history of thought that rests upon the question, ‘Why exactly is this happening now?’ and trains our attention upon who is trying to exercise power and how. Fairclough (1992) provides a framework of questions with which to make inroads into the analysis of each text. Bernstein’s (2000) theory, in my view, puts us in a very good place to consider the ‘total motivational structure’ of the historical picture. Ager (2001) arguably provides the most concise framework conceived to date with which to identify the motives underpinning these language education plans and policies. In the next chapter, I will put these methods and theories to work.

Theorist/Methodologist	How their work informs my approach and interpretation in this thesis	Tool
Foucault (1969; 1980)	A non-linear approach to the history of thought that attends to how power is mediated by agents and groups at every level of society.	The identification of what a discursive formation and discourse is. An analysis of history that rests upon the question, 'Why is this happening now?' as well as a focus upon who is exercising influence.
Bernstein (2000)	Theory of how the pedagogic device (educational mechanism) mediates knowledge and society's structural relations.	A framework for: 1) categorising educational discourses, and 2) identifying the classification and framing of an educational discourse, so as to identify its model and mode that helps to identify the motive of the educational plan or policy.
Fairclough (1992)	Understanding of modern hegemony as a 'mosaic' model.	A question framework for analysing texts as based on SFL theory.
Ager (2001)	Approach to understanding language [education] policy and planning.	A framework for identifying motives underpinning varying language policies and planning in relation to the actor's attitudes toward language and their goals

Table 1. An Overview of the Theories and Methodologies that Inform this Thesis

5. LA and KAL Discourses during the Conservative Years (1979-1997)

This chapter begins with a historical prelude that outlines the historical content that gave rise to LA and KAL. Since LA sought to bridge English and MFL, both paths are outlined. A particular focus will be grammar and Standard English, which became points of great controversy in the LA and KAL discourses.

Following this prelude, the following five sections will detail the narrative of this history. Each section begins with a brief synopsis of the political scene (field and tenor) and any educational change instigated by the Conservative Party. The main section traces how LA and KAL was formulated and constituted in the PRF and ORF texts by varying actors/groups (tenor and mode). This will be followed by an analysis section in which I identify the pedagogical framing, classification, mode, model, and finally the motives. This section focuses upon the matter of who resisted the proposed reforms and why.

5.1 Historical Prelude

A reading of Field (2000) reveals the Classics and modern foreign languages still held considerable status in the curriculum at the turn of the twentieth century, and teaching typically utilised the Grammar-translation Method.²² Typically, learning entailed the memorisation of endless lists detailing the regularities and irregularities of the language's morphology and syntax, drills, translation, and prose analysis.

Revolting against this emphasis upon grammar in favour of cultivating oral proficiency, *La Société Nationale de Professeurs de Français en Angleterre* tried to introduce the Direct Method (Natural Method). Their attempts were resisted. Even in 1952, when the new GCE examinations replaced the existing system, the Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters' guidance to the new examination boards maintained the importance of grammar mastery (Field, 2000). As a result, foreign language learning remained virtually synonymous with grammar teaching (Rutherford & Sharwood-Smith, 1988).

Grammar teaching was also problematised in the English subject area, and it is to this history we will now turn. In the 1920s, the Newbolt Committee was convened to address concerns that England's newly established secondary school system was

²² This was also known as the Ciceronian Method due to its roots in Classic language pedagogy.

not producing individuals with English skills sufficient enough to meet industry's demands. Their writing of *The Teaching of English in England* [The Newbolt Report] (1921) gave rise to what Donald (1989) terms the 'intractable problem' of English: What should the purpose of the English subject area be?

The Newbolt Committee was arguably motivated by a desire to create a 'better' society (Brindley, 1993). What constitutes a good society, however, ignited difference of opinion. Most were influenced by Matthew Arnold's (1869) *Culture and Anarchy*, which advocated the study of literature 'full of sweetness and light' so as to produce a populace that would be content enough to go along with the 'essential movement of the world' (1869:129). Others, notably George Sampson, believed it should entail teaching how language works and utilised so as to ensure the production of articulate individuals who could uphold the principles of democracy (Brindley, 1993).

Despite the members' differences, a consensus was achieved on the following points. Firstly, English needed to be moved from a position of curricular subservience to one of standing. To this end, they advocated the postponement of modern and Classical language study, and to use English as the 'sifting ground, to differentiate those possessed of literary ability' (1921:101). This, however, posed a problem. Until now, it was widely thought that the Classics strengthened pupils' proficiency in English.²³ While anxious to move away from the 'stiffening process' and the 'gritting of teeth' associated with the Classics (1921:20), the Committee recommended the importation of its grammatical terminology into the English subject area (Hudson & Walmsley, 2005). With it, however, slipped deeply entrenched teaching practices. Shayer's (1972) examination of textbooks published from 1910s to 1940s reveals little change. Pupils parsed sentences, memorised parts of speech, and were admonished for not abiding to Latinate rules imposed on English (Cox, 1993).²⁴

The Committee also agreed that English literature should become the heart of the English curriculum. Great works should serve as literary exemplars; particularly those that were thought to have certain humanizing, civilizing, and enlightening powers upon pupils (See Peel, Patterson & Gerlach, 2000). Frank Leavis further

²³ Goethe puts it, 'Wer fremde Sprachen nicht kennt, weiß nichts von seiner eigenen' [Those who do not know a foreign language, know nothing of their own].

²⁴ For example, Latinate rules include not ending a sentence with a preposition, not splitting infinitives, and using a nominative after the verb *to be*.

solidified this attachment of quasi-religious significance to English literature at the university level (Klingenstein, 1998). This notion that literature has the power to shape people then resulted in the production of English teachers who saw teaching as a moral, socio-cultural and political mission.

In the 1960s, illiteracy became a concern of international dimensions in the United Nations' Report *World Campaign for Universal Literacy* (1963). Following comprehensivisation, English teachers began to disagree about the nature of their mission and how to undertake it. The debate became ideologically and politically charged. In very crude terms, left wing orientated English teachers affiliated themselves with the NATE and/or LATE (See Gibbons, 2009), and the 'right' affiliated themselves with the Cambridge Group.

NATE and LATE teachers typically worked with diversity in all its forms. Pupils in their classes were unfamiliar with Standard English, spoke unfamiliar variations of English, spoke with heavily accented English, or did not speak English at all. Those with Marxist leanings interpreted their apathy in the classroom to be a product of their 'alienation' by the school system.²⁵ Controversially, Bernstein (1971) attributed widespread scholastic failure among the lower socioeconomic classes to a difference in language 'code': Schools use an elaborated code (Standard English) in which pupils, who typically use a restricted code (Non-standard English), are not proficient.

Pupils' resistance acted as one catalyst for change in the English and MFL subject areas. Another was Noam Chomsky. Skinner's (1957) Behavioural (stimulus-response) approach to foreign language learning was based on the idea that language can be reduced into parts and sequenced in transmission. Chomsky (1959) argued that this 'finite' approach is essentially flawed because it fails to recognise that language is inherently 'infinite'. Secondly, Chomsky argued language acquisition is an innately determined process. The mind is predisposed to ascertaining the features of a language, thus even unschooled children will come to speak a language fluently. Thirdly, while Behaviourism focused on erasing error, Chomsky argued it plays an essential role in acquisition.

Chomsky's ideas eventually filtered down to teacher training colleges. MFL teachers rejected the Behaviourist Audio-lingual approach, and embraced

²⁵ Jackson and Marsden's (1962) *Education and the Working Class* heavily critiques the ethos and procedures of the grammar school and the alienating effect it has upon working class children and their parents.

Communicative Language Teaching approaches that weakened the framing of teaching.²⁶ In English, Chomsky's theories in addition to those of Bruner (1960; 1966) fired up debate about the role and effectiveness of explicitly taught versus implicit knowledge focused teaching methods.

In 1966, NATE helped organize the Dartmouth College Seminar, which is widely regarded a pivotal point in the coordination of what came to be known as 'progressive' teaching. This fissiparous group was united in two ways. Firstly, they objected to prescriptive formulations and decontextualised presentations of the English language. Secondly, they objected to the oppression of pupils' language and culture through the imposition of Standard English, which was seen to operate hand-in-hand with the values and interests of the middle and upper classes. At the time, American representatives considered the formation of this pupil-centred, self-expressive, anti-grammar, and anti-examination discourse as a rebellion against, or release from, a long-established authoritarian regime that had just relaxed its grip (Muller & Anglo-American Seminar on the Teaching of English, 1967).

A consensus developed in regard to the 'personal growth model' as elucidated in Dixon's (1969) *Growth Through English*. In line with the Plowden Report (1967), Dixon advocated a child-centred approach in which the children's 'home' language is used as a foundation upon which to build a repertoire of English. Similarly, Rosen argued that children must first learn how to handle effectively their experiences as they are expressed in language as used in their immediate environment and by those who mean most to them, before they move on to develop use of Standard English (Clements & Dixon, 2009). To this end, teaching should involve helping children find their personal voice through 'exploratory talk'; use of appealing literature; creative writing; and allowing for language error (See Shayer, 1972).

The implementation of CLT and personal growth reorganized both power and knowledge in the classroom. In simple terms, the strong framing of traditional methods enforced a distance between the teacher and pupil, whereby the teacher is situated as the 'knower' and the pupils as the 'unknower'. Knowledge is transmitted by 'teaching to' pupils. The teacher follows the textbook fairly closely, and the pupils listen and appreciate the teacher's authority in its interpretation. For

²⁶ The audio-lingual method, otherwise known as the 'Army Method', is based on behaviourist theory, which asserts people can learn an additional language through a system of reinforcement: appraising correct use. Like the Direct Method, a strong focus is placed on listening and speaking. Unlike the Direct Method, it focuses on the use of grammar.

many Conservative thinkers, this arrangement symbolised the simplicity, clarity, orderliness and effectiveness of selective schooling. Left wing thinkers thought this arrangement reinforced power relations that disadvantaged the lower socio-economic classes.

By contrast, CLT and personal growth advocates sought to reduce the distance between the teacher and the pupils. The teacher is a 'facilitator/guide of knowledge' and pupil an 'explorer/discoverer' of knowledge. Knowledge is conveyed by 'teaching with' pupils. In these classrooms, pupils should be free to voice themselves, and should be appreciative of the openness of their relationship with the teacher. Proponents typically rejected textbooks in favour of teaching resources. In crude terms, left wing educationists regarded this type of approach to be creative, inclusive, motivating, and socially empowering/self-actualising. Right wing educationists believed it lacked correctness and order. In short, they believed it was producing a generation that could neither use 'proper English' nor respect authority. Furthermore, they deemed 'progressivism' an approach that disadvantaged the lower socio-economic classes.

In *Education: Quality and Equality* (1968), Angus Maude argued it was time for the Conservative Party to identify what botched up elements of common schooling they could reverse. In 'Intellectuals and Conservatism' (1968), Szamuely argued that the Conservative Party would not be able to induce educational change until they developed an intellectually satisfying alternative to 'progressivism'. In 1969, Cox and Dyson then published the Black Papers *Fight for Education* (1969) and *Crises in Education* (1969a) where it was argued that comprehensivisation had lowered standards across the board, thereby damaging opportunities for working class children.²⁷ From here on, the newspapers began describing comprehensive classrooms as 'blackboard jungles' to attest to the ignorance and barbarity being cultivated within them. The tabloids stated LEAs were too left wing; teachers had too much leeway, and linguists wielded too much influence (See Tomlinson, 2008).

We will now look at the linguists' involvement. The *15 to 18* [Crowther Report] (Central Advisory Council for Education, 1958) called for a 'rethinking [of] the whole basis of the teaching of linguistics in the schools' (1959: 212), and linguists and language enthusiasts were eager to partake in it. Michael Halliday, Eric Hawkins, Gillian Donmall, David Crystal, Peter Doughty, Richard Hudson, Ron Carter,

²⁷ Naturally, the Conservative Party liked the Black Papers. Interestingly, common schooling advocates, like Pedley, who felt saboteurs were undermining the model also became Black Paperites (Knight, 1990).

George Keith, Denis Freeborn and Tony Tinkel, to name but a few, became prominent members in a debate in the 1960s and 1970s as to the nature of language and how language should be taught or learned in the school space. Halliday chaired a Schools Council project between 1964 and 1971 titled Linguistics and English Teaching that produced a course, *Language In Use*, that sought 'to develop in pupils and students awareness of what language is and how it used and at the same time, to extend their competence in handling the language' (Doughty, Pearce, & Thornton, 1971: 8-9). Linguists, such as Crystal, were also teaching and writing materials for teacher-training programs.

In 1966, CILT was formed in response to declining MFL enrolments but a growing demand for better language skills. Its remit was to 'collect, coordinate and disseminate information about MFL teaching' (Trim, 1996:332), and MFL teachers hoped 'they might receive support from linguists in the difficult yet promising situation they were facing' (Trim, 1988:8). CILT helped form the NCLE, which coordinated the energies of Hawkins, Rosen, Doughty, James Britton, George Perren, Clare Burstall, Ian Forsyth, James Wight, and others. The central objective was to get educators of the 'mother tongue' (English) and foreign language teachers to stop 'staring at each other uncomprehendingly across a no-man's-land of disputed and unoccupied territory' (Perren, 1974:111), and discuss how to better language development in schools.

At this time, vocal British linguists were rejecting prescriptivism in favour of descriptivism,²⁸ and their varying views on language teaching were often misrepresented and sensationalised in the newspapers. I have loosely tabulated the general trends of opinion within these views as based on a wide range of primary and secondary source readings.

²⁸ Prescriptivism is primarily focused on what language should be, identifying its structures and enforcing standards regarding 'proper' usage. Descriptivism looks at language and how it operates in broader and accepting terms. The former is considered exclusivist, denying those who cannot manipulate the standardized form, and the latter is considered inclusivist.

Commonly Held Views held by Linguists	Popular Misrepresentation in the Newspapers
It is problematic to say one language is better than another in terms of how it operates. Languages do not have equal social status.	No language is superior or inferior to another both linguistically and sociologically.
Children and parents' language/s should not be denied in the classroom, and teaching should entail the teaching of Standard English.	Teachers should allow for use of the children's non-standard varieties of English in the classroom at the expense of teaching Standard English.
Highly formulaic and decontextualised grammar approaches do not assist language/literacy development.	No explicit instruction regarding language is required.
First language maintenance aids literacy development in English.	'Immigrant' children should have the opportunity to learn their mother tongue at the expense of learning English.

Table 2. Differences in Academic Belief and their Media Representation

Mixed messages exacerbated public concern about 'standards of literacy', and the situation reached boiling point when the newspapers relayed the findings *National Child Development Study* (Davie, Butler, & Goldstein, 1972) and *National Foundation for Educational Research Study* (Smart & Wells, 1972), which concluded semi-illiteracy was prevalent among the working classes/poor. The latter report indicated literacy rates had not changed since the mid-1960s, but differed from progress made between 1948 and the mid-1960s. The issue, it seemed, boiled down to the way teachers teach. The government then put an end to the activities of the aforementioned Schools Council's Linguistics and English Teaching project (Corbett, 1975) by withdrawing all funding. Margaret Thatcher, now Minister of Education, made Lord Bullock Chairman of an inquiry into 'all aspects of teaching the use of English, including reading, writing, and speech' (Bullock, 1975: xxxi).

In the introduction of *A Language for Life* [Bullock Report] (1975), the Bullock Committee asserted they found, contrary to popular belief, little 'progressive

teaching' in schools. Furthermore, they found no firm evidence to suggest that pre-war and post-war literacy standards had changed much nor did England's situation differ greatly from that of other European countries. This did not stop, however, the Committee from articulating 333 recommendations as to how the learning of English could be improved.

Greatly influenced by Britton and Rosen's views, the Bullock Report was the first official Report to really promote language in the English Curriculum, reflecting the growing influence of linguistics at this time (Jeffcoate, 1992). The report rejects 'traditional analytic grammar' on the grounds it does not aid writing development, and rejects Chomsky's Transformational-Generative Grammar model on the grounds that it has no particularly useful place in the classroom. Instead, it embraces descriptive grammar as expressed in *Language in Use* (Doughty *et al*, 1971) in conjunction with imaginative teaching, and stipulates teachers also need to provide explicit context-based instruction about the English lexis and grammar.

The Bullock Report states:

'What we are suggesting, then, is that children should learn about language by experiencing it and experimenting with its use. There will be occasions when the whole class might receive specific instruction in some aspect of language. More frequently, however, the teacher will operate on the child's language competence at the point of need by individual or small group discussion...The child should thus be led to greater control over his writing, with a growing knowledge of how to vary its effects. This can happen only if the teacher has a clear understanding of the range of language experiences necessary to develop this control' (1975:173-174).

This focus on language, however, was all very new to English teachers.²⁹

The report formulated *Language Across the Curriculum* (LAC) as an attempt to ensure pupils' language development would be cultivated in every area of the curriculum. The Bullock Committee, of course, was trying to realise the Newbolt Report's assertion that 'Every teacher is a teacher of English because every

²⁹ Adams (1991) notes that during the 1960s, he and other English teacher trainers regarded their colleague, Bill Mittens, as being somewhat eccentric due to his very interest in 'language'.

teacher is a teacher in English, and that the whole of the Time Table is therefore available for the teaching of English' (1921:248). To this end, the Bullock Report recommends that 'A substantial course on language in education (including reading) should be part of every primary and secondary school teacher's initial training' (1975: 515). Furthermore, it states, 'Every school should have a suitably qualified teacher with responsibility for advising and supporting his colleagues in language and the teaching of reading' (1975:541). LAC, however, stopped smartly at the door of the MFL classroom. MFL teachers were given no role; indicating the abandonment of the idea that 'other' language learning informs the learning of English. Indeed, Britton observes, 'I think it is fair to say that as English teachers we have tended to regard MFL teachers as having less concern with the cause we are promoting than have the teachers of most other subjects in the curriculum' (1974:45).³⁰

In my view, this 'distance' between English and foreign language teachers relates to 'grammar'. Most English teachers knew little about what their MFL counterparts were doing. Many considered MFL, as grounded in their pre-war schooling experiences of learning French, to be synonymous with Latinate grammar teaching. Unsurprisingly, an MFL association's (IAAM, 1967) suggestion to standardize grammatical terminology across English and MFL met with a stout rejection (See AMA, 1973; Perren, 1974).

Undeterred, Hawkins broached the 'bridging subject' idea at a CILT conference 'Language in the Middle Years of Secondary Education' held in Manchester in 1973 (Hawkins, 1992; 1999). The response was promising, and he then presented his 'Language' subject proposal at the NCLE's first assembly in Durham in 1978, which was attended by representatives of over 30 foreign language and English subject academic associations and organisations.

These were now difficult times for MFL teachers. Burstall (1975) had just discredited a longstanding belief that foreign language learning bolstered English language learning. The Bullock Report afforded MFL teachers no role in LAC, and their efforts to initiate collaboration with English teachers were being snubbed. Furthermore, while HMI stated in *Modern Languages in Comprehensive Schools: A discussion paper* that they saw 'practical as well as cultural reasons for seeking to raise the national level of linguistic proficiency' (1977: 45), it also deemed MFL

³⁰ Ironically, it was largely MFL teachers who typically lead LAC initiatives in schools, and reluctance came from the English Department (David Cross, MFL Teacher, Private communication with author, 2012).

provisions to be 'haphazard', 'infinitely varied', and at times 'irrational'.

At the conference, Hawkins set out to persuade all attendees that: a) MFL and English teachers had very good reasons to collaborate, and b) a new trivium arrangement - English, 'Language', Foreign Languages – should be established. The subject 'Language' would act as a bridge across the space between English and Foreign Languages to enhance pupils' language development.³¹

The following year, Hawkins published *Language as a Curriculum Study* (1979), as based on his NCLE presentation. This document marks the beginning of the documentary analyses in this thesis. This was the year Thatcher came to power, and she actualised the interest that the political parties had been taking in the idea of a National Curriculum since the 1960s. Here on, the struggle for influence and control over the organisation of language learning in the curriculum took on a whole new dimension. It is in the course of its conflicts that my analysis of LA and KAL takes place.

5.2 The First Formulation of Language Awareness

Following the Winter of Discontent³², the Conservatives won the election in 1979. Thatcher's neo-liberal approach to boosting Britain's economy was grounded in Hayekian 'free market' principles and minimal state involvement. To this end, the Conservatives commenced rolling back the state and selling off public services. The schooling system, however, was a different matter. Knight (1990) identifies three views, as expressed by John O' Sullivan, Ronald Bell, and Tom Howarth, which greatly influenced Conservative educational policy at this time: a) The Party should look to promoting competition between and within schools, b) The Party must enter into the politics of the curriculum, and c) The Party should adopt an aggressive and activist stance on education, and save the grammar schools.

The Conservative Party had already formulated the discourse of 'Excellence in Education' as a means to fight universal comprehensivisation. The basic argument was this: The socialists' obsession with equality of opportunity and access is undermining standards, especially in literacy, and academic excellence (See Knight,

³¹ The 'bridging subject' idea had already been broached in 1973 by Hawkins at a Language in the Middle Years of Secondary Education conference in Manchester (Hawkins, 1992; 1999), and it appears to have also been raised by American representation at the aforementioned Dartmouth Seminar.

³² This term refers to a bitterly cold winter of 1978-1979 when public sector Trade Union demands for pay rises were met by pay caps enforced by James Callaghan's Labour government.

1990).³³ The Conservatives then promised its voters 'High standards of excellence for all'.

Once in power, Education Secretary, Mark Carlisle, started applying the brakes to comprehensivisation by revoking it as national policy. The 1980 Education Act then allowed parents to express a preference for certain schools, turning education into a commodity for consumption (Ball, 2008). The Assisted Places Scheme, as one headmaster put it, enabled independent schools at the time to 'pluck embers [bright children without means] from the ashes of comprehensive schools' (Interview with Edward *et al*, 1989:1). Finally, the text *Framework for the School Curriculum* (DES, 1980) outlined Carlisle's vision of an 'essential education' that would prepare pupils for their adult working lives.

Shortly afterwards, Keith Joseph replaced Carlisle in 1981, and tried to initiate a School Vouchers Scheme whereby parents could 'spend' a voucher in a state or independent school. The purpose, essentially, was to privatise schooling choice. The civil service deemed it administratively unfeasible, and other Party members objected. Joseph then declared the scheme 'dead' in 1983. Some Party members just considered it to be another one of his political ruses (See Callaghan, 1995).

5.2.1 Hawkins: Language as a Curriculum Study

In this section, I shall begin by taking a close look at the ideas underpinning Hawkins' paper 'Language as a Curriculum Study' (1979), outline its main arguments, and consider his intent.

This paper proposes the establishment of a new trivium comprised of English, foreign Languages, and a new subject 'Language' - the latter serving to 'bridge' the former two. The proposal was radical in that Hawkins not only wanted to introduce a new subject but also change the curriculum's classification. To borrow a term from Bernstein (2000), he wanted to regionalise language learning by dismantling the boundaries that isolated the Language subjects and teachers. In his words, he wanted to fill 'the space between English and other languages' (1979: 64).

The idea that there was a space was formulated in a CILT Report titled *The Space Between: English and Foreign Languages at School* (Perren, 1974). In it, the

³³ At the time, the Conservatives highlighted and denounced Labour's curtailment of an LEA grant that awarded financial assistance to 'bright children' for independent school enrolment. Rhodes Boyson strategically released Manchester's comprehensive school system's examination results so as to demonstrate their structural and academic deficiencies.

authors, including Hawkins, examined whether the traditional divide between English teaching and modern language teaching is inexorable. G.E. Perren, then Director of CILT, entreats:

‘Today, we are much concerned about integrating the curriculum for social, psychological and indeed administrative reasons, sometimes derived less from a desire to teach individual subjects as well as possible than from belief in a philosophy of education which should provide equal and varied opportunities for all’ (1974:8).

Perren then argues that while traditional divisions served the purposes of the tripartite system [selective schooling], the underlying principle of the comprehensive schooling system [common schooling] ‘presupposes a greater unity of the curriculum than before’ (1974:8). Thus, it is appropriate, he goes on:

‘It seems therefore appropriate to consider how far it may be beneficial to attempt to co-ordinate the teaching of English with whatever teaching and learning of foreign languages there may be, especially in the middle years, not only in the interests of the subjects concerned, but for the benefit of the general curriculum and the majority of the pupils’ (Perren,1974:9).

Perren also raises the tentative question as to how the languages of ‘immigrant children’ can be included, rather than excluded, in the curricular framework.

It is clear comprehensivisation had clearly prompted a rethink in language learning, but why did Hawkins pick up the gauntlet thrown down by Perren? To answer this question, it will serve us to take a quick look at his own history. Hawkins won a place to read French and Spanish at Cambridge University, whereafter he taught French in the secondary modern system. Returning from World War II, he became a headmaster of good repute who placed a keen focus on language learning. In 1965, Hawkins was appointed Director of the Language Centre at the University of York (Downes, 2010), and set about addressing ‘the position’ of foreign languages. He explains, ‘Modern language teaching is the only subject towards which the rest of the curriculum is not neutral, but positively inimical’ (Hipkin, Hawkins, and Ree, 1973: 76). This then was one problem. Another, faced by MFL and English teachers alike, was the apparent ‘low verbal ability’ and ‘cultural poverty’ of many pupils in

the comprehensive school system (Harris, 1966).

In York, Hawkins had already established two 'remedial' programmes, which provided around 60 state school pupils, who were struggling in French, German, or English, with one-to-one tutoring with university staff, graduate students, language students, and sixth formers during the school holidays. He writes that they engaged pupils with 'one-to-one dialogue', 'friendship', and 'doing things with words' (1999:128). One reason for their involvement, he later explains, is that such language teachers are particularly attuned to what lies behind 'reading failure' having served their apprenticeships as linguistic underdogs. Moreover, they know all too well the consequences that come of not being fully literate (Hawkins, 1999). As the programme became increasingly popular, Hawkins made a point of accepting pupils 'whose performance is extremely low' (1974:52). He also notes 'the secret of success seems to lie in the individual attention given to each pupil's learning difficulties' (1974: 52). Nevertheless, it is clear the success of this holiday programme then motivated Hawkins' efforts to establish a subject called 'Language'.

In the paper, Hawkins criticises the Bullock Report's (1975) formulation of Language Across the Curriculum (LAC), describing it as 'a failure' (1979:64), and later as a 'half-way' across the curriculum strategy (Hawkins, 1981).³⁴ Placing the onus on all teachers in this way, he argues, ensures LAC would become 'nobody's responsibility' (1979:66). The only viable solution is the establishment of a 'specific curriculum subject 'Language' to bridge the divide' (1979:64-65). This is necessary, he argued, because the subject English 'can scarcely offer to be the bridge itself' (1979:64).

With reference to 'James's first law of the curriculum', which states any proposal to add a field of learning to the curriculum must also say how the time for it can be created in the schedule, Hawkins then suggests taking time already allotted to English and Foreign Languages, as it is a link between the two, to create Language. Its curricular content, he surmised, should then be 'worked out and taught in collaboration by the teachers of English and of the European and ethnic minority languages' (1979:67). In this way, Hawkins argues, the subject Language will fill the curricular space between English and foreign language making it a 'place where

³⁴ To remind the reader, the underpinning premise of the Bullock Committee's LAC was pupils' language development is the responsibility of all teaching staff. The Bullock Committee, however, extended no particular role to foreign language teachers who have a particular expertise in this area.

mother tongue acquisition makes contact with foreign languages and with the language of immigrants' (1979:64). This subject, he argues, will serve to 'equip pupils better' (1979:69).

At the junior level, he writes, the syllabus should entail: 1) educating the ear, 2) exploring sounds, 3) 'setting up expectations about language', and, 4) 'developing what Margaret Donaldson (1978) calls 'awareness of language' (1979:69). At the secondary level, it would entail project-based study of language acquisition and language in society. Two years later, in *Modern Languages in the Curriculum* (1981:246), Hawkins then identifies four distinct themes and questions about language/s for a secondary 'Awareness of Language' course, in which teachers can freely select from differing activities in accordance to the age, the interests, and needs of the pupils. Appendix A provides examples given by Hawkins for each respective theme, which better illustrate what he envisioned in terms of pedagogical transmission.

Forms of Language - language types, non-lingual communication, animal communication, codes, dialects, language appropriateness, contrastive study of written versus spoken language, forms of writing.

Structure of Language - word parts (e.g. syllable, vowel, consonant, phoneme, allophone, etc), word etymology, nuance, word order, who decides word meaning, how to signal meaning, how intonation affects meaning, grammar rules.

Language in Use - sound production, comparison of language sounds, spoken and written difference in national varieties of English, 'bad' language, writing parts (e.g. What is a clause?), word play, contrastive study of how registers differ, language change.

Language Acquisition (L1 and L2) - language acquisition in infants, vocabulary expansion in L1 and L2, the importance of adult-child dialogue, contrastive study of L1 and L2 acquisition, L2 learning difficulties, language spelling comparison, contrastive study of differing language grammars.³⁵

Perren (1979) writes that the Language subject proposals were bitterly opposed by English teachers at the 1978 NCLE Conference. Trim (1996:326) describes it as yet another 'dialogue of the deaf': The English teachers did not want to listen.

Why then did they resist? On one level, they were probably offended. Most English

³⁵ L1 and L2 refer respectively to the first language a person uses and then the second language they use.

teachers liked the Bullock Report (1975), in which Britton's³⁶ influence is apparent, and so it follows they disliked Hawkins' criticism of it. It is likely they also took offense at his insinuations about the 'widespread tolerance of slipshod use of language' in schools (1979:62).

At this point, the proposed content of 'Language' had only been glossed over by Hawkins, and was too vague in form for anyone to raise any real objections. Thus, the real point for their consternation, I believe, is his proposal to make Language 'the centre of the curriculum', and the 'unifying discipline in the curriculum, not only for native-English speaking children but for the minority children in Britain too' (1979:69). The proposal threatened to usurp the status of the English subject and, in turn, the teachers' leverage. This argument will be expounded upon in the following analysis.

5.2.2 Analysis

I will begin this section with an overview of what I found from my readings of the above texts and others on account of using the methods and theoretical frameworks tabulated in Table 1 on page 56. In the following section, I will then discuss why LA was resisted by English teachers at this point in time, before giving a summary.

Methodological/Theoretical Overview

To answer the Foucaultian (1980) question, 'Why is this happening now?', it seems that comprehensivisation, as overseen by the previous Labour government, opened up or created a new discursive space that allowed for the reconsideration of language teaching. Like many other educationists of the day, Hawkins was eager to 'rethink' how state schools should approach language education so that the principles of comprehensive schooling could be realised. As we can see, this rethink turned into a struggle for influence between differing PRF groups.

In terms of Fairclough's (1992) text analysis framework, the 'field' of this period is one characterised by 'transition'. Thatcher saw her inauguration as an opportunity to undo what the Labour government had done in terms of educational policy-making. She was also anxious to implement a new politico-economic model that promotes free market principles at all levels of society.

In terms of the texts' 'tenor', Hawkins' was, at this point, focused upon appealing to

³⁶ James Britton was a key adviser on the Bullock Committee, and key figure in NATE.

the better judgment of his fellow MFL and English teachers, who were still trying to rise to the challenge of teaching mixed ability classrooms in the comprehensive system. He was trying to promote his pedagogical solution to the problem that LAC, as outlined in the Bullock Report (1975), failed to resolve.

In terms of the 'mode', LA can be described, using Bernstein's terms, as a regional curricular proposal. Hawkins' classification of LA was relatively weak in the sense that he saw it as a 'collaborative' effort, but it had the potential to become very strong as 'a regional' subject. LA's framing was also relatively weak, which is evident in Hawkins' promotion of needs-based teaching and project-based learning.

According to the Bernstein's (2000) theory of the pedagogic device, this type of classification and framing indicates that the mode of this LA discourse is liberal/progressive. Furthermore, when looked at through the lens of Ager's (2001) language planning and policy motive framework, Hawkins' motive appears more pragmatic than it is ideological. My readings of the text show he was very focused on addressing matters of inequality that characterised the school system on account of the pupils' differing proficiencies in English.

Resistance towards LA

In terms of the why LA was resisted, a reading of the texts reveals a complex struggle regarding pupils' language development that is taking form in the PRF, and one that shows well a certain state of competition between subject educators.

Foreign language educators were open to Hawkins' proposal that language learning in the curriculum should be regionalised. In the wake of the Burstall (1975) investigation, MFL was in a particularly vulnerable position in the comprehensive school curricular hierarchy. This is all too evident in following remark:

'[CILT took it upon itself to] give support and encouragement to a hard-pressed profession, to bring it out of isolation and fragmentation, and reverse the reputation that modern languages have seemed to have acquired for being difficult, formal, boring, and irrelevant to the needs of young people and society more generally' (Trim, 1996: 325).

MFL teachers had nothing to lose but potentially a lot to gain from Hawkins' proposals. Thus, by the time the CILT arranged a NCLE conference dedicated to LA in Birmingham in 1981, foreign language teachers in a 'considerable number of

schools' had already introduced some sort of course for different levels and for different age groups (Donmall, 1985:3). Conversely, English educators, who appear to have been very focused on protecting their niche in the curricular framework, had something to lose.

Comprehensivisation promulgated pedagogical change, notably trying to increase access to knowledge across all levels of society. Change in the English subject area was chiefly characterised by English educators' rejection of treating English as a higher order of knowledge, and the promotion of the 'personal growth' principles. Out went the idea that children had to acquire genteel sensibilities, and in came the celebration of the ordinary child's language, experience, and imagination. Out went literary analysis, and in came reading and writing relevant to the children's lives and interests (See Medway, 1990). Out went the 'grammar grind', but nothing really replaced it.

Where implemented, the personal growth movement significantly weakened the framing of English's content and teaching. English became more a matter of 'learning' than 'teaching' (Ball, Kenny, & Gardiner, 1990). However, it can be argued 'growth' actually hardened the boundaries, the classification, of the English subject area. As Medway (1990) observes, therapeutic non-specialism had become the English teachers' specialism, serving to clearly distinguish their practice from others. Subsequently, it ensured 'English stood no risk of being "integrated out" through diffusion across the curriculum' (Medway, 1990:27).

Medway's (1990) statement initially appears odd in light of the Bullock Report's (1975) formulation of LAC, but I would have to agree with him. LAC seems at first glance to be advocating some sort of curricular integration. A closer reading, however, reveals otherwise. The Report reveals LAC is an effort to replicate pupils' primary school level experience where one teacher oversees language development in all subjects. It recommends the election of a senior member of staff in each secondary school to oversee the establishment of a school-wide language policy that will ensure 'every teacher's involvement in language and reading development throughout the years of schooling' (Bullock, 1975: 514). However, while LAC is to be a collective effort, the Report does not position it as a collaborative or an integrated effort. Each member of staff should contribute to its cause from within the boundaries of their subject area. The Committee even shirks the idea that the language policy coordinator should be a senior member in the English department since they are already too 'hard-pressed' (Bullock, 1975: 193). Their opinion, nevertheless, should hold the most weight.

There are five good reasons for the English teachers' resistance. Firstly, Hawkins' proposals implied English teachers were failing in their task and LAC was a failure. Secondly, the Language subject proposal was not being organised on their terms. Thirdly, Language threatened to siphon precious time from English. Fourthly, if Language were the centre of the trivium and curriculum, as Hawkins intended, then it would erode the existing status of English. In turn, this threatened to weaken English educators' leverage in determining the what, how, and why of learning English. Fifthly, and I believe this is very important, Language would encroach upon what English educators saw as being 'their mission'. Squire & Applebee (1969) state democratic sentiment was a powerful driver in their motivations to teach English at this time. In their eyes, the role of English was not only to cultivate the pupils' oracy and literacy but also help them realise their identity in an increasingly complex society. Their job was, in part, to aid their very self-actualisation (See Poulson, 1998).

We will now look at the English teachers' motives in terms of Ager's (2001) language planning motive framework. Given Squire and Applebee's (1969) claims, the primary motive of English teachers, especially those affiliated with LATE and NATE, would appear to be ideological. Rooted in a distinctly left wing political philosophy, it is an ideology that seeks to address social inequality. In terms of identity, the central aim is the reconstitution of the 'working classes self' by resisting the mechanisms that deem it inferior. It cannot be said, however, that social integration is a motive, since the emphasis of 'self' promoted in the personal growth discourse is one that is encouraged to override existing social harmony, if need be, in the interests of equality.

The emphasis advocates, notably Dixon (1969), placed on pupils' autonomy, pupil's voice, textbook rejection, acceptance of error, and relevance is highly indicative of what Bernstein (2000) calls the competence model. Within this model, two modes form the basis of the English teachers' ideology. The first is a liberal/progressive mode that is focused on developing intra-individual potential of pupils. The second is a radical mode that presupposes some sort of emancipatory potential. Both complement each other by way of their preoccupation with social consciousness: its development or its transformation. Internally, while the framing of personal growth teaching practice may be weak, these two modes reinforce what Bernstein calls the singular knowledge structure. He describes it as being an inherently 'narcissistic' structure (2000:52) on account of the fact that its actors typically believe their discourse to be uniquely beneficial. This would appear to support Medway's

aforementioned claim. In simple terms, the English subject area at this time, despite its perceived liberality, had become a sort of curricular fortress. Furthermore, while its actors were happy enough to voice opinion as to what other teachers should be doing in relation to pupils' language development, they strongly resented Hawkins' encroachment into their pedagogical territory.

Conversely, Hawkins' motives are not ideologically driven. He is very careful not to align his argument with either a right or left wing political ideology. This is not to say his motives are value free. If he needed to be pegged politically, I would argue that he was a liberal social democrat of the same hue as Sir Edward Boyle. Instead, Hawkins' primary motive would appear to address inequality. His is a pragmatic concern for pupils who are struggling scholastically, and his is an attempt to level the curricular playing field by improving language development provisions. To this end, he wishes to dismantle the boundaries that isolated English's pedagogical enterprise from that of foreign languages, and regionalise the entire language learning area. This is only half the story as his argument is not yet fully developed, and we shall return to the matter of motives and model in more detail in the next section.

Summary

To conclude, Hawkins has expended his efforts by highlighting the failings of the Bullock Report in regard to LAC and illustrating how 'Language' should serve as a viable curricular solution to the perceived national literacy crisis (Soler & Openshaw, 2006). So far, English educators have strongly resisted Hawkins' proposals, for reasons which have been detailed above, the most important being the regionalisation of language learning, which threatened the existing subject hierarchy. One important point easily overlooked, is that the NCLE actively supported his Language subject proposal because they deemed it a curricular solution appropriate for the aims of common schooling, for, under the surface of what I have outlined above, there is a greater conflict going on with regard to the organisation of schooling and what purpose it should serve.

Hawkins has not yet elaborated what knowledge content the subject Language should consist of, and how it should be pedagogically framed. Undeterred and bolstered by the NCLE, CILT, and hopeful MFL teachers, Hawkins then set about addressing these two matters by 'going public'. It is to this seminal work that I will now turn.

5.3 Language Awareness: The argument revised

Keith Joseph transformed the Conservative Party's former maxim 'educational excellence' into 'effective education', which provided the Party with a clearer vision as to its purpose and what policies were required (Knight, 1990).

'We believed levelling in schools had to stop and that excellence (discrimination) had to return. Our key perception was differentiation. We equated the stretching of children, at all levels of ability, with caring. Our aim was to achieve rigour in the school curriculum' (Interview with Sir Keith Joseph in Knight, 1990:152).

Joseph was determined to break what he saw as an unholy alliance of socialists in the PRF who espoused utopian dreams of universal cooperation. In his view, such principles worked against parents' wishes. The real purpose of education was simply to provide all children with a reasonable level of access to skills and 'sound knowledge'. It would be effective 'only if it prepared for life and for the world as the pupils themselves could be enabled to see it' (Joseph, 1982).

The 1981 Special Education Act eradicated the category 'Educationally Subnormal' under which many ethnic minority children were subsumed. Their inclusion in the mainstream classroom then conflicted with the increasing pressure being placed on teachers to raise standards. White families began exercising their 'preference' by avoiding schools with Black or Asian pupils (Tomlinson, 2008). In deprived inner urban areas, race riots erupted on the streets unsettling the British public. Following this inquiry, Lord Scarman attributed the rioting to, among other things, institutionalised racism and poor levels of education (Tomlinson, 2008).

The PRF shifted their concern away from the achievement of 'working class kids' to that of 'ethnic minorities' and 'girls', making multicultural and gender education a priority in inner-urban teacher training institutions. By 1982, 20 local authorities had written multicultural education policies to combat racism. The ILEA's attempts to make educational provisions more equitable, however, met with criticism from central government, but also parents - both black and white - suggesting a discursive shift towards 'individual competitiveness' had already taken place in the lives of everyday people (Tomlinson, 2008).

After winning the re-election in 1983, the Conservatives started denuding the responsibilities of varying educational institutes and the LEAs, as well as

centralising their funding. This affected significant change in their internal management structure and operations. The abolishment of the Schools Council, which had previously overseen the workings of the curriculum and examinations since 1962, was concluded, and replaced by the Secondary Schools Examinations Council (SSEC) and the School Curriculum Development Committee (SCDC). The latter was instructed not to 'concern itself with policy' (Gillard, 2011). The Conservatives then started taking steps to reconstitute teachers.

'I adhered to the philosophy *more means worse*. There had been a considerable ebb to and fro as to what constituted a *teacher* in schools. The development of education as a profession had concentrated on things like psychology and sociology, which help the teacher as a *communicator* but did little to help teachers as *educators*. I believe teachers should be *skilled scholars*. I had long felt that educational standards had been falling, particularly in modern language teaching and in standards of teacher training' (Lord Beloff, Max (Former Chairman of the Conservative Educational Policy Group), Interview with Knight, 1990:161).

Joseph established the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE) in 1984 to raise academic standards, heighten the level of professionalism, and normalise school-based training (See Perry, 1987). He also proposed linking teacher appraisal to performance-related pay.

5.3.1. Hawkins: Language Awareness

In this section, I will outline Hawkins' arguments in his seminal work. The principles of LA remain the same, but its educational purpose has been expanded. I will then provide an overview a LAWP Report in which LA's implementation looks problematic.

In *Language Awareness: An introduction*, Hawkins writes that the book was written: a) to address 'mounting anxiety' about mother tongue (English) education, b) to 'interest parents and teachers as well as administrators and advisers in a new development in language education that is rapidly gaining ground, and c) to 'offer practical guidance to teachers working with Cambridge University Press series for schools titled Awareness of Language' (1984:i).

In it, Hawkins' argument is multifarious, but rests on the concept of 'the articulate

mammal'. Language is what distinguishes humans from the animal kingdom. A key problem, when it comes to developing children's language in schools is that many parents and teachers are 'ignorant' about language. 'Most teachers of English and many foreign teachers of foreign languages are not equipped by their training to discuss language as an aspect of human behaviour' (Hawkins, 1979:61). They have never really considered what a language is; how it is acquired; how it works; how it varies; how one language relates to another; and how it can be employed.

Hawkins identifies 'a crippling lack of awareness' (1979:61) about language as the underlying reason why many pupils leave school partially literate and unprepared for the 'linguistic challenges' in wider society. In *Language Awareness* (1984), he highlights the 'working class' and 'West Indies' children who, due to socio-economic circumstances, often lack 'adult time': that is to say access to an adult who has time to converse meaningfully and read with them regularly. It is the reason why English society is characterised by 'linguistic parochialism': 'linguistic prejudices and snobberies' that so many hold in regard to other accents, dialects, and languages (1984:17). For example, the girl who denounces Punjabi, spoken by Indian children in her school, as 'stupid' because she fears what sounds foreign, and impulsively demeans the language and those who speak it (1984:17). Thirdly, Hawkins maintains, it is the reason why many pupils are so ill-prepared and unwilling to learn a foreign language.

Hawkins argues curriculum developers need to rethink pupils' language development in the school space. Pupils experience language learning in the horizontal curriculum, the synchronic timetable of subjects and slots. They also cumulatively process it in the vertical curriculum as they go through school. This curricular set up, he argues, provides pupils with a 'truly haphazard and fragmented experience' (1984:19), and so schools are only in a position to help children from homes that have equipped them with adequate verbal skills. Pointing to an HMI Report (1977), he argues academic language becomes increasingly alien for many a pupil, who ends up participating less and less in its processes. In other words, his argument is that comprehensive schools are serving to maintain the social divide between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'.

In a section titled 'A Great Opportunity Lost', Hawkins argues the Bullock Report (1975) failed to adequately address this language learning problem. The Committee rightfully recognised language development could not be left to chance, but 'let down the classroom teacher by failing to set clear objectives' (1984:32). Furthermore, it suffered from 'a paralysis of the will whenever specific teaching

strategies are called for' (1984:32).

Attempting to share language teaching responsibility across the curriculum, Hawkins argues, was the wrong way to go about it. The right way is to create a new trivium: English, Language Awareness and MFL. This will then act as a 'cross-modal' form of learning to 'integrate language experience across the curriculum' (1984:3) both horizontally and vertically. Furthermore, while specialist teachers should teach 'Language Awareness', its enterprise should 'bring together teachers from across disciplines and school frontiers to plan and teach it, while helping all pupils, but especially the slower learners, to make sense of what is too often a fragmented and haphazard linguistic partnership' (1984:4).

He also points to the varying limitations and conflicts of interests among teachers, department heads, LEAs, the DES, the Schools Council, the HMI, and notably School Heads in curricular matters. There are just too many cooks involved in making this broth, he argues, and all are following different recipes. Interestingly, he insists:

'[I]t is essential that national guidelines should be agreed to give coherence to the whole. The greatest weakness, hitherto, has been the lack of leadership from the centre. It is the slower learners who have suffered most from the vertical incoherence of school programmes. Happily, [sic] recent developments at the centre give promise of clearer leadership' (Hawkins, 1984:22-23)

Hawkins believed LA would serve to 'sharpen' the pupils' awareness of language and in turn their 'analytical competence'. Syllabus themes include those highlighted in section 5.2.1. In this text, however, he places greater emphasis on the need to attune pupils to the fact that languages have differing 'patterns', 'structures' and 'rules', but adamantly maintains 'our insistence on insight into pattern in language' is not an endeavour 'to put the clock back and return to the grammar grind' (1984:91). This is demonstrated by the fact that Hawkins' advocates the use of 'discovery-based' teaching approaches. Furthermore, he argues that when pupils have 'the chance to discuss on equal terms the mystery that unites them' (1984:97), then there is a good chance they will become more competent in their use of English and will become more inclined to take an interest in other languages.

He stresses a need for all pupils to master Standard English: 'We fail our pupils if

they leave school unable to use [Standard] English with accuracy, discrimination, force when necessary and, above all, integrity' (Hawkins, 1984:91). Against detractors of this objective, he charges:

'Why, having had the good fortune themselves to acquire the language of education, do they [who argue it serves a tool of social manipulation] feel justified in arguing that the same opportunity to learn should be denied to the children now in school?'(1984: 65).

Nonstandard varieties have a place in our repertoire, he argues, the point is to teach pupils the importance of being able to 'switch' from one variation to another as each serves differing purposes.

Thus, as seen in this light, it is clear Hawkins envisioned LA as something that could counter 'the widespread tolerance of slipshod use of [the English] language' (1979:62). He accepts an emphasis on 'expressiveness' has a place, but denounces English teachers for giving 'exclusive rein to expressiveness' to the point that it encourages 'pastiche and imitation rather than precision and integrity' (1984: 91). In regard to the cultivation of precision and integrity, he maintains, teaching should not be child-centered to the point that it deludes the child into thinking language learning can be accomplished with relatively little effort.³⁷

Hawkins also states LA should not be a space solely dedicated to improving the pupils' grasp of English. It must also tackle linguistic parochialism and foster interest in learning foreign languages. To this end, Hawkins recommends exposing pupils to language in a myriad of forms (e.g. Braille, the Moon code, hieroglyphics, logographics, sign language, slang, jargon, varieties of English, Latin, European languages and 'minority languages'). The point then is to look at the differing ways in which they are used and sometimes misused.

He insists, however, LA should not assist in the maintenance of languages, other than English and MFL, within the curriculum. Once again, Hawkins is taking a firm stance against the Bullock Report in which it is recommended that 'schools should adopt a positive attitude to its pupils' bilingualism and wherever possible should

³⁷ Hawkins writes: 'It does not service to children to pretend that, though in every other cognitive area there is a long apprenticeship to be served, somehow, in language learning, the rules are different and there is no need for apprenticeship, no difference between the precision and integrity of some language, and language that is slipshod and imitative' (1984:69).

help maintain and deepen their knowledge of the mother tongue' (1975:4). This was followed by an EEC Directive (77/486) that required member states to provide mother tongue teaching to foreign migrant worker children. Hawkins argues this is an impossibly complex endeavour given the number of languages spoken by pupils; time constraints; lack of quality teaching materials; and shortage of qualified teachers. LA can, however 'make a useful contribution to the language education of the ethnic minorities and of their classmates with English as their mother tongue' (1984:173). It can serve as 'a forum where language diversity can be discussed' (1984: 4), where pupils, particularly bilingual ones, can contribute their views about language, thus heightening the awareness of all as to what is entailed in language acquisition and development. In his view these discussions will serve to abrade linguistic parochialism and foster interest in other languages.

Lastly, Hawkins explains LA is not a panacea. It cannot make up for its lack of adult time in pupils' lives, but it can sharpen their understanding and use of language. It will also end the 'isolationism of English, foreign language and ethnic minority mother tongues' (1984:97), and create a place where all children can come to appreciate this defining characteristic of the human condition.

This concludes Hawkins' revised formulation of LA, and his justifications for introducing a new subject LA. I have also outlined how he wished LA to be classified and framed. I will now move on to review the work of the Language Awareness Working Party.

5.3.2. LAWP: Language Awareness

In 1980, the NCLE's standing committee established a small working group to coordinate and monitor pilot LA schemes that were 'proliferating in schools' (Hawkins, 1984:53). The LAWP Report writes that it was established to 'monitor, co-ordinate, support and guide language awareness activities in schools' (1985:6) and to bring theory and practice beneficially together. The Bell Educational Trust, known for its work in English as a Foreign Language teaching, The Centre for British Teachers Limited, and the Hilden Charitable Trust, sponsored the party. Members included Trim (Chairman of CILT), Hawkins, Peter Downes, Tony Tinkel, Gillian Donmall, John Sinclair, Richard Aplin, Michael Byram, Florence Davies, C. E. Dawson, and S. H. McDonough, all of whom held various positions in English, Foreign Languages, or Education at the secondary or tertiary level. Donmall writes that the formation of the party was a 'quasi-natural development' (1985: v) and the 'next logical step' (1985: v) following the Bullock Report; the NCLE's endeavours; and the springing up of various LA initiatives in schools across Britain that 'were not

widely co-ordinated and lacked a solid foundation of coherence and defined purpose' (Donmall, 1985: v). Thus, it seems LAWP's primary task was to make LA more coherent.

As a first step in 1981, LAWP decided that they should map the variety of new courses being held around the country, estimated to be around 150, and try to chart out their varying objectives, content, and success. In 1982, the party proceeded to observe more interesting initiatives and assess whether or not they were fulfilling their stated aims. It was hoped this process would lead to teaching material production and the structuring of some pre- and in-service teacher training courses. The following year, LAWP convened another conference at Leeds University whereupon six representatives gave accounts of six promising LA programmes (Hawkins, 1984). These are detailed in LAWP's Report (1985).

In the Report, LAWP formulate the following definition: 'Language Awareness is a person's sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life' (Donmall, 1985:7). It involves 'making explicit and conscious the knowledge and skill pupils have themselves built up in the course of their experience of language' (1985:7). It is also about 'developing powers of observation and purposeful analysis of language in their immediate environment and more widely in the world' (1985:7). They then identify three distinct but complementary parameters.

Cognitive - Enhancing awareness of language patterns: making explicit pupils' intuitive knowledge regarding the language/s and varieties that they know.

Affective - Developing positive attitudes towards both language learning and language diversity.

Social - Improving pupils' potential to be astute citizens who understand the value of language in human life.

In 'Problems, snags, and pitfalls', the Party address accusations and reservations they had regularly encountered: a) 'Language Awareness work is an addition to a crowded curriculum, and it must take time which is at present allocated to something else' (1985:24), b) LA is little more than a cover for the reintroduction of grammar teaching and all the other discards of recent years' (1985: 25), c) 'It has been shown that knowledge about language has no effect on one's ability to use language' (1985:26), and d) 'Language Awareness courses, like so many grassroots innovations, will flounder on the problem of teacher expertise' (1985:26). In my view, this indicates well the level of misunderstanding, skepticism, and

resistance towards LA at the time.

Such resistance arguably instigated the following discursive modifications of LA. Firstly, where Hawkins writes of LA as a subject, LAWP refers to it as a 'course', 'programme', or 'module'. Secondly, no mention is made of specialist teachers. Instead, 'all teachers of language, with other colleagues should form a board of studies to plan and teach a specific element in the curriculum' (1985: 21). Thirdly, LAWP argues LA 'offers the best chance of implementing the best of the Bullock proposals' (1985:21). It will make LAC work by improving 'coherence and direction in the language work in the school, bringing in its wake some greater consistency of approach, terminology, and methodology' (1985:21). Lastly, 'LA courses should draw attention to the interdependence of school, home and society' (1985:28). The overarching problem was, however, that LA itself lacked coherence and direction.

The paper 'Language Awareness in Six Easy Lessons' (1985) is written by LAWP's second chairman, John Sinclair; a noted Professor of Modern English Language at Birmingham University. Sinclair raises the following points. Firstly, 'pioneering schools' have produced ideas that 'a more centrally-devised approach could not match' (1985:33). Secondly, LA's 'creative untidiness' relates primarily to 'a school-based perception of need' (1985:33), hence LAWP's pleonastic definition. He continues that a gross shortage of time, 'bureaucratic divisions in language education from the DES outward', and inadequate teacher training are all but thwarting initiatives to establish a detailed, comprehensive LA course (1985:33). He then adds, 'I am as guilty of making unrealistic suggestions as anyone else, and hereby repent' (1985:33) as the school system 'can only cope with modest proposals, and gentle nudges' (1985:34). His modest proposal is to 'add a little stiffening to a fluid situation, because for many people it is too fluid' (1985:33). Sinclair then outlines the following six-theme framework for LA as based on Hockett (1961), revised by Lyons (1977).

Productivity - the ability to say and write something

Creativity - creative expression, and poetic license

Stability & change - how languages are both stable and subject to continuous change (historical awareness)

Social variation - how languages vary with social factors

How to do things with language - how language is both an individual and social medium

The two-layered code – how the nature of communication differs according to context

Sinclair maintains each theme is difficult to teach by 'exposition' but easy to teach through 'discovery'. The rationale for this approach is developed in Tinkel's chapter entitled 'Methodology Related to Language Awareness Work'. LA teachers should act upon the knowledge and intuition that pupils already possess in regard to language. It is this principle, he stipulates, that acts as the 'vital common denominator for the wider range of Language Awareness courses that have emerged' (1985:39). Furthermore, it can 'easily be combined with the objective of widening and strengthening awareness of language' (Tinkel, 1985:37). Referencing *Language in Use* (Doughty *et al*, 1971), Tinkel then argues LA complements the 'creative use' approach used by English teachers, and so the 'analysis of language can be incorporated into mother-tongue teaching [English] without jeopardising the developments of recent years and without a return to old-style 'grammar' teaching ' (1985:40).

Another concern highlighted in the Report is the assessment of 'what the pupils have achieved' to demonstrate it is 'possible and feasible to set up an examination in Language Awareness through the mainstream examination system' (Donmall, 1985:85). Formal examination would 'enhance the validity' of LA, the group argues, helping to 'define and confirm the nature of the course in the minds of the teacher, students, and onlookers' (1985:85). The trouble was many already objected to LA for reasons expounded below.

5.2.3 Analysis

In the above section, I illustrated how Hawkins modified LA as a pedagogical concept. In this section, I outline my findings in relation to the methodological/theoretical overview. This section will be followed by an analysis of Hawkins' motives and the reasons underpinning the continuing resistance towards LA. It will be concluded with a brief summary.

Methodological/Theoretical Overview

I will begin by addressing Foucault's question, 'Why is this happening now?' Why is Hawkins making this modification of LA at this point? Following the Second World War, Britain welcomed migrant workers to solve its labour shortage problem. Following an economic down turn, poverty and racism had now driven the more desperate and angry among them to the streets. Among other things, as we have seen, the education system is now identified as being both a cause of and a means to solve this worrying social issue. The reasons for Hawkins' modification of LA become more apparent when we question the texts in terms of Fairclough's (1992)

text analysis framework.

The 'field' of this period is characterised by the dynamics of 'Choice'. Central government quickly set about introducing parents to the concept of educational choice, and in so doing it created rifts in the common schooling framework.

In terms of 'tenor', and in accordance to these new schooling choice discourses, Hawkins then turned his energy towards persuading not only his fellow educators, but also the general public of LA's worth. It is clear, he was anxious to wield his influence in language educational matters, and he appears to be acting on the naïve pretext that the public may gain some sort of 'say' in the decision making process that would shape language education policy at the local and national level. Hawkins adapted his argument accordingly to show how LA could address not only language issues but also social issues that were seen as being very problematic in the schooling system. This is arguably well reflected in who he identifies in the text: indigenous pupils, who are illustrated as being ignorant and hostile to non-indigenous pupils for whom English is an additional language; and pupils who 'lack time', who are typically found in households where poverty forces both parents to work long hours, notably 'West Indies' children.

In terms of 'mode', while Hawkins' classification of LA as a regional subject appears upon first glance to be relatively weak, readings of Bernstein (2000) indicate that it may well have become very strongly framed had it been established. This point will be expounded upon further in the next section. While the framing of LA was essentially weak (e.g. the promotion of discovery-based learning), it was interpreted by English subject detractors as being strongly framed. Many opposed it on the grounds that it was a covert plan to reintroduce Latinate grammar teaching practices. In the effort to popularise LA, LAWP then weakened the classification of LA even further, but attempted to validate its practice by means of course assessment/pupil evaluation. This, however, proved difficult given the diversity of LA in practice.

The weak classification of this pedagogical concept indicates that the mode of the LA discourse is still liberal/progressive. When looked at in terms of Ager's (2001) framework, we can see that the modification of LA was motivated by concerns relating to 'integration' in addition to educational 'inequality'. These points are explained in more detail below.

Resistance towards and disinterest in LA

In his 1979 paper, Hawkins' thrust was upon advancing the trivium solution to the language development problem that LAC failed to resolve, so as to help 'potential songbirds' learn how to sing (Hawkins, 1987:305). In this text, in addition to the assertion that LA will improve pupils' 'analytical competence', 'reading readiness' and acclimatise them to foreign language learning, we see the advancement of the argument that LA will help indigenous pupils reflect on the workings of their own language but also tackle their linguistic parochialism.

Why this modification? We can speculate that Hawkins' experiences of witnessing the rise of Fascism in Europe as a young language-student in the 1930s impressed upon him the important role that schools could play in the prevention of such ideologies from gaining popular support. On a philosophical level, we could also say Hawkins' thinking is influenced by John Dewey (1934) who argued schools are places where children should not only gain knowledge but also learn to be humane.³⁸

At a time when race riots were greatly troubling the British public, it can also be argued Hawkins modified the LA argument so as to enhance its persuasive value. It seems Hawkins (1984) thought, albeit rather naïvely, the establishment of 'parental choice' would give parents more 'say' in what they wanted schools to teach to their children. The book is specifically addressed to educators and the public alike, and it works on both their sensibilities. In it, Hawkins insists LA is a curricular solution that will smartly kill two birds with one stone: 'raising standards in Standard English' and 'addressing linguistic diversity'. In regard to the former bird, at least, Cameron (1995) reveals the public's level of concern at this point, due to the instigations of the newspapers at the time, was tantamount to a 'moral panic'. In my view, the time was ripe for another reason. Hawkins clearly knew of the HMI's remit to establish 'a broad consensus' regarding the establishment of national guidelines, and so this publication serves to assert his authority on language learning in the curriculum.

If I might coin a word, LA had become a 'philoglossanthropic' educational discourse. It ties together the aims of scholastic betterment and civil refinement by way of improving pupils' language awareness. Pinning it together is this notion of the 'articulate mammal', which is interlinked with Hawkins' personal beliefs about

³⁸ 'I believe that education is a regulation of the process of coming to share in the social consciousness; and that the adjustment of individual activity on the basis of this social consciousness is the only sure method of social reconstruction' (Dewey, 1879:80).

democratic freedom. He stipulates curriculum planners must never lose sight of the fact that their 'main objective' must be 'to help children to learn how to exercise freedom' (1984:65). Earlier on the text, he highlights the 'general naïveté' of the voter who does not fully understand the relationship between language and thought. LA, he argues, will objectively distance the pupil momentarily from the mother tongue, and turns 'language in upon itself in an examination of its various uses' (Hawkins, 1979:63). Thus, LA is in part about assisting individuals, regardless of their class and ethnicity, to fully realise and articulate their democratic stake, and if need be with 'force' (Hawkins, 1984:91). In this way, it can be argued that Hawkins is trying to turn the maxim 'language is power' on its head.

In the section 'Social Manipulation', he argues teaching Standard English does not alienate comprehensive pupils but empowers them. This argument counters the position held by many English educators at the time. It is important to note that the Conservative organisation National Council for Educational Standards (NCES)³⁹ was arguing the same point (See Lawton, 1992).⁴⁰ Everybody, it seems maintained their approach to language learning as one that enhanced all children's chances in life.

As we have seen the personal growth movement was highly attuned to what role English teachers should play in the conditioning of democracy (See previous section). How then did LA differ from motives of the 'personal growth' approach? In terms of Ager's (2001) language planning motive framework, I argued above Hawkins' primary motive was to address inequality. He was seeking to level the scholastic playing field and enable people to articulate their freedom. In this text, integration can be added as a motive albeit in a weak form. I say this because no mention is made in regard to facilitating social integration per se; rather it stresses the acclimatisation of indigenous English pupils to other varieties of English and language. This motive complements the PRF's enterprise of tackling institutionalised racism at this time (See Tomlinson, 2008). By contrast, the LA discourse, however, at this time is far less emancipatory compared with personal growth discourses. The idea that the social order may be drastically reshaped is not entertained in Hawkins' texts. Instead, the text emphasises pupils become more aware, more articulate, and more understanding and civil towards each other. People keep their respectful places in society, but they are made better by means of LA.

³⁹ It was formerly the Council for the Preservation of Educational Standards.

⁴⁰ It also resembles somewhat the cultural literacy argument that was soon developed by Hirsch Jr (1987) in the United States

In terms of an identity motive, I believe Hawkins was familiar with the idea that language is a central factor in the formation of a social self (Mead, 1964): the type of language a person uses to express themselves correlates strongly with their social identity. An example I have already given is Shaw's *Pygmalion*, wherein Eliza's social identity is modified on account of her being taught to speak 'properly'. LA sought to improve pupils' proficiency in Standard English while gaining appreciation for vernacular variations. Thus, it had within it the potential to modify social identity on a mass scale, eroding linguistic boundaries that had characterised the British class system for the centuries and modifying slightly their social consciousness. It is important to note that such a view complements the vision of the common schooling movement that sought to create schools in which pupils of differing abilities grow, and British society is freed from the constraints of class consciousness (Pring & Walford, 1997).

According to Bernstein's (2001) theory on the pedagogic device, Hawkins' formulation of LA is a competence-based model. However, there are features that appear performance-based. I say it is a competence-based model because LA, like personal growth, is in essence a therapeutic discourse. It is about pedagogically tapping into the pupils' prior experiences of language and language intuitions, and trying to help them realise their potential through language. Given the value Hawkins places on the relationship between schooling and freedom, I am inclined to argue he is operating within what Bernstein (2000) calls a liberal/progressive mode that seeks to enhance social consciousness. In this light, LA discourse looks more like the personal growth discourse. It certainly does not align with the Conservative Secretary for Education's, Keith Joseph, vision of schooling.

However, it is on the issue of regionalisation that Hawkins' proposal adheres most closely to Bernstein's (2000) performance model. Bernstein (2000) explains regionalisation weakens the autonomous discursive base and the political base of singulars. While I cannot say this was Hawkins' objective, he certainly wanted to end singular isolationism. Bernstein (2000) argues, however, subject regionalisation results in greater central administrative control that eventually erodes personalised modes of teaching. It is not clear if Hawkins fully appreciated this point, but it is clear in *Language Awareness* (1984) that he supported, at this time, the establishment of national curriculum guidelines.

Thus, to summarise briefly, at this point Hawkins was seeking to dismantle the existing classification of the curriculum - regionalising the language subject area -

whereas English educators' discourses at the time were effectively strengthening the boundaries of the English subject area. Now, I shall address the matter of LA's framing in terms of Bernstein's (2000) theory on the pedagogic device.

LA's emphasis upon explicitness in transmission bothered English teachers, since it harked of Latinate grammar teaching practices. Hawkins' insistence upon Standard English also irked English teachers operating within an emancipatory mode. The argument that 'articulate mammals' are those who can use Standard English 'with force', de facto implies non-Standard users are 'inarticulate' and 'without force'. The argument is essentially one of differentiation and stratification, and it was a practice that educators, such as Rosen, vociferously rejected.

'The cultural history of the working-class in this country often realizes itself in language. It is, as yet, relatively unreported and unstudied, its richness and its poetry relatively unknown and neglected in spite of all the studies which claim to tell us about working-class speech. It is the strength of working-class speech which remains unexamined usually because it is assumed not to exist' (Rosen, 1974:23).

Thus, personal growth educators were anxious to cease framing English as a higher order of knowledge, as it, in their view, alienated comprehensive school pupils. Conservative politicians and the general public, on the other hand, typically construed 'correct English' or 'proper English' to be an educational outcome that is produced in a scholastic framework that frames language as a higher order of knowledge. It is from the fissure of this tension that Hawkins takes his cue.

On one hand, Hawkins (1984) establishes language as a form of mundane knowledge that is a possession of all, but he also constitutes it as a form of knowledge that is distinctly 'specialist'. In this way, he counters the Newbolt Committee's (1921) view that anyone can be a teacher of English, and also dismisses the Bullock Committee's (1975) recommendations regarding the establishment of language courses in teacher training as being highly unrealistic. Thus, one aim of LA is to recontextualise esoteric knowledge about language and convert it into a more mundane form that can be communicated in the classroom by a specialist teacher, who is partnered to both English and foreign language teachers.

This brings us to the matter of transmission, and I will use Bernstein's (2000)

terminology to explain it. A great deal of confusion, I believe, arises from the fact that LA in its original formulation is: a) strongly classified as a curricular region; b) weakly classified as a language education policy that allows varying teachers to be partnered to a specialist enterprise; c) somewhat strongly framed in terms of substantive content as outlined in Hawkins' (1981) syllabus; d) somewhat strongly framed, on one hand, in terms of pedagogic communication (e.g. a keen focus on explicitness and precision, etc); but e) notably weak in terms of transmission (e.g. the promotion of discovery based learning). It is, in essence, a mixed bag.

At first glance, it does seem Hawkins is attempting to reconstruct language as a high knowledge of learning. For this reason, many English teachers conflated LA with traditional grammar teaching (Tinkel, 1985). Hawkins always rejected this claim, and the emphasis he and Tinkel placed upon exploration, discussion and discovery-based teaching and learning, as promoted by Bruner (1960; 1966) and Vygotsky (1962), confirms this. For this reason, Tinkel (1985) argues LA actually complements personal growth pedagogy, seemingly in the attempt to win English teachers' approval. His efforts, however, appear to have turned them all the more against LA because it looked like LA advocates were attempting to get in on their act or, worse still, undermine it.

I have argued in the previous section that the LA did not appeal to English teachers either in terms its classification or its framing. I will now discuss the classification and framing of LA in the LAWP text, and why LAWP's recommendations regarding LA in teacher training or the classroom were unlikely to be approved by the Secretary of State.

It is noteworthy that while the tone of Hawkins' arguments is confident in the 1979, 1981, and 1984 texts, the LAWP text is more tentative in tone. Having confirmed the resistance towards LA, the LAWP text reveals a significant weakening of LA's classification and its framing in schools. This is because LAWP no longer advances LA as a subject own right. Instead, LA has been reduced to a course, module, or just a mere 'six lessons' that can be squeezed into 'form time' or tacked onto a MFL syllabus.⁴¹ Furthermore, the content of LA had also 'diversified' in actual practice to the point that some school initiatives clearly contradict Hawkins' formulation of LA.⁴²

⁴¹ Sinclair writes, 'If there are as few as six lessons, something would be accomplished...If there are twelve lessons, so much the better - and so on, for the syllabus is infinitely extendable' (1985:34).]

⁴² Donmall-Hicks writes that: '[v]entures included: LA courses in a secondary school as an introduction to learning a specific language or as a part of English as a Mother Tongue programme; LA as part of children's language development in schools,

Hawkins did not support minority language maintenance in *Language Awareness* (1984). In the LAWP Report, however, we find him praising a 'pioneering' course in Westminster that is designed to support minority language maintenance (1985:181).

Such diversity (weakness in its framing) effectively prevented LAWP from devising a centrally determined system for course evaluation and student/teacher assessment. Furthermore, course brevity⁴³ made it difficult for anyone to formally assess the impact of LA upon pupils' awareness of language. The Report urges readers to fully document their LA courses so as to 'safeguard' them and prove their value to the skeptics. This, however, was perhaps a vain quest because 'Teacher enthusiasm was not matched by the knowledge and skills needed to lead LA courses' in the first place (Donmall-Hicks, 1999:23).

Echoing the Bullock Report (1975), Donmall (1985) then stresses the need for all teachers to receive some sort of basic language training during their initial teacher-training, and that language teachers receive extended training. Quoting from Carter's (1982) *Linguistics and the Teacher*, she writes that all basic courses should include knowledge about the structures and functions of language/s, as well as how to analyse its usage.

Matters relating to teacher training at a national level, however, were now being overseen by CATE, which was directly answerable to the Secretary of State. Official approval of LAWP's language training recommendations looked highly unlikely because, as Donmall and Sinclair note, LA was already 'misunderstood by significant segments of the authority structure' (1985:82).

At this time, Joseph's objective, in my view, was to establish the principles of selective schooling within the comprehensive school framework. His view of education is clearly performance-based, and one designed to satisfy instrumental goals. Unlike the competence-based models that are based on 'similar to' relations, performance models of education are based on 'different from' relations that serve to both differentiate and stratify individuals from each other (Bernstein, 2000). In the latter model, assessment is of primary importance – be it of the teachers or the pupils. Joseph (1984) considered the establishment of a centrally devised system

LA work bridging the gap between primary and middle school, sixth form LA courses, LA as a particular feature of language-across-the-curriculum programmes, and LA as an element of preparation for parenthood courses' (1999:23).

⁴³ Course duration varied greatly. Some were just a few lessons in length. Others were intensive courses at the beginning of the term. Others had a dedicated weekly slot.

that would monitor pupils and teachers in absolute terms would 'raise standards'. I believe he was unlikely to condone anything remotely diverse in practice or difficult to assess – everything needed to be brought into line and it needed bow to straightforward assessment.

As Bernstein (2000) explains, performance model assessment emphasizes what is 'absent' in the acquirer's product, and has the effect of making pedagogic criteria increasingly explicit and specific. He also argues that teaching practice in this model is far less dependent on the teachers' personal attributes, and so it enables training costs to be cut back. Indeed, at this time, Thatcher's close adviser, Lord Vaizey, proposed cutting the £15.4 billion education bill in half by reducing the scope of education in every aspect (1984). Specifically in regard to teacher training, Joseph remarked, 'I am very very [sic] uncertain about whether teacher training colleges are any damn use' (Quoted in Ball, 1994:114).

Summary

In this light and at this point, we can see that the LA reform movement has run into two walls: the English teachers' defensive resistance and CATE/Secretary of State's plans for the school system. The LA movement desperately needed knowledgeable and skilled teachers to promote LA through good practice, and some sort of evaluation. Official approval of LAWP's teacher training recommendations, however, looked highly unlikely due to the framing of LA in practice, making LA's future in the official curriculum framework all the more uncertain.

5.4 Reconstituting Language Awareness: 'About Language'

Thatcher's modernisation of the British economy was proving difficult. In 1984, unemployment peaked at nearly 3,300,000 as a result of her battle with inflation and the closure of coal pits and factories. 1984, however, marked a new epoch in Conservative educational history.

In his address at the North of England Education Conference, Joseph called for a 'broad consensus' to be made in regard to the curriculum of pupils aged 5 to 16 in four areas: (1) the objectives of learning; (2) the contribution that each main subject or element should make; (3) the content of the curriculum as a whole; and, (4) objectives for attainment at the end of primary school and for the secondary school years. Furthermore, both phases of schooling needed to embrace four principles – relevance to the demands of the real world, differentiation, balance, and breadth. These views were then reiterated in the White Paper *Better Schools* (1985), which

stressed the need for a 'common-sense' approach.⁴⁴ Confident with progress made, Joseph declared at the Blackpool Conservative Party Conference, 'I think that the pendulum has swung from teaching that tended to wait on the child to teaching that leads the child' (Quoted in Knight, 1990: 176).

In the PRF, the 'under-achievement' of ethnic minority pupils, first and succeeding generations, remained a central concern for educationists in high representation areas. The assimilationist and integrationist educational policies that had required these pupils to 'Do and speak as Britons do' during the 1960s and 1970s were deemed inappropriate, and the school system moved shakily towards embracing 'multiculturalism' in all its aspects (See Tomlinson, 2005). One particularly contentious issue to arise from the multiculturalism discourse, and one that appears to stem from the personal growth approach evolved in the English subject area, was the idea that schools should not force pupils to abandon 'their language': a practice that was seen to be detrimental to both the formation of their identity and their scholastic achievement.

The Conservatives frowned upon multiculturalism, gender education, and 'peace studies' seeing them as evidence that the LEAs were doing more harm than good. In their view, such 'ideology' got in the way of schooling, and, in their view, pupils were leaving school unfit for employment in many sectors of the market. Furthermore, they felt these educational discourses were eroding the traditional morals and national values of what it means to be 'British', as illustrated in the following quotes:

'[T]he political indoctrination in our schools; and the attempts by some local education authorities to control the curriculum and use it for political ends... Those who believe, as we do, that the schools of this country are for teaching and learning and not for political indoctrination' (Thatcher, 1985).

⁴⁴ Interestingly, a former DES servant, Alan Murray, recounts how, in 1985, he had thought he may have lost his job for borrowing two volumes of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks* from the DES library. It turned out that the Secretary of State for Education, Keith Joseph, wanted them for his 'holiday reading'. He writes, 'I had to agree to return to London that night and deliver the offending volumes by 8 a.m. before I was allowed to go back and complete my speech' (Murray, 2001). The influence of Gramsci's theories on garnering consent by forwarding 'common-sense' arguments is often apparent, in my view, in the actions and words of Joseph during this time.

'The undermining of our traditional *education systems*, which has gone on longer in Britain, but which in the New Age of political correctness seems to have gone into over-drive here, is now a very grave danger. It threatens the collective memory of our society from which its habits and even its identity flow...No amount of fiddling with structures will alter what is happening. Only by ensuring that we have the right teachers with the right training and the right ideas will we stop the rot. Otherwise, the cultural revolutionaries with their jarring cacophony will drown out for ever what Lincoln called "the mystic chords of memory" (Thatcher, 1997).

Numerous LEAs, particularly the ILEA, were also considered problematic on account of their socialist leanings, and their promotion of 'linguistic diversity'. Swiftly, the government then passed the 1986 Education Act, which enabled schools to be removed from LEA control. This made school governors responsible for the school curriculum, staffing, and discipline. More importantly, this Act made schools directly answerable to central government.

5.4.1 Donmall, Swann and the HMI

In this section, I will illustrate how Donmall (1984) and the Swann Committee (1985) present LA as one solution to the 'multicultural' problem. This section starts with an ORF text by Honey (1983) that attacked the involvement of linguists, like Hawkins, in matters of how English should be taught. I will then review an equally controversial PRF article by Honeyford that argues multiculturalism is no more than a vested interest of the political left, and one that will 'fragment' British society. Both views were addressed in *Education for All* [Swann Report] (HMSO, 1985) that identifies LA as a pedagogical means to ease Britain's transition into becoming a democratic pluralistic society. This will be followed by an overview of the HMI text *English from 5 to 16* (1984) that reconstitutes LA as 'Knowledge about Language', and places it squarely within the boundaries of the English subject area.

John Honey is a curious contributor to the debate about language learning at this time. At the time of publication, Honey was a Professor and Dean of the School of Education at a Leicester Polytechnic, and a man seemingly unaffiliated with the state school system who promoted himself, among other things, as a sociolinguist. It seems he was invited to write *The Language Trap: Race, class, and the 'standard English' issue in British schools* (1983) for the Conservative fringe group the National Council of Educational Standards (NCES) (Lawton, 1992). His text was

third in a series of pamphlets dedicated to the nineteenth century educationalist, James Kay-Shuttleworth, who was a strong advocate of universal schooling, and a man responsible for overseeing the first government inspection of schools. Rhodes Boyson, who can be called a chief propagandist of Thatcherism, led the council's activities. A 'real character', Boyson was, at the time, a notably outspoken critic of progressive teaching and 'bad English', both of which he felt were eroding the moral fabric of British society.

In this pamphlet, Honey argues comprehensive schools are 'deny(ing) children the opportunity to learn to handle Standard English, because of pseudo-scientific judgments about all varieties of language being "equal"' (1983: 24). He claims this has placed comprehensive school pupils at an unfair advantage in 'any situation where authority, respectability, and credibility are at issue' (1983: 21). He then blames the 'powerful group of academics' who adhere to Chomsky's and Labov's theories about language, its acquisition, and its meaning in relation to 'social identity'. 'The attitude of [these] linguists', he fumes, is simply that 'anything goes' or that 'grammar doesn't matter' (1983:7). He insists not teaching grammar, Received Pronunciation, and Standard English is simply undermining the nation's capacity to communicate effectively. It is important for pupils to 'achieve a ready facility in standard English, even at the expense of their development in their original non-standard variety. Even at the expense, I am tempted to add, of their self-esteem...' (1983:31).

Linguists, such as David Crystal (1984) who was made subject, among others, to Honey's criticisms, vociferously rejected his claims that comprehensive schools were fostering the use of non-standard English at 'the expense of Standard English', as well as many of his other charges against linguists. He then set about exposing the weaknesses in Honey's arguments, which he describes as 'misleading'. He then charges NCEC had an ulterior motive at hand. Honey had presented a 'hit-list' of experts, and in so doing garnered much sought after publicity. By 'adopting such an extreme line, and setting a polemic tone for the discussion which must ensue, he has now obscured a whole set of real issues' (1983:64).

The point that must be raised is that Honey's views were construed to be highly representative of the Conservative Party at this time (Cameron, 1995). It must also be said that they align with Hawkins' views on the importance of Standard English, making them look distinctly Conservative.

'We fail our pupils if they leave school unable to use English

with accuracy, discrimination, force when necessary and, above all, integrity' (Hawkins, 1984:91).

'It does no service to pretend that...there is no difference between the precision and integrity of some language, and language that is slipshod and imitative' (Hawkins, 1984:69).

The following year, Honeyford's PRF article 'Education and Race: An alternative view' (1984) was published in the Conservative magazine *The Salisbury Review*. Honeyford was a Middle School Headmaster in Bradford at which many non-indigenous children were enrolled. The article ignited a national outcry, and his subsequent dismissal became a matter for parliamentary debate. This text highlights well the existing tensions regarding linguistic diversity, which the Swann Committee addresses.

Honeyford's article is expressed as an appeal to good reason, and it does so by describing scenes of pandemonium in his school where established conventions were being transgressed by 'misguided radical teachers' and a 'race relation lobby'. He makes the charge that the 'multi-racial curriculum', which he holds synonymous with the belief that 'all languages are equal' and the practice of 'mother tongue maintenance' in schools, is no more than a conduit for professional opportunism than a real concern for the educational progress of ethnic minority children. Referencing Honey (1983), Honeyford argues the neglect of Standard English in favour of 'linguistic diversity' in schools has all but produced a 'mounting linguistic confusion' (1984: para.13), which is disadvantaging pupils in both the short and long term. It is also creating, he warns, a whole new set of biases that will lead to 'social fragmentation and discord' at the societal level.

This 'fragmentation' theme also appears in Donmall's (1984) paper - as it does in Hawkins (1984) - 'The Developing Role of Language Awareness in the UK as a Response to Linguistic Diversity' published in the *European Journal of Education*. In it, she argues UK schools need to 'stabilise multiculturalism'. She highlights how current language learning practices differ greatly from school to school. Echoing Hawkins (1984), she then argues the need for an overarching national policy on language learning, and advocates LA as the 'concerted action' (1984:26) that is needed to resolve issues relating to and emanating from linguistic diversity/multiculturalism. Interestingly, however, she does not advance knowledge of LAWP in this picture.

Like Hawkins (1984), Donmall insists it is extremely difficult for schools to establish any sort of quality provision for mother tongue maintenance. Furthermore, ethnic minority families may very well resent such attempts. Referencing Honey (1983), she stresses Standard English needs to be the educational focus. Debates about the place of non-standard varieties and minority language maintenance, she states, are simply not 'conducive to the appreciation of the respective merits of each in given contexts' (1984: 34). LA is the best solution because it strengthens language skills and cultivates better relations between ethnic groups; 'arousing the pupils' awareness of the origins and characteristics of their own language and dialect, their place in the wider map of languages used in the world beyond' (1984:34). Most importantly, LA will serve *all* pupils, and not select groups within the schooling system.

The Swann Committee also places an extremely high value on 'all' in its Report *Education For All* [Swann Report] (1985). Lord Michael Swann, Chancellor of the University of York, replaced Sir Anthony Rampton who had chaired the interim report *West Indian Children in our Schools* [Rampton Report] (DES, 1981). The original remit, as requested by the Select Committee on Race, Relations and Immigration, was to look into the 'underachievement' of West Indian children. The Committee widened this parameter to cover 'all ethnic minority pupils' (1985: ix), including those indigenous to Britain.

Echoing Honeyford's fragmentation fears, the Report starts by stating:

'We believe that unless major efforts are made to reconcile the concerns and aspirations of both the majority and minority communities along more genuinely pluralist lines, there is a real risk of the fragmentation of our society along ethnic lines which would seriously threaten the stability and cohesion of society as a whole' (1985:7).

The Committee proposes learning about 'the nature of language' as a means to foster better 'social cohesion'. This proposal is not surprising given the fact that Hawkins was a member of the original committee, and worked alongside Swann at the University of York. Hawkins resignation, however, from the Committee in 1981 appears due, at least in part, to its unwillingness to establish LA as a curricular subject in its own right.

A synopsis of the Committee's societal vision is necessary in order to see how the

'nature of language' fits into it. The Committee deems democratic pluralism the best societal model for multi-ethnic Britain. This model requires the cultivation of a general acceptance of difference within the populace, as well as its acceptance of 'a set of shared values distinctive of the society as a whole' (1985: 6). The Committee states one of the most important values is English because, 'The English language is a central unifying factor in 'being British', and is the key to participation on equal terms as a full member of this society' (1985: 385). This standpoint appears to complement Joseph's view in *Better Schools* (DES, 1985), which stipulates schools must give the highest priority to the teaching of English to ethnic minority pupils.

Like Hawkins (1984) and Donmall (1984), the Swann Committee dismisses mother tongue maintenance as schools are in no position to provide what it calls 'living instruction' in the language. Furthermore, meetings with parents from various ethnic groups had also impressed upon them that they did not want mother tongue maintenance to get in the way of their children attaining a good command of Standard English (1985:405). As a result, the Committee allocates the 'cater[ing] for the linguistic needs of ethnic minority pupils' (1985:385) to their respective language communities, clearing the way for a focus on English. Furthermore, the Report states English as a Second Language (E2L)⁴⁵ pupils should not be withdrawn for specialized instruction because it serves to compound social and academic differences between them and other pupils.⁴⁶ Instead, schools should utilise cooperative teaching and the drafting in of 'specialists' to assist teachers and pupils.

While the Committee stresses the importance of learning Standard English, they still uphold 'linguistic diversity' as a 'positive asset' within British society (1985:406). The problem, as the Committee sees it, is how to overcome a deeply entrenched 'tradition of monolingualism' and belief in the 'superiority of the English language' (1985:419) that has long fuelled linguistic parochialism. In order to broaden pupils' views toward language and erode beliefs that English is the only 'legitimate language' (1985: 419), the Committee recommends among various things: (a) the establishment of community languages as a non-compulsory curricular subject for all pupils, and (b) the incorporation of teaching about the nature of language in the

⁴⁵ This is the term used in the report. Nowadays, the terms English L2 and English as an Additional Language (EAL) are used.

⁴⁶ Similar arguments were expressed in documents arguing for the dismantlement of the tripartite system (See Simon, 1991)

mainstream curriculum. They state:

‘We would wish to see pupils in all schools acquiring a common grounding in the 'nature' of language, its various forms and structures, and the ways in which different language forms have been developed for different purposes, together with some knowledge of the linguistic landscape of Britain today... At the secondary level some linguists have argued that 'language' should be introduced as a discrete subject within the curriculum. We believe however that much of what needs to be done can best be achieved by broadening the existing English curriculum to be more relevant to pupils' language needs and by encouraging other subject teachers, through an overall 'language across the curriculum' policy, to be more aware of the role of language in learning' (1985:422-423).

The Committee then annexes an extract of Hawkins' (1981) *Modern Languages in the Curriculum* (outlined above) and an ILEA publication titled *The Languages Book* (Raleigh, 1981) as 'an illustration of the various aspects of language which we would wish to see being incorporated' (1985:423).

Since the Committee supports LAC, as outlined in the Bullock Report (1975), it also recommends the establishment of a 'language coordinator' in each school 'to take the lead in fostering a greater awareness and understanding amongst his or her colleagues of the need for progress and initiatives in this field' (1985: 418). In primary schools, the Head should fulfil this role. At the secondary level, the Deputy Head is deemed the best person to undertake the duty, rather than a member or Head of the English department who have 'a particularly valuable contribution to make' (1985:418). Once again, community language or foreign language teachers are afforded no particular role. The Committee recommends, however, the involvement of the LEA and HMI in organising in-service training courses, writing policy, providing advice, and 'giving far greater prominence to the role of language in learning in any subject' (1985:418).

I will discuss the Swann Committee's motives, model and mode in the analysis section below. There are three points, however, I wish to reiterate here. Firstly, the Swann Committee is clearly not interested in establishing LA as a bridging subject, and we can assume this is because they saw no obvious need to do so. Secondly,

the Committee's vision of democratic pluralism is one in which 'all' (the pupil body and the public at large) should be bound together by English. It then follows that English teachers should bear the lion's share of the responsibility in ensuring pupils acquire a common grounding in the nature of language. Thirdly, while there are many 'Englishes', the Committee upholds Standard English as the one that ultimately bind the populace together.

As we have seen, the Swann Committee recommended HMI involvement in the development of school based language policy, as well as its coordination and practice. We will now look at the HMI text *English from 5 to 16* (1984) that places the responsibility of teaching of *About Language* squarely upon English teachers' shoulders.

At this time, HMI's role was to provide each government with information and inspection-based advice about schooling. Since 1977, HMI had been working closely with local LEAs, five LEAs, 41 schools and advisers on curricular development, which resulted in the publication of three Red Books (See Cullingford, 1999). After the inauguration of the Conservative government, HMI became more systematic about conducting schools inspections, and a policy, issued in 1983, required them to make their findings more widely available. In 1984, HMI became involved in the writing of CATE's criteria and the inspection of Initial Teaching Training courses (Bolton, 1998). Thus, as it can be seen, HMI occupied a very insightful position in the educational framework at this time.

At Joseph's behest, HMI wrote the Curriculum Matters Series. *English 5 to 16* was its first publication, which indicates its political priority. The foreword of the response document writes:

'English is a key subject in the school curriculum. It is essential to the development of pupils as individuals and as members of society. The development of agreed national objectives for English teaching is therefore a particularly important part of the Government's policies for raising standards in schools' (1986: v).

The text states all teachers are responsible for language development, but some 'have direct responsibility for the development of their pupils' competence in English' (1986:1). The text, however, is not only addressed to English teachers but also school Heads, LEA advisers and officers, teacher trainers, parents and

employers so as to solicit everyone's views as to what the aims of the English curriculum should be. Their responses were then collated and addressed in a response text (HMI, 1986).

Quoting the Bullock Report (1975:7), HMI states: '[L]anguage competence grows incrementally, through an interaction of writing, talk, reading and experience, the body of resulting work forming an organic whole'. Furthermore, it is not something that will take care of itself, and there is a need for teachers to actively cultivate skills. In order to track pupil's progress, the HMI then presents three sets of objectives that pupils should reach by the ages of 7, 11, and 16. Each pupil should 'achieve the highest level of performance of which he or she is capable' at each stage (1986: 4).

The objectives are parsed into four primary but interrelated 'modes': 1) spoken word, 2) reading, 3) writing, and 4) about language. HMI deems 'About Language' the overarching mode. It is defined as:

'[A] working knowledge of its structure and of the variety of ways in which meaning is made, so that they have a vocabulary for discussing it, so that they can use it with greater awareness, and because it is interesting' (HMI, 1986: 3).

Although LA is not referenced, the term 'aware' permeates the 'About Language' text. When the HMI's objectives are compared with Hawkins' (1981) LA syllabus, we see the HMI's reconstitution has stripped it of contrastive analysis and several sociolinguistic concerns (e.g. language acquisition, language history, language change, and linguistic diversity). Emphasis is now firmly upon language structure, as well as the appropriateness and modification of meaning.

'About Language' objectives are not listed for 7 year olds. With respect to 11 year olds, pupils should know basic descriptors (e.g. noun, adverb, vowel, consonant, subject, object, etc). They should be able to identify them, as well as understand their functions and differences. They should know various spelling and grammatical rules (e.g. subject-verb agreement), and 'be aware of' verb tense differences. Furthermore, they need to be aware how language can be literal or figurative, and how spoken and written language differs (1986: 9).

16 year olds should then be able to name and identify the functions of all the main parts of speech. They need to be able to distinguish components in writing (e.g. sentence, clause, paragraph, etc), and have a vocabulary at their disposal to

discuss its stylistic effects (e.g. metaphor, simile, cliché, etc). They should be able to understand how varying components, along with varying rhythms, are used to convey meaning and enhance its effect (e.g. in advertising). They should 'be aware of' differences in language usage - e.g. formal versus informal language. Finally, they should be conscious of how language 'embodies values, conveys attitudes and defines relationships' (1985:12).

The HMI received 913 responses from the public, educationalists, and PRF and ORF groups. Only 30% supported the proposal (HMI, 1986: 25). In the responses, 'About Language' was oft referred to as 'Knowledge about Language' (KAL), and the HMI observe, 'Nothing divided the respondents more' (1986: 39). 'Colouring the whole debate', it writes, were people's 'tedious and useless experiences' of learning grammar as pupils (1986:39). Most interpreted 'About Language' as the reinstatement of Latinate grammar teaching. The *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Express* interpreted it to be a centrally issued demand to tackle 'sloppy thinking and writing among children of all ages' (quoted in HMI, 1986:27).⁴⁷

5.4.2. Analysis

In the following sections, I will expound upon the points raised in the methodological/theoretical overview more detail. The second section outlines my analysis of the Swann Report (1985). The third delineates my reading and interpretation of HMI's Report (1984, 1986). This will be followed by a final section that looks at a PRF response by Barry Smith to HMI's formulation of About Language, which outlines the reasons for the PRF's resistance.

Methodological/Theoretical Overview

I will now return to the Foucaultian inquiry: What is happening now, and why? It is important to see that the writing of the above texts directly overlap with Hawkins' writing of *Language Awareness* (1984) and LAWP's activities. Thus, the reasons for Hawkins' modification of LA, outlined above in section 5.2.3, are also pertinent here.

At this time, educationists were preoccupied with the presence of migrant worker children in the state school system. Assimilation, as an educational approach of sorts, was now considered a failure in the face of the riots. As we have seen, some PRF agents were arguing for minority group, mother-tongue maintenance provisions. Others believed such provisions would ultimately lead to some sort of

⁴⁷ One national newspaper article 'Good English to Make a Comeback' writes 'Its aim is to tighten up on sloppy thinking and writing among children of all ages' (quoted in HMI, 1986:27).

social fragmentation given the intimate relationship between language and social identity. This, of course, was something that personal growth advocates and linguists had been defending in relation to indigenous pupils' use of non-standard English.

The debate became increasingly heated. But why? I have already discussed matters relating to the establishment of the comprehensive school system and the autonomy of the PRF in the previous section. Here, I wish to argue that the vitality of the debate at this point is also linked, in part, to the demise of the Schools' Council under the Conservatives in 1984. This body, widely considered to be a kind of parliament for schools, had been a principal mechanism for curriculum renewal since 1964. During its operation, under the auspices of social democrat Sir Alan Bullock, it had actively promoted the belief that educators should control curricular innovation, and it served to channel varying PRF agents' views and opinions (See Bell & Prescott, 1975; Caston, 2007). Its demise, however, arguably set PRF language education planning adrift as the central government made its own advances (e.g. the Honey publication that garnered the press' attention) towards exerting its authority over the curriculum.

There is also a sense afoot that the window of opportunity will soon close in light of Joseph's calls for a 'broad consensus', and it can be argued that this too engendered more activity. Numerous PRF agents are already distrustful of the government's 'real' intentions, and feel a need to exert their influence over and within the recontextualising field.

With respect to Fairclough's (1992) text analysis framework, the 'field' of this period is constituted of two distinct elements. Firstly, it is clear from Joseph's North of England Education Conference speech that the Conservatives had already configured how they wanted the National Curriculum to operate. They now needed to put flesh on the bones. By now, Joseph was promoting 'Differentiation', which complemented the processes of Choice and deepened the rifts that had emerged in the state school system (e.g. the flight of families from certain school districts). In regards to the curriculum, Joseph stressed the need for a 'common-sense' and 'real world' approach, and Conservative party related publications then portrayed highly differentiated PRF opinion as being lofty and/or irrational. The central message conveyed in Honey's (1983) ORF text and Honeyford's (1984) PRF text is that left wing PRF influence over language learning education is proving downright disastrous for both school pupils, notably the underprivileged, and wider society.

In terms of 'tenor', Donmall (1984) sought a wider PRF audience by publishing in a European educational journal. She emphasized the dangers of curricular variation and social fragmentation, as did Honey (1983), Honeyford (1984), and the Swann Committee (1985). All authors promoted the teaching of Standard English, but the question of how its teaching should be framed was, for the most part, left untouched. The Swann Committee promoted LA as a pedagogical approach to multiculturalism, but afforded it no official place in the curriculum. Recognizing LA's use as a means to develop proficiency in Standard English, HMI (1984, 1986) then reconstituted LA as 'About Language' and made it an English subject area concern.

In terms of 'mode', HMI's classification and framing of About Language is stronger than that of LA. Even so, the Inspectors still strived to avoid the rigidity of Latinate teaching practices.

I will explain my reasoning for the following in more detail below. Suffice to say, the Swann Committee's model, in Bernstein's terms (2000), would appear to be competence-based on account of its emphasis on social harmony. Its discourse is highly characteristic of what Bernstein calls a 'populist' mode. In terms of Ager's (2001) motive framework, the Swann Committee's primary motive would appear to be ideological. HMI's educational model, on the other hand, is performance-based, and its primary motive is clearly instrumental given its emphasis on developing language 'skills' for future use in the workplace. Below, I will argue that the mode is quasi-generic.

Analysis of the Swann Report

As a means to prevent societal fragmentation, the Swann Committee upheld Standard English as the common value that binds the British public together, and schools play a vital role in conditioning language knowledge and attitudes favourable to maintaining a healthy democratic pluralism. Like Donmall (1984), the Committee suggested the study of the 'nature of language' as a curricular solution to serve this goal, but did not feel this body of knowledge qualified as a subject in its own right. Upholding LAC, they insisted language is the responsibility of all teachers, but nudged it, nevertheless, in the direction of the English teachers. Matters relating to pedagogical transmission were ultimately left to the discretion of schools. Nevertheless, we can assume given the nature of the Committee's argument and their references to Hawkins (1981) and Raleigh (1981) that they are not looking to reinstate language learning as a higher order of knowledge (See Section 2.1.2). The HMI, on the other hand, treated Standard English as a curricular given, and the authors' silence on linguistic diversity at this time arguably has the effect of

negating such concerns in the run up to the National Curriculum. In no uncertain terms, the HMI assign the responsibility of 'About Language' to English teachers. Like LA, 'About Language' is neither recognisable as being a progressive or traditional approach. Its constitution, however, is much narrower and simpler.

First, we will consider in more depth the motives of the Swann Committee in light of Ager's (2001) planning and policy analysis framework, and then its pedagogical model and mode. As with the personal growth movement, we can say the Committee's primary motive is ideological because their argument revolves upon their vision of Britain as a pluralist democratic society. We can also say integration and identity are also motives, since the Committee's main goal is to ascertain the means by which schools can thwart social fragmentation and foster a form of social cohesion that does not require any particular ethnic group within British society to discard 'who they are'.

In light of Bernstein (2000), the model would appear to be competence-based since its educational objective is upon the cultivation of social harmony among all ethnic groups residing in Britain. The Committee's emphasis upon 'similar to' relations within local cultures or communities (e.g. ethnic groups) is notably characteristic of what Bernstein calls the populist mode. This mode places value on pupils' respective competences and seeks to prevent their repression as individuals in the school system. This is evident in the Committee's emphasis of minority languages as a cultural asset of Britain. To foster societal cohesion among all, the Committee places great value upon learning English. To this end, the Report proffers LAC and the teaching of 'the nature of language' as two curricular solutions.

I have already argued above that LAC is far less integrative than it initially seems, and it is clear the Swann Committee held numerous reservations about LAC. After all, they quote the following excerpt from *Bullock Revisited* (HMI, 1982:67):

'... although the importance of language in learning every subject in the curriculum and the contribution the subjects can make to the learning of language can hardly be disputed, the suggested strategy may not have been the best one for all schools. The idea of a policy "embodied in the organisational structure of the school", desirable at it is, may have been seen by some teachers as a requirement to adapt themselves to a theory derived from a subject discipline other than their own.'

Following visits to schools, the Committee notes, 'We have been struck by the marked reluctance of some teachers of science subjects and mathematics, as compared with their colleagues in the humanities, to look beyond their particular subject disciplines' (1985: 417). They also observe many teachers see 'language' as the responsibility of the English department, and the pupils' language problems as their failure 'to teach them English properly' (1985: 417). The Committee also expresses concern that pupils and teachers alike are often 'hostile towards' the idea of holding joint activities with E2L assistant teaching staff (1985: 395). The Committee concludes, quoting *Aspects of Secondary Education in England* (HMI, 1979), that the problem with LAC was that it was neither well enforced nor well understood, despite a proliferation of in-service courses and publications (See 1985: 414).

Yet, despite these qualms about teachers' attitudes and practices, the Swann Committee readily states LAC is 'an essential element in the review of the overall education process' (1985: 417). Optimistically, they add we should not underestimate the 'willingness and capacity of the teaching profession to respond with great imagination and enthusiasm to ideas for improving upon the education they are providing for their pupils' (1985: 423). Like the Bullock Committee, the Swann Committee does not detail LAC's implementation. The reader is simply referred to Hawkins (1981) (somewhat strongly framed content) and Raleigh (1981) (very weakly framed content) for perusal. The matter of transmission is not discussed. Furthermore, the LA initiatives being run by enthusiastic teachers in schools across the country are ignored. As in the Bullock Report (1975), responsibility for 'the nature of language' is assigned to a language coordinator who should 'take the lead in fostering a greater awareness and understanding amongst his or her colleagues of the need for progress and initiatives in this field' (1985: 418). In so doing, the Swann Committee neatly evades making definitive statements on the classification and framing of language learning. If the coordinators needed support, they can turn to the LEA and HMI. With this, I shall now turn to analyse HMI's text.

Analysis of HMI's Report

In my view, HMI had already written off LAC as a viable approach. Even before the Conservatives were inaugurated, HMI's survey of 384 schools between 1975-1978 found 'no moves of any significance towards language policies' had taken place in the majority of them (1979: 102). In most cases, senior staff could not be convinced of the importance of language. Other schools' efforts foundered in preliminary discussions that caused 'a good deal of antagonism' (1979:106). Indeed, they

observe that 'one of the main obstacles is that people do not always speak the same language about language' (1979:105). Furthermore, where LAC policies were successfully established, they typically emphasised the problems of the pupils' language rather than tackling the quality of the schools' teaching and learning practices. Many, it seemed, had misinterpreted what the Bullock Report stated in regard to LAC, and so HMI write, 'A change of emphasis from language as evidence of learning achieved to language used in the process of learning is needed' (1979:107). Furthermore, it must not obscure 'the stages of approximation and correction through which the learner need to pass' (1979:107).

HMI's constitution of 'About Language' (KAL) looks somewhat like Hawkins' LA. Both are notably pragmatic. Unlike Hawkins, and in terms of Ager's (2001) framework, HMI's primary motive appears to be instrumental, since the text places an emphasis upon identifiable 'skills' that pupils require for their future working life. In this respect HMI's primary motive seems, on the surface level at least, to be representative of Joseph's interests in the school system': a place where pupils are prepared to enter the workforce.⁴⁸

If the primary motive is instrumental, we can say with confidence that HMI's model is performance-based. Its mode, however, is arguably quasi-generic. Bernstein (2000) explains the generic mode is a relatively new performance mode deeply rooted in the concept of 'trainability'. This particular mode places 'emphasis upon "something" the individual must possess in order for she or he to be appropriately formed and re-formed according to technological, organisational, and market contingencies' (Bernstein, 2000:59). HMI's motives regarding identity, which Ager (2001) deems the common denominator in all language learning policy and planning, is more difficult to ascertain in this picture. Bernstein explains that this too is characteristic feature of the generic mode. He explains 'trainability' is a socially empty concept, in that the 'forming and reforming of oneself will rest on something other than its own process' (2000:59). In that, the individual will recognise him or herself, primarily in terms of what the market values.

In terms of the classification and framing of 'About Language' in the pedagogic device, HMI preserves and reinforces the regulatory boundaries of each curricular subject. Its generic mode, however, establishes a stronger interface between them and 'the future'. I say 'reinforce' because the rigidity of the learning objective framework, even if it is presented in this text as a tentative proposal, de facto

48 Bolton (1998) argues the HMI's political neutrality, especially on matters of educational funding, irked central government.

imposes a more unified order upon the school curriculum, firmly isolating each subject. Such structures, Bernstein writes, 'are resources for positional control which in turn legitimise the structures and classifications' (2000:47). They also serve to embed a disciplining regulation, making deviance from the norm far more visible.

The strengthening of these boundaries would make English teachers unquestionably responsible for 'About Language', and so its discourse precludes 'other language' (contrastive analysis) that is a key feature of LA. In terms of framing, the objective/assessment framework demands the discernment of absolute values and greater explicitness in pedagogic communication. HMI, however, does not readily advocate reinstating English as a higher order of knowledge that is characteristic of the very strong framing in Latinate grammar teaching. Furthermore, they are unwilling to reduce language into a set of skills, in its entirety.

'There is much confusion over whether grammar should be explicitly taught. It has long been recognised that formal exercises in the analysis and classification of language contribute little or nothing to the ability to use it. One consequence of this, however, is that many pupils are taught nothing at all about how language works as a system, and consequently do not understand the nature of their mistakes or how to put them right. We suggest that if some attention is given to the examination and discussion of the structure that pupils speak, write, read, or listen to for real purposes, their awareness of its possibilities and pitfalls can be sharpened' (HMI, 1985: 14)

'Good teaching of English, at any level, is more than the inculcation of skills: it is an education of the intellect and sensibility' (HMI, 1985, 13)

It is for this reason that I argue HMI's mode in this text is quasi-generic. The text clearly values, to a certain degree, language knowledge as expressed by Hawkins' in *Language Awareness* (1984).

Analysis of the PRF Resistance to the HMI's Report

HMI's *English 5-16* was 'greeted with almost universal hostility by English teachers'

(Paulson, 1992: 71). NATE looked upon it as backward looking, and queried its implications in shaping the future direction of English teaching. As ever, there was concern as to what the DES would do next when it came to the framing of language teaching. Such concerns are arguably well represented by Barry Smith, Head of English and Drama and Chairman of the West Sussex branch of NATE, in 'Dover Beach Revisited: A Response to English from 5 to 16' (1985). He chides:

'We cannot have a skills-based curriculum resting on objectives defined in terms of behaviourist psychology and a curriculum geared towards personal growth and resting upon the theories of progressive education. One must be subservient to the other' (1985:28).

Smith readily acknowledges language knowledge is important, but he questions the HMI's understanding of language. He is concerned that highly specified objectives and the implementation of 'periodic testing' will all but squash child-centred teaching practices. He is also concerned that HMI's focus on 'About language' in particular will reduce teaching/learning quality, and that this narrower formulation of the English language will take precedence over the teaching of literature.⁴⁹

For these reasons, Smith's choice of title is significant. 'Dover Beach' is a poem by Matthew Arnold, a forefather of the English subject who made its teaching a mission to save souls. In this particular poem, Arnold appears to lament society's diminishing belief in, perhaps, God or civil morality in the face of scientific advancement. He calls out to his fellow Victorians to be true to each other and take a firm stand upon 'a darkling place swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight, where ignorant armies clash by night'. By virtue of this analogy, it can be said Smith is calling out to English teachers to take a united stand in their faith against the 'ignorant Department of Education and Science'.

Summary

At this point in time, the opportunity to establish LA as a bridging subject has been closed off by National Curriculum discourses that have hardened subject boundaries. The LA discourse, however, has intersected with ideological and instrumental motives of the Swann Committee and HMI. Subsequently, both

⁴⁹ The latter had, of course, been a concern for some time. English teachers, like Peter Abbs, had previously rejected the Bullock Committee's formulation of LAC saying if LAC was the responsibility of all, then leave English teachers well alone to get on with their job - cultivating an appreciation for literature (Abbs, 1976).

advocate its curricular contextualisation. Its contact with HMI discourse production resulted in a substantial remodification – ‘About Language’ – where it was stripped of ‘other language’ and ‘sociolinguistic’ interests. Furthermore, the framing of its pedagogic communication has also been remodified somewhat. In Hawkins’ (1981) syllabus, he organises content knowledge into language themes to be questioned, explored, and discovered. In HMI’s (1984) report, language content is reduced to specific curricular ‘objectives’ that must be met or achieved. The former is oriented towards equipping pupils, thereby eroding social boundaries: the latter, intentionally or not, differentiates pupils thereby ensuring some sort of social stratification.

5.5 Constituting Knowledge About Language

Kenneth Baker became Secretary of State for Education in 1986.⁵⁰ In September, the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) replaced the previous GCE O Level and CSE examination system, thereby simplifying assessment. The 1986 Education Act then implemented proposals outlined in *Better Schools* (1985). It made school governors more responsible for staffing, the curriculum, and discipline. In the December of 1986, Baker unexpectedly announced to the public on a television programme, *Weekend World*, the Party’s plan to establish a National Curriculum.

At the North of England Conference in 1987, Baker stated the National Curriculum should have five objectives: 1) to set a standard of knowledge that serve as ‘an incentive’ for all schools to catch up with or surpass; 2) to provide teachers with ‘detailed and precise’ objectives; 3) to provide parents with clear, accurate information about their child and their school; 4) to prevent duplication in learning if a child changed schools; and 5) to ensure teachers concentrate on ‘getting the best results from each individual child’ (Baker, 1993:192).

The 1988 Education Reform Act, made up of 238 clauses, granted Baker approximately 400 hundred new powers and legislated the framework for a ‘basic curriculum’. It was a complicated affair in which pupils would be assessed on ten

⁵⁰ In 1986, Joseph stepped down saying the Conservative Party needed a fresher voice to articulate its educational policy (See Knight, 1990). Recently, Kenneth Baker has recounted that Thatcher simply told him ‘sort out the strike’ and ‘read yourself into it, get into it, and come back to me in two months and tell me what you’d like to do now’ (Interview with Will Woodward, *The Guardian*, 25 March 2008). In his memoirs, Bakers noted Joseph left office telling him that he should not replicate his mistake of attacking the teachers (Baker, 1993).

levels in relation to hundreds of 'attainment targets' across ten subject areas.⁵¹ Teachers were given virtually no say in the design and its implementation, effectively transforming them from curriculum innovators into curriculum deliverers. Baker then established the National Curriculum Council (NCC) and the School Examinations and Assessment Council (SEAC) to review the curriculum and its assessment (Callaghan, 2006). The 1988 Act also required Secretaries of State to revise the curriculum periodically. To this end, LEAs had to declare their policies, and school Governors had to publish annual reports. Conversely, if not conveniently, the Act ended the Secretary of State's requirement to produce an annual report.

The Act also enhanced the marketisation of schools. League tables would enable parents to compare schools in terms of simple figure outcome scores. 'Open enrolment' would, at least theoretically, give them greater freedom of choice. Both measures increased the bottom-up pressure being placed on schools. Schools could now 'opt out' and become grant maintained, which eroded their institutional link to the LEA; thereby reducing their exposure to what Baker called a 'devoutly anti-excellence, anti-selection, and anti-market' ideology (1993: 168). In 1986, the Greater London Council was abolished along with the ILEA, the only directly elected educational committee in the country, on the grounds of overspending and being overly bureaucratic (Maclure, 1990).

In November 1990, John Major replaced Thatcher. Like his predecessor, Major's ideals included free market principles, Samuel Smiles⁵² styled Victorian values, nationalism, and selective schooling. He appointed Kenneth Clarke as Secretary of State who immediately secured control of teachers' pay, and announced he wanted 80% of initial teacher training to take place in schools. The 1992 Education Act ended HMI's involvement in the construction of the curriculum. Clarke then shifted its duties in the direction of Initial Teacher Training. Believing, however, that frequent inspections would raise educational standards in schools, the government then created a vast new body named the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (House of Commons, 2012).

5.5.1 Kingman, Cox, LINC, Critical Language Awareness: Constituting KAL

In this section, I shall review the official constitution of KAL by the Kingman

⁵¹ Thatcher wanted the National Curriculum to be restricted to just three subjects - English, mathematics, and science. Baker, however, had bigger ambitions.

⁵² Samuel Smiles promoted the discourse that anyone could improve their own life chances through self-education and hard work.

Committee, the English Working Group (EWG), and the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project group. I shall also outline the principles of Critical Language Awareness (CLA), which were incorporated into the LINC materials. In former sections, I outlined the English teachers' resistance to LA and suspicion of 'About Language'. In this section, I shall outline their reactions as well as those of central government whose frustration will become all too apparent.

The Kingman Report

Having processed the responses to *English 5-16*, HMI concluded, 'there exists a gap between intent (to teach all children about the language) and the means to bring that about (agreement about what should be taught and how)' (1986:43). If policy is to address this matter with 'any hope of constructive action' then a committee of inquiry must guide its formation (1986:43). Baker followed up on this recommendation, and noted at the time:

'I am working towards national agreement on the aims and objectives of English Teaching in schools in order to improve standards. But I am struck by a particular gap. Pupils need to know more about the workings of the language if they are to use it effectively. Most schools no longer teach old-fashioned grammar. But little has been put in its place' (Kenneth Baker, press release, 16 January 1987, quoted in Poulson, 1992: 38).

Baker selected Sir John Kingman, Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University (a distinguished mathematician) to be its Chairman.⁵³ Others included Brian Cox, Professor of Literature and pro-Vice Chancellor of the University of Manchester who was well known for his role in editing the *Black Papers*; Henry Widdowson, Professor of Education at London; Peter Levi, Professor of Poetry at Oxford; and Gillian Brown, Professor of English as an International Language at Cambridge.

The Committee's remit was confined to KAL. Cox writes that Baker requested them 'to recommend a particular model of English as a basis for teacher training and professional discussion, and to consider how far and in what ways that model should be made explicit to pupils at various stages of education' (1991:3). In general terms, they needed to state what pupils should know about the English

⁵³ Baker gave the following reason for his selection of Sir John Kingman: 'It was better to appoint a scientist rather than an English specialist in order to avoid the doctrinal debates which racked university English faculties in the 1970s and 1980s' (1993:191).

language, and in consequence what they should have been taught and be expected to understand.

The chapter 'The Importance of Knowledge about Language' opens:

'A democratic society needs people who have the linguistic abilities which will enable them to discuss, evaluate and make sense of what they are told, as well as to take effective action on the basis of their understanding. The working of a democracy depends on the discriminating use of language on the part of all its people. Otherwise there can be no genuine participation, but only the imposition of the ideas of those who are linguistically capable. As individuals, as well as members of constituencies, people need the resources of language both to defend their rights and to fulfil their obligations' (Kingman Report, 1988: 7).

Here, 'linguistically capable' means '[having] expertise in language' (1988:7), language in the Report invariably refers to Standard English; described as the 'great social bank, on which we all draw and to which we all contribute' (1988:14). The Committee deems Standard English a child's 'right' that will enable him/her to communicate effectively in the wider world (1988:15). The report does not, despite popular misconception, present Standard English as being in any way linguistically superior to non-standard forms or other languages; rather it stresses Standard English is an essential element in a repertoire that enables individuals to communicate in a variety of contexts.

To aid the teaching and learning of Standard English, the Committee presents 'a' (but not 'the') 'model of English' (KAL) that specifies what pupils should know about language at the ages of 7, 11, and 16. It smartly dismisses the Bullock Report's LAC movement as a thing of the past that was 'widely misinterpreted' (1988:63) and one that was 'assimilated into educational jargon' (1988: 13). Despite this, however, in addition to the model, it then delineates a 'coordinated policy for language learning' (1988:48) that differs only somewhat from the Bullock Committee's formulation of LAC.

KAL is deemed to be a primary responsibility of English teachers. The Report states they should engage pupils in 'an explicit study of the ways in which language is used to express social identity, at different levels of complexity, so that children will

be better able to become effective members of a wide range of groups' (1988:10). The teaching of KAL, however, is also framed as an endeavour to which other language teachers - ancient and modern, as well as ESL specialists - should be 'partnered'. On a school wide level, it is the 'duty of all teachers to instil in their pupils a civilised respect for other languages and an understanding of the relations between other languages and English' (1988: 43). Finally, the Kingman Committee recommends having a language consultant in primary schools, and the Head of English in secondary schools to oversee KAL and existing language development practice, as well as the incorporation of new language learning elements. The Kingman Committee's model of KAL is comprised of the following themes:

The forms of the English language - sounds, letters, words, sentences, and how these relate to meaning.

Communication and comprehension - how speakers and writers communicate and how listeners and readers understand them.

Acquisition and development - how the child acquires and develops language.

Historical and geographical variation - how language changes over time, and how languages which are spread over territories differentiate into dialects or indeed into separate languages (1988:17).

Since it is beyond the scope of the Report, each theme is simply reduced to a figure, set of statements, list, and book recommendations that are deemed 'desirable and necessary for all teachers of English and all teachers of primary school children' (1988:31). In Appendix B, I include an example for differing skills for each of the model's themes to give the reader a better understanding as to KAL's content and its transmission as outlined in the Report.

What is important is that the Kingman Committee insists KAL should not be treated as 'a separate component' in the primary or secondary curriculum', nor should it be 'bolted on' onto any programme of study. This is due to the way the Committee frames KAL's teaching, which is positioned as a pedagogical approach that sits between 'old-fashioned grammar teaching and learning by rote' and the approach that holds language correctness 'an affront to personal liberty' (1988:3). It maintains that 'Information about language structure is most effectively made explicit at the moment when it is useful in real communication, so that the explicit statement consolidates the implicit awareness and effective learning occurs' (Kingman, 1988:14). For this reason, the Committee sees KAL as something that should be threaded throughout teaching, informing all aspects of children's talking, writing, reading and listening in the English classroom, and as something other language

teachers should also utilise in their classrooms.

This coordinated KAL approach, the Committee states, is preferable to the establishment of more LA courses, which were being coordinated and supported by the National Consortium of Centres for Language Awareness (NCcLA) at the time. In their view, existing LA courses varied too much in quality and tended to offer only 'a superficial and unsystematic description of some aspects of language phenomena which can each be treated briefly in a single period' (1988: 48).

Finally, while the Committee recommends national testing for 'language in use', it states, 'the assessment of explicit knowledge about language should be largely the province of individual teachers and institutions', and that these principles be reflected in the respective arrangements for coursework assessment and written examinations in the GCSE (1988:59). However, in order for teachers to be able to assess KAL well, the Committee recognises KAL needs to be established as a fundamental aspect of teacher training. As a result, seven of the sixteen each-er-training recommendations made in the Report concern KAL.

Governmental and PRF Response to the Kingman Report

Looking, respectively, at the reactions of central government and English educators to the Kingman Report, I believe it is fair to say that the Report elicited little enthusiasm from any quarter. Thatcher is said to have rejected it outright. In his memoirs Baker explains:

'[T]he Kingman Report proved a disappointment, because one of its conclusions was that standard English may be only one version of English among many but it is the one that is used in the world of work, politics and the media. It appeared that even the guardian of standards had become infected with fashionable nonsense' (1993:191).

Jones (2003) explains right wing pressure groups felt the Report lacked 'Anglicity'. Cox (1991) writes that the Conservatives were particularly displeased to discover the Committee was firmly against traditional grammar teaching. I suspect its commentary on genuine democratic participation gave them little reason for comfort too.

Cox explains that the KAL model also angered English teachers who 'looked back nostalgically to the 1960s' (1991:16). Long wary about the concept of national

guidelines – an ongoing concern since the establishment of the Schools Council – many viewed the Committee's terms of reference with great suspicion. They also disapproved of its membership, which did not include anyone associated with NATE. Rosen (1988) states, 'The list of members constitutes a calculated insult to the English teaching fraternity'. Those not old enough to be nostalgic criticised its lack of emphasis upon linguistic diversity, overemphasis upon Standard English, and its 'symbolic weight' on grammar. Cameron and Bourne (1988) and Brumfit (1998) argue the Committee employed a 'territorial model' underpinned by nationalistic sentiment. Leith (1989) criticises the Kingman Committee for trying to present a 19th century European Romantic approach as if it were the most 'natural' approach to teaching English, and Goodson (1988) points out its structural similarities with the 1904 Secondary Regulations. Brushing it aside, the NATE journal (1998) observes, 'It is unlikely the Report will be regarded as a benchmark in teaching English in the years to come'.

In his 'Note of Reservation', Committee member, Widdowson, concurs that KAL should be an essential framework of reference for the teaching of English, but states it was 'pitched at too general and uncritical a level' (1988:77). In his view, the Committee failed to address 'the central question of how knowledge about language can be shown to be relevant to the educational aims of English as a school subject' (1988:77). The relationship between them was not explored rigorously enough in the Report. Furthermore, what effects exactly, he asks, does KAL cultivate in the individual - intellectually, socially, personally and aesthetically? This was one of the challenges undertaken by the EWG to whom we shall now turn.

The Cox Report

The English Working Group was established in 1988 and their work formed the basis of the Statutory Orders of English in the National Curriculum. Baker chose Brian Cox to be the Group's chairman, a natural choice given the fact that Cox's relationship with the Conservative Party was longstanding following his leading role in the Black Papers, and his advocacy for establishment of hierarchies of value in the comprehensive system (See Knight, 1990). Cox (1991) confirms Baker's decision was based on the understanding that he would enact a distinctly hard right approach.

Baker also recruited the linguist Michael Stubbs, Professor of Education at the University of London Institute of Education, due to his publications about KAL, which he wrongly construed to mean traditional grammar teaching (Cox, 1991). Cox later persuaded Baker to add linguist Katharine Perera, a Senior Lecturer in

Linguistics at Manchester University, whose expertise concerned language development in school-aged children. She, like Stubbs, had worked extensively with schools with diverse pupil bodies, and actively promoted the utilisation and contrasting of children's languages in the classroom.⁵⁴ In short, as Cox states, Baker and Angela Rumbold, then Minister of State, had no idea the group, 'would be strongly opposed to Ms. Thatcher's views about grammar and rote-learning' (1991:4).

The Report *English 5 -16: Proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of Wales* [Cox Report] (1989) builds directly upon the Kingman Report as required in its terms of reference. Its remit, however, was much wider than the Kingman Committee's, and so it covers literature, drama, media education, and IT in addition to KAL. This time, the Group formulated attainment targets for knowledge, skills, and understanding expected by ages 7, 11, 14, and 16, which had to align with recommendations laid down by the Task Group on Assessment and Testing, School Examinations and Assessment Council, and the Secretary of State. The Group also made it their aim to quell English teachers' grammar fears and persuade them that KAL could in fact 'generate lively teaching in the classroom' (Cox, 1991: 15). Subsequently, the Report looks in many respects like a guide to English.

The aim of the English curriculum, the report states, is to ensure all pupils 'develop to the full their ability to use and understand English' (1989:58). This global aim is then divided into two different but complementary purposes that form the basis of the report: 1) English contributes to the personal development of the child, and 2) English contributes to their preparation for the adult world (1989:2.14). These purposes can be realised through the incorporation of five distinct 'views' on the teaching of English: personal development, cross-curricular, adult needs, cultural heritage, and cultural analysis. KAL is deemed a factor that permeates every aspect of English teaching as well as each approach. The Group then identifies and tackles three important but contentious facets of KAL: Standard English, the use of linguistic terminology, and grammar teaching. We shall look briefly at each.

The Group describes Standard English as 'a social dialect' of 'certain social groups' worldwide (1989:64), and 'not inherently superior to other dialects of English - although it does have a greatly elaborated system of syntax and vocabulary that has evolved from its long use in academia and administration' (1989: 80). Standard

⁵⁴ See *Understanding Language* (Perera, 1987); a text produced for the National Association of Advisers in English.

English is deemed an educational 'entitlement' that will enable pupils to access to many public areas of life. The responsibility of teaching KAL befalls all teachers, but notably English teachers. Their primary aim should be to add Standard English to the pupils' repertoire, but not replace existing dialects or languages.

The EWG group insists, 'a rich source of insight is lost into the nature of language if English is treated in complete isolation (1989: 2.8). Teachers should develop the pupil's Standard English, but they should also draw attention to the usage of non-standard English and other languages. This can be achieved by encouraging bilingual and dialect speaking pupils in the class to highlight varying syntactical and lexical similarities and differences between 'their' language or dialect and that of Standard English. This process, the EWG argues, will: 1) Impress upon pupils that all language systems are not 'haphazard' but 'rule governed' (1989: 4.14-16), and, 2) Instil in pupils an appreciation for differing languages that will prepare them for the 'increasing interaction of cultures in society' (1989: 2.12). Lastly, pupils should be taught not to confuse Standard English with being 'good English', since users of Standard English are just as apt to use it 'badly' as anyone else (1988:64).

In regard to how the forms and functions of Standard English should be taught, the EWG rejects the 'traditional approach' as one based on 'a poor model of linguistic structure' that has been abandoned by many linguists (1989:66). The problem at hand is the wholesale rejection of grammar teaching by teachers that resulted in a loss of a 'certain analytical competence and with it the valuable ability to talk and write explicitly about linguistic patterns, relations and organisation' (1989: 66). There is a need, the EWG argues, to move beyond a limited and inaccurate view of grammar to teach pupils explicitly about language.

In order to develop a 'coherent' understanding of language, teachers and pupils should actively discuss differing forms of written and spoken work, making conceptual distinctions about English's use of grammar, vocabulary, graphology, phonology, discourse organisation, language function, literary qualities, and so forth. The EWG states such discussion demands the use of technical terms 'to consolidate what is already known intuitively, and to extend upon what is known and make it more conscious and explicit' (1989:73). The point is that teachers should not teach terminology through decontextualised drills, as used to be case, but teach terminology 'in context'. This will then help pupils to 'stand back and reflect on aspect of language with some degree of objectivity' (1988:76). This process enhances the pupils' 'own sensitivity and language users' (1989:83); improves their use of Standard English; and informs their understanding of their

social and cultural environment (1989: 84).

If I were to hazard an attempt at saying in a large nutshell what the EWG's constitution of KAL is, it would be the following: KAL is the process of engaging pupils in an explicit, objective and contextualised reflection of language that actively draws on their implicit knowledge as to how it is formed and used, and leads to a coherent refinement in their understanding of how language, notably Standard English, works. The EWG (1989) also writes that while KAL is not the provision of watered-down linguistics in the curriculum, it should still be informed by established principles in linguistics. Notably, 'the idea that language in all its diversity can be approached in a non-prescriptive, non-judgmental way and that it is possible to treat systematically and objectively an aspect of human life which is often the focus of emotive and prejudiced reactions' (1989: 85).

Naturally, the EWG state, the pedagogical communication of KAL needs to vary according to the pupils' age and ability. The Group then emphasises play and talk in the primary years, and then explicit discussion, hypothesis making, and exploration in the form of fieldwork in upper secondary education (1989:85). They also acknowledge that some aspects of language will have to be taught as bodies of received wisdom when the topic at hand does not relate to the pupils' own experiences of language, or when it does not lend itself to direct observation (e.g. language change).

Due to their length, I have appended the EWG's Statements of Attainment (Appendix C). KAL's main themes are, however, as follows:

1. Language variation according to situation, purpose, language mode, regional or social group, etc. - 'Nobody speaks - or writes - in the same way on all occasions, an understanding of such variation should help pupils to select the appropriate vocabulary and grammar for a given purpose and to recognise why communication sometimes breaks down when inappropriate choices are made' (1989: 85).

2. Language in literature - 'Awareness of the [use of language in literature] should help pupils to respond to texts with greater understanding, to recognise when language is being used manipulatively, and to strive for a creative vigour of expression in their own writing' (1989: 86).

3. Language variation across time - 'Knowledge about language change makes it possible for pupils to understand more fully the nature of Standard English and how it relates to other varieties' (1989:86).

It is pertinent that the EWG, like the Kingman Committee, states in bold that KAL 'should be an integral part of work in English, not a separate body of knowledge to be added on to the traditional English curriculum' (1989:83). In terms of assessing what it is 'integral' in the secondary school level curriculum, the EWG writes that KAL should be evaluated 'through the normal speaking and writing activities of the English classroom'. At the age of 16, pupils should undertake 'a small-scale investigation of any aspect of language in the programmes of study that is appropriate to their level' (1989: 93).

The EWG specifies the following reasons for not giving KAL a separate profile. Firstly, there is a risk that a separate profile will give rise to the misconception that KAL can be 'timetabled, taught, and assessed', rather than integrated into reading, writing, speaking and listening activities (1989: 83). Secondly, this strategy will prevent the overloading of the English curriculum, which is already under pressure to allot time to IT, drama, and media studies. Thirdly, there is a risk that it would be construed as 'a weight (in terms of content, teaching time and assessment) which [is] disproportionate in relation to the English curriculum as a whole' (1989:83). It is important to note, however, that the Group anticipates that KAL might become a programme of study at some point in the future, but its establishment would be highly dependent on the teachers knowing about KAL well enough to teach and assess outcomes. Like the Kingman Report, the Cox Report reiterates this has large implications for teacher training, and asks that the NCC review this matter.

Governmental and PRF Response to the Cox Report

Despite revisions, Baker greatly disliked the final Cox Report. He writes in his memoirs, 'The Group's report was not as helpful as I had hoped over the question of teaching grammar, and the attainment targets set for ages of seven and eleven were too vague' (1993:201). Cox explains his and Rumbold's dissatisfaction as follows:

'[Baker] wanted a short report, with a strong emphasis on grammar, spelling and punctuation, which would have been easy for parents to read... I understand Mrs Rumbold also found our report distasteful. I was never asked to discuss the final report with her or Mr Baker, so I cannot be sure of her reasons, but from her radio and television appearances it seemed she found repugnant our insistence that a child's dialect is not inaccurate in its use of grammar and should be

respected' (1991:11).

The Group's thoroughness and perceived liberality received a much warmer reception from the English teaching community. Those with connections to CLIE, NATE, and BAAL no doubt recognised and accepted Michael Stubbs' and Katherine Perera's authority on language development and linguistic diversity. They also liked the fact there had been wide consultation in its writing (Bayliss, 1988). Having surveyed influential members in NATE, an editorial in NATE's *English in Education* observes, 'With some exception they were happy with the way it [the Cox Report] turned out. Respondents felt that the National Curriculum could have been a lot worse'. It goes on to say that 'early vociferous opposition to the idea of a National Curriculum has dwindled into an almost unanimous cautious acceptance. In the absence of any readily identifiable alternative, it has seemed better to live what seems, on the surface, reassuringly familiar' (Phillips & Shreeve, 1989:2). Goodwyn's inquiry into English teachers' response to the Cox Report found them to be, for the most part, relieved, but he notes: 'Adult needs continue to be an unresolved problem. No English teacher rejects it as a model but almost none welcome it as an inspiring concern' (1992: 9). Here, 'adult needs' refers to preparing for pupils for their adult lives in the workforce.

In short, it seemed most agents in the PRF could find something in the Report that resonated with their own beliefs about language teaching. The exception would appear to be Poulson (1992) who argues the Cox Report created an 'illusion of consensus' in that it suppressed dissent and concealed difference of opinion on how 'Englishes' language learning should be constituted as a body of knowledge.

It should be noted that most newspapers portrayed the EWG as being yet another 'progressive group'. A headline in the *Mail on Sunday* (13 November 1988) read, 'Thatcher Furious with 'Trendy' Experts'.⁵⁵ The *London Evening Standard's* (17 November 1988) headline read, 'Baker's Hard Man "Soft" on Grammar' (cited in Cox, 1991). Cox (1991) explains the newspapers' interest in what the EWG were doing made it particularly difficult for the Group to formulate what KAL is, as they were apt to pounce upon anything that served to polarise the debate. It may well be for this reason that the EWG refrained from including the grammar chapter they had written for the Report. A fear of the press may well have caused the PRF to

⁵⁵ Thatcher (1993) notes in her memoirs she felt Baker listened too much to the educationists who were heavy on ideology and jargon, and lacked the 'competence' of their predecessors.

withhold criticism at this point lest they be cast as 'radicals' working against pupil interests. Cox (1991) also speculates Baker did not outwardly reject the Report lest it provided the newspapers with a sensational story. Last but not least, at Baker's behest, the Cox Report was published with chapters 15 to 17, which outlined the attainment targets, preceding the rest of the text. It was then decided that the first public release of 7-year-old test results would be the summer of 1992.

Language in the National Curriculum Materials

We will now turn to look at the LINC materials. The Kingman Report highlighted the fact that 28% of secondary school English teachers and many primary teachers held no formal qualification in English beyond 'O' level. Chris Brumfit's (1988) NCLE survey also revealed few pre-service teachers had access to any sort of language course at their university, polytechnic or college. Furthermore, he found matters relating to the forms and structures of language were typically neglected in favour of literature (Brumfit, 1988). Thus, many English teachers typically entered the profession 'untrammelled' by considerations of language, and many felt intimidated by the prospect of using 'technical terms' and engaging in 'language analysis' (Dombey, Henrietta (Former Chair of NATE), Private communication with author, 7 November 2012). One outcome of this combined pressure was the government's decision to fund the development of a 'Language' teacher training package.

Ronald Carter, a Professor of English at Nottingham University, had already argued in 'Some pawns for Kingman: language education and English teaching' (1988) the need for 'substantial funded research into language in education' and the development of good language work materials for use on teacher training courses (1988: 64). In it, he laments, nothing of real worth has been published since *Language in Use* (Doughty *et al*, 1971), and stresses this is an important consideration in the implementation of the Kingman KAL model because teachers 'often only start thinking and rethinking their subject by exploring course books and experimenting with approaches developed on in-service programmes' (1988: 65). It may well be on account of this opinion that the DES selected Carter to lead a research project (initially granted 15.2 million pounds) to write teaching materials and organise training (Carter, Ronald, Private communication with author, 21 January 2013).

The LINC project ran from April 1989 to March 1992, and was funded under an Education Support Grant (Carter, 1994). Carter oversaw the coordination of 28 regional coordinators (LINC, 1992), each considered an expert/gifted teacher in some aspect of language education or English language testing. Carter states:

'The main aim of the project is to produce materials and to conduct activities to support implementation of English in the National Curriculum in England and Wales in the light of the views of language outlined in the Kingman and Cox Reports on English language teaching and English 5 -16 respectively' (1994: 223).

To succeed in this aim, the LINC materials had to: 1) Dispel teachers' confusion about KAL, and 2) Formulate the means by which their understanding of language could be developed.

LINC material development rested heavily upon the EWG's proviso that 'Materials should bring out the social significance of knowledge about language' (Cox, 1989:6.14). Accordingly, Carter writes that a 'principal and underlying motivation for the LINC Project is a concern with language variation' (1994:226). Carter was also aware that *Language in Use* (Doughty *et al*, 1971) was extensively criticised for its lack of theory, which may well explain his strong theoretical emphasis in the LINC materials, expounded as follows.

The materials interweave Halliday's (1978) functional theory of language, which places an emphasis on how language must vary in its use from context to context in order for meaning to be conveyed effectively, and James Britton's (1972) language development theory, which 'make[s] clear the centrality of context, purpose and audience in language use and the salience of this understanding for children's learning' (Carter, 1994:226). The integration of these theories resulted in Carter's formulation of a Language Variation Theory that is very alert, for want of a better word, to variation of over time (diachronic variation); variation according to user (dialectal variation); and variation according to use (diatypic variation). These variations align with those identified in the Cox Report.

To allay teachers' aversion to grammar teaching, Carter deems KAL a 'new grammar' approach that equips people with greater analytic knowledge about the 'systematic organisation and function of language'. The main principle is this: Teachers should teach about language explicitly, but they should not teach grammar for the purpose of enabling pupils to identify discrete language items in decontextualised prose. Instead, new grammar should serve as a 'broad descriptive framework' that accommodates 'more holistic perspectives on language' and allows 'systematic analysis and principled pedagogic questions to be generated' (Carter, 1990:18-19). It follows that teacher training must provide many opportunities to

'explore and experience language variation, to reflect on its functions and to analyse some of the forms by which such functions are realised' (1994: 231). Such explorations will enhance teachers' awareness of and tolerance towards language variation. Secondly, it will enable them to confidently discuss language in more explicit terms; describe the relevance of KAL; and guide pupils' own explorations of language.

The LINC team then identified five interlinked themes:

- 1. Language Variety** - between speech and writing: of accents and dialects; of functions, styles and registers (in speech and writing); variety in and connections between languages (differences and similarities, including comparisons of words and scripts).
- 2. Language and Society** - speaker/listener, reader/writer relationship, for both interpersonal and mass uses of language, with particular use to the ways in social power is determined and challenged by language.
- 3. Language Acquisition and Development** - babies learning to talk; children learning to read and write; a potentially lifelong expansion of language repertoires.
- 4. History of Languages** - historical change in English and some of the world's other languages, ancient and contemporary, ephemeral as well as long-term change.
- 5. Language as a system** - vocabulary, grammar; phonology; graphology; textual organisation and conventions of longer texts (conversations, reports, letters, stories, poems, etc); and semantics.

(Adaptation of Mitchell *et al* (1992) and Richmond (2012))

The LINC materials were extensively trialled in a variety of schools, and were reviewed by the DES selected National Steering Committee before publication. The twelve-unit pack included BBC produced audio and video recordings that address: language in society; language acquisition; language varieties; language histories; and language as a system. The recordings include: pupils discussing a multilingual play they have just performed; clips from the popular BBC soap drama Eastenders; a barrister talking about his Liverpool accent; pupils exploring the function of text in a local newsagents; a school Head discussing the bilingualism policy at his school; pupils discussing how they should go about writing; pupils discussing the difference between implicit and explicit knowledge of language; pupils reflecting on their reading development; interviews with the public about 'What is Standard English?'; and so on.

Knowledge about Language and the Curriculum (Carter, 1990) was a 'Reader' containing articles 'designed to boost teachers' confidence and to provide them with the theoretical basis on which they may construct their classroom' (1990: back cover). It covers the points raised above. A key point is that the LINC materials and Reader are far more attuned to language diversity than the Cox and Kingman Report. For example, the Reader upholds the virtues of allowing bilingual children to write in their preferred language in writing assignments.

The LINC Reader stipulates, 'There can be no return to formalist, decontextualised classroom analysis of language, nor the deficiency pedagogies on which teaching is founded' (1990:4). New grammar emphasises language 'appropriateness' (e.g. asking pupils whether this sort of language would work in this scenario) rather than 'correctness' (e.g. telling pupils 'ain't' is not a word). Practice should also encourage pupils to 'see through language and understand the ways in which messages are mediated' (Carter, 1990:108). The accompanying PRF practical handbook *Looking into Language* (Bain *et al*, 1992) also outlines methods as to how teachers can guide pupils in discourse analyses of varying texts (e.g. tracing shifts in power between characters in literature; identifying gender bias in the English lexis; comparing the ways in which 'truth' is expressed in the newspapers; etc).

The emphasis upon discourse analysis in the LINC materials and Reader can be attributed to the Critical Language Awareness (CLA) movement, which found its momentum under Norman Fairclough, Director of the Centre for the Study of Language in Social Life at Lancaster University. Thus, it will serve us to briefly look at CLA.

At this time, Carter was a member of the BAAL, as was Stubbs.⁵⁶ In 1987, Romy Clark, Marilyn Martin-Jones, and Roz Ivanic gave a presentation about CLA at BAAL's conference. They asserted Hawkins' LA framework ignores the relationship between language and power, and argued schools must start educating pupils about how language is used as a form of power, and to stop treating Standard English as an educational 'given'. Clark and Ivanic (1999) later write that the unpublished version of a *Critical Language Awareness Part I and II* (Clark,

⁵⁶ Since its establishment in 1965, in which Hawkins, Perren and Trim were involved, BAAL had always taken a very close interest in the developments of language education in the school system. It had helped CILT promote the NCLE's efforts in regard to LA, and also contributed submissions to the Bullock, Swann, Kingman, and Cox Committee (See Mitchell, 1997). In the late 1970s, BAAL and the Language Association of Great Britain (LGAB) also helped set up the Committee for Linguistics in Education (CLIE), which brought together people from HMI, NATE, LEAs and so forth.

Fairclough, Ivanic, and Martin-Jones, 1990; 1991) as well as Ivanic's (1990) *Critical Language Awareness in Action* then circulated widely among state school English teachers as well as those involved in adult education, and subsequently its arguments became an integral feature of the LINC materials.

Fairclough then published *Language and Power* (1989) as part of a Longman series called *Language in Social Life*. In the foreword, the general editor, Christopher Candlin, writes that the objective of the series is to 'focus on language in social life but with a particular agenda in mind. To highlight how language, in its everyday as well as professional usages, enables us to understand issues of social concern' (1989: vi). He claims this text represents a transition from descriptive linguistics towards 'interpretive linguistics' that considers the conditions of language production, and the nature of its interpretation. The central working premise in this text is that an understanding of any social order is only achieved when we become critically aware of the relationship between language and power.

In the chapter 'Critical Language Study and Social Emancipation: Language education in schools', Fairclough, referring to the Kingman Report, argues any model of English in the National Curriculum must seek 'the development of a critical consciousness among children in the orders of discourse of their society, or what I will call Critical Language Awareness' (1989:239). Later, Fairclough describes CLA as 'a prerequisite for effective democratic citizenship, and should therefore be seen as an entitlement for citizens, especially children developing towards citizenship in the educational system' (1992: 2-3). In his view CLA should entail a four stage learning cycle in which pupils: (a) reflect upon their own discourse experiences, (b) express their reflections about language using a 'metalanguage', (c) analyze their collective reflections, and (d) develop their practice further. In the LINC Reader, Ivanic explains KAL's relationship with CLA involves teaching pupils how differing patterns of language can be analyzed to reveal 'purposeful processes' and their power relationships (1990:125).

Governmental and PRF Response to the LINC materials

By the time the LINC materials were due to be published, Clarke had replaced Baker. Ignoring the Steering Committee's protests, Clarke refused their publication. Furthermore, he refused to waive the Crown Copyright so as to prevent any future publication on the grounds that 'they might in practice be misunderstood, and used, as teaching materials' (Letter addressed to Ronald Carter, quoted in Richmond,

2012: 220).⁵⁷ This was a costly decision, since the bill for the LINC project now stood at 21 million pounds. An article, titled 'HMI says 'dangerous' project has improved English Teaching', in the *Times Educational Supplement* (5 July 1991) also claims Clarke suppressed a HMI Report that detailed the favourable findings of its 65 day inspection of LINC training in action between Autumn 1990 and Spring 1991 (See Richmond, 2012).

Mcintyre (n.d) writes that the English teachers 'were eager to access copies and during the early 1990s a ring-bound folder of the A4 sheets was a common sight in most English departments'. As well as the allure of what is forbidden, its popularity can also be attributed to the way in which LINC constructs KAL as a pedagogical product of the PRF's golden age when PRF actors were authoritative and influential. Hawkins (1999) deems the LINC materials as a 'new, but authoritative, thinking in this crucial area', and describes Clarke's decision not to publish these 'imaginative materials' as a 'tragic set-back' (Hawkins, 1992:13). The *Daily Telegraph* along with other newspapers was less inclined to share such a view.

'And although the DES will not publish the document, it is being distributed to teacher training institutions, where its voodoo theories about the nature of language will appeal to the impressionable mind of the young woman with low 'A' levels in "soft" subjects who, statistically speaking, is the typical student in these establishments' (The Daily Telegraph, 28 June 1992, Quoted in Watts, 2011). 58

Richmond argues press coverage of this ilk simply served to make Clarke look like a 'valiant guardian of traditional standards' (2012:222).

⁵⁷ Richmond (2012) writes the Conservative Party made two mistakes in setting up the LINC project. First, they hired Carter. Second, they forgot LEAs oversee the administration of education support grants. The LEAs then appointed a 'ragbag' team of people who held very diverse views about the relationship between KAL and effective teaching. The group originally believed the government wanted them to help teachers address KAL as laid out in the Kingman Model. It later transpired that, 'It really wanted that which it had hoped that the Kingman Committee would deliver, and which they had not: a primer of grammar exercises' (Richmond, 2012: 218).

5.5.2 Analysis

The sections following the methodological/theoretical overview will expound the points raised in the following section in more detail. The second section addresses, in brief, the Conservative's interests in reinstating an 'old fashioned' curricular approach. The third section delineates my analysis of the Kingman Report. In the fourth section, I then present my analysis of the Cox Report before giving a summary.

Methodological/Theoretical Overview

I will start by addressing the Foucaultian question, 'What is happening now, and why?' As we have seen, Joseph had already issued a request for a 'broad consensus' to be reached regarding National Curriculum guidelines that would result in the production of 'Better Schools'. The next step, as detailed above, entailed Baker trying to engineer the 'curricular consensus'.

It is clear the Conservative Party distrusted agents in the PRF and the LEAs, but they also distrusted newly developed educational consumers to come to the conclusion that a traditional approach would be the best way to teach pupils about language. The voice of PRF language education planners also needed to be restrained in some way, having been set adrift after the demise of the Schools Council.

For these reasons, I believe Baker intervened to assert the Party's influence over the construction of the National Curriculum; even it meant contradicting his Party's free market principles that were being promoted with respect to Educational Choice (See Pierson, 1998). Direct intervention, however, was out of the question since, according to Gramsci (1971) and Fairclough (1992), modern hegemony has to operate via the process of 'consensus making'. Politicians, at this point, were not readily recognised by the public as being 'curriculum producers'. Thus, the Conservative Party still had to be seen by PRF agents and the public as if it were going through a process of decision-making that included their opinions, since anything short of this would have been considered distinctly undemocratic.

Language education policymaking served to give the impression that the ORF and PRF was allied in its pedagogical endeavours, despite their natural opposition. It is clear the Conservatives' interest in HMI's constitution of 'About Language' was based on the belief that it would lead to the reinstatement of English as a higher

order of knowledge.⁵⁹ Therefore, Baker, at great financial cost, established the Kingman Committee, the EWG, and then the LINC project. Each group represented expert and/or objective opinion, and he hoped they would confirm to all that traditional grammar teaching was the most common-sensical approach to raising English language standards. Hence, the importance Baker placed on ORF reports being simple enough for parents to understand (See Cox, 1995).

With respect to Fairclough's (1992) text analysis framework, the 'field' of this period is one in which the Secretary of State for Education substantially extended his power over the rules of the pedagogic device. Conservative educational discourses began to feature more and more market-like terminology, reflecting the Party's strong adherence to Hayekian market ideology. Schools had to be managed. Standards, attainment targets, and objectives had to be set and attained by pupils, teachers, and schools alike. The efficacy of each also needed to be inspected and assessed. Schools needed to produce 'better', 'best' and 'excellent' results.

In terms of 'tenor', each ORF text within this four-year slice of history served to embed KAL within the English subject area. The Kingman Committee (1988) openly dismissed the value of LA courses. In the LINC Reader, George Keith, a Chief Examiner of English, repudiated Hawkins' formulation of LA on the grounds that 'the Language Awareness approach puts language study in the context of the world's languages rather than in an English context' (1991:88). A 'different' LA approach, he states, is a new Language Awareness project that has grown out of the A level English language syllabus. These types of assertions, as well as LINC's development of a theory-based approach to KAL, indicate the transformation of the English teachers' former resistance of 'Language' into its very 'ownership'.

According to LINC project coordinator, John Richmond, most of the drafting committee members who worked on the Kingman and Cox Report, together with those who worked informally with them, were very 'determined to make the curriculum more relevant to the lives of the children' (2012:2). At each successive step, resistance towards the Government's wishes to re-establish English as a

59 Richmond writes: 'They [the Conservative Party] wished to impose on the country a version of English teaching based in the sentimental public-school or grammar-school memories of some ministers and their advisers, in which – to caricature only slightly – rows of silent-until-spoken-to-children would be shown the mysteries and beauties of a small number of pieces of great literature, would write neat essays on subjects such as 'A Day in the Life of a Penny'... would learn to parse according to a Latinate model of grammar... and would confine their use of continuous spoken language to formal debates on propositions such as 'This House would Welcome the Return of Capital Punishment' (2012: 3)

higher order of knowledge intensified as space to exert influence in the recontextualising field shrank. In terms of the 'mode', however, while KAL was now embedded within the boundaries of the English subject area, thereby hardening its classification, the matter of its framing in the EWG and LINC's texts is notably weak.

Using Bernstein's (2000) lens, upon first glance the Kingman Committee appears to have embraced a performance model of education. For reasons expounded below, contrary to PRF criticism at the time, I believe the conceptualization of KAL is more indicative of a competence-based model. The primary motive underpinning the Committee's language education policy, with reference to Ager's (2001) framework, is ideological.

I believe this also holds true of the EWG's policy. The constitution of KAL in the Cox Report adheres closely to a competence-based model, and its mode is primarily populist. The EWG's classification of KAL differs little from the Kingman Committee's. Their framing of KAL, however, is weaker, providing the LINC team with much leeway in its own conceptual constitution of KAL. The mode of KAL in the LINC texts is distinctly emancipatory.

Analysis of the Conservative's Interest in an 'Old Fashioned' Curriculum

Before looking in more detail at the Kingman Committee, EWG and LINC team's motives, model and mode, it will serve us to address why the Conservatives wanted to reinforce the boundaries of the curriculum, which can be likened to an egg carton in which each subject sits snugly into a designated space isolated from the rest. It is a framework that makes it difficult for schools to accommodate aspects that fall between subject boundaries, like co-ordinated policies such as language development, economic awareness, environmental education, and IT skill development. Ball (1990) claims the reinforcement of curriculum's boundaries was an unintended consequence of establishing the National Curriculum. Hatcher & Troyna, by contrast, argue the government's intention was 'clearly towards reinforcing subject boundaries' (1994:165).

Having researched the internal dynamics of the Conservative Party, Callaghan (1995) reveals there were two camps within the Conservative Party: the neo-liberals, favouring the application of Market forces, and the neo-conservatives who favoured a dirigiste approach. Knight (1990) explains there was considerable discussion between them in regard to what curricular subjects would best serve the market. Joseph was of the opinion that the curriculum needed more business-orientated,

vocational and technological subjects so as to serve market needs: 'I am worried about the National Curriculum. It will be too academic and squeeze out vocational subjects' (Joseph, Keith. Interview with Chitty, quoted in Ribbins & Sherratt, 1997: 85). Neo-Conservatives, however, believed a traditional curriculum would serve better in the production of social civility and enhance the production of knowledge-based human capital. From a pragmatic perspective, Crawford (2000) argues the Conservatives simply wanted teachers to understand that a traditional curriculum, due to its very simplicity and clarity, would be the best model to 'raise standards'. Looking at it through Bernstein's pedagogic device theory, I am of the view that the 'egg carton' framework is best suited to housing a performance-based model of education. It allows for a high degree of control in the differentiation and stratification of individuals. Reinstating language as a higher order of knowledge within it would then enhance the clarity of these processes.

Analysis of the Kingman Report

Before analysing the Report, I shall briefly outline the influence of the George Sampson's English for the English: A Chapter on National Education (1921) upon the Kingman Report. This is a brief diversion but one that will greatly inform our understanding of the Committee's motives.

Obvious similarities follow. Sampson argues, 'The English boy has an indefeasible right to learn the King's English' (1921:45), and one that must be met by schools. He states it is not the business of teachers to either cherish or destroy dialects; rooted well enough, they will thrive alongside the acquisition of Standard English. Schools should prioritise the teaching of the English, and 'all teachers are teachers of English because every teacher is a teacher in English. That sentence should be written in letters of gold over every school doorway' (Sampson, 1921:25).

In steering a course away from Latinate grammar teaching, Sampson argued pupils should learn about the growth, structure and use of the English language (Brindley, 1994). As we can see, it is an argument that strongly resembles LA and KAL. He advocated learning about language in this way because he was strongly against the idea that schools should simply be a service industry that prepares individuals for the workplace. 'It is the purpose of education, not to prepare pupils for their occupation, but to prepare them against their occupation (Sampson, 1921:11). He wanted children to study English in such a way that it fostered their critical analysis of the social world.

'The Englishman woos knowledge for her dowry, not her diviner

charms - if he is ever moved to woo knowledge at all. At the back of his mind is the idea of improving his 'position in life' when what he needs most improvement is his posture towards life. The English lower middle class is an uneducated class, and therefore special prey of the political humbug and the 'stunt' newspaper. The man who can study is in a lower stage of development than a man who can read...He is the man who can never see the wood for the trees... the man who can never take view of things, the man without vision, or a sense of something afar' (Sampson, 1921:37).

In the Kingman Report, as we have seen, Standard English is deemed a precursor for effective democratic participation, and the Committee's constitution of KAL works to this end. Indeed, both Sampson's and the Kingman Committee's view of democracy appears to rest upon a distinctly Socratic notion of 'consciousness-raising'. Asking pupils to consider what they know about language creates a clearing in which the teacher and the individual can reconsider what they take for granted about language, and move dialectically closer towards understanding the ways in which language structures relationships within society.

'Consciousness-raising' would appear to be the thread that ties together Hawkins' formulation LA, the Kingman Committee and EWG's work on KAL, and the Lancaster Group's formulation of CLA, as informed by Freire's theory of *conscientização* in *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). It is present in Hawkins (1984), albeit faintly, in his references to 'loaded words', using language 'with force', and 'freedom'. The notion is bolder in the Kingman Report that states,

'The working of a democracy depends on the discriminating use of language on the part of all its people. Otherwise there can be no genuine participation, but only the imposition of the ideas of those who are linguistically capable'(1998:7).

While the statement is brief, its importance cannot be overlooked. It relates directly to Bernstein's argument that the rules governing pedagogic discourse are 'essentially implicated in the distribution of, and constraints upon, the various forms of consciousness' (Bernstein, 2000:28). In this light, and that of Ager's (2001) framework, the Kingman Committee's constitution of KAL can be seen as an effort to ensure the curriculum does not usurp people's participation in the democratic process. This ideological motive underpins their identity motive: the production of

individuals who are able to realise their stake in democracy. Lastly, the Kingman Committee's emphasis upon 'effective action' and Standard English as a 'right' represents its inequality motive. In this respect, it can be argued, contrary to popular PRF opinion at the time that the text's mode is emancipatory, albeit mild.

At first glance, it is difficult to state whether the Kingman's Committee's KAL discourse is a performance or competence-based model, since the Committee set out to formulate a balanced approach that would appease all. In the chapter, 'Entitlement, Attainment, and Assessment', the Committee concurs with the TGAT that schools can only function effectively if they have clear objectives and assessment framework. Like Hawkins, the Committee emphasises 'correctness'. These features are characteristic of a performance-based model, which values specificity. However, in the same chapter, the Committee also places equal value upon the acquisition of implicit knowledge (knowing how) alongside explicit knowledge (knowing what). Both are listed parallel to each other in its list of KAL attainments. For example:

Implicit Knowledge – 'Make some systematic comparisons with other languages learned or used in school and in present day British society, so that an interest in linguistic diversity might be encouraged' (1988: 53)

Explicit Knowledge – 'Understand that a) all languages are rule-governed system, b) the status accorded to different languages used in any community is determined by social rather than linguistic factors' (1988: 53).

The Committee states, 'Attainment must be measured in relation to meaningful tasks, not to operations performed on decontextualised bits of language' (1988: 50-51). In regard to explicit knowledge, 'teachers must decide how to gauge the levels of pupils' understanding, and they will use different methods' (1988: 50). Implicit knowledge cannot be assessed, only observed. Thus, while the Report lays out clear attainment targets to determine the pupils' performance, its emphasis upon implicit knowledge, contextualised meaningfulness, implicit knowledge, and freedom in measurement are all facets of the competence-based model. This also holds true of its recommendations in regard to KAL teacher training.

In regards to KAL's classification, HMI hardened the boundaries of the English subject area, and the Kingman Committee's recommendation that language teachers establish a school-based KAL policy does very little to change this. In fact, its attainment list serves to embed KAL in the English subject area. As an 'integral' feature of teaching practice that need not obey assessment diktats, the framing of

KAL's transmission is weak.

Analysis of the Cox Report

My argument in relation to the motives, mode and model of the Kingman Report also holds true of the Cox Report. This is hardly surprising given Cox's presence on both Committees. A key distinction is the EWG's adoption of a pluralist approach to language learning, which is evident in descriptions of bilingual pupil's languages as assets; its appreciation of variation in language; and its recommendation that teachers' select literature that 'encompasses a balanced range of presentations of other societies, and of ethnic and social groupings and life-styles within our own society' (1989: 107).

It must be noted that it is on account of their democratic pluralist vision that the EWG was not supportive of the 'common curriculum' idea in the first place. Referencing Scholes (1986), Cox explains such a curriculum is rooted in the notion that it will simplify educational matters and have a 'unifying effect' upon a society suffering from excess of pluralism, and in so doing serve to reinstate traditional hierarchies of power (1991:71). The Group, however, saw their involvement as an opportunity to construct an 'enabling rather than restricting' curricular framework (Cox, 1989:57).

The opening quote in the chapter 'Knowledge About Language' by the social reformer, William Cobbett, states:

'Grammar, perfectly understood, enables us, not only to express our meaning fully and clearly, but so (sic) to express it as to defy the ingenuity of man to give to our words any other meaning than that which we ourselves intend them to express' (1818/1983:34).

Cobbett's grammar, Stubbs argues, 'had a democratic, political motivation' (1990:3), and it is clear the EWG also sees language study as the critical analysis of the social world.

Thus, using Ager's (2001) framework, we can confidently say the EWG's primary motive was ideological. Secondary motives appear to be integration, encouraging social cohesion upon the common value of Standard English, and to a lesser degree equality. Both motives underpin the EWG's identity motive that places a value on individuals retaining 'who they are' and producing individuals who are

aware that language is power.

In terms of a pedagogical model, the EWG emphasises the subtlety of the language development process, and insists assessment should not determine what is taught and learned in schools. It, they write, 'should be the servant, not the master, of the curriculum' (1989: 116). It is due to fears that an assessment framework will lead to the 'atomisation' of KAL that the EWG refuse to draw one up. Instead, they place emphasis upon KAL's integration in the English teaching process, and its evaluation as part of the pupil's coursework. In light of Bernstein's (2000) theory, the constitution of KAL in the Cox Report embraces a competence-based model. The EWG's mode, like that of the Swann Report, would appear to be primarily populist. The EWG's classification of KAL is no different from the Kingman Committee's. Their framing of KAL, however, is arguably even weaker.

What I have said in relation to the motives and model of the Cox Report's constitution of LA holds true of the LINC team's. KAL's constitution is made more 'critical' in the sense that teachers must teach pupils how language conceals and constitutes relations of power between people. Its mode is distinctly emancipatory.

Summary

It is pertinent that KAL's themes in the Kingman Report, Cox Report, and LINC materials strongly resemble those in Hawkins' (1981) formulation of LA. The content of LA and KAL is more or less the same – the exception would appear to be the EWG's and the LINC team's emphasis on the role of literature in language development.⁶⁰ It also confirms each group looked upon these themes as primary facets of the pupil's implicit knowledge and/or a necessary facet of their language development. Furthermore, all texts acknowledge that this knowledge is specialised, and its teaching and assessment requires knowledgeable teachers.

The Conservatives' displeasure with KAL appears to be less about the content of KAL but more a concern about the framing of its transmission, and their wrangling is a surface manifestation of a deeper battle over the regulatory rules of transmission in the curriculum. As Bernstein (1996) explains, the incentives are huge: Whoever appropriates control of these rules can be the ruler and distributor of consciousness, identity, and desire. Put more simply, 'Control of the National Curriculum can lead to control of the way children think' (Cox, 1995:23).

⁶⁰ In response to CLA's criticisms, Hawkins (1992) explains that the relationship between language and power was a consideration in the original formulation of LA but not to the extent it is emphasised in CLA.

The framing of transmission is also directly related to the control of social behaviour. Bernstein (2000) explains this is because pedagogic principles create a moral regulation of social relations. There is on the one hand a transmission of skills or knowledge and, on the other, a transmission of values. Every instructional discourse is embedded in some way in a regulative discourse that tells children how they should dress, how they should sit, what they should learn, how they should answer, what they should say, and ultimately what they should accept or allow.

It is for this reason 'traditionalists' draw a relationship between the study of grammar and 'manners, morals, Standard English, the nation', and so we see at this particular interstice of history a spurt in publicised complaints and concerns by the Prince of Wales, politicians, educators, and the public who conflate grammar teaching with the production of civil order (See Cameron, 1995).

'If you allow standards to slip to the stage where good English is no better than bad English, where people turn up filthy at school... all these things tend to cause people to have no standards at all, once you lose standards then there is no imperative to stay out of crime' (Norman Tebbit, Conservative Minister, interview on BBC Radio 4, 1985, quoted in Cameron, 1995: 94).

Everyone, essentially, wanted to place a hand of control over what pupils could and could not think, do and be, but as Bernstein (2000) argues, it is essentially a question of who exerts influence over the evaluative rules of the pedagogic device. 'Evaluation', Bernstein writes, 'condenses the meaning of the whole [pedagogic] device' (2000:36). It is the tail that wags the dog.

Curricular content can be debated at length in the recontextualising field. Eventually, a selection of knowledge has to be made and converted for transmission according to the principles of the presiding pedagogic discourse, the pupils' age, and the schooling context. Naturally, curricular content informs evaluation, but it is the structuring of the evaluation itself that largely determines the transmission and acquisition of knowledge. Evaluative rules shape pedagogic practice, its codes, and its modalities: becoming 'a symbolic ruler for consciousness'.

At this time, the Conservative party had gained direct control of the evaluative rules of the pedagogic device through the establishment of the School Examinations and

Assessment Council.⁶¹ The criterion the Conservative Party demanded in the evaluation of the National Curriculum was that its assessment should give simple and explicit information about pupils' achievement in relation to each objective at each stage, in each school across the country. At the time, Chairman of the TGAT, Paul Black, expressed concern that this approach would 'impose arbitrary restrictions on teachers' own work, and so limit and devalue their professional role' (Black, 1988: para.16). Similarly, the EWG argued assessment 'should be the servant, not the master, of the curriculum' (1989: 116).

By this point, however, the EWG's arguments were in a sense futile. In this regard, it seems the EWG's greatest error was to make KAL an 'integral' feature of curriculum – taught and assessed according to teachers' discretion. Given the short time in which they had to produce the Report, the EWG anticipated the NCC would iron out any wrinkles in the Orders following implementation. They certainly did not expect it to be expunged more or less in its entirety.

5.6 The Dissolution of KAL in the Curriculum

By 1992, the National Curriculum was implemented in schools, and with it the daily administrative workload of teachers greatly increased. Thatcher described it as a 'thicket of prescriptive measures', and stated in her memoirs that she never intended it 'to put good teachers in a strait jacket' (1993:593).

Forced withdrawal from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism greatly damaged the reputation of the Conservatives (See Thompson, 1996), and it was widely speculated that Major would lose his first general election in April 1992. Believing the reinstatement of traditional teaching methods and streaming in primary schools would make for a popular campaign policy, Clarke commissioned the writing of *Curriculum Organisation and Classroom Practice in Primary Schools: A discussion paper* [Three Wise Men Report] (1992). The Three Wise Men Report did not advocate the wholesale reinstatement of traditional teaching, and argued teachers should be free to choose methods according to the purpose of their lessons. Even so, the publication greatly angered teachers who looked upon it as an outright attack on child-centred education.

Major won the election by a slim margin, and made John Patten the Secretary of State. Anxious to improve the Party's image, Major initiated a 'Back to Basics' campaign, in which he promised to restore 'old ways of teaching'. On testing, he

⁶¹ Baker handpicked SEAC and the NCC's members.

stated, 'What we do need are those simple paper and pencil tests which this party has always asked for and this is what John Patten is going to deliver' (Major, John. Quoted in *The Guardian*, 9 October 1993). Patten also set about transforming the concept of 'selection' into 'specialisation'.

'Selection is not, and should not be, a great issue of the 1990s as it was in the 1960s. The S-word for all Socialists to come to terms with is, rather, "specialisation". The fact is that children excel at different things; it is foolish to ignore it, and some schools may wish specifically to cater for these differences' (Patten, 1992).

In the summer of 1993, English teachers boycotted tests for 14-year-olds to little avail. Morale plummeted when the Conservatives began to use Ofsted reports to 'name and shame' schools, which in turn consolidated the emerging hierarchy of good, bad, and 'failing' comprehensive schools.

The Education Act 1993 then combined the NCC and SEAC making it the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), thereby drawing together curricular and assessment functions into one body. Patten announced the government would encourage the establishment of new grammar schools and allow grant-maintained schools to be more selective in their pupil intake. The following year, the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) was established to oversee initial and in-service training, thus diminishing HMI's role. *The National Curriculum and its Assessment: Final Report* [Dearing Review] (1994) then deemed the National Curriculum and its assessment framework far too unwieldy to be implemented effectively. The Review recommended a substantial reduction in its complexity by slimming down the curricular provisions. It was then agreed that the National Curriculum Orders⁶² would have to be revised.

5.6.1 HMI, Harris, Warwick Evaluation, NCC, and the PRF

Having looked at KAL as it was constituted in ORF Reports and training materials pertaining to the English subject area, we will now make a small step back to 1990 to look at two texts that address LA in the foreign language subject area. The first text documents the findings of an HMI survey on LA. The second report, written by the Harris Committee, constitutes LA as a 'cross-curricular opportunity' in the impending National Curriculum. I shall then outline how LA is formulated in several

⁶² This term refers to the curricular documents that the teachers were obliged to follow.

PRF teacher education texts. The overview of these texts shall illustrate how the LA and KAL movements were quietly dissolved.

HMI Survey of LA

The HMI text *Survey into Language Awareness and Foreign Language Taster Courses* details an inspection conducted in 36 urban, suburban, and rural schools in London, the Midlands, and the North between 1987 and 1988. The concern at hand was 'the quality of provision in language awareness, taster courses, and samplers' (1990: 2). HMI's four aims were to: 1) establish how many secondary schools had LA or taster courses; 2) assess the organisation of such work; 3) evaluate their impact upon MFL learning; and 4) evaluate the outcomes for pupils (1990:2).

In this somewhat terse Report, HMI state less than 10% of all secondary schools had an LA provision, most being concentrated in 'multi-ethnic' areas. Provision among them was 'strikingly diverse' (1990:9). Foreign language teachers typically ran LA courses, and used between 15% to 40% of their subject time either as an autumn term block or as weekly classes. LA was sometimes 'used as a filler for the least able, a stimulus for the ablest or a stop-gap for those who had opted out of a modern language' (1990:3). English teachers typically showed no interest in LA; were 'wary' of it; or supported it in principle only.

Many LA provisions were marred by a 'lack' of definition, structure, knowledge, expertise, planning, or coordination. Lower quality courses tended to give pupils a 'brief or episodic contact with concepts which they did not fully understand or learn to apply' (1990:3). Higher quality courses made LA an integral part of Classics, Modern Languages and English teaching. These teachers consistently attended to the development of language observation and analysis, notably in relation to grammatical structure, and the courses resulted in cultivating a more 'open' attitude towards other languages. Only one school, in HMI's view, succeeded in establishing 'an effective policy on language across the curriculum' (1990:3) as recommended in the Kingman and Cox Report. HMI attributes its success to a sustained dialogue between English and MFL teachers. Elsewhere in the text, however, HMI states, 'there is less fragmentation for the pupils when one teacher taught all or a substantial proportion of the [LA] course' (1990:14).

HMI asserts, 'insight into language and effective language learning are important educational objectives' (1990:16), but queries whether LA courses can produce 'clear-cut' benefits. The inspectors' concern seems to arise from the fact that in

most schools LA 'outcomes were generally thought of in terms of attitudes but rarely in terms of specific concepts, knowledge or skills' (1990:16). Thus, HMI concludes, 'There were positive gains to knowledge, insight, and attitudes for some pupils but these were generally too slight to justify the time spent on the course' (1990:16). In their view, LA had contributed to a worthwhile debate, but 'much of its potential agenda' would now be dealt with in the English subject area under 'learning about language' (1990:16).

The Harris Report

HMI's views of LA are not shared in *Modern Foreign Languages for Ages 11 to 16: Proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales* [Harris Report] (1990). Martin Harris, an established Professor in French Linguistics and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Essex, chaired this Committee that did not include any recognisable names associated with the LA movement. Furthermore, Hawkins and the NCcLA were not invited to advise them – as they had done so for the EWG.

The Harris Committee explains that the forthcoming National Curriculum's emphasis upon 'vocational relevance' had resulted in many seeing MFL as 'an important adjunct to professional skills in a wide range of occupations' (1990:5). This had placed a pressure upon foreign language departments to use situational role-plays and the like so that pupils could practice language skills that could be eventually applied in 'the workplace'. The Committee, however, stresses the need to provide a broader language education. It then identifies the following language education purposes, which are directly related to LA:

1. Develop an awareness of the nature of language and language learning.
2. Offer insights into the culture and civilisation of other countries where the language is spoken.
3. Encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning and speakers of foreign languages and a sympathetic approach to other cultures and civilisations.
4. Promote learning of skills of more general application (e.g. analysis, memorising, drawing of inferences) (Harris, 1990:3).

The Committee argues that the virtue of foreign language learning lies in the fact that it 'brings a new perception to the pupils' perception of language, enabling them to make comparisons which sharpen their understanding of the concepts in both languages' (1990:4). By this logic, it follows foreign language teachers have an essential role to play in a 'coordinated language policy', and the Committee asserts,

'the whole approach envisaged in this Report should help them play it' (1990:49).⁶³

In line with NCC's (1990) promotion of the 'whole curriculum' educational philosophy, the Harris Committee asserts:

'Cross-curricular activities are a response to the recognition that traditional subject boundaries are in many ways artificial for the purposes both of teaching and learning and of the numerous tasks in adult life for which a multi-disciplinary approach is essential' (1990:47).

The Committee then suggests intra and inter-departmental collaboration as the best way to supersede the limitations imposed by traditional subject boundaries, and enable teachers to fulfil the 'full potential' of the curriculum. It then identifies the following areas as ones in which LA can inform cross-curricular language development.

Socio-linguistic competences

General language skills (e.g. communication skills)

Basic concepts (e.g. how verb tenses express time)

Grammatical features (e.g. how differing types of words 'interact with each other within a language')

Combinations and extensions of meanings (e.g. how compound words are formed)

The movement of words between languages (e.g. loan words, or historical influence)

Parallel expression of ideas across languages (e.g. compound words using words with varying etymological roots)

Languages closely related to the language of study (e.g. exploring the interrelation of languages)

Like the Kingman Committee and EWG, the Harris Committee stresses the teaching of these language themes 'should arise out of and contribute to the study of the target language' (1990:50). It should not be 'added on' to teaching; 'Otherwise, learners are unlikely to see its relevance and its impact will be considerably weakened' (1990:50). The Harris Committee, however, falls shy of

⁶³ The Report also encourages teachers to introduce knowledge from other subject areas by asking the pupils' to draw upon what they have learnt and through collaboration with other subject specialists.

elucidating how cross-curricular collaboration can be actualised because it is 'a very complex subject, a full treatment of which is beyond the scope of this Report' (1990:50). They acknowledge it will require a 'drastic change in method' and time, making it unlikely to occur for extended periods. Nevertheless, they stress the need to transcend language subject insularity for which 'the indispensable key to success is co-operation' (1990: 47).

After various ORF texts were seen to place a value on cross-curricular teaching and KAL education in teacher training, the PRF responded by publishing texts to educate teachers about LA/KAL. Here, I shall review two texts: Mittens (1991) and James & Garrett (1991). I shall then turn to outline the details of the Warwick Evaluation, before looking at Brumfit (1995).

Mittens' Language Awareness for Teachers

The Open University approached Anthony Adams to become the series editor of English, Language, and Education. It was widely known as the 'Yellow Series' on account of its binding, and became very popular among teachers nationally and internationally (Brindley & Turner, 2008). Adams, a NATE member known for his attendance at the Dartmouth seminar and his confidence in challenging political orthodoxy, invited fellow NATE member, Bill Mittens, former Chief Examiner of English and Lecturer in English at Newcastle upon Tyne's Education department, to write the volume *Language Awareness for Teachers* (1991).

In the foreword, Adams explains the text uses the term LA, rather than KAL, because it is 'less threatening to those not already interested in the field and in its emphasis upon the unity of language concerns across subject boundaries' (1991:viii). Adams then argues that the Bullock Committee's formulation of LAC failed for two reasons. Firstly, teachers' lack of language knowledge. Secondly, most English teachers regard language a 'closed book' (1991:x). Adams entreats:

'There is, of course, no reason why we should object to the role of literature within the English curriculum: all one is arguing for is a little more balance so that more teachers of English go into their classrooms equipped with an understanding of modern approaches to language and with their heads cleared of the many myths about language' (1991: x).

In the text, Mittens sets out to thwart the widely held misconception that LA is a covert attempt to reintroduce traditional grammar teaching, and persuade his

readers of LA's benefits. Quoting from Barnes and Britton, Mittens drives home the following points: a) LA is a concept indigenous to the English subject field of thought, and b) 'personal growth' mentors advocated 'interdepartmental cooperation' in regard to language development. He then identifies academic, cultural, educational and commercial reasons for teachers to be 'closely involved in multilingual operations' (1991:24). Adapting Sinclair's 'Six Easy Lessons' (1985) presented in the LAWP text, Mittens then takes his English teacher reader through an intensive if not giddy tour of semantics; conventional and deviant language; creativity; stability and change; social variation; pragmatics; and the 'two layered code'. Thus, the main purpose of the text is two-fold – firstly, to validate LA, and secondly, to educate the English teacher about the many facets of language.

James & Garrett's Language Awareness in the Classroom

About the same time, Christopher Candlin, a Professor of Linguistics at Macquarie University, was working on a Longman series titled Applied Linguistics and Language Study. He invited Carl James and Peter Garrett, Lecturers in Linguistics at the University of Bangor, to edit a rather savvy volume titled *Language Awareness in the Classroom* (1991). Among its contributors are the familiar names: Donmall, Brumfit, Tinkel, Scott, Clark, Ivanic, Mitchell, and Hooper. New names, writing in relation to LA/KAL in England's state school teacher training and schools, include Guy Merchant, David Little and David Singleton, and Jim Anderson.

The text is a compilation of papers presented at Bangor BAAL's 1989 seminar, which was dedicated to defining LA's differing fields and tackling how it can be 'put into action'. Unlike former PRF texts, this text also addresses the teaching of 'non-native speakers' and 'overseas students'. It is aimed at 'language teachers, applied linguists and students in departments of education, linguistics, and applied linguistics' (1992:back cover), although readers are dutifully reminded in the text that LA concerns 'all teachers of all subjects'. The dominant feature of this text is that it neither embraces nor advances any particular doctrine regarding LA; rather it presents LA as a meeting of minds. James and Garrett state their goal is simply to provide a 'conspectus' of views. They succeed in identifying some commonalities in how people construe LA. On the other hand, as Candlin observes, the text 'capture[s] very well the unevenness of the terrain' (1992:xi).

James and Garrett note the 'burning question' at the BAAL seminar was, 'Why the variety in LA?' They then advance the view that the meaning of LA is itself context based: 'Any attempt at defining LA has to take into account the variety of purposes of LA in the minds of those using the term' (1991: 8). Hawkins formulated LA to

resolve MFL's lack of curricular status. The Swann Committee advocated LA to resolve issues in 'multicultural education'. The Kingman Committee saw KAL as a means by which standards in English could be raised. It is this context-based adjustment, they argue, that accounts for its 'kaleidoscopic' practice. Another factor is lack of teacher training and the concomitant difficulties of its evaluation.

James and Garrett then reformulate LA as 'LA across the Curriculum', which differs from the Bullock Committee's LAC on account of its inclusion of foreign language teachers. Building upon LAWP's (1985) LA parameter framework, they present readers with a new five 'domain' configuration for LA cross-curricular collaboration: 1) social; 2) cognitive; 3) affective; 4) power; and 5) performance. In 'The Potential of Language Awareness', Anderson then outlines how a LA cross-curricular approach can be translated into practice, as based on his experience of establishing a successful 'scheme' in a mixed comprehensive school.

James and Garrett's addition of the 'power' domain can be attributed to the influence of the CLA movement, outlined in the former section. Their addition of the 'performance' domain, in my view, synthesises with performance-based model discourses that were being actively promoted by the Conservative government at the time. It is very much a product of its day. This is evident in the remark: 'The issue is whether knowing about language improves one's performance or command of the language; that is, whether analytical knowledge impinges on language behaviour' (James & Garrett, 1991: 17). They stress that it is not enough to merely 'believe' that LA will develop language proficiency, educators must prove a relationship actually exists. Thus, in the final chapter, 'Language Awareness: A way ahead', they urge empirical investigation be undertaken as to what degree LA: a) attunes pupils to what they implicitly know but not yet necessarily understood; b) makes pupils realise what they need to know language wise; and c) heightens pupils' attention of and interest in language. It must be proven, the authors urge, that 'LA works'. 'The momentum must be maintained, for unless it is, we fear that LA will either be stillborn, or it will stagnate and wither away...' (1991:306).

To help maintain LA's momentum and promulgate research about it, the actors in the PRF then established the *Journal of Language Awareness*. The first editorial board includes Hawkins, Donmall, Trim, Perera, Carter, Brumfit, Garrett, James, Mike Scott, Leo van Lier, with Sinclair as the Chair of its board.⁶⁴ In the first edition,

64 The original goals of the Journal were to encourage and disseminate: a) The role of explicit knowledge about language in the process of language learning; b) The role that such explicit knowledge about language plays in language teaching and

like James and Garrett above, Hawkins (1992) enjoins, 'The urgent need now is for all the strands of work in Language Awareness and Knowledge about Language, and the different (often isolationist) approaches of teachers of English and foreign languages, to be coordinated, and rigorously evaluated' (1992: 15). Similarly, Brumfit and Mitchell state:

'More theoretical work is needed to elaborate the concept of KAL (and if necessary to break it down into its constituent parts) and to state much more explicitly the rationale that is to underpin KAL work if it is to be integrated into the curriculum on a principled and systematic basis' (1992:202).

The NCC & the Warwick Evaluation

As the PRF began to focus on refining the concept of LA, trying to prove its pedagogical value and promoting LA in teacher education, conflicts began to emerge within the ORF in relation to the concept of cross-curricular provisions. In its annual report, the SCDC (1987) argued the National Curriculum must be constructed in broader, not narrow, terms if it is to succeed in preparing pupils for the twenty-first century. Accordingly, the NCC began to actively promote cross-curricular provision as the means by which to overcome this 'narrowness' in order to enhance personal and social development. Such views are well expressed in the text *Curriculum Guidance 3: The whole curriculum* (NCC, 1990).

A tense battle between the NCC and DES civil servants, however, ensued (See Graham & Tytler, 1993). Maw (1993) claims the DES deliberately obstructed the promotion of the 'whole-curriculum' because it threatened Conservative Party interests. Crawford (2000) argues the DES simply considered cross-curricular provision as a confusing distraction: it was a bureaucratic rather than political concern.

Baker states he wanted a clearly delineated and highly prescriptive curriculum that would prevent an 'inadequate and lazy teacher to skip important parts' (1993:198). Despite this, Baker appears to have trusted the NCC members, and allowed them to promote cross-curricular learning (See Maw, 1993). His successor, Clarke, disliked Baker's approach, and deeply disapproved of the NCC's promotion of the

how such knowledge can best be mediated by teachers; and c) The role of explicit knowledge about language in language use: e.g. sensitivity to bias in language, manipulative aspects of language, literary use of language' (Multilingual Matters Advertisement, In Eastman, 1992: 40).

'whole curriculum' (Graham & Tytler, 1993). He then swiftly replaced the Chairman of the NCC, Duncan Graham, and the Chairman of SEAC, Philip Halsey, with former members of Thatcher's think tank The Downing Street Policy Unit: Ben Moxham, a former BP oil executive, and Lord Brian Griffiths, who was widely considered the chief architect of Thatcher's privatisation programme. More of the former NCC members left, and were replaced by more Policy Unit members, personally known headmasters/mistresses, and yet more CEOs (Graham & Tytler, 1993; Cox, 1995).⁶⁵

In 1991, the NCC commissioned a Warwick University research team, led by Bridie Raban, Urszula Clark, and Joanna McIntyre, to undertake an evaluation of the English National Curriculum's implementation. The Warwick team published its findings in *Evaluation of the Implementation of English in the National Curriculum 1991-3* (1994). This ORF Evaluation found that while KAL was given 'no definition or concise explanation' (1994:101) teachers were drawing on LINC materials.

At Key Stage 1, teachers were readily incorporating KAL into their classes as an ongoing activity. Teachers at Key Stage 2 and 3 were starting to give KAL, notably in relation to grammar and text organization, a higher profile, mostly in writing classes or classes dedicated to addressing a certain aspect of language. Teaching was more consistent at the Key Stage 3 where teachers were teaching pupils about theoretical aspects of language. Interestingly, these findings differ from Mitchell *et al's* (1994) investigation that found KAL to be a varied and even idiosyncratic practice in secondary school English departments. English teachers regularly avoided grammar in KAL-related talk, which they attribute to 'a lack of knowledge/insecurity in using grammatical or discourse terminology' (1992: 203).

The Warwick Evaluation also found that while most teachers thought the KAL framework as outlined in the English Order⁶⁶ raised their awareness of how language should be taught (1994:114), it was unhelpful 'when they tried to establish terms of reference for the phrase knowledge about language' (1994:125, quoted in Cox, 1995). Owen & Pumfrey maintain this is because of the 'eclectic nature of the

⁶⁵ The Secretary of the NCC, upon his retirement, said the appointments were 'very close to being against the law' (Dines, Independent on Sunday, 2 August 1992)

⁶⁶ The term English refers to the final Statutory Orders, English in the National Curriculum, published by the DES (1990). The process is as follows: The Cox Report went directly to the Secretary of State, who then advised the NCC on how to convert them into NCC Consultation Reports, which in turn were converted to Draft Orders, which then passed through Parliament and became legislation.

English Order [as formulated from the Cox Report] and its lack of clear conceptual structure' (1995:171). Finally, like Goodwyn (1992), the Evaluation reveals, once again, most schools had failed to establish any cross-curricular practice.

In 'Bringing English to Order: A personal account of the NCC English Evaluation Project' (1994), Urszula Clark details the events in which the Evaluation was leaked to and misquoted by the press in 1992. Complicating matters, the NCC then advised Patten that the English Orders needed revising on account of the Warwick project team's unsatisfactory findings. In short, she implies this is not true, and the Warwick team was duped.

The NCC gave KAL no role at all in their proposals for the Revised Orders. Cox (1995) argues this is because KAL did not fit into Major's 'back to basics' plans for education. NCC member, Joan Clancy, claims KAL was simply hacked out of the Orders after 10 minutes debate (*Times Educational Supplement*, 5 March 1993 quoted in Cox, 1995:46). This is quite remarkable given KAL's prominence in the media at the time. Urszula Clark explains: 'Knowledge About Language as described in the Kingman and Cox Reports "wouldn't do" and was a phrase as well as a concept that was clearly to be eradicated from the revision, as indeed was the case' (1994:37). Cox (1995) then claims teachers stopped caring about KAL in their teaching practice once it was announced the Orders would be revised. The Revised English Order, as implemented in 1995, emphasises the pupils' command of written Standard English (NCC, 1993). Cox argues it 'reduced sensitivity to language to a series of mechanical exercises' (1995:89) and concludes '[KAL] must be restored to its rightful place in the national curriculum' (1995:175).

Brumfit's Language Education in the National Curriculum

The last PRF text to address KAL/LA's implementation in the state school curriculum is *Language Education in the National Curriculum* (Brumfit, 1995). The text is part of the series *Language in Education*. Stubbs, the general editor and former member of the EWG, informs us that its aim is to 'make knowledge about language accessible to those who need it' in a jargon-free manner (1995: vii), and for student-teachers, practising teachers, teacher trainers, advisers, inspectors, and so forth. The editor, Christopher Brumfit, was a Professor of Education at the University of Southampton and Director of its Centre for Language in Education.⁶⁷

Contributors include Brumfit, Mitchell and Hooper, as well as Kate Armes, Michael

⁶⁷ The Centre was established in 1986-7 and forged links with 20 national and international 'centres of excellence'.

Benton, George Blue, Michael Grenfell, Andrew Hart, Virginia Kelly, and Melanie Smith, who were affiliated in one way or another with the aforementioned Centre. The text covers numerous language themes: English as a mother tongue and as a second language; foreign language learning; the teaching of bilingual pupils; reading development; drama; media studies, and, last but not least, Language Awareness.⁶⁸ The chapter on Language Awareness comes at the end of the book, the eleventh out of twelve chapters suggesting its backburner status.

The target audience is anyone involved in the teaching of English or MFL, although the reader is reminded that language development should be part of a single policy that concerns all teachers. A sense of absolute exasperation pervades this text. The front cover depicts two teachers sitting in a staff room with an assortment of papers in front of them titled: Cox, Assessment, Media, Russian, Standards, Bi-Lingual, Literacy, and Drama. Seemingly scratching his head, the teacher on the left exclaims, 'Good Lord! We haven't had a new initiative since 2 O'Clock'. Following the revision of the Orders, the authors had to abandon their original plan for the text to be a 'practical source of guidance' in the face of 'bewildering' improvisations, policy changes, and policy reversals (1995:1). The text then developed 'into an analysis and critique of current ideas and practice in all the major areas of interest to language teachers' (1995: 1-2). Anxiety is also expressed by Brumfit about the limited ability of the PRF to wield influence: '...the education profession cannot afford to allow serious debate and discussion to be hijacked by the needs of legislators and subsequent press reporting' (1995:2).

Arguably the most important feature of the text is the formulation of a *Language Charter*, which is described as a 'just, sensitive, and liberating approach to language in schools' (1995:12). This cross-curricular policy, for want of a better term, asks schools and LEAs to commit themselves to: a) 'enabling' the pupils' to develop their own mother tongue (be it a dialect of English or world language); b) developing a range of English styles for educational and public life; experience other languages that occur in education and local community; and c) acquiring a foreign or classic language. The chapter 'Language Awareness' is then directly tied to Clause iii of this Charter: 'Knowledge of how language operates in a multilingual society'.

In this chapter, Hooper highlights an ongoing debate in education, familiar to many, about Piaget's (1936) and Vygotsky's (1962) theories about how children learn.

Vygotsky (1962) argued language plays the primary role in a child's cognitive development, whereas Piaget centralised experiential action. Hooper argues that if we accept Vygotsky's theory to be correct, then the implications are twofold. Firstly, the Zone of Proximal Development theory requires the teacher to initiate the pupils' exploratory learning process through explicit discussion using systematic terms. Secondly, the learning process cycle should end with teachers guiding pupils in an explicit and systematic reflection of their explorations. In this light, Hooper argues, any attempt to 'prove' the educational value of LA should focus its examination on the nature of the communicative interaction between teacher and pupils, rather than the mere comparison of test results.

Here on, we see numerous articles published in the *Journal of Language Awareness* discussing the finer detail of this 'learning process'. The debate is convoluted and drifts away from national curricular concerns in England and Wales. In the first edition of the journal, Hawkins (1992) echoes his hope that the day will come when English and foreign language teachers will jointly teach 'Language' as a 'bridging subject'. In 1994, however, Mitchell, Hooper & Brumfit lament there is still 'little common ground across the language subjects' (1992:19), and McCarthy (1997) confirms language teacher isolation. Despite this, KAL had managed to interlock conceptually with LA in the minds of a few educators. Stubbs (1995) equates KAL with LA. Andrews defines LA as 'teachers' explicit knowledge of language' (1997:148). Alderson, Clapham & Steel (1997) see KAL and LA as being conceptually interchangeable. Thus, for a very brief moment at least, in England's history of language education, a few English and foreign language educators recognised they shared a similar enterprise.

5.6.2 Analysis

Following the methodological/theoretical overview, the second section details my analysis of the Harris Report (1990). The third section outlines my analysis of James & Garrett's (1991) PRF text. As in previous sections, I shall now review the motives, model and mode of these two texts. I do not include any analysis of HMI's (1990) survey, the Warwick Evaluation (1994), and Brumfit (1995). This is because these ORF and PRF texts do not present any conceptual formulation of LA or KAL as to how they should be implemented in the National Curriculum. In the final section, I will provide a summary.

Methodological/Theoretical Overview

In the run up to the establishment of the National Curriculum, we see the Harris Committee trying to promote LA by hooking it onto the 'whole curriculum' agenda

that the NCC was trying to promote. The Harris Committee also built upon the Kingman Committee's recommendation that 'all subject departments concerned with the teaching of language in secondary schools (including English - whether as a first or second language - and foreign languages, ancient or modern) develop a co-ordinated policy for language teaching' (1988: 69). Oddly, the Harris Committee did not refer to KAL in its text, but it is clear that the above measures were an attempt to ensure LA held a recognised place in the National Curriculum.

The Harris Report (1990) along with the Cox Report (1989) went directly to the Secretary of State for Education, Baker, who then advised the NCC as to how they should be converted into Consultation Reports, which in turn became the National Curriculum Draft Orders, which were then legislated by Parliament. The Orders were not debated by Parliament in detail, but rather they were rushed through. The Dearing Review (1994) then called for revisions to be made, which the Conservatives saw as opportunity to revise the English Orders on their own terms.

The new Secretary of State for Education, Clark, swiftly reorganised the NCC membership, and in a number of moves that caught the Warwick Team by surprise we see the quiet dissolution of KAL. LA was also muted along with 'Whole Curriculum' discourses. As we have seen, the EWG constituted KAL as an 'integral' aspect of English teaching. Reflecting upon this decision, EWG member, Michael Stubbs (1989), regretted framing it in this manner because it made KAL too subtle for teacher trainers/teachers to fully comprehend. Donmall also expressed concern that KAL would be 'distributed in "droplets", which does not augur well for substance and coherence' (1997:121). Their concerns were not unfounded. The Warwick Evaluation (1994) later confirmed teachers struggled with KAL as a pedagogical concept, and teacher-training institutes ignored it (See Evans, 1993). Since few in the PRF could place a firm finger upon KAL, it is of little wonder that it was so easy for the new NCC group to sweep it aside. The same can be argued in respect to the Harris Committee's formulation of LA, largely because it avoided matters of LA's framing.

Following the establishment of the National Curriculum, PRF opinion was effectively squeezed out. Following the LINC project team's lead, LA advocates began to concentrate their efforts on trying to exert influence over teacher education in a variety of ways to promote LA. Opportunities to promote LA within the initial teacher training (ITT) framework, however, diminished as the Secretary of State for Education, Patten, set about reducing the influence of teacher training institutes. Primary schools also started to receive approximately 4,000 pounds a year per

student-teacher, diverting even more funding away from the institutes. Clarke's rejection of the LINC project team's training package also served as a profound statement of the party's authority over the pedagogic device.

With respect to Fairclough's (1992) framework, the 'field' of this period is chiefly characterized by John Major's 'Back to Basics' campaign that, among other things, sought to restore "old ways of teaching" reminiscent of the 1950s. A keen emphasis was placed upon the need to simplify the processes of education, and its assessment. The Secretary of State for Education, Pattern, then began to actively promote 'Selection' and 'Specialisation' discourses, both of which are highly invocative of Hayek's theory of Cultural Group Selection (1978) that builds directly upon Darwinian theory of Natural Selection (See Steele, 1987).

In terms of 'tenor', now that the Conservative party is in a position to determine what can be transmitted in the curriculum, PRF agents, such as Mittens, Stubbs, James, Garrett, and Brumfit, have now set their sights on trying to influence the constitution of andragogic discourses within the teacher training field. Texts are specifically written for the attention of student-teachers, teachers, and teacher-trainers with aim to educate them about LA. The 'mode' of the texts varies, but they all emphasise in differing ways 'learner-centredness', and the processes of 'exploration', 'discovery', and 'reflection' in order to make explicit what the learner may or may not know implicitly.

Employing Bernstein's (2000) theory of the pedagogic device, we see that all of these authors embrace a competence model of education, and the modes are liberal-progressive. In terms of motive, when we consider the Harris Report (1990) and James & Garrett's (1991) text, in light of Ager's (2001) framework, we can see that primary motive is one of image. The reasons for these points will be delineated below.

Analysis of the Harris Report

Looking at the text through the lens of Ager (2001), it can be said that while the Harris Committee acknowledges the instrumental motives of central government, their primary motive in relation to LA appears to be image. The Committee needed to ensure foreign languages would not be relegated to an 'optional' subject status on the grounds that it is of little value in a world where English is the lingua franca of the knowledge economy. The Committee's secondary motive would appear to be a mild form of integration, which is evident in the Report's recommendations to broaden the range of languages offered to pupils so that it includes those spoken in

Britain. In terms of its identity motive, the aim is once again the production of individuals who are open to other languages and cultures, rather than adverse to them.

In the Harris Report, LA is constituted as field of knowledge that will enhance the competence of the pupil rather than their performance. Cross-curricular collaboration is also described as a means by which teachers can actually fulfill the curriculum's potential. When we look at the text using Bernstein (2000), it can be argued that the Committee's model is one of competence, and its mode is what he terms 'liberal progressive'. I say this because it was quite clear that the Committee was trying to pull MFL somewhat away from generic model styled objectives, as advanced by HMI. However, on the same note, the Harris Committee does not deny the benefit of equipping pupils with marketable language skills. Furthermore, the Committee's classification of LA, as a facet of cross-curricular policy, is extremely weak, as is its framing. The teaching of LA will happen if and when language teachers find the will and time to collaborate with each other, and what will be taught to the pupils should be left to their discretion as defined by their interests and the limits of their understanding.

The Harris Committee's attempts to embed LA in a cross-curricular policy were also unsuccessful for two reasons. Firstly, contestation within the ORF regarding cross-curricular policy made it particularly vulnerable. Its support would be dependent upon the success of the supporting ORF body, in this case Baker's NCC, to win and retain influence over curricular matters. Secondly, as Bernstein's theory of the pedagogic device elucidates, the competence-based principles of the 'whole curriculum' model, of which cross-curricular practice is a key facet, directly conflict with the performance-based principles underpinning the singular subject based National Curriculum.

In Bernstein's terms, the 'narcissistic' (2000:52) qualities of the singular framework arguably condition teachers' belief and practice in such a way that it renders such cross-curricular policies impracticable. Hence, teacher training matters aside, Goodwyn (1992) found English teachers' widely rejected LAC as a model of English, arguing it was a model for 'other' teachers. Thus, there were epistemological as well as political reasons as to why 'LA across the Curriculum' failed.

Analysis of the PRF text

Similarly, the primary motive underpinning the above PRF texts would also appear to be image. Firstly, each text stresses the importance of LA regardless of its

difficulties. James and Garrett (1991) then call for the empirical validation of the relationship between LA and language development, and add a 'performance' domain to the LA framework. Importantly, this concern aligns closely with the demands of the Standards discourse promoted by the Conservative Party. LA needs to be measurable and proven.

In terms of their model, however, the PRF texts still retain a high value on the role LA plays in the teaching/learning process. In this respect, the model is still distinctly competence-based. The mode of these texts is arguably liberal-progressive in the sense that LA is something that will induce a transformation within the pupil, moving them from a state of ignorance or low awareness about language to a state of heightened awareness and astuteness regarding its use. As above, the classification of LA as a cross-curricular policy is notably weak, as is its framing.

Summary

To conclude, it is at this point, after years of effort and expenditure, that both KAL's official place and LA's potential role in the English curriculum was dissolved. Major placed a high value on the compartmentalisation of knowledge, the monitoring of teaching (Ofsted), and assessment (measurement of outcome). There was no interest in anything 'subtle' or 'integral' that threatened to blur or transgress the singular 'order' being imposed by the National Curriculum. Education was a matter of teaching rather than learning. Language knowledge should be inputted into the child, rather than developed from within them. Furthermore, monitoring of its acquisition needed to be monitored and its outcome needed to be assessed. LA and KAL discourses had always rejected an emphasis on outcome, placing greater value on process. Advocates of both, bar HMI, had always resisted compartmentalization. Consequently, neither fitted the Conservative agenda.

At this point, there was very little the PRF could do because the Conservative Party had already gained direct control over the distributive, and evaluative rules of pedagogic discourse. This is because the establishment of the SCAA in 1993 drew together curriculum and assessment functions into one body. Their task now was to make sure schools and unions went along with the national assessment of pupils. The question of the 'true' purpose of national assessment, however, remained an underlying problem in the development of consensus. More importantly, the

language problems faced by those who 'lack adult time' and EAL pupils remained largely unresolved.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Edwards (1997) found that only 2% of Newly Qualified Teachers felt confident, on entering the profession, of working effectively with EAL pupils.

6. Conclusion

This thesis set out to trace the conceptual history of LA and KAL, as it was expressed in language education planning and policy texts published between 1979 and 1997, and the motives underpinning it. The focus of the research was upon the rhetorical curriculum as opposed to the official curriculum. This is to say I traced varying beliefs and views as to how LA and KAL should be set up and taught in the state school curriculum as articulated by educators, official committee members, and HMI at the time. I also explored, to a degree, the reactions of teaching associations and the Conservative government to these documents in order to establish reasons why LA and KAL were resisted. I did not investigate how these plans and official policies were interpreted and acted upon by practitioners within the state school system.

In this respect, my research contributes to a trend in contemporary historical research that focuses on policy rather than the experiences and views of the teachers and pupils in school, or those of teacher trainers and student-teachers, or even the perceptions of the public (See Freathy and Parker, 2010). In line with Goodson & Medway (1990), however, my investigation strived to look at these texts in relation to the wider historical context of the day, and in relation to three historic-educational continuities that concern knowledge: its use in bolstering the status of the country and its use in the (re)production of social relations.

What makes this particular period of educational history so interesting is the fact that it is marked by the disintegration of a harmonious partnership, as Fletcher (1995) puts it, that existed between schools, local education authorities and central government following World War Two. In the years leading up to the establishment of the National Curriculum, we see numerous agents and organisations scramble and converge upon the goal of trying to influence and/or gain control of the curriculum – one of the most contentious aspects of which was the matter of what pupils should learn about the English language and how.

Historical research, investigating the nature of England's language learning history, is sparse, and most researchers have examined language teaching over broad stretches of time. In recent years, historians have begun to narrow their focus and sought to explicate the relationship between classroom practice and changes at the societal level. In regard to the history of LA and KAL, texts have outlined the history of LA and KAL as separate concerns, bar Hawkins (1992). Carter (1996), Poulson (1998) and Richmond (2012) highlight the disapproval of the Conservative

Government towards KAL, but still do not tackle in sufficient depth the 'whys' of this history. Following Green's (1990) lead, this thesis sought to do so by asking the following questions: What was LA as a pedagogical concept? Why was LA reconstituted as KAL? What were the motives underpinning LA and KAL planning and policy? Why was neither LA nor KAL, despite their espoused educational virtues, ever fully realised in the curriculum during the Conservative administration? The following is the synthesis of my findings presented in Chapter 5 to the four research questions.

6.1 What was LA as a Pedagogical Concept?

In short, LA was a pedagogical plan that sought to level the language learning 'playing field' in the comprehensive state school system in distinctly new and unfamiliar terms.

As we have seen, Hawkins presented LA as a proposal that sought both to transform and solidify the language learning experiences of pupils in the comprehensive school system by recreating a language trivium in the curriculum. While it was designed to be a curricular provision for all, a central aim was to reach pupils, notably those from lower socio-economic homes and from migrant worker homes, who lacked a certain type and level of language input in their early childhood that would stand them in good stead when they entered school where the language medium is Standard English. In part, LA was an attempt to provide a practical educational solution to the 'language issue' highlighted by Bernstein in (1971) *Class, Codes, and Control*. For this reason, while one aim of LA was to acclimatise pupils to the sounds and systems of other languages, be they the ones taught in the school or spoken by pupils in their homes, its main focus was firmly upon establishing a means by which pupils' proficiency in Standard English could be improved.

In my view, LA was a remodification of the longstanding idea that learning 'another' language, be it classical or modern, will improve the mind's cognitive faculties and inform the learning of English. This was a notion that was unpopular among many educators at the time - especially those who were eager to maintain the high status of English in the curriculum; those who had unpleasant experiences of learning French, Latin, and so forth; as well as those who were anxious to do away with a legacy of classical and foreign language education that was used to differentiate pupils. Their rejection was in their view further legitimated by Burstall's (1975) empirical finding that modern foreign language learning does not make pupils better

at English or Mathematics. Hawkins' remodification of this longstanding belief is this: Enhancing the pupils' awareness of language will inform their learning of any language.

The term 'awareness', as a form of pedagogical knowledge, is in itself difficult to pinpoint, and LAWP's pleonastic definition of LA allowed for wide interpretation. In the hands of eager but untrained teachers, the aims of LA quickly diversified to the point where some LA programmes moved away from the goal of improving pupil's Standard English altogether. Proponents of LA also started to anchor LA to liberal-pluralist and emancipatory ideologies that revolved in one way or another around resolving issues arising from 'socio-linguistic diversity' and 'consciousness-raising'. Donmall (1984) and the Swann Committee (1985) advocated LA as a means by which to reconcile ethnolinguistic difference and strengthen their proficiency in Standard English by illustrating to pupils, in part, the varying similarities that exist between languages and their use. By contrast, CLA advocates were primarily focused upon making all pupils more aware of the ways in which English is employed by the 'powers that be' in England – notably advertisers, the media, and the government - to influence social thought and behaviour.

In the final phase of this period, after the non-realisation of LA and dissolution of KAL in the National Curriculum, proponents were still querying the kaleidoscopic nature of LA. James & Garret (1991) responded to this unease by stating that the aim, content and pedagogy of LA is ultimately determined by the context of the classroom in which it is being employed. As Frankel (1994:237) puts it in an early issue of the Language Awareness Journal, LA had become 'a broad church' that shared an ethos and values rooted in 'learner-centred' education, 'discovery', 'exploration', 'reflection', 'interaction', and 'ownership'. LA was also, in my view, strongly bound by the principle of making what 'the learner' implicitly knows about language explicit: the very same principle that underpins KAL (See Carter, 1992). The intricacies of this process, however, proved contentious as LA advocates struggled to demonstrate the exact role LA plays in language development.

6.2 Why was LA reconstituted as KAL?

Political interest was very much focused on the teaching of Standard English at this time. As a result, it was perhaps inevitable that ORF and PRF agents would become attracted to Hawkins' vocal claims that LA would improve pupils' grasp on Standard English and facilitate some level of social integration. HMI's placement of LA within the English subject area then demanded its pedagogical reconstitution.

In the 1970s, the United Nations and OECD's interests in literacy education and ministry of education practices, in part, stimulated the 'Great Debate'. It led to calls for the evaluation of pupils' literacy levels; the comparison of those results with those attained in other European countries; and central government's desire to establish an agreed upon framework for the curriculum. England's changing economic interests also precipitated change. The closing of mines, docks, and factories forced a growing mass of unemployed youths to look for work in service industries and a fledgling knowledge industry. These industries, along with concerned parents, called for greater accountability in the education system, which Conservative ministers held responsible for growing unemployment.

In light of England's language learning history, it was arguably inevitable that 'standards in English' would become a focus for political debate, on account of the fact that a person's quality of speech and writing in Standard English was and is deemed an immediately audible or visible indicator of 'quality of person'. Teachers and educationists proved easy targets, as ridiculed in the Saatchi and Saatchi poster 'Educashun Wurking', which vulgarly popularized the Conservative's appeal (See Simon, 1991:460). In a series of 'moves' the progressive movement in its entirety was called into question. I believe it was partly in response to the problematisation of what English teachers were seen not to be doing in the classroom that Hawkins (1979) proposed LA.

LA, which purported to improve pupils' grasp on Standard English, garnered HMI's interest, whose task it was to lay the groundwork for the National Curriculum. I believe the Inspectors, who were anxious not to reinstate the 'gritting of teeth' associated with the Latinate grammar approach, looked upon LA as a fresh and modern approach to teaching pupils about how the English language is structured (namely grammar).

Well aware of the many problems schools had in actualizing LAC, Inspectors rejected the idea of creating LA as a bridging subject, which would, if implemented, confuse traditional subject divisions and possibly reorder the existing curricular hierarchy. They placed 'About Language' firmly within the boundaries of the English subject area – putting it squarely upon the English teachers' shoulders, thereby increasing its visibility and isolating it. It was only a matter of time before English educationists would want a say in its pedagogical constitution.

6.3 What were motives underpinning LA and KAL planning and policy?

The motives of the plans and policy vary. Overall, the PRF and ORF agents' constitutions of LA and KAL adhere to a competence model of education. The primary motive underpinning most of the LA and KAL plans and policies is ideological. Secondary motives concern, for the most part, integration and inequality.

I have tabulated what I see as being the primary, secondary and 'identity' motives for each formulation of LA and KAL as based on my interpretation of the texts in Appendix D. As noted above, LA moved quickly from a being a primarily pragmatic concern to one that was ideologically bound to discourses of 'social diversity' and 'consciousness-raising'. Hints of both, however, can be found in Hawkins's (1984) formulation of LA. Looked at through the lens of Bernstein's pedagogic device, they can be classified as being 'therapeutic' discourses (competence-based models), the exception being, HMI's formulation that is, in my view, quasi-generic.

I believe Hawkins' motives were strongly informed by the principles of the 'common schooling' movement; the lodestar of which was 'equality of opportunity'. LA tried to address socio-economic equality issues that emanated from inarticulacy and illiteracy in Standard English that the comprehensive school system had yet to resolve. As a philoglossanthropic discourse, LA also sought to address endemic parochialism. LAWP upheld these objectives in their promotion of LA. Donmall (1984) then saw the opportunity to promote LA as a solution to the 'immigration issue' faced by schools. The Swann Committee was specifically focused upon combating institutionalised racism and eradicating educational practices that fostered inequality of opportunity along ethnic lines, rather than socioeconomic ones. The Swann Committee then promoted democratic pluralism as a societal model that would prevent social fragmentation, which many feared at the time, and cultivate greater societal cohesion. The Committee identified LA as a useful but not essential means to this end.

In line with Joseph's interests, HMI's primary motive was primarily instrumental. 'About Language' would serve as a means to equip pupils for their vocational futures. Such a goal, however, proved too narrow for the Kingman Committee who, like many educationists before them, believed schools should also ensure the production of individuals who can uphold the principles of democracy through 'genuine participation'. At one end of a continuum, this ideological motive would ensure the production of people who can articulate their views, and at the other it would prevent the 'imposition of ideas' by one group upon another. With this aim in

mind, the Committee emphasised the importance of becoming proficient in Standard English in their KAL 'model of English'. The Cox Committee's primary motive was also ideological. It extended the parameters of KAL by upholding the Kingman's Committee's principles of 'genuine participation'; acknowledging the diverse makeup of the populace; and promoting sociolinguistic understandings about the nature of language. The emphasis in the text on the appreciation of variation of language and variety of use leans more towards integration as a secondary motive. The LINC team's motives were infused by ideological concerns raised by the Kingman Committee, Cox Committee, and the CLA movement. Carter turned to sociolinguistic and language education theory to justify its teacher-training approach. The texts are characterized by a deep appreciation of language variation and diversity (but an oddly uninformed understanding of second language acquisition) and a determination to instil the importance of critical awareness. For this reason, LINC's secondary motive, in my view, is an edgier combination of inequality-integration.

The Harris Committee placed value on multilingualism, and its primary motive would appear to be enhancing the image of MFL as a subject. It promoted LA as a means - albeit a difficult one to realize - of keeping an 'informing relationship' between foreign language and English teachers. The secondary instrumental motive was indicated in the way it drew a relationship between language learning, employability, and boosting the economy. James and Garrett's (1991) text did not promote any specific worldview, and the text appears to be image driven due the emphasis it places on proving that LA works. This emphasis arguably reflects the growing influence of 'accountability in education' discourses.

6.4 Why were neither LA nor KAL officially realized in the National Curriculum under the Conservatives?

Competition between PRF agents and groups hindered Hawkins' and LAWP's promotion of LA in the early years. As educational reforms, however, both LA and KAL complemented the objectives underpinning the establishment of the comprehensive school system; objectives that directly conflicted with Hayekian political and socio-economic theories as embraced by the Conservative Party. Arguments about grammar teaching were all but surface manifestations of a much deeper conflict that concerned socio-cultural reproduction and control of knowledge.

As noted above, the two motives that permeate the LA and KAL planning and policy texts are a desire to address inequality and foster integration. The latter was anathema to the Conservative Party who looked upon diversity as 'the threat to our

national identity', an identity and culture of values that were embodied in Standard English (See Thatcher, 1979). Therefore, the Party invariably saw arguments that placed any value on any form of 'integration' in education and 'variation in language' as 'cultural politics', and a threat to the identity of the indigenous British people as rooted in its proud imperial heritage. While central government appreciated plans and policies that upheld the importance of Standard English, proposals to level the scholastic playing field conflicted with their efforts to restore selective educational processes that characterised the tripartite system, which was now referred to as 'traditional schooling'.

As explicated in section 2.1.2, scholastic differentiation in England has long been controlled through language learning. While the government wanted the populace's language proficiency to be improved so as to serve in the production of people capable of fulfilling positions in the service and knowledge industries, access to sites of knowledge production and the governing group still needed to be controlled.

LA and KAL were essentially competence-based models, and were problematic on a number of levels. LA and KAL texts placed a value upon 'talk' in the classroom, and this was probably seen as time wasting, and thus undesirable, by central government. 'Talk' also changes the dynamics of the teacher-pupil relationship. The emphases these PRF and ORF texts placed on tapping implicit language knowledge threatened to create a knowledge dynamic that would be more difficult to control.

Firstly, many a Conservative's view of education was governed by the notion that pupils' heads are empty, or at least emptier than they should be, and that they need to be filled with knowledge. This is popularly known as the *tabula rasa* argument. I am of the view that some Conservatives felt that pupils' heads were full of a form of knowledge that was irrelevant, untamed, or at the very least potentially problematic, and that it needed to be replaced or tamed. Conversely, PRF advocates, influenced by Vygotsky and Bruner, held the idea that the pupils' heads are fully of something that we do not readily understand, but its energies can be guided and utilised for the good of the pupil.

Secondly, the Conservatives disliked the implicit knowledge discourse. It is a form of knowledge that cannot be pinned down and readily evaluated – a conclusion that both the Kingman and Cox Committee reached – and so it threatened to confuse the government's plans to establish nationwide monitoring of language and literacy. They wanted simple black and white assessment of language knowledge that could

be readily understood by the public.

Thirdly, discovery and exploratory project-based work encourages pupils to look for answers that might fall beyond the boundaries laid down by those who have control over recontextualising rules of the pedagogic device.

Fourthly, all of the varying constitutions LA and KAL demand that pupils become more reflective and consistently aware of what they know about language, and more discerning and critical of language they are exposed to there on. If this ability were to be well cultivated on a mass scale, one implication is that the cultivation of critical awareness on a mass scale would make the process of garnering consent more problematic for those who are trying to obtain it. This was arguably the main goal of CLA, as argued by Halliday (1982), and a concern to which ORF writers were attuned to in varying degrees. In light of Bernstein's (2001) theory, we can say such practices have ramifications in relation to control of the unthinkable; a site of yet undiscovered knowledge which contains within it the potential to reconstruct how people see the world or the nature of the relationships between them.

The EWG's efforts to prevent KAL from becoming a programme of study with checkbox objectives had the effect of reducing its visibility and recognisability. Due to its weak framing in the Cox Report, Conservative representatives were able to swiftly sweep KAL to one side in the Order Revisions.

The revisions met with little resistance because the PRF had always remained a fragmented body on matters of language teaching. Even though the establishment of BAAL and CLIE succeeded in bringing together varying representatives who were aligned with LA, CLA, KAL, English and Linguistics, they collectively failed to establish a common ground both ideologically or theoretically, despite the fact what they were advocating pedagogically complemented each other. Such divisions were not unique to language teaching as Simon (1991) suggests in reference to the Teachers' Union. A divided PRF was unable to take a united stand. Even if the PRF managed to agree to cooperate, it is unlikely they would have made much progress after central government had gained control over the evaluative rules of the device.

6.5 Summary & Future Directions

In light of above, this thesis provides a close-up examination of the conflict as to how language should be taught in England's schools during this period. I have sought to identify, in greater depth, what the LA and KAL movement was in terms of

its framing and classification, as well as the motives underpinning these plans and policies. Looking at the LA movement through Ager's (2001) framework leads to me reject James and Garrett's (1991:318) assertion that Hawkins' primary motive was to elevate the status of MFL in the curriculum. It was much more than that. Ager (2001) writes that this language learning conflict was in essence an ideological battle. I agree with this assertion, but reject his claim that conflict arose over differences in opinion relating to the acceptance or non-acceptance of language variation in the classroom.

This thesis adds to a field of literature that demonstrates that language learning has always been a contestable concern. Looking at this history through Bernstein's (2000) theory of the pedagogic device allows for a broader understanding of this language education conflict in England's educational history. It illustrates how arguments over the particularisation of language or the need for more holistic approaches or the acceptance of language variation are more than classroom squabbles. The theory illustrates how Cameron's (1995) conclusion that the Conservative's 'grammar crusade' was an effort to reach into the very being of children to control social behaviour and legitimate their hand in education relates directly to Carter's (1996) assertion the government could not endorse any pedagogical approach that emphasized the exploration of the relationship between language and society. Use of the lens of Bernstein's (2001) theory in this thesis enabled light to be thrown on a larger matter neglected by all of the above authors: the relationship between language learning policy/ planning and the control of access to knowledge on a societal level. This, I believe, is why the framing of language as a higher order of knowledge has persisted historically. Collectively, the analyses made of this history in this thesis also illustrate that Cooper's (1989) categorisation of language policy and planning into three categories - status, corpus, and acquisition – is greatly oversimplified.

What I have outlined in this and previous chapters is an interpretation of the history of language learning planning and policy as based on my readings of various PRF and ORF texts as informed by Foucault (1969), Fairclough (1992), Bernstein (2000), and Ager (2001). The points were explicated in greater detail in the methodological/theoretical overview in each section of the chapter 5. Naturally, the tabulation of all these findings cannot fully capture each point and justify them. Nevertheless, in Table 3, I have tried to present my main findings.

Theorist/Methodologist	Main Findings
Foucault (1969; 1980)	Examination of the 'whys' of this history in relation to how power was exercised by various agents reveals the ways in which spaces, allowing for influence to be exerted over the pedagogic device, were closed off. It provides insight into the ways in which the PRF agents' voices were channelled or set adrift.
Fairclough (1992)	<p>Consideration of the 'fields' in each phase of this history, using the SFL question framework, reveals the strong influence of Hayekian 'market/natural selection' ideology in Conservative educational discourses. It also shows how the Party secured control of the device under the pretext of 'consensus-making'.</p> <p>Consideration of the varying 'tenors' and 'modes' of the texts reveals PRF proponents' modification of LA and KAL was largely driven by their own agendas. Their target audience was widened from 'just educators' to include the general public. It then contracted again after the establishment of the National Curriculum. At first, their main focus was upon reforming language learning in the curriculum, and it then turned towards influencing the curricular content of teacher training.</p> <p>While the classification between LA and KAL changed considerably over time, the framing of LA and KAL remained a somewhat complex amalgamation of strong and weak pedagogical elements.</p>
Bernstein (2000)	Looked at through the lens of the theory of the 'pedagogic device', it is easy to see that nearly all LA and KAL concepts adhered to a competence model (a therapeutic discourse) that stood in direct conflict with the Conservative Party's desire to re-establish a performance model (an instrumental discourse). Finer differences in modes, classification, and framing account for the conflicts between the PRF groups in the late 1970s/early 1980s. Most importantly, Bernstein's theory concerning the distributive, contextualising, and evaluative rules shed much light on what each PRF and ORF group hoped to achieve ultimately in each modification of LA and KAL – namely in relation to socio-cultural reproduction and the control of access to knowledge.
Ager (2001)	Use of Ager's language planning and policy framework revealed that while LA's first formulation was essentially a pragmatic concern focused on addressing 'inequality' and then 'integration', KAL became a pedagogical symbol of an ideological battle over the curriculum. Secondary motives concerned, for the most part, 'integration' and 'image'. The primary and secondary motives, in turn, shaped the nature of the identity motive underpinning each plan or policy.

Table 3. An Overview of the main findings

Naturally, there are and must be limitations as to how I have interpreted these historical texts. The following are some of the difficulties I had with the 'tools' I used. Ager's (2001) distinction between ideological and instrumental motives proved problematic in the sense that Conservative ideology is in itself instrumental. Furthermore, Ager (2001) argues planning and policy always revolves in some way or another around identity, but the same can also be said of ideology. I have identified Hawkins' primary and secondary motives as not being ideologically driven by virtue of the fact that he never explicates a worldview, preferring instead a pragmatic approach. This does not mean, however, that his motives and arguments are ideologically free. One of the difficulties I had with Bernstein's (2000) framework is that his categorization of the ORF does not, as he appears to suppose, represent government opinion. In reflection, a further categorization may well have to be added, or the ORF should be parsed into two to reflect the ideological differences that arise.

My last point concerns 'access to knowledge'. The distributive rules of the device, Bernstein claims, serve to control access to esoteric knowledge and the unthinkable. It is relatively clear how the framing, classification, and evaluation in language learning in a performance model can enable differentiation and filter access to sites of knowledge production. It is not entirely clear how the weaker framing and classification of the competence model necessarily increases access (equal opportunity) to sites of knowledge production, whereupon people are in a better position to engage with the unthinkable. Britton, Rosen, Hawkins, Tinkel, Cox, Bernstein does not fully expound upon this, nor do any of the PRF texts – including the CLA texts.

Even with these limitations, I believe this thesis sheds considerable light on the current Conservative Secretary of State for the Department of Education's, Michael Gove, proposition in 2013 to have primary school pupils learn an ancient or modern language from the age of seven, and have them memorize lists of spellings and grammar rules in preparation for grammar and spelling testing at age of eleven. A quick glance at a recently published book, *The Eleven Plus Book* (Stephen, 2008), reveals this is exactly the sort of thing that was tested in the General English section of the old Eleven Plus test as used in the days of the tripartite schooling system, notably under the Conservative administrations between 1951 and 1964.

Lay reviewers of the book quip whether teachers 'these days' would be able to answer the questions. More interestingly, Stephen, who is a High Master of

St. Paul's School in London, turns the anti-selective education argument on its head by insisting the Eleven Plus testing system enabled 'huge sectors of English society' to attend university. 'It may have caused a lot of casualties,' he goes on 'but the Eleven-Plus won a battle in the war of access that our generation appears to be losing' (2008: 8).

One recently established eleven plus website states, 'With more and more parents deciding that a grammar school education will provide the best opportunities for their child in an environment in which the pursuit of scholarship is paramount, competition is steadily rising for the coveted selective places' (*11 Plus Swot*, 2004). Unlike the days of the tripartite system, parents have become more and more anxious for their children to gain entry to 'the right school', which marks a key difference in attitudes towards the testing of children. In light of this thesis, it is all too apparent that Gove seeks the fulfilment of what Thatcher's Party set its sights on: obtaining control of the distributive rules of the pedagogic device and increasing competition between individuals.

On the 19th March 2013, 100 academics – including the aforementioned Michael Basse, Nottingham Trent University, Richard Pring, University of Oxford, Meg Maguire, King's College London, and Sally Tomlinson, University of Oxford - signed a letter of protest published in the *Independent* newspaper, and addressed to parents, teachers and other stakeholders, which accused Gove of consistently ignoring expert advice. It stated the proposed 'Conveyor-belt Curriculum' would all but 'bury young pupils' and squash their ability to problem solve, think critically and be creative: qualities, they maintained, that are necessary for the economic advancement of the country (Garner, 2013). Free Education, a fledgling movement, has even called for the removal of central government's hand in state education on the basis that there is an inconsistent relationship between education policies and research findings. The time is ripe, its anonymous chairperson claims, to make good on the Liberal Democrat Party's advocacy of an Education Freedom Act that promises to ban politicians' involvement in state school education system, make schools accountable to local authorities, replace the National Curriculum with a 'Minimum Curriculum Entitlement', and phase out university fees. Reassuringly, perhaps, all this serves to demonstrate that the battle between the PRF, ORF representatives, and the Conservative Party over language learning in the curriculum is not over yet. If ever an Education Freedom Act were passed, and if Bernstein's (2000) theory is correct, the PRF's efforts should be focused upon trying to gain power over the evaluative rules of the device – not just the recontextualising rules as they have sought to do so in the past.

As for further research, there are several areas I would like to highlight. The first would be a more detailed investigation into the history of the revision of the National Curriculum Orders. It would be beneficial, I believe, to have a point by point 'before and after' comparison of how ORF policy was modified within a few years of its implementation.⁷⁰ Another obvious area of interest is tracing language learning planning and policy under New Labour. Another is to trace 'language/literacy discourses' as generated at an international level by the World Bank and the Organisation for Economic-Cooperation and Development since the 1970s, and to evaluate their impact upon educational policy. Lastly, and this is very important, a study is needed to look more closely at Conservative and New Conservative educational policy, the primary motive of which is ideological, in light of Hayekian social theory.

As a result of writing this thesis, I feel I have become much more aware about the intimate relationship schooling holds with democracy. I confess I feel relieved that I no longer teach in the state school system, and enjoy determining my own objectives and constructing my own curricula at the tertiary level of education. Even so, as one of Thatcher's children who was educated and taught in the state school system, I still feel tied to it. The teaching of language, I feel, will become increasingly troubled as the Conservative Party extends its control of the pedagogic device to 'firms' for profit. It is a history I am committed to documenting as it unravels.

⁷⁰ This will be possible when departmental records become available in the National Archive.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Examples for LA in Modern Languages in the Curriculum

Question examples given by Hawkins for each of his four themes about language (See pp.62-63) that would form the basis of a secondary 'Awareness of language' course as outlined in *Modern Languages in the Curriculum* (Hawkins, 1981).

1. Question: How does Spoken and written language differ?

Activity: Compare spoken and written forms of English. Attempt to express spoken sounds in written form. Invent new forms of punctuation, diacritics, etc. Work out methods for helping slow readers, immigrant learners. Prepare posters for classroom explaining key difficulties in the transition to reading.

2. Question: How does grammar convey the time when events happen, the probability of their happening, the place where they happen, the order of events?

Activity: Draw charts to help foreigner understand use of simple present and 'progressive' (-ing) tenses in English. Compare 'he swam across the river' with 'il traversa la riviere a la nage'; make anthology of similar patterns.

3. Question: How do registers differ?

Activity: Collect phrases only found in certain registers (e.g. sports commentary, TV advertising, weather forecasting, playground, school assembly, Party political broadcasts, etc). Try to describe characteristics of each register.

4. Question: How does L1 vocabulary expand? How does expansion of L2 vocabulary differ?

Activity: List babies' words at age 3, 4, 5 years and put them in boxes: family names, objects, colours, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, etc. Compare the list with earliest vocabulary in French, Spanish textbooks. Compare with immigrant pupils' mother tongues. (Adapted from Hawkins, 1981: Appendix C).

Appendix B: Examples for KAL in the Kingman Report

Examples given by the Committee for each respective KAL theme in the Kingman Report's (1988: 20-31) 'A Model of English'.

The forms of the English language

- Speech - 'How to decide where to put emphasis in language used for public speaking, play-reading, reading aloud and other social activities' (1988:20)
- Writing - 'The way grammatical words in English tend to have shorter spelling patterns than full lexical words which sound the same (but/butt, by/bye, in/inn, no/know, nor/gnaw, not/knot, so/sew, to/two, etc.)' (1988:20)
- Word Forms - 'The regular patterning of word forms in English (so that one recognises that tsetse is a relatively recent borrowing from another language, since it does not fit into the regular patterns)' (1988:20)
- Phrase Structure - 'How adjectives are ordered in front of a noun: e.g. how it is that we can say a small grey stone house, but would be unlikely to say a stone small grey house' (1988:21)
- Discourse Structure - 'How different types of paragraphs are formed' (1988:22)

Communication and comprehension

- Speaker Variation - 'How language varies according to where the speaker' (1988:24)
- Writer Variation - 'How writers have to remember that they are writing for readers who are not present at the time of writing' (1988:25)
- Listener interpretation - 'Why a speaker does not sound sincere in what he or she says' (1988:26)
- Reader interpretation - 'Noting that, just as in listening, the reader will be influenced in interpretation by: who the writer is (or purports to be) - a public authority, an extremist organisation, a distinguished author, a local resident, a 14-year-old, and so forth' (1988:27)

Acquisition and development

- 'Helping a child to make explicit what he or she is trying to say and, even more, to write - where there is a strong tendency, particularly among children, to assume that what the speaker knows is, at least to some extent, already known to the listener or reader' (1988:29)

Historical and geographical variation

- 'The ways in which, historically and currently, groups settling in Britain have enriched English (and created a multi-lingual community in which many languages other than English, Welsh and Gaelic now subsist side by side - Polish, Ukrainian, Urdu, Gujarati, Afro-Caribbean creole languages, Cantonese, Turkish, and so on)' (1988:30)
- 'How certain prepositional phrases frequently occurring in speech (hence in the writing of some pupils) are dialectal forms rather than 'bad grammar'. E.g. I looked out the window (Standard English out of), We got off of the bus (Standard English off), etc. (1988:31).

Appendix C: Attainment Levels for KAL in the Cox Report

Statements of attainment for KAL as defined by the Committee in the Cox Report (1989: 87-88)

In the SPEAKING AND LISTENING PROFILE COMPONENT pupils should be able to:

LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
5	Talk about variations in vocabulary between different regional or social groups, <i>eg dialect vocabulary, specialist terms.</i>
6	Talk about some grammatical differences between spoken Standard English and a non-standard variety.
7	Talk about appropriateness in the use of spoken language, according to purpose, topic and audience, <i>eg differences between language appropriate to a job interview and to a discussion with peers.</i>
8	Talk about the contribution that facial expressions, gestures and tone of voice can make to a speaker's meaning, <i>eg in ironic and sarcastic uses of language.</i>
9	Talk about ways in which language varies between different types of spoken communication, <i>eg joke, anecdote, conversation, commentary, lecture.</i>
10	Talk about some of the factors that influence people's attitudes to the way other people speak.

In the WRITING PROFILE COMPONENT pupils should be able to:

LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
5	Talk about variations in vocabulary according to purpose, topic and audience and according to whether language is spoken or written, <i>eg slang, formal vocabulary, technical vocabulary.</i>
6	

Demonstrate some knowledge of straightforward grammatical differences between spoken and written English.

- 7 Comment on examples of appropriate and inappropriate use of language in written texts, with respect to purpose, topic and audience.

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LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
8	Demonstrate some knowledge of organisational differences between spoken and written English.
9	Demonstrate some knowledge of ways in which language varies between different types of written text, <i>eg personal letter, formal letter, printed instructions, newspaper report, playscript.</i>
10	Demonstrate some knowledge of criteria by which different types of written language can be judged, <i>eg clarity, coherence, accuracy, appropriateness, effectiveness, vigour etc.</i>

In the READING PROFILE COMPONENT pupils should be able to:

LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
5	Recognise and talk about the use of word play, <i>eg puns, unconventional spellings etc.</i> , and some of the effects of the writer's choice of words in imaginative uses of English.
6	Talk about examples (from their own experience or from their reading) of changes in word use and meaning over time, and about some of the reasons for these changes, <i>eg technological developments, euphemism, contact with other languages, fashion.</i>
7	Talk about some of the effects of sound patterning, <i>eg rhyme, alliteration</i> , and figures of speech, <i>eg similes, metaphors, personification</i> , in imaginative uses of English.

- 8** Identify in their reading, and talk and write about some of the changes in the grammar of English over time, *eg in pronouns (from thou and thee to you), in verb forms, in negatives, etc.*
- 9** Demonstrate some understanding of the use of special lexical and grammatical effects in literary language, *eg the repetition of words or structures, dialect forms, archaisms, grammatical deviance etc.*
- 10** Demonstrate some understanding of attitudes in society towards language change and of ideas about appropriateness and correctness in language use.

Appendix D: Table Summarising the Conceptual Features of Key LA and KAL Texts

	Hawkins (1984)	Swann (1985)	HMI (1984/86)	Kingman (1988)	Cox (1989)	Harris (1990)	LINC (1992)	James & Garret (1992)	Brumfit (1995)
Primary Motive	Inequality	Ideological - Democratic pluralism	Instrumental	Ideological	Ideological	Image	Ideological	Image	N/A
Secondary Motive/s	Integration	Integration		Inequality	Integration	Instrumental	Integration		
Identity	Articulate	Tolerant	Vocationally Prepared	Articulate/ Astute	Tolerant/ Astute	Multilingual	Critically and linguistically aware	Learner as the discoverer	Learner as the discoverer
Model	Competence	Competence	Performance	Competence	Competence	Competence	Competence	Competence	Competence
Mode	Liberal Progressive	Populist	Quasi-Generic	Mild emancipatory	Populist/Mild Emancipatory	Liberal Progressive	Emancipatory	Liberal Progressive	
Classification	Weak Regional	Singular	Singular	Strong/ cross-curricular	Strong/ cross-curricular		n/a	Weak	Weak
Framing of the content	Somewhat strong	n/a	Somewhat strong	Somewhat Strong	Weak		n/a	Weak	Weak
Framing of Transmission	Weak – highly personalised	Weak	Somewhat strong	Somewhat weak	Weak		Weak	Weak	Weak
Framing of pedagogic communication	Explicit	n/a	Explicit	Explicit	Explicit		Weak	Context based	Weak