CLASSICS IN CRISIS:

The changing forms and current decline of Classics as exemplary curricular knowledge, with special reference to the experience of Classics teachers in South Wales

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Which things being so, as we said when we studied
The classics, I ought to be glad
That I studied the classics at Marlborough and Merton.
Not everyone here having had
The privilege of learning a language
That is incontrovertibly dead,
And of carting a toy-box of hall-marked marmoreal phrases
Around in his head.

. . . . . .

We learned that a gentleman never misplaces his accents
That nobody knows how to speak, much less how to write
English who has not hob-nobbed with the great-grandparents of English
That the boy on the Modern Side is merely a parasite
But the classical student is bred to the purple, his training in syntax
Is also a training in thought
And even in morals; if called to the bar or the barracks
He always will do what he ought.
And knowledge, besides, should be prized for the sake of knowledge;
Oxford crowded the mantelpiece with gods -
Scaliger, Heinsius, Dindorf, Bentley and Wilamowitz -
As we learned our genuflexions for Honour Mods.

. . . . . .

Good-bye now, Plato and Hegel,
The shop is closing down;
They don't want any philosopher-kings in England,
There ain't no universals in this man's town.

Louis Macneice Autumn Journal (1938) section XIII.

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SUMMARY

The empirical focus of this thesis is on the current legitimation crisis of classics teaching in secondary schools. In the 1950s, Latin occupied a unique position as the legitimating exemplar of academic knowledge in the grammar-school curriculum. At the end of the decade, however, the emergence of alternative ideologies both of curricular knowledge and of educational provision brought the legitimacy of Latin into question. These challenges culminated in the removal of the major institutional prop to the provision of Latin in schools: the requirement of an O-level Latin pass for entrance to Oxford and Cambridge. The recruitment of pupils to Classics immediately began to decline, and continues to do so.

This empirical case raises two sociological problems. First, if the legitimacy of curricular knowledge derives from agreed conceptions of value (and curriculum is thus the legitimate institutionalised form of culture), how is the dominance of particular values established, maintained and challenged? Second, how are these processes related to the experience of teachers, who transmit culture by providing curricular knowledge? Once socialised into acceptance both of a set of dominant values, and of the knowledge whose curricular provision they legitimate, how do teachers cope with the subordination of these values to their successors, and the resulting denials of the legitimacy of existing knowledge? Here Classics teachers provide an extreme case, as the curricular knowledge in which they specialise not only conforms to values no longer dominant, but formed their legitimating exemplar.

Both problems are investigated with reference to the empirical case of classics teaching. The changing definitions and curricular locations of classics within the successive dominance of noble, gentlemanly and bourgeois values are analysed in the first half of the thesis. Material drawn from interviews with a group of South Wales Classics teachers is then used to describe their initiation into Classics and the grammar school curriculum whose values it symbolised. Finally, an account is given of their current attempts to establish for it, on the curricular market of the comprehensive school, a legitimacy which can no longer be assumed, but must instead be negotiated.

DECLARATION & STATEMENT

This thesis is the result of my own investigation; it has not already been accepted in substance for any degree, and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

September 1977 C.A. STRAY

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Classics teachers A to Z patiently submitted to several interviews each. Reg George and Peter Wynn provided bird's-eye views of the local terrain, Brian Kay the view from Curzon Street. Martin Albrow during the first year of the research, and John Parker since then, have given more than 'supervision'. Chris Harris read a late draft, and Sheila Goodall cheerfully and efficiently typed the final product. Clifford Etches pulled many a beautiful pint when I was feeling foul. MK has throughout provided moral, intellectual, physical and financial support.

CHAPTER 1.

Culture, Domination and the Legitimation of Curricular Knowledge

This chapter opens with a brief description of the current legitimation crisis of classics. The sociological problems this presents are then identified. These concern the ways in which dominant values are transmitted, and structures of domination reproduced, through the mutual allocation of pupils and knowledge in the education system. The work of Bernstein and Bourdieu is assessed in relation to these problems. Finally, analytic frameworks are set out for the examination of two substantive areas: the legitimation of classics in relation to noble and gentlemanly values in the 19th century, and the current negotiation of its legitimacy by classics teachers. The chapter ends with a synopsis of the remainder of the thesis, and a note on methodology.

1.1 The legitimation crisis of classics

This thesis is based on research, carried out in 1973-4, whose immediate aim was to investigate the nature and determinants of classics teachers' responses to the crisis of legitimacy which faces classics teaching in secondary schools.

This crisis has been precipitated by the dismantling of the tripartite selective system, a process which began in the late 1950s and gained momentum after the issue of Circular 10/65 in 1965. Classics both conformed to and symbolised the curricular values of the selective system. In particular, it represented the link between education and occupational mobility via academic certification. The classics teacher

was therefore the living embodiment of the paradigmatic status of his knowledge, possessing as he did both this knowledge and the professional employment to which it led.

Yet although the classics teacher stood at the symbolic centre of this nexus of knowledge and social mobility, he did not control it. Both definitions of and recruitment to classics rested on a variety of institutional supports, the most powerful being the universities' demand for Ordinary Level Latin passes as an entry requirement. During the 1950s, this support began to crumble; the final battles being fought at Oxford at the end of the decade. The consequences were soon visible in GCE examination statistics. The numbers of candidates in Latin and Greek began to decline relative to those in other subjects from about 1960, and absolutely from about 1965.

What makes this a crisis of legitimacy, rather than just a decline in demand, is the widespread resentment which classics teachers have inherited from the paradigmatic location of their knowledge, and centrally, of Latin, within the selective system. The dominant public conception of classics at present is one of irrelevant academicism, tortuous and unnecessary difficulty and social elitism. In short, it offers a convenient combination and condensation of the values of an outmoded system; and its convenience as a target for resentment is only heightened by the lack of consensus (on all but the most abstract level) on the values and principles of operation of comprehensive schooling.

How have classics teachers responded to this crisis? The beginnings of organised response can be dated to 1960, when the Classical Association discussed at its annual conference the probable consequences of changing university entrance requirements. This conference "did an unusual thing for the Classical Association. It voted on a resolution" - C.O. Brink in a special issue of the Association's journal produced as a result of the 1960 conference (Classical Association 1962). As this comment suggests, however, the Association was (and is) a conservative and slow-moving body. In addition, it felt the consideration of teaching methods and the construction of course-material to be somewhat beneath its dignity. As a result, a group of classics teachers and dons founded a new association which was designed to act as an umbrella or liaison organisation, co-ordinating existing bodies' activities without replacing them. An informal division of labour was agreed between CA and the new body (JACT; the Joint Association of Classical Teachers): the former continued to organise programmes of semi-academic lectures for local branches and to encourage such other activities as verse-speaking competitions, while the latter concentrated on syllabuses, course-materials and teaching methods. During the first half of the 1960s JACT grew rapidly and prompted the creation of local associations of classical teachers, formally autonomous but with strong informal connections to the national body. In the same period it founded a journal (Didaskalos, 1963-), organised conferences and published pamphlets, including a survey of the various modes of secondary reorganisation and their different implications for the provision of classics in schools (JACT 1964).

Throughout this period, the alliance between the new federal body and its predecessor/partners remained an awkward one, and disputes over the complicated redistributive system of subscription and the division of responsibilities between the different bodies flared up on occasion; they have recently recurred, partly because of the effect of inflation on JACT's finances.

At the national level, then, organised response to the crisis of classics' legitimacy has generated conflict between the several organised bodies of its supporters. But it has also created problems for the individual classics teachers who face declining recruitment in the classroom and increasing hostility from parents and, often, from their colleagues. Middle-aged teachers who have been socialised, as both pupils and teachers, into the dominant values of the selective system, and into an identity as standard-bearers within those values, are now being told by their national organisations that the survival of classics in schools requires the introduction of the new syllabuses and course-material developed in the mid- and late 1960s as a result of the discussion and research mentioned above. But the classics of this material is, for many of these teachers, almost unrecognisable, since it was constructed on a redefined ideological base in an attempt to distance it from received public impressions of the subject. In consequence, the values it enshrines seem, to many classics teachers, to be in flat contradiction of the values into which they were socialised, and of which their own knowledge was the exemplary manifestation. Declining pupil recruitment to <u>modern</u> languages thus represents, for the teachers concerned, a problem of a different order, since those subjects have conformed to, rather than exemplifying, the dominant values of the selective system.

For these middle-aged teachers, initiating pupils into classics has meant the dedicated nurturing of innate intellectual ability by means of initiation into the rigorous complexities of language. They are now urged to sell an attractive multi-media product (either nonlinguistic, or if linguistic, based on the avoidance of formal grammatical instruction) at the low-status fringe of a curricular marketplace. Instead of maintaining standards of academic rigour, they must appeal to pupils' interest, often in a situation where, after the reorganisation of schooling, they find the interests of the pupils who now confront them either reprehensible or unfathomable. This is the crisis of the individual classics teacher, and it is to this that two characteristic comments refer: "This isn't what I came into teaching for"; "They're a new type of child". The sense of apprehension, even despair, which this situation is likely to create is hardly lightened, therefore, when the means of recovering the legitimacy of their knowledge seem to entail the betrayal of the values which, to them, it represents.

1.2 The legitimacy of curricular knowledge

The notion of "legitimacy" refers, within sociology, to a category of domination, and denotes the acceptance of domination by those over whom it is exercised, on the grounds that it exists as of right (cp. Weber 1948: 78-9). Legitimated domination can thus be described as power civilised by meaning, as it is exercised within "some agreed conception of rights" (Rex 1961:91): rule within rules. Education is centrally located with respect to the legitimation of domination: it involves the socialisation of successive generations into the dominant values from which agreed conceptions of rights are derived.

Within the division of social labour, the State's monopoly over the legitimate transmission of culture is delegated to teachers as a specialised occupational group, and the formal education system becomes the legitimate locus of this transmission. In addition, the curriculum becomes the legitimate institutionalised form of cultural transmission. But where the division of social labour brings about a division of cultural labour, specialised knowledge becomes a legitimate form of curricular content. In consequence, teachers are likely to belong to a double division of labour, as specialists in teaching both pupils and (specialised) knowledge.

This raises the question of the ways in which curricular contents and pupils are allocated to one another. In society at large, the "agreed conceptions of rights" deriving from dominant values support the maintenance of differentials of

power and status. This society is reproduced, and its culture transmitted, via the workings of the education system, which allocates curricular knowledge to those who pass through it, while allocating these individuals in turn to locations within the social order. Within the education system, therefore, knowledge and pupils, each differentially evaluated in terms of the dominant values transmitted by the system, are brought into mutual relation by a system of allocation.

The transmission of culture within the education system can therefore be analysed as a curricular economy in which scarce and valued resources (pupils and knowledge) are mutually allocated. The nature of allocation can thus be said to depend on (1) evaluative classification of pupils, and of knowledge; and (2) rules of legitimate allocation. These rules can further be identified as approaching either of two polar ideal types: those of command and market allocation. In the former, teachers initiate pupils into culture by teaching them the curricular knowledge which is the legitimate embodiment of culture. In the latter, teachers make curricular commodities available to pupils, who select from the array provided.

The above perspective makes it possible to clarify what is meant by the "legitimacy" of a particular curricular content. First, it denotes conformity with the dominant values; this makes it their legitimate embodiment, and gives it the right of inclusion in the curriculum. Second, it denotes status derived from those values; and this gives it a right of allocation within the curricular economy. The status of a content is manifested, therefore, in the mode of its allocation.

For example, status can be inferred from that of the categories of pupils to whom it is allocated. Again, the content may be imposed on, made available to, or denied to specific categories of pupils.

The nature of the curricular legitimacy of classics (and of Latin, in particular) can be identified by pinpointing its location, and thus its status, in the allocation system. In other words, we can establish who must, may, and may not learn it. Within the English tripartite selective system, however, Latin has possessed a status which deserves a category of its own. This is because it has been regarded as the exemplary embodiment of dominant values. It has therefore been seen not just as conforming to standards of curricular legitimacy, but as itself providing a standard against which other contents were to be measured.

What are the dominant values underlying the curricular economy of the selective system, and how has Latin functioned as their exemplar? Those values have been condensed in a dominant image of human nature which has provided legitimacy both for the structure of educational provision in the selective system, and for the status of Latin as exemplary curricular knowledge. This image is the romantic picture of the unique individual, whose innate qualities emerge during the course of childhood. In this case, the process is depicted as the emergence of reason, which gradually transcends the contexts of action and value in which it is at first immanent.

This conception of the emergence of reason in the child derives from the synthesis of two opposed conceptions of human reason; those of Plato and Aristotle, who saw it as transcendent

of, and immanent in, the world of experience. These views, and their implications for the legitimacy of classics in the curricular [illegible] economy in 19th and 20th century England, play an important part both in later sections of this chapter, and in chapters 2 and 3. They are therefore outlined here, as a preface to the characterisation of the selective system in relation to the romantic synthesis in which they are combined.

For Plato, Man is a mixture of conflicting elements. Of these reason is supreme (indeed almost divine), since it enables us to transcend both the uncertain perceptions and the brute desires which we experience as corporeal beings. With the aid of reason, we can penetrate to the invisible world of the Forms, the essential natures of things. The Forms are eternal and unchanging, unlike their earthly referents, which are merely imperfect copies of them. All tables are different, and may change; the Form of Tableness has neither imperfection. Thus reason, the divine element in Man, transcends the mortal imperfections of fleshly desires and sense-perception. Plato's proposed 'ideal community' (in the Laws) is organised consistently with his conception of Man. There are three social strata, of which the lower two, the warriors and the workers, are ruled by an intellectual elite (the Guardians) trained via a lengthy exposure to pure mathematics.

Plato's Forms transcended the sensible world; Aristotle brought them down to earth and made them immanent in the various species of things in the sensible world. The form of an organism is its organising principle, and marks it off from other species. As with class membership, so with change;

form represents the unique potential immanent in an organism of given species, and its change therefore represents the realisation of that potential. Because it is teleological, change is orderly: it has direction.

The task of the analyst is to identify species by establishing their unique natures. What, then, is the nature of the human? What are the characteristic features of specifically human existence? Aristotle's answer is that human life is "the practical activity of that which has logos" (Nicomachean Ethics 1098a3). Logos is both human reason and its manifestation in language. Reason enables us to learn from experience, to plan ahead in terms of "deliberative desire". Language is the form of reason which enables us to communicate with others, to combine in a meaningful shared existence. We therefore have a life superior to that of animals. Reason enables us to choose and create, whereas animals can only 'do': prattein as opposed to poiein. Thus creative activity, praxis, is uniquely human. Reason in the form of language enables us to live socially: man is the social animal (politikon zoön).

However, these two aspects of human life are in tension: praxis versus polis.

> "Human life ... is practical because it is political. This is our problem, to reconcile our freedom, our self-determining individuality, and our sociality - bearing in mind that it is because we are ... social that we have the equipment to be individual. A polis that was totally at one would no longer be composed of individuals, and therefore no longer be a polis". (Clark 1975:24).

This last point arises because for Aristotle the social is also an aspect of the world whose varieties require classification. As a species, the social can be defined as the

combination of unlike individuals. If every individual was simply a monad containing all the characteristics of his society, there would be no need, and perhaps no chance, of interaction between individuals. Aristotle summarises the point succinctly: "society is not made up of like units; a society is not the same as a military alliance" (Politics 1261a24).

To this source of tension between the practical and the political, we have to add another, which derives from the existence of language and culture. Human life in society transcends the natural world (physis) by establishing a world of shared meaning, communication and decision (nomos). But different societies transcend the natural in different ways. This variety derives from the freedom of Man from nature; but it imposes constraints on individual men in society. Cultural specificity is the price we pay for being able to communicate.

The crucial link between these conceptions of human reason, society and culture, and the beginnings of modern sociological enquiry lies in the philosophy of the neo-Platonist Plotinus (third century AD). Plotinus created a synthesis of Plato's transcendent and Aristotle's immanent reason. Since the divine reason transcends this world, it follows not that it is remote and apart, but that it is unenvious of this world, and so allows its reason to overflow into the realm of matter. Thus everything in our world partakes of reason to some extent, and it can be seen as a continuum in which reason increases as one approaches nearer the divine. This is the first systematic statement of the 'Great Chain of Being" (Lovejoy 1974: Chapter 2).

This NeoPlatonism formed, in the late 18th century, one of the inspirations of German romanticism in its reaction against (its vision of) the Enlightenment. Rediscovering Leibniz' anti-Newtonian conception of substance as force or energy, rather than inert matter, characterised not by extension but resistance, the romantics looked for the laws of change, whether in botany (Goethe's 'idealistic morphology') or history (Herder's 'thousand Protean forms'). The Chain of Being could be doubly secularised by making it both temporal and human; it then became the story of the realisation of Man's potential through history. This story could be read in two ways. The teleological development of humanity could be stressed, thus focussing attention on the ultimate emergence of realised human identity. On the other hand, since each of the 'Protean forms' mirrored Man's potential (as every monad, for Leibniz, mirrored the universe's pre-established harmony), each separate manifestation of this potential (whether in language or culture) could be examined and appreciated in its own terms, on the basis of the coherence derived from its own 'inner form'. In the total conception, the continuity of particular cultural forms was guaranteed by the initiation of successive generations into their 'inner forms', embedded in language; while change of cultural form was explicable as part of the progressive realisation of human potential.

This account of the history of mankind was recapitulated in romantic ideologies of education. These portrayed children as unique individuals, each possessing innate potential characteristics which would, if not interfered with, realise themselves in adults. In these terms, the allocation of pupils and knowledge is legitimate because 'natural'; a

function of the inevitable process of realisation. In England, however, this ideological emphasis was adapted to fit the stratified provision of schooling in the developing state system of education. The equal validity of different varieties of reason in pupils was emphasised, but employed to legitimate separate provision which was, in fact, hierarchically ordered. The immanence of reason in technique and manual activity was acknowledged as a basis for pupil categorisation, and such pupils were allocated to 'appropriate' curricular knowledge; while those whose reason had emerged from such contexts to transcend ordinary thinking were allocated to 'academic' knowledge in grammar schools. The connotations of academicity (complexity, rigour, alienness, inutility) were regarded as perfectly embodied in Latin grammar; and Latin became the legitimating exemplar of the academic curriculum. Allocation was thus presented as the automatic consequence of innate individual differences in ability: and this, as the educational psychologists asserted, was objectively ascertainable at the age of eleven, and stable thereafter.

If conceptions of human nature underpin educational ideologies and hence modes of curricular allocation, they also inform sociological analysis, including the analysis of education. Thus the preceding account of such conceptions can also serve to introduce the next section, in which the views of Bernstein and Bourdieu are assessed. Here the specific aim is to establish what can be learnt from their approaches about the nature and determinants of curricular legitimacy; and in particular, the nature of legitimate allocation in the English selective system.

1.3 Durkheim & Bernstein: the organic form of society and curriculum.

Bernstein's sociological thinking has always revolved around Durkheimian conceptual orientations. As he says,

> '... I have yet to find <u>any</u> social theorist whose ideas are such a source (at least to me) of understanding what the term <u>social</u> entails". (1975:17)

Durkheim's concern with the nature of the social, however, was related to his concern with the nature of education. His views in both these areas can best be summarised by locating them within the tradition of 'models of Man' described above.

<u>Durkheim</u>

Durkheim begins from Aristotle's definition of Man as social, and proceeds in proper Aristotelian fashion. Society is an organism whose unique nature is solidarity. As the social is a defining aspect of human life, the realisation of human potential through history can be traced by following the gradual realisation of the unique potential of society. The division of social labour can be seen as the sign that a threshold in this process of realisation has been reached.(1) The nature of Durkheim's approach to the evolution of the social organism is revealed in his review of Tönnies' <u>Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft</u> (Revue Philosophique 1889, 421-2).

> "Now I believe that the life of large social agglomerations is just as natural as that of small groupings. It is no less organic and no less internal ... however different they may be, there is no difference in nature between these two varieties of the same genus ... Is it likely ... that the evolution of ... society, begins by being organic only to become subsequently purely mechanical?... To reconcile the theory of Aristotle with that of Bentham in this way is simply to juxtapose opposites. We have to choose..." (Giddens 1972:146-7).

For Durkheim, the division of labour was the necessary condition for the emergence of a social organism which would provide an adequate basis for the life of Man as a moral being. In a sense, society before this division was less organic, in that it was made up of 'like units' (the title page of La division du travail social bore as its motto the apophthegm quoted above from Aristotle's Politics). If the realisation of human potential could be traced in terms of the evolution of the social, the division of labour marked the tentative beginnings of human history and the end of human prehistory. It is not surprising, then, that Durkheim's focus was on the immediate future - on the nature of the sufficient conditions of the emergence of an adequate social basis for human life. The organisation of society before the division of labour is therefore conceptualised in a residual fashion, as mechanical; as his subtitle announced, Durkheim's concern was the "social organisation of the superior societies" (my emphasis).

How did Durkheim deal with the second (cultural) source both of human freedom from nature, and of constraint on the activity of individuals? Each society has a unique mentality; and while as a social organism it evolves to superior modes of organisation, as a particular society it reproduces itself through the transmission of its culture to successive generations. For Aristotle, one of the results of praxis (free activity) was hexis (consistent and stable patterns of activity: habit and collective custom); and Durkheim used "habitus" to refer to the transmission of stable dispositions to action as the means of the regeneration of culture. Each epoch in the evolution of a particular society could be said to have its particular 'habitus', an organising image of excellence which

was enshrined in educational practice; the continuity of culture between epochs being guaranteed by the absorption of each habitus into the next, so that each individual acquires the 'habitudes' of past epochs as well as his own.(2) The structure of language forms the node of this transmission of culture:

> "Le langage est chose social au premier clef; c'est la société qui l'a élaboré, et c'est par elle qu'il se transmet de génération en génération. Or, le langage n'est pas seulement un système de mots; chaque langage implique une mentalité propre, et c'est cette mentalité qui fait le fond de la mentalité individuelle".
> (Durkheim 1963: 59; cp 1961:482)

The shift from human language to its particular cultural variants in this passage serves to remind us that Durkheim was both social analyst and patriotic educator.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, the integrity of France, the social organism which was Durkheim's particular concern, was threatened from two different directions. The Prussian victory at Sedan in 1870 had delivered a severe blow to national self-confidence (and was popularly supposed to have been won by 'the schoolmaster' - Fichte(3)); and the process of industrialisation was completed at about the same date (Armstrong 1973: 39-40), bringing with it the division of social labour. The task of the educator, therefore, was to promote the successful realisation of the 'mentalité' unique to France. Success would be measured in terms of adequacy to survival in a world of nations, however, as well as those of truth to potential nature. These criteria are combined in Durkheim's proposal that the 'habitus' to aim at is that of the "complete rationalist" (Durkheim 1969: 399). The

French mentality was Cartesian; it produced clearcut analysis, but tended to be superficial.

> "Notre langue ... n'est pas faite pour traduire ces dessous obscurs des choses, dont nous pouvons bien avoir le sentiment mais non la claire intelligence ... par définition ... l'idéal serait pour elle ... d'exprimer le tout que forme chaque chose par une simple combinaison mécanique de ces notations élémentaires. Quant a l'aspect que prend ce tout en tant que tout, quant a ce qui en fait l'unité, la continuité et la vie, elle s'en désintéresse dans une large mesure". (Durkheim 1963:215; cp 1969: 394-9)

The solution was to add to analytic clarity (inculcated through initiation into linguistic form) a sense of the obscure complexities of the world, both human and natural. Thus Durkheim's practical proposals are for curricula embodying a "triple culture" of language, history and science.

Durkheim's view of education as reflecting and reproducing the form of the social organism is central to Bernstein's analysis of the "classification and framing of educational knowledge" (Bernstein 1975: 85ff), as its opening paragraphs indicate:

> "How a society selects, classifies, distributes and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control. From this point of view, differences within, and change in, the organisation, transmission and evaluation of educational knowledge should be a major area of sociological interest ... Indeed, such a study is a part of the larger question of the structure and changes in the structure of cultural transmission...
> Educational knowledge is a major regulator of the structure of experience. From this point of view, one can ask 'How are forms of experience, identity and relation evoked, maintained and changed by the formal transmission of educational knowledge and sensitivities?' Formal educational knowledge can be considered to be realised through three message systems: curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

"... Curriculum defines what counts as valid knowledge, pedagogy defines what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and evaluation defines what counts as a valid realisation of this knowledge on the part of the taught. The term, educational knowledge code ... refers to the underlying principles which shape curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation". (1975: 85-6)

These underlying principles are those of mechanical and organic solidarity, represented by 'collection' and 'integration' knowledge-codes. In Durkheim's own work, the modes of solidarity constituted the formal bases which generated patterns of social life and thought; and thus represented the Kantian mental schemata, transplanted from the human mind to the form of society. It is thus appropriate that Bernstein summarises the knowledge-codes in terms of categorical imperatives: "keep things apart!" (collection) and "keep things together!" (integration). Legitimacy is thus unproblematically conferred on the realisations of the code in the message-systems of curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

Durkheim's investigation of the 'code' of a particular society, however, has no parallel in Bernstein's analysis. This is partly explained by his determination to avoid the home ground of the conceptual analysis of curriculum, as practiced by R.S. Peters and P.W. Hirst. Early on in his paper, the question is raised of the relative status of curricular contents; of the manifestation of such status in modes of allocation (compulsory/optional); and of the models of man which form bases for curricular legitimation (Bernstein 1975: 86-7). Nevertheless,

"there is nothing intrinsic to the relationships between contents. ×Irrespective of the question of the intrinsic logic of the various forms of public thought, the <u>forms</u> of their transmission, that is their classification and framing, are social facts". (ibid: 87)

× cp RK Merton (of Ambivalence of scientists) on the of scien- sa) still strong for rel? of meaning, presents themselves the content of the work.

Although Bernstein appears to have abandoned the analysis of a curricular knowledge for that of its transmission, however, he soon returns to the subject via the exposition of the curricular message-system. This provides a picture of curricular structure which is independent of content, since it is a realisation of the relevant social knowledge-code. In this exposition, he is also fortified by the structuralist conviction (to which he was attached at the time the paper was written, in the late 1960s) that cultural content can be analysed in purely formal terms. The declaration, quoted above, that "there is nothing intrinsic to the relative status of ... contents" thus has its own legitimating basis in Lévi-Strauss's insistence that

> "meaning is always the result of a combination of elements which are not themselves significant ... behind all meaning there is a non-meaning" (Lévi-Strauss 1970)

Bernstein's characterisation of the English curriculum is consistent with this approach, though he sometimes forgets that facts are there so that one can, as Lévi-Strauss says, go behind them. For example, having given his definition of the 'collection' curriculum (to which category the English curriculum belongs), as one where "contents are clearly bounded and insulated from one another", he adds

> "Here, the learner has to collect a group of favoured contents..." (my emphasis) (Bernstein 1975:87)

Later on in the analysis, he reverts once more from structures to substantive bricolage in describing the features of the English collection which make it a specific variant within collectionism. These are (1) specialism: English pupils are expected to acquire a smaller collection of contents than their European counterparts; (2) purity: such collections

are typically "drawn from a common universe of knowledge" (ibid:91). Such statements are true, but in terms of the analysis, inexplicable. On the other hand, Bernstein's sporadic attempts to deduce "rules" for curricular relation from this substantive material simply produce non sequiturs.

> "The fact that ((the English version of collectionism)) is specialised determines what contents (subjects) may be put together". (ibid: 92)

We can learn very little from this analysis about the way in which cultural values are transmitted through the legitimate allocation to one another of pupils and knowledge. Such allocation is legitimated, it was argued earlier in the chapter, in relation to evaluative classifications of pupils and knowledge, these classifications being derived from 'models of man' which organise dominant values into a conception of the end-state of education. For Bernstein, legitimation is taken for granted as a property of knowledge codes; and as their 'imperatives' are purely formal, they bear no relation to cultural value or curricular content. (The problem is a general one for this kind of analysis, of course. The classical case is that of Kantian ethics - the imperative "Do as you would be done by" says nothing about <u>what</u> I should do).

Bernstein's failure to provide an adequate description of the English curriculum can be traced to two separate (indeed, superficially conflicting) analytic assumptions. First, his focus is primarily on integration, as Durkheim's was on organic solidarity; and so the collection is to some extent residual. This explains the apparent paradox that in an analysis based on the idea of <u>boundary</u>, it is the system

characterised by the strongest boundaries which remains outside the scope of analysis. The paradox is only apparent, since it is the weakening of boundaries which presents challenges for both the social member and the sociologist.

The second assumption is hinted at in Bernstein's own retrospective comment on the paper:

> "It is not possible with the analysis as it stands ... to deal with the specific contents of a strong classification and framing form of socialisation, which means that one cannot analyse its ideological basis ... in the paper the ideological basis of educational knowledge codes with varieties of ... classifications and frames ... is assumed. In other words, I started the paper knowing, or at least thinking I knew, about the ideological basis of collection codes". (ibid: 12)

Why did Bernstein think he knew what the ideological basis of collectionism was? The answer is that his own theory of linguistic codes, which runs in parallel which Durkheim's evolutionary conception of modes of social solidarity, is based on the romantic ideology of emergent reason which has also underpinned the English selective system. The ideological congruence is discussed in the analysis of the growth and working of the English system (chapters 2 and 3). Here it is sufficient to recall that the romantic ideology of child development recapitulates the neoPlatonic synthesis, in which human reason emerges into freedom and full realisation from contexts of immanence over the course of human history. As transferred by Bernstein to locations in social class, this conception portrays the emergence of reason from embeddedness in context (restricted code) to context-freedom (elaborated

code). The congruence with the legitimating basis of the English system can be indicated quite briefly: the unproblematic emergence, in individual pupils, of reason embedded in contexts (technical or practical) or free from them (academic reason), justified the provision of stratified curricular knowledge, allocated within separate school provision.

Bernstein's self-critical comment, quoted above, dates from 1975, and reveals the abandonment of the original conception of knowledge codes as Platonic Forms, alone and unrelated to anything else. That he was by then prepared to seek the "ideological basis of educational knowledge codes" can be ascribed, at least in part, to the influence of the work of Bourdieu and his colleagues. The following section asks of this work the question addressed above to Bernstein's: what can it tell us of the nature of legitimate allocation in schools? Our particular concern, once again, will be with allocation within the English selective system.

1.4 Bourdieu: legitimate domination and the market of symbolic goods.

In Bourdieu's work, the legitimation of the mutual allocation of pupils and knowledge is a major object of attention. In addition, the legitimation of curricular knowledge is examined in relation to the legitimation of domination in society. In Bourdieu's work power is not hidden in the "principles of power" which reside in knowledge-codes, but is something which enables some to dominate others. Yet this power is hidden, by being rendered legitimate; and so Bourdieu's central concern is that of Marxian analysis: to unmask structures of domination. The contrast with Durkheim can be clarified by tracing the Marxian route through the tradition of 'models of man' on which Durkheim drew; for Marx, like Durkheim, was a good Aristotelian.

Marx's conception of the unique nature of the human (the "species-being" of Man) rests on the Aristotelian notion of praxis. To Marx, this meant especially the creative dimension of human freedom. Man creates by impressing form on material, thereby making objects which form part of his world. Thus human life is in a double sense an "elaboration" of potential. The course of Man's unique potential for praxis; but human beings also express their creative potential in work. Social relations can be analysed in relation to human work; and through history, the different realisations of praxis carry with them characteristic social relations of production.

Marx saw the characteristic realisation of praxis in his own time as capitalism. Under capitalism, human creation is frozen, because creative process is congealed into created product (this is true, e.g. of the production of meaning,

which, under capitalism, is congealed into a "social hieroglyphic", and has then to be deciphered). This becomes a commodity on the market, something estranged from its creator, whose human freedom is thereby denied: under capitalism, only capital is free. The only consolation, for Marx, was that each realisation of praxis-potential had a 'living logic' as a relatively adequate realisation. As a result, each epoch transcends itself as its fulfils its own potential. The logic of capitalism thus guaranteed both its present continuance and its eventual collapse. The problem for contemporary Marxian analysis is precisely that this collapse shows no signs of appearing.

The explanation of the survival of capitalism demands an analysis of the reproduction of the social relations of production. It is this analysis on which Bourdieu and his collaborators have been engaged for the last decade. The Weberian and Durkheimian emphases of Les Héritiers (Bourdieu and Passeron 1964) were absorbed into a global Marxist perspective in the same authors' La Réproduction (1970; English translation, Sage 1977); while Bourdieu's earlier ethnographic work in North Africa was made the basis of a theory of sociological praxis (Esquisse d'une théorie de la pratique 1972; English translation, CUP 1977).

The central concern of La Réproduction is with the role of the transmission of culture in the reproduction of class relations. The argument is as follows. The state, which has a monopoly of legitimate violence (imposition of force), delegates to the formal education system the monopoly of symbolic violence (imposition of meaning). The relative

autonomy of the education system allows its appearance of independence from class relations to mask its objective dependence on them. Thus the surface pattern of allocation of pupils to institutions and knowledge is one of equal access via open competition according to universalised intellectual criteria. When we examine the pattern of allocation, however, we find that pupils in certain categories (notably: working-class, provincial and female) have consistently lower chances of access to institutions and knowledge of high status. (1970:89ff). The apparent exceptions are explicable in terms of the nature of this pattern, and the nature of selection itself. Even mobility through the system does not threaten its stability, since the mobile are the least typical members of the groups from which they come. Their individual success thus functions to reinforce the hierarchic relation of social groups; movement through the system confirms its structure.

Curricular contents are officially seen as available to pupils, subject to the impartial and neutral screening of public examinations. In fact they are symbolic commodities within a market of symbolic goods. What the ideology of allocation by merit conceals is the domination of this market by the possessors of symbolic capital. Family interaction and relation to language, familiarity with certain kinds of art, music and literature, all these provide an affinity between consumer and commodity. The congelation of meaning in symbolic goods takes place in terms of a code whose key lies in symbolic capital; these commodities are social hieroglyphics which not all can decipher. On the market of symbolic goods, only symbolic capital is free.

There is clearly a great deal to be learnt from this work about the nature of systems of legitimate allocation of pupils and knowledge. The ideological basis of legitimation here is the relative autonomy of the education system within the division of labour, and the bourgeois ideologies of freedom, reason and the market. This ideological base operates by concealing its own nature (the legitimation of the maintenance of class relations) beneath the surface 'naturalness' of selection by merit.

In particular, Bourdieu's analysis throws light on the nature of the English selective system. In its terms, the "collection" curriculum is a collection of separate units because its ideological basis is that of the market availability of commodities; and this basis appeared to Bernstein to be a "hidden symbolic order" because its peculiar mode of operation consists of self-concealment. The elaborated code of the middle class becomes a symbol of the domination of middle class reason on a market of symbolic goods stratified according to an evaluational hierarchy dominated by reason. We can go further and incorporate into the analysis upper-class (restricted) codes and the independent sector. While cultural capital dominates the symbolic market of the state system, financial capital provides access to the private system, which transforms it into cultural capital. Whereas the working-class code restricts by keeping members <u>in</u>, the upper-class functions to keep nonmembers <u>out</u>.

We have now assembled an outline of the analytic features of curricular economy, which has been supported and fleshed

out with a fuller exemplifying account of allocation within the English selective system. This is developed in Chapter 3, where the exemplary status of Latin within the system is explored more fully. In the present chapter, it remains to consider those questions of curricular legitimation which have not so far been dealt with. One of these is implied in the mention above of upper-class codes. If the bourgeois rationalism of the selective system has been exemplified by the academic rigours of Latin grammar, how is this related to the public-school tradition of 'gentlemanly classics'? How did the rationalist 'model of man' succeed its predecessors as the expression of newly dominant values? The second question which remains is that of the nature of the current legitimation crisis in the experience of classics teachers. Here, too, we are dealing with a shift in values, and therefore in legitimate allocation on the curricular economy. But in this case, we have the opportunity to catch the subtleties and minutiae of this change, in the experience of the teachers for whom it is likely to be most painful.

1.5 Noble and gentlemanly classics

The selective system forms the starting-point of Bernstein's evolutionary schema, and so we are unlikely to gain an understanding of its predecessors from his analysis. If we accept Bourdieu's account of the bourgeois curricular economy, we should perhaps regard it as applying specifically to the epoch of Capital. The market of symbolic goods is thus an instrument of legitimation peculiar to capitalism. Yet this should carry its applicability well back into the 19th century. In any case, the Marxian schema implies, even if Bourdieu does not develop, a corresponding analysis of pre-capitalist curricular allocation.

Here we have to take into account the peculiarities of the English route from feudalism to capitalism. In Bourdieu's account of the dominant values underlying the symbolic market, the characteristically noble values of poise and elegance (e.g. aisance rhétorique) figure prominently. In the English selective system, however, as Chapter 3 will demonstrate, we find instead the idealisation of the struggle for mastery of complex and alien knowledge. This approximates very closely, in fact, to the 'laborious effort' which in Bourdieu's account is damned by teachers with faint praise. In the English case, noble elegance and bourgeois rationalism is mediated by the values of gentlemanliness; and this reflects the historic mediation of a gentlemanly elite in the transition from noble domination during the English 19th century.

The status of educational provision in this process can be delineated by considering its use in the legitimation of

recruitment to membership of dominant social grcups. Here Parkin's recent analysis of modes of social closure provides a fruitful perspective (Parkin 1974).

Weber's notion of social closure referred to the attempts made by groups to maximise rewards for themselves by restricting to a class of 'eligibles' access to these rewards (Parkin 1974:3). Parkin proposes that we distinguish between collectivist and individualist modes of restriction of access; these being based respectively on collectivity-attributes of a person (colour, class etc.) and personally specific qualities (e.g. puzzle-solving ability). But these modes of exclusion can also inform modes of recruitment to group membership, thereby producing classes of reproduction and nomination respectively. One of the examples given by Parkin of the conflict between these modes is of the arguments over the merits of patronage versus public examination as means of recruitment to public service in the 19th century; as he says, a conflict between noble and bourgeois ideologies.

On the other hand, and as Parkin recognises, nomination may conceal reproduction. In other words, the ideology of 'open market' access to power on the basis of objectively-measured reason may, in practice, function to legitimate patterns of recruitment which are in fact patterns of 'reproduction'.

If we are to relate dominant values (i.e. the sources of legitimation) to objective patterns of recruitment, we have to

identify the evaluative classifications in terms of which nomination was established as a mode of legitimate allocation; and classics is central to elite recruitment in the relevant period. The shift from reproduction via noble education to nomination via middle-class education occurred through the middle third of the last century, and centred on university and public-school reform; and classics remained a dominant part of school and university curricula, especially at Oxford. In a sense, then, we can say that the control of allocation of knowledge and individuals shifted in location and in mode. It shifted from a noble elite to an expanded elite of gentlemen; and it changed from explicit control of allocation to the concealment of control beneath the ideology of nomination and market freedom. It is this complex shift in the location, mode and legitimation of allocation which is the concern of Chapter 2.

1.6 Negotiating curricular allocation: classics in crisis

Finally, we have to consider the problem most directly connected with the legitimation crisis from which this chapter began: how can the activity of classics teachers be conceptualised in terms of their attempts to maintain the legitimacy of classics in the organisational contexts of schools?

We can start to answer this question by asking another: what idea of the dynamics of change in dominant values, and hence of legitimate allocation, can we gain from the work of Bernstein and Bourdieu? In particular, our concern is to gain some conception of the way such change takes place in the activity and experience of individuals within their daily occupational lives.

How is change conceived of in Bernstein's analysis? Given the role of codes and message-systems as matrices for experience, it seems that change can only be either (i) in terms of a matrix, in which case it consists of repetition of the matrix, by definition; or (ii) matrix-change, in which case it resembles a gestalt-switch. Change is therefore either trivial or total; and the latter remains unexplained. In a more recent paper (Class and pedagogy, 1973, in Bernstein 1975: 116-39), Bernstein has developed a pluralistic matrix-analysis in which some matrices are seen as 'interrupting' the patterns of others in the experience of individuals over time. In addition, he suggests that a matrix may generate change itself (an analogy is the structure of a computer programme for the emission of random numbers which remains constant through the process of emission). This seems to

retain the weaknesses of explanation via reduction to matrices, while sacrificing the explanatory power of the original and more parsimonious schema.

What can we learn from Bourdieu about the nature of change in allocation systems, and the praxis of individuals in relation to shifts and crises of legitimation? Bourdieu's notion of system change is an organic one (Bourdieu et Passeron 1970:113ff) Change outside the system provokes internal adaptation to maintain equilibrium, and this equilibrium consists of stable structures of domination. The individuals who pass through the system emerge with their freedom channelled by habitus, so that their praxis is restricted to that activity which will reproduce the structures which habitus reflects. The only one capable of praxis, it seems, is the sociologist himself, who by integrating theory and practice can continually penetrate the system's ideological veil and expose its objective bases. But this is done in the knowledge that each exposure will prompt a further and more effective concealment (Bourdieu 1972: pt.2).

Neither Bernstein nor Bourdieu, then, gives us an idea of the praxis of individuals within systems of allocation. We can best construct such an idea by considering the nature of the crisis of classics' legitimacy as it affects the experience of its teachers.

The crucial feature of their situation is that a legitimacy which was taken for granted has become problematic. The definition and location of classics in schools is now something to be achieved, not assumed. The praxis of classics teachers

is therefore viewed here as negotiation. In general, this refers to the achieved passage through difficulties; in particular, to the achievement of desired ends through meaningful interaction with others: that is, through persuasion and debate. This latter specification is clearly apt for the analysis of changes in definition. In this case, changes in definitions of classics are likely to be challenged and defended in terms of other definitions, those of pupils and knowledge in terms of which these are allocated to one another in schools. Whether such "negotiation" actually involves public debate, rather than the backstage mobilisation of bias to resolve issues before they can emerge into public view, is a matter for empirical investigation, and is therefore discussed in the relevant chapters (5 and 6).

The immediate cause of the loss of unproblematic legitimacy by classics has been its shift from the command to the market sector of the curricular economy. We can therefore begin the attempt to operationalise the concept of negotiation by considering the nature of relations between producers and consumers. In Professions and power (1972), Johnson has proposed that these be analysed in terms of the negotiation of the definition of the product. He suggests that this represents the conflict between the parties involved over control of the interaction, and points out that the outcomes of this conflict can be categorised in terms of the resources available to parties. Before the rise of a middle-class market for services in the 19th century, the consumer was typically dominant, services being provided for wealthy nobles. Within the division of labour, occupational groups have organised to control the definition of their services (products) in opposition to consumers. Finally the conflict is sometimes mediated by the power of a third party, for example the State.

In these terms, classics teachers can be seen as producers whose commodities are now detached from State mediation onto the open market, where they have to negotiate their definitions with consumers. There are two difficulties with this. The first is that classics teachers are more accurately described as the distributors of their commodities (classics). Within the division of social labour, the legitimate producers of knowledge are located in the higher education sector: the classics teacher is not an expert on classics. On the other hand (and this is the second difficulty), classics exists in schools in a systematically organised form which is not peculiar to its content (textbooks, examination syllabuses and so on). The organisational shape of <u>school</u> knowledge may be negotiable by classics teachers, but the relevant parties will be not classics dons but (e.g.) examination boards and the Schools Council.

Schoolteachers as distributors thus work at the centre of a web of influences, constraints and pressures. The relation between schools and universities is capable, in theory, of moving toward domination by either pole; for while schools, as distributors, consume the knowledge produced within the university sector, the latter consumes the pupils produced by schools. In the case of classics, for example, dons have recently shown much more support for JACT, which deliberately avoids a split in membership between teachers and dons. This is because the university departments are not getting enough pupils from schools; whereas as long as supply exceeded demand, the dons were content to impose their (often antiquated) notions of knowledge content and learning on the schools, via

examinations and syllabuses. The USA offers an interesting contrast. Later specialisation there has enabled large numbers of universities to introduce recently-constructed 'progressive' Greek courses, since they are not tied to schools by a need for pre-trained students. Thus producer-distributor relations are constrained differently within the two systems.

It was suggested above (Section 2) that classics teachers belong to a double division of labour: social (as teachers) and cultural (classics specialists within the teaching occupation). The fact that classical content exists in schools in a shape common to teachers indicates that this double basis for occupational identity is likely to be a central feature of the negotiation of the legitimacy of classics. What form does this double division of labour take within systems of pupil - and knowledge-allocation in schools?

These systems of allocation constitute curricular economies which have both command and market aspects. The command aspect represents the transmission of culture to pupils by teachers; the market aspect represents the distribution of knowledge by specialist teachers to consumers. The market aspect is legitimated by the division of cultural labour, which means that the transmission of culture is able to take, to some degree, the form of the distribution of specialised contents. Within secondary schools, this link between transmission and distribution, command and market, is manifested in the shared identity of most teachers as <u>specialist teachers</u>. This forms a basis of occupational identity which mediates the identities of the same individuals as teachers and specialists.

How is this related to the processes of allocation of pupils to knowledge? It indicates that while pupils are allocated to, and may compete for, differentially evaluated knowledge, this allocation, and the results of this competition, entail the allocation of pupils to specialist teachers. The market aspect of the curricular economy is thus one where two kinds of resources or commodities are competed for according to evaluation categories: knowledge and pupils.

If we now consider the dynamics of allocation as a socially organised pattern involving interaction and competition between individuals, we can predict that the mediating identity of 'specialist teacher' will be reflected in normative conceptions regulating competition between teachers for consensually valued resources (pupils). These conceptions can be said to mediate the two opposed but legitimate aspects of the curricular economy: the duty of a teacher to pupils, as a transmitter of culture to the immature, and the right of a specialist to recruit as valuable a clientele as he can. They are therefore likely to be formulated in terms of notions of legitimate claim, and to recommend moderation in recruitment. A formal analogy might be identified in the status of barristers, within an adversary system of justice, as 'officers of the court'.

The negotiation of allocation, then, takes place in a curricular market, but in terms which are related to the command aspect of the curricular economy. Its limits are located at the zone where knowledge ceases to be allocated according to command rules, i.e. is imposed on pupils or denied them.

This zone has a blurred edge, of course, since some knowledge is imposed on or denied to some categories of pupils, and this imposition or denial may therefore be extended or contracted by negotiation. Beyond this zone, however, knowledge and pupils are available; and the social organisation of allocation, therefore, will take the form of the negotiation of structures of availability. This negotiation will involve evaluative hierarchies and classifications of pupils and knowledge, and collegiacy norms regulating competition for pupils between teachers.

The focus of the negotiation of allocation is therefore the organised form of the curricular market. This can be described as an allocation matrix which brings pupils and knowledge into organised relation with one another. Within it, for example, certain contents will be offered to certain categories of pupils; but contents will be also be presented in a form which reflects categories of knowledge. Since availability is based on the fact of pupil choice (both a legitimating ideology of choice, and the simple impossibility of including all contents in a pupil's timetable, lie behind this), only some contents will be chosen by individual pupils. But in general, the contents offered to a category of pupils are presented in groups whose structure reflects the evaluation of contents on various dimensions. Given the choice of one content from each group, to put two into a group clearly prevents a pupil's learning both. On the other hand, a content can be included in more than one group.

The details of this kind of allocation matrix (known in schools as 'option settings') are discussed in Chapter 6.

Here the essential point is that on the curricular market, the recruitment of pupils and the allocation of curricular contents *are* crucially affected by the form in which they are organised by this matrix. It is therefore at this sector of the curricular economy that we should look for the dynamics of negotiated allocation. In particular, it is here that we are likely to find classics teachers attempting to maintain the legitimacy of their knowledge in terms of categories of pupils and knowledge, and hence with reference to the matrix which organises their mutual allocation.

1.7 Contents

The rest of the thesis can now be described briefly in terms of the concerns and preliminary frameworks of analysis developed in this chapter. In general, the thesis is chronologically arranged, following the changing meaning and location of classics from 1800 to the present.

The location of classics within English education has changed with respect to the division of social and cultural labour. In the 19th century, it symbolised the noble existence of those whose identity as autonomous and whole human beings was seen as contaminated by the degradation of individual personality induced by the division of social labour. Yet by the end of the century, the challenges to this ideology and to the curricular knowledge which was associated with it had been absorbed into a gentlemanly ideology of 'godliness and good learning', just as the midcentury challenges of industrialism and democracy had been absorbed by a noble-bourgeois assimilation. Freedom and order were combined in a liberal democracy which concealed the objective reality of restricted access to power and culture beneath the ideology of market freedom. Thus classics was a curricular commodity alternative to others; but nevertheless managed to retain and symbolise dominant culture and the culture of domination. This is the subject of Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 deals with the market curriculum as it developed in the State system of this century; its ideological

bases; and its linkage with social mobility and the stratification of educational provision. The change in definitions of classics from the organic unity of its moral content to the mental discipline of Latin is traced from the collapse of the Board of Education's efforts to uphold the former, to the explicit adoption of a Platonic hierarchy dominated by intellect, academic knowledge and the grammar schools in the Norwood Report (1943). In Chapter 4, the classics teachers are introduced, and their careers as pupils and teachers within the tripartite selective system are followed. The major emphasis here is on the details of their socialisation, within this system, into its dominant assumptions about classics, curricular knowledge and learning. Their personal definitions of the content of classics are compared, so that one can gain an impression of the amount of individual variation which obtains within a single system and, presumably, a single 'habitus' or generated pattern of dispositions to action. These are relevant to the following chapters, since it is with the assumptions and definitions gained during socialisation through the selective system that these teachers now face the crisis of classics which has followed its collapse.

In Chapter 5, the course and pattern of secondary reorganisation in Swansea is traced in outline. Particular attention is given to the variety of organisational forms this produced, which might be expected to affect the situation of classics teachers in individual schools. In addition, this chapter reports the first phase of the negotiation of definitions of classics; it was during, and because of, secondary reorganisation that an agreement was reached with

the LEA on the introduction into its schools of common classics courses. Finally, the detailed negotiation of classics during the five years since the introduction of these courses is analysed in Chapter 6. The central focus is on the negotiation of groupings of optional subjects, involving other teachers, pupils and timetablers.

Methodology

The immediate aim of the research on which this thesis is based has already been referred to in Section 1. The lack of previous research and the intention of relating personal, organisational and other situational factors required the intensive study of a circumscribed field. Classics is the subject of my degree, and one I have taught; Swansea is where I live. I therefore interviewed almost all the classics teachers working in or near Swansea (15), averaging about six interviews with each. The interviews were based on a structured schedule, but this was not rigidly held to in the course of interviews. Nevertheless, all its ground was covered with the respondents, though in varying order. The schedule covered biographies, including schooling, career, social and georgraphical mobility; opinions of the nature and virtues of classics in relation to teaching and learning; the course of secondary reorganisation in Swansea and its effect on the provision of classics; and the nature and determinants of classics teaching in local schools, including changing catchment areas, the attitudes of other staff to classics, and the response of pupils and parents to new classics courses. These teachers formed almost the total population of classics teachers in the area, but were originally selected to include members of categories of age, sex and marital status, and type of school (11-13, 13-18, 11-18; mixed and single-sex).

CHAPTER 1 - NOTES

1. The origin of the phrase "division du travail" throws some light on Durkheim's approach. It seems to date from 1827, when the zoologist Henri Milne-Edwards suggested the analysis of organisms according to their "division du travail physiologique", as a means of locating them in the Great Chain of Being. Milne-Edwards never accepted Darwinism. (Durkheim 1966: 41. Merz 1964, 2:396, 4:559).

2. The notion of habitude was central to the writing of the psychologist Victor Egger (e.g. La parole intérieure 1881), who was on the faculty of the University of Bordeaux in the 1880s and whose work is likely, therefore, to have been familiar to Durkheim.

3. J.G. Fichte 1807 Addresses to the German nation. The ascription derives from a remark by Marshal von Moltke.

CHAPTER 2

CLASSICS AS DOMINANT CULTURE AND CULTURE OF DOMINATION: NOBLE, GENTLEMANLY AND BOURGEOIS CURRICULA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

"Tradition, in England, has succeeded not so much in conquering, as in suppressing, whatever is in conflict with it" (Mill 1869:124)

"Early Victorian history might be read as the formation in the thirties of a Marxian bourgeoisie which never came into existence, the re-emergence in the forties of a more ancient tradition, a sense of the past and a sense of social coherence, which never fulfilled its promise, and a compromise between the two which possessed no ultimate principle of stability" (Young 1934. 2:428)

2.1 Society and education in 19th century England: the nature of change and the analysis of change.

The attacks on the University of Oxford which were launched in the early part of the last century took a variety of forms, their immediate targets including obsolete scholarship, idle fellows, the neglect of science, and religious restrictions on entry. What was under attack, however, was a single though complex entity. Oxford and its classical curriculum were the training ground of the aristocratic elite, and as such had become the symbol of an England which antedated the political and industrial revolutions of the late 18th century. The subject of this chapter, similarly, is both the content and the social location of classics. To trace the changes in the denotations and connotations of classics is to describe a process of both curricular and social change. Description will also demand explanation: in particular, of the fact that at the end of

the century, and despite several severe challenges to its legitimacy, classics remained the dominant curricular symbol of elite status.

The Oxford of the early 19th century represented both a traditional order, and a response to the inevitable transformation of that order which consisted in a stubborn reassertion of its values. In the course of its transformation, England was moving from the dominance of land and rank to one of class and capital under the impact of industrial wealth and revolutionary reason. The response of "the old orthodoxy of Oxford and England" (Newman 1967:62) was that of Burke: a retreat from the abstract reason of the French Revolution and the dissolving force of urban capital to a rural community, rooted in accumulated tradition and pragmatic intelligence, where the quintessence of Englishness was to be found, and might be preserved.

Others, however, found cause for optimism in the crisis of the old order. Drawing on the romantic historiography of Vico, Herder and St. Simon, they viewed their age as one of transition; the crisis of the old order announced the impending birth of its successor. Between these "organic" periods of stable values, "critical" periods intervened, dominated by a reason which moved unchecked by the directing and controlling influence of value. In this situation, the necessary task was one of rational reconstruction, so that the coherent specification of its organic form might bring the new age to a speedier birth. (Houghton 1957: 1 - 23, esp. 1 - 3; Forbes 1950).

One of the difficulties inherent in this project lay in the paradoxical role of reason, which was at once the glory of Man as a civilised being, the necessary instrument of

cultural reconstruction and the corrosive of coherent systems of value. The definition of reason, and its relation to practice and to value, was therefore crucial to the direction and success of this project, and in this definition, classics continually functioned as exemplar and resource. In both this chapter and the next, conceptions of reason and their relation to changing definitions of classics are described in the contexts of the curricular and social change which they both symbolised and legitimated.

The mention of those Victorians who engaged with historical change armed with a theory of historical change serves to introduce a problem of interpretation which is especially severe in the case of 19th-century England. The general problem is that of maintaining an analytic distinction between the course of change and the contemporary and subsequent accounts of it which are constructed in terms of a particular conception of change. In this case, the connection between process and conception is even closer. As will be argued below, and exemplified later in the chapter, the dominant mode of social change in 19th century England was reflected in the legitimating ideology of the dominant social groups involved. It drew on the assimilative nature of the change which characterised the transfer of power from a noble elite to a new noble/bourgeois alliance, and in so doing represented such change as "natural" or, the insular equivalent, "English". The problems of analysing such changes and ideology can be brought into sharper focus by comparing three modern accounts of social and educational change in 19th century England (Armstrong 1973; Musgrave 1970, 1968; Vaughan & Archer 1971).

Armstrong's aim is to establish the content and conditions of different elite administrative roles in relation to economic development. Thus although he looks at the characteristics of administrative systems from the earliest points (the mid 17th century on) at which recognisably "modern" patterns can be identified, he concentrates on the relationship of elite socialisation, recruitment and ideology to the process of industrialisation. Comparative analysis is central to his approach (he compares England, Prussia, France and Russia). As he puts it,

> "Even if confined to a very few systems, "variable analysis" may be useful to show how correlation of data derived from a single system may be spurious" (1973:27)

More specifically,

> "If an institutional complex favours the material interests or status of a group; if members of the group persistently advance superficially coherent arguments for the institutional complex; if these arguments seek to legitimise the institutions by appealing to societal traditions or interests but do not admit special group interests; if, in other times and places, these arguments are readily recognised as dubious; if the arguments (and possibly the institutions themselves) are abandoned when they no longer accord with the group interests; then the institutional complex is being used ideologically. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to apply this analysis, which is central to our approach, to a single time and place. The comparative method is nearly indispensable". (ibid: 27-8).

What picture does Armstrong give of the peculiarly English relation of industrialisation and elite administration? The essential feature is the relationship in time.

> "... a "modern" administration did finally take form in Britain in 1870 - two centuries after the French administrative elite originated and at least a century later than our other Continental examples - ... it was a response (though an ambiguous one) to industrialisation rather than a factor in its accomplishment". (ibid: 35).

Later on, Armstrong considers the function of classics in the legitimation of elite status, and concludes that

> "there is a fairly close correspondence between the degree to which businessmen in Great Britain and the western Prussian industrial regions ultimately accepted the types of schooling prescribed by their societal elites. What is especially interesting is that ... the British development occurs nearly a century later, although British industrialisation was completed at least a generation earlier than the Prussian. Apparently the elite schooling established in Prussia well in advance of industrialisation was only very gradually able to establish itself among the groups most involved in the industrialisation process. In England a new elite education, developed at least partly as a reaction against industrialisation ... was able to triumph somewhat more quickly" (ibid 144).

He adds that the curricula of these elite educational systems also differed, the 'scientific' being incorporated in Germany but repudiated in England; and draws the conclusion that

> "the weight of the homogeneous British elite formed <u>after</u> industrialisation was simply too strong for the entrepreneurs to be able to resist the aristocratic bias of the new education". (ibid 145).

Elite regrouping and reproduction in England therefore benefited from taking place after an early industrial revolution, and in the context of a conservative ideological response to it. But we can be more precise about the dating and nature of this re-formation:

> "The basic change occurred in the generation between 1830 and 1860, i.e., those decades of social transition at the end of the take-off period ... the new educational elite rejected both the local grammar schools traditionally attended by the middle class and the newer, innovative nonconformist academies established early in the 19th century. Instead, these educators devoted themselves to restructuring locally endowed Established Church schools which had been the neglected preserve of the provincial landed gentry. These erstwhile particularistic institutions became the major integrating mechanism for Thomas Arnold's "theology" of a new, embracing "establishment" uniting Anglican and Nonconformist". (ibid 107 - 8).

Arnold's "theology" is an example of the reconstruction ideology developed by the men referred to above (pp.45-6) under the influence of romantic historiography. Given their dedication to the reconstruction of social order, an especial concern with education was only to be expected:

> "We have been living, as it were, the life of three hundred years in thirty. All things have made a prodigious start ... Education ... is required by a people ... at that critical period when civilisation makes its first burst, and is accompanied by an intense commercial activity".
> (T. Arnold letters to newspapers in the 1830's, quoted by Williams 1958:114).

The successful birth of the "new age" was marked, then, by the formation of an assimilated and extended elite. The fusion of critical reason and organic value (expressed, in the 1860's, by Matthew Arnold's equation of culture and criticism) was symbolised by the triumph of liberal reform in the 1840's. The self-image which emerged to legitimate this new elite reflected this process: the English path to modernity consisted of freedom with order, gradual change through reform. Reason was domesticated into reasonableness, and the institutional symbol of the "English ideology" was Parliament, where political enemies remained personal friends. (Watson 1973:ix et passim). The relevance of this ideology to the 'peculiarly English' route to modernity has recently been stressed by Johnson:

> "... Liberalism ... has been astonishingly persistent and pervasive in English political life ... So pervasive is this legacy from the Victorian dichotomy of industry and land that it is evidently almost invisible. It has as good a claim to have been the characteristic content of 'the English ideology' than ((sic)) any kind of 'pseudo-feudalism'. The means to a real unmasking, however, is to recognise the co-existence of the two".
> (R. Johnson 1976: 25 - 6).

The crucial fact about this ideology, however, is not that it has been pervasive, but that its content has made it uniquely capable of mystification. This power can be illustrated by considering Musgrave's analysis of educational change in England (Musgrave 1970 and 1968). Musgrave's approach derives from the "end of ideology" ethos of the 1950's (MacIntyre 1971: ch.1), and so rejects class analysis in favour of a liberal pluralism whose categories are those

of the 'English ideology'. The following quotation will give some idea of this perspective.(1)

> "Central to the model to be used here is the idea of the definition of the situation. Such a definition indicates in a general form the forces at work in an institutional sphere and is derived from the value system of those who bring power to bear on the formulation of that definition. Actors in the sphere to which the definition is relevant take their goals from it.
>
> In this case the definitions to be considered are those of education taken from Acts of Parliament, official reports or speeches in parliament. From these definitions action has followed. A critic might consider these definitions to be interpretations of the ideology of the ruling class. However, certainly since the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, there has been enough real power conflict in British politics for definitions of this type to represent compromises between conflicting interest within a dialogue that assumed a higher level consensus of values about the nature of a democratic system. These definitions were the end product of a bargaining process, a "truce situation". In this context political parties can be said to inhabit a plural society, and their different value systems from time to time may allow a measure of consensus, which may or may not be marked by an agreed definition of the situation ...
>
> From this definition of the situation goals are given to the relevant institutional sphere, in this case the

> educational system ... As a result of these goals positions are created and norms evolve that govern the roles of the actors filling the new positions". (Musgrave 1970: 76).

Within this model, change takes place when "strains" develop in the educational system, or between it and other (sub) systems; these then lead to a new definition of the situation.

If Musgrave's work reflects the mood of the 1950's, Vaughan and Archer's displays the reaction against that mood in the next decade. More specifically, they compare England and France in order to refute a version of the "convergence thesis", an affiliate of the "ideology of the end of ideology" (MacIntyre 1971). The historical variant of this thesis they summarise in the form of three ruling assumptions:

> "Firstly, ... a strict pre- and post-industrial dichotomy corresponding to simple and complex structural relations involving education ... Secondly, ... that some aspect of the industrialisation process itself accounts for the transition from simplicity to complexity ... Thirdly, ... the processes of industrialisation and institutional secularisation are ... viewed as concurrent". (Vaughan & Archer 1971: 2 - 3).

Having employed the evidence for differential educational change in England and France to refute these assumptions, the authors go on to find wanting both Marxist and structural-functional analysis of the problem (ibid: 4-15), and propose instead a theory of change as the dialectic of ideological

challenge and response, based on Weber's scattered remarks about conflicting "types of man". Vaughan and Archer place at the head of this opening chapter the best-known of these remarks, that

> "Behind all the present discussions of the foundations of the educational system, the struggle of the 'specialist type of man' against the older type of 'cultivated man' is hidden at some decisive point". (2)

The substantive weaknesses in Vaughan and Archer's analysis derive from their search for patterns of ideological "domination and assertion". This leads them to ignore the empirical possibility of accommodation, alliance and assimilation as modes of inter-group relation. For them, aristocracy and clericalism represent a defensive establishment challenged by the ideologies of middle-class rationalism. As a result, Thomas Arnold's mediating Broad Church ideology becomes a variant of clerical defensiveness, and it is impossible for them to understand why

> " .. not only were the middle classes drawing apart from the poor, each stratum, in a steady competition, was drawing away from the stratum next below, accentuating its newly acquired refinements, and enforcing them with censorious vigilance". (Young 1934; 2:433)

since this kind of process does not conform to their conception of change as the interaction of conflicting groups and their ideologies.

Musgrave's liberal pluralist assumptions lead him to analyse the triumph of liberalism in terms of the categories

which belong to the ideological legitimation of that same process. He is therefore prevented from seeing that the nature of the process requires explanation.(3) Vaughan and Archer, on the other hand, look only for the dialectic of dominance and assertion, and so miss the importance of compromise and assimilation. Their chosen chronological limits, 1789 - 1848, are nowhere justified, but are surely "French limits". In English terms, they make much less sense; in fact they help to conceal the assimilative change of the 1830-60 period identified by Armstrong, by cutting it almost exactly in half.

Musgrave and Vaughan & Archer, then, provide contrary viewpoints on social and educational change; conflict is residual in the former, consensus in the latter. The relation between these viewpoints is that when applied to 19th century England, they both render invisible the specific characteristics of the noble/bourgeois accommodation of the "crucial generation" of 1830-60 and of the ideology developed to legitimate the domination of the new elite which emerged from this accommodation. The nature of both process and legitimation was missed both by Musgrave, who could see nothing else, and Vaughan & Archer, who looked straight through it. This is surely sufficient to indicate its remarkable capacity to conceal its own existence. In this sense, the "ideology of the end of ideology" is its rightful heir

2.2 Oxford under attack, 1800-30: dominance and assertion

In order to understand the nature of the liberal reformism of the "crucial period" from 1830 to 1860, we have to appreciate its reaction against the very different ideological debates of the previous thirty years. Here Vaughan and Archer's conception of ideological challenge and response fits much better; for whereas after 1830 Oxford began to be reformed from within, in the earlier period vigorous external attacks were met by intransigent defence.

This defence, which was led by Edward Copleston of Oriel, drew its weapons from the conservative ideology of Burke. On the other hand, the same resources later formed a central part of the legitimating ideology of liberal reform, representing piecemeal and assimilative change as normal and "English". In this section, therefore, Burke's conceptions of reason, liberty and change in relation to "Englishness" are briefly outlined, as preface to a more detailed analysis of Copleston's defence of Oxford.

The first point to be stressed is that the ideology of peaceful and assimilative change is, in a sense, the product of revolution: the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, which established the supremacy of Parliament and thus, according to the theorists of the Ancient Constitution, simply effected a 'revolution' in the original sense of coming full circle, by restoring ancient freedoms (Pocock 1957; Watson 1975: 39-47; Butterfield 1944; 1950). Yet this itself raised the question, whether the country in its newly settled situation needed more than an efficient centralised administration serving a 'patriot king'; such an

administration would consist of 'men of ability', and the national peace would similarly be kept by an army of professional soldiers: those best at their job.

It is in opposition to this view that Burke developed the conceptions of party, presumptive virtue, implicit reason and gentlemanly rule. A government of great leaders meant that failure would bring about no temporary setback, but disaster; hence the 'presumptive virtue' of the landed gentry, the leaders of local communities, was a preferable source of leadership. In exchange for the undeniable mediocrity of their rule, the country would gain stability and consistent virtue. Further, the alternation of parties of such men would act as a buffer against the dangers of absolutism: "no standing army!". It followed that intellect was not a transcendant and universalised force, but rather a slow process embedded in tradition and value, the cautious adaptation of a body of immemorial accretion.

For Burke, then, liberty is preserved not by the specious equality of all men before a value-free tribunal of reason, but by the rule of a national group of local landholders whose reasoning is embedded in responsibility, inheritance and value. In the context of the spectre of centralisation, professionalisation and abstract reason, the crucial point is that landholding makes a man independent of others: he is no dependant of monarch or noble, and is therefore both able to act freely and a symbol of freedom. In the context of Burke's reaction to the 'abstract freedom' of the French Revolution, this 'country' or 'oppositional' ideology becomes one of 'English liberty', and its characteristics are traced back to a national past. (On Burke, liberty and reason, see Canavan 1960, Mansfield 1965 and Grainger 1969; and on 'conservative thought' in general, Mannheim 1953).

This conception of civic virtue as rooted in the independence given by landholding is a familiar one. It is Aristotle's 'civic humanism', the rationalisation of a situation where the democratic polis was governed by a small minority of adult male citizens; and became the inspiration of those Renaissance communities in Italy which were republican states (e.g. Florence). For these communities, it has been argued, the Aristotelean theory of the polis provided a solution to the problem of time, which in the previously dominant Christian world view was oriented to the next world and equated the passage of time, and change, as decline and corruption. Secular and temporal power had to be conceived of in the particularity and frailty of saeculum and tempus. (Pocock 1957, 1971, 1972, 1975).

In the 18th century 'country' version of this ideology, the gentleman freeholder is therefore a monadic reflection of a free society, and its guarantor. The nation's freedom is thus preserved not by the egalitarian freedom of individuals, but by the liberty of citizens, who give a lead to their inferiors and protect them from the threat of court tyranny. "Liberal" thus comes to denote both the breadth and completeness which displays the self-sufficiency and independence of the monadic gentleman freeholder, and also the freedom this represents. Within the population as whole, some men are monadic reflections of society, while others are parts of it. These latter are not liberal, but mechanical and servile: in their dependence on others, as servants or specialists, they lack the full development of the liberally-educated man. This is also true of those engaged in commerce. Not only do they depend on others for their sustenance, but even dealing in alienable land fails to provide the stability on which alone

independence can be based. Pocock quotes Harrington's remark, "Lightly come, lightly go' of this kind of dealing. Virtue and commerce are thus antithetical (Pocock 1971: 91; 1972).

The Oxford of 1800 symbolised the continuity of these values for both supporters and detractors. The latter were led by a group of writers whose attacks on Oxford were published in the Edinburgh Review during the first decade of the new century. These attacks took a variety of particular forms, but were all aimed at a single target: "the old orthodoxy of Oxford and England" (Newman 1967:62). The defence of Oxford against the "calumnies" of the Review was led by Edward Copleston, at the time fellow and later provost of Oriel, who in 1810 and 1811 published three pamphlets describing both the "course of study" at Oxford and its function as a place of education.(4)

For Copleston Oxford is a breeding-ground for the reliable mediocrities whose "presumptive virtue" Burke had seen as the guarantee of English liberty:

> "... let us beware how we sacrifice, after the example of vain ostentatious breeders, the food of some twenty or thirty, for the sake of making a proud show of one ... If we send out into the world an annual supply of men, whose minds are imbued with literature ... the soundest principles of policy and religion ... the elements of science ... if, with this common stock, of which they all partake, they ... strike off into the several professions ... to engage in the public service ... or to watch over and manage the lesser circle of affairs, which the independent gentlemen of this country, and of this country only, conduct in their respective neighbourhoods; I think we do a greater and more solid good to the nation, than if we sought to extend over Europe the fame of a few exalted individuals ...". (Copleston 1810a:150. The following excerpts are from this pamphlet unless otherwise indicated).

Since the aim is to produce gentlemen via the inculcation of a "common stock", variation in students' ability is unimportant even if it were possible to do anything about it:

> "The facility ... of learning ... varies in such wide proportions, that no fair classification can be founded on this basis. It is idle to think that any system of education can equalise the powers of different minds. The nominal rank and precedence of the student, like rank in all the liberal professions, must be determined chiefly, not by his merit, but by his standing: the habits of society, the mixed and entangled interests of life require it: but in obtaining this rank, it may be contrived (and it is the great secret of liberal education so to contrive it) that emulation shall be a ... commanding principle" (137).

This notion of "emulation" constitutes a 'materially rational' system of grading, in a sense. It provides a contest in which the entrant of highest "standing" constitutes the 'winning-post'. In contrast, in the formally rational contest of academic examination, equal availability and the single standard of judgment (individual ability) prevails - in theory. (For the practice, see Section 3 below).

This doctrine of varied potential and pragmatic adjustment to the "habits of society" enables Copleston to brush aside the criticism of fellowships restricted to founders' kin, despite his admission that such fellowships restrict the opportunities of the deserving:

> "The comparison ought not in candour to be made with a perfect standard; but with that which seems fairly attainable, and reasonably to be expected in the present state of things ... But ... Are the wills of private benefactors to be set aside, not because they contain provisions <u>injurious</u> to the public ..., but simply because these provisions are <u>not the best that might have been</u>? ... An English Legislature has always evinced...

> a tender regard for the authority of Wills, and the sacredness of private property ... whether even the maintenance of a sacred principle be not a greater good than the mere amelioration of a system, ought to be ... well considered, before any change is made". (181-4)

The rejection of an "idea of a university" in favour of an immanent and organic "nature", in Aristotelian and Burkean terms, is exemplified in Copleston's italicised statement (p.183) that "The university of Oxford is not a national foundation". Rather, as he points out, it is a congeries of accumulated bequests and endowments. But within this ideological context, it is precisely the fact that Oxford is not "national" which makes it so essentially "English", (cp. Gillispie 1950:35).

Thus the proper way to assess Oxford is not against a Platonic 'idea' of a university, but in relation to the question "could it be worse?". This passion for tolerance and laissez-faire as pillars of national tradition is also manifested when Copleston discusses the system of instruction at Oxford. He begins by decrying the "Platonic reverie ... the Jesuit scheme" of treating the mind like wax, to be moulded and shaped by constant discipline:

> "Heaven, and the guardian genius of English liberty, preserve us from this degrading process. We want not men who are clipped and espaliered into any form ... Let our saplings take their full spread ... Their ... distortions must be rectified; the ... caterpillar of vice kept from them: we must dig round them, and water them ... The sunbeams of heaven, and the elements of nature, will do the rest.
>
> In the first stages .. of boyhood, restraint must be continually practised ... But, in proportion as reason is strengthened, freedom should be extended ...
>
> On this principle I rejoice to see a manly and generous discipline established among us ..." (157-8).

The discipline of this doctrine is clearly "formal", in a sense. But it is so because it is the link between a starting point (inherited worth) and an end-product (the next generation of the elite) which are alike taken for granted. This is not the imposition of form on matter, of abstract reason on mere material; it is "manly and generous". In short, it refers to Burke and the Aristotelian/civic humanist tradition of <u>independence</u>. The Platonising alternative which Copleston rejects is represented by the "courtly" tradition of gentlemanly grace and poise summed up in the writings of the Earl of Shaftesbury. This conception is described, and compared with Burke's, in the following section.

The same theme animates Copleston's account of the classical authors read at Oxford. From Thucydides, the student learns of the dangers of both "corrupt oligarchy and wild democracy"; from Xenophon (the nearest approach to the Burkean image of all Greek authors, perhaps), lessons in gentlemanly leadership:

> "... from none can he better learn how to play skilfully upon, and how to keep in order, that finely-toned instrument, a free people". (160).

We are back with the picture of a free people whose freedom is maintained by the liberty of its (local) leaders (and of course the acceptance by the masses of their 'natural' superiority).

In his "Second reply..." Copleston develops the theme with support from Burke:

> "Teach men to talk of virtue in lofty phrases when it is an abstract name, and to laugh at it when exemplified in specific conduct. Let them profess to love and revere their country in theory, but despise every separate part of which the aggregate is composed. It was in reference to some tenets of this nature Mr. Burke observed, that "to be attached to the subdivision - to love the little platoon we belong to in society, is the first principle, the germ, as it were, of public affection . . . " ". (Copleston 1810b: 116-7)

One aspect of this apparent paradox is the liberal/mechanical dichotomy mentioned in the last section. Dependence, specialisation and trade disqualify a man for the independence which enables him to exist as a monadic reflection of national liberty. How, then, is one to educate pragmatically for a society in which the division of labour is growing apace? (107)

In outline, Copleston's answer is that we must distinguish between education which benefits society as a whole and education which gives "advantage and prosperity" to an individual. "The former alone deserves the attention of a philosopher; the latter is narrow, selfish and mercenary" (106). Those who instruct in the latter sense,

> "... however they may deserve the thanks ... of those whom they benefit, do no service to mankind. There are but so many good places in the theatre of life; and he who puts us in the way of procuring one of them, does to <u>us</u> indeed a great favour, but none to the whole assembly". (ibid).

In other words, given the status of a (presumptively virtuous) minority in maintaining the nation's liberty, keeping them in their "good places" benefits us all, whereas helping anyone else to a place may destroy the system as a whole (cp the "sacred principle" argument, above.)

Copleston recognised that the "liberal professions" form a distinct category - they relate to vital aspects of life, they have a certain dignity, even if they are specialised and maintained by payment (hence the "ambiguity" which Finley mentions, Finley 1972). In language which recalls the horticultural passage quoted above, he extends the mantle of gentlemanliness to them:

> "In the cultivation of literature is found that common link, which, among the higher and middling departments of life, unites the jarring sects ... in one interest, which ... kindles common feelings, unmixed with those narrow prejudices with which all professions are more or less infected. The knowledge ... which is thus acquired, expands and enlarges the mind, excites its faculties, and calls those muscles and limbs into freer exercise, which, by too constant use in one direction, not only acquire an illiberal air, but are apt also to lose somewhat of their native play and energy. And thus, without directly qualifying a man for any of the employments of life, it enriches and ennobles all ... it enables him to act his part in each of them with better grace and more elevated carriage". (Copleston 1810b:111-2).

The country gentleman had held the balance between the dangers of court corruption and mob rule; now the whole settled system had been disrupted by the appearance of capital, which created a new "middling department" - also a new, and perhaps more dangerous, plebian mass. Hence it is not surprising that the liberal professions are treated here by Copleston as a potential ally to be brought into the path of "right reason", rather than an enemy of cultivation to be avoided.

The strategic location of the middle classes in the first decades of the century can be made clearer by looking at them from an almost diametrically opposed perspective, that of Lord Brougham:

> "By the people, I mean the middle classes, the wealth and intelligence of the country, the glory of the British name" (qu Briggs 1960:55).

From a Burkean point of view, it could be argued that those with enough capital could transform it into freehold property and thus transcend dependence on credit and trade. The middle classes as a whole, in fact, could be seen as promising material for an "education" in the paths of right reason:

> "The seat of public opinion is in the middle ranks of life - in that numerous class, removed from the wants of labour and the cravings of ambition, enjoying the advantages of leisure, and possessing intelligence sufficient for the formation of a sound judgment, neither warped by interest nor obscured by passions".
> (Sir J. Graham, Corn & currency, 1826, 9. qu Briggs 1960:57)

In passages like these, the growing acceptability of an alliance between land and credit, nobility and bourgeoisie is reflected. Copleston's Oxford, however, remained opposed to change, and his intransigence provoked antagonist ideologies of curricular knowledge which sidestepped his assertions rather than confronting them directly. But this, in turn, led to the creation of a curricular market of separate and competing embodiments of 'respectable' (academic) knowledge. Thus at the same time as the university curriculum acted to 'moralise' the market via the liberal professions, the market invaded the university, and the academic became a professional. To this reciprocal interaction, the next section is devoted.

2.3 Academic market and cultural capital: Oxford and the public schools reformed, 1830-60.

In defending Oxford against its critics, Copleston talked of "manly discipline", but devoted most of his space to a discussion of Greek and Latin syntax and textual criticism. Though this now seems almost incomprehensible, Gillispie points out that

> "One could ... argue that much of the prestige - or at any rate the snob value - of classical studies as general instrument of education in the modern English-speaking world derives from the fact that in the early nineteenth century Oxford tutors, who were determined to maintain their monopoly of university teaching, did not know anything else to teach. They believed in their wares and valued their positions, and they were forced in self-defence to elaborate a persuasive justification of the manner in which the English upper class was being educated. Publications of Cambridge dons claimed for the study of mathematics the same pedagogical benefits which in Oxford were attributed to classics - a circumstance which supports the impression that the manner rather than the matter of the education was what ultimately gave rise to the theory developed to defend it.
> To the radical contention that the excellence of an education is measured by its utility, conservatives tended to reply that, on the contrary, the value of an education is proportional to its practical uselessness".
> (Gillispie 1950:37).(5)

The stress on "discipline rather than furniture of the mind" common to these defensive definitions(6) was therefore a product of the concern to legitimate curricular monopoly (whether of classics or mathematics). But the tacitly assumed virtues of this knowledge led to its legitimation being carried out in terms which, in assuming the existence of specific content, did not refer to content at all. The curricular reformers who were looking for ways to justify

the introduction of "new knowledge" into the Oxford curriculum were thus faced with the intransigent defence of a monopoly in content-free terms. They therefore developed the idea of academic reason as a separate legitimating criterion.

> "The reformer had ... to walk a tightrope between "liberal education" and "practical, professional education"... It was at this point that the ideal of an academic profession became crucial. Clearly, the main goal of these reformers was to reorganise the studies of the university to provide more direct training for the professions. At the same time, they had to avoid "low, utilitarian" notions. The solution was to argue that physiology, ... etc., were all ... sources of abstract "mental culture", and that the teachers of these subjects must be 'students of truth not practitioners for gain'." (Engel 1975:323).

The dogmatism of the Coplestonian defence thus prompted the growth of a market of alternative embodiments of mental discipline, which formed a new way of marking off social superiors from their inferiors, just as the "Old" (aristocratic) humanism had challenged the dominance of ecclesiastical elites, while supporting the legitimacy of elite rule as a principle:

> "The ecclesiastical official interpretation was unable to maintain its monopoly position ... the new elite of Humanism ... claimed the monopoly of the academic interpretation of reality; the interpretation was to be given in secular terms, but the full distance between the educated and the uneducated was to be maintained". (Mannheim 1952:203).

This pattern of curricular expansion - the additive accumulation of independent "discipline" subjects - was facilitated by the anarchic state of contemporary theories of mind. Alongside associationism, and often combined with it in pedagogical writing as if there were no conflict, were

conceptions of the several faculties or powers of the mind. These came from various sources. The major source in England was probably the "Scottish philosophy", the commonsense realism developed to combat the scepticism of Hume. This doctrine was the single most influential philosophical theory in this country for the first half of the 19th century, and its then figurehead, Sir William Hamilton, the most famous philosopher; the school and its leader crumbled into comparative obscurity in the 1860s. One reason for this was that Mill published an "Examination" of Hamilton's work which had little difficulty in pointing out its contradictions. This in turn was because Hamilton had tried to merge realism with Kant's philosophy, the other great response to Humean scepticism. But the two doctrines had in common the analysis of mental structure in terms of faculties, even if the origin and significance of these was different in each case. The Scots produced large numbers of textbooks, each based on its predecessor and commenting on it, each containing long and detailed "mappings" of the mental faculties.(7) Kant, on the other hand, had inherited from Tetens and Baumgarten a three-faculty image of mind, and this became the basis of his production of the three Critiques.(8) Distinct from these views, but reinforcing the general tendency to talk of education in terms of faculties (and also the general confusion about what counted as a faculty) were the various phrenological doctrines current in the first half of the century, based originally on the work of Gall and his disciple Spurzheim.(9)

What these views provided, between them, was a vocabulary whose superficial coherence concealed the absence of criteria of inclusion and relation (i.e. what is a faculty? How are faculties related?). In discussing the origins of the

doctrine of "formal training" Archer ascribes it to the influence of Descartes on ideas of knowledge, and traces this influence, which established mathematics as knowledge par excellence, through Malebranche to Locke. But he stresses that

> " 'reason", as conceived by this school, was a near to being a single function as any process could ... be. Its founders ... did not admit that a different kind of reasoning was needed in different subjects. It was only when their system as a whole vanished, but their modes of speaking survived, that this result came about. It was then, too, that we were presented with a multitude of other "faculties", each to be trained by a separate subject, and that education came to be conceived as a "harmonious training of all the faculties"." (Archer 1925:176)

Leslie Stephen's verdict on the views of the Scottish realists makes the same point:

> "a philosophy which tries to save the superstructure while abandoning the foundations, which multiplies first principles because it cannot prove them". (Stephen 1876; 2:16).

With this change in emphasis from a reason immanent in noble values and gentlemanly behaviour to a transcendent reason embodied in separate subjects, "The old virtues - glory, nobility of mind, dignity, generosity, liberality ... - slipped away, and cerebral qualities took their place. The shift in education was made from social or socio-moral qualities to intellectual qualities". (Rothblatt 1973:30). At Oxford, this change was reflected in the least "specialised" of courses, Litterae Humaniores (Greats), where the earlier dominance of Aristotle subsided and Plato began to appear. The first question on Plato in the Logic paper was set in

1847 (Newsome 1974:73), and Jowett's translation of the Dialogues began to appear in 1853.

Newman's Idea of a university, which was published in 1852, also forms part of this move from Aristotle to Plato, though it is in many ways eccentric to changes in English education. Apart from the title Newman gave it, the Platonic stress is evident in several of its doctrines. The crucial passage is part of the third section of the 8th Discourse:

> "... the philosophy of an imperial intellect, for such I am considering a University to be, is based, not so much on simplification as on discrimination. Its true representative defines, rather than analyses ... If he has one cardinal maxim in his philosophy, it is, that truth cannot be contrary to truth; if he has a second, it is, that truth often seems contrary to truth ...". (Newman 1976: 371-2).

While Jowett's Balliol was developing into a seminary for the training of Platonic "guardians", Arnold's Rugby had already become a seminary for the making of "Christian men". But Arnold's doctrines also derived from Plato; or rather from the neo-Platonism of 'form in matter' already sketched briefly in Chapter 1. What is more, just as Oxford was moving away from the Aristotelean views of Burke and Copleston to an emphasis on the rational guardians of the Laws, so Arnold's ideas represented the working out of a conception of gentlemanliness opposed to that of Burke. It was, in fact, the Platonising ideology of "court and courtesy" which Burke had attacked, and which Copleston derided as "sickly sentimentalism" which was unEnglish and unmanly.(10) This ideology, which became the basis of the

public-school code of behaviour, was that of Shaftesbury; an ideology whose Platonism only made it a more dangerous enemy for Newman, since its neoPlatonic assumptions brought divine grace down to earth in the form of the "charisma" of the courtier:

> "Accordingly, virtue being only one kind of beauty, the principle which determines what is virtuous is, not conscience, but taste". (Newman 1976: 171-2).

In Renaissance Italy, the Plotinian doctrine of the immanence on earth of the divine grace influenced theorising about the role of the humanist at court. The courtier (Il cortegiano) was not, and hardly could be, a strong and independent centre of moral worth. His place was at the tyrant's court, his function to advise him. Disagreement was not the necessary focus of civic life, as it could be for the Aristotelean citizen: in general, one agreed and stayed, or disagreed and went into exile. (See Martines 1974).

The courtier was thus one who simply 'belonged'; but not to a body of equal citizens. Thus although both courtier and citizen typically spent their time in reaffirming their status before others, the citizen could display civic virtue in argument and persuasion: what could the courtier do? The solution, which is explicit in Castiglione (Il libro del cortegiano, 1528), is couched in terms of aesthetic qualities. The courtier does many things, but it is the manner of their performance which distinguishes him from lesser mortals. To be precise, he shows grazia and sprezzata desinvoltura (grace and cool ease). His life is a ceremony of grace, a celebration of a timeless harmony which is static rather

than stable. It is apt that 'taste' rather than moral reasoning is the basis of judgment, for 'de gustibus non disputandum', and the courtier does not have the freedom to dispute with his prince. The separation of taste from moral substance is symbolised in one of the remarks in Castiglione's Courtier, where the transforming effect of grazia is likened to the effect of seasoning on food. (Martines 1974: 82-3. The classic sociological discussion of this general area is Weber's, e.g. 1948: 391, 427ff).

It is this conception of the courtier as the earthly manifestation of 'grace' which reappears in Shaftesbury, transmitted to him via the Cambridge Platonists (cp Cassirer 1953, Passmore 1967). The courtly gentleman is a being with a very different internal structure from Burke's landed citizen. In Shaftesbury's own terms, he has an 'organic form' as part of the divine creation partaking of divine reason; the form in him is dominant, since he is human and hence nearest to God of the created beings. Indeed (and this is important, as will be shown below), his participation in divine grace means that he can create, just as God has done. His form is the reason within him; this gives him intuitive knowledge of the good, the true and the beautiful (thus Locke, Hobbes and Descartes are transcended and rejected). The unity and harmony of his being, in fact, make these three things identical. Beauty is truth, truth beauty. This is "the humanist lie of the identity of the true, the beautiful and the good" (cp. Finley 1972:22). Contra Descartes, the basis of knowledge is certainty; contra Hobbes, the basis of sociality is benevolence, which identifies self- and social interest, and renders social order unproblematic.

A final exemplification of the contrast between Burke and Shaftesbury lies in their aesthetics. Shaftesbury's, stressing as it did the creative potential of men, was the first systematic aesthetic, and laid the foundations for the doctrines of art and feeling which eventually led to Kant's third critique. Predictably, Shaftesbury's positive views were neoclassical, stressing unity and form as the French theorists of neoclassical drama did. Burke, on the other hand, opposed to the 'beautiful' the 'sublime': the wild, alarming, terrifying, very different from the elegant ease and decorum of the court (and, Burke surely would have said, the unEnglish formalism of the French). The contrast between the contrasting types of gentleman - the monad of harmony and the monad of liberty - are reflected here, and Cassirer summarises the contrast exactly when he says, "The beautiful unites, the sublime isolates" (1953; cp Abrams 1958). It is only for Shaftesbury that the gentleman is himself a work of art, of artifice, developed into harmonious realisation through the disciplining of innate form.

Where Burke begins from tradition and value, and embeds reason in these, Shaftesbury's gentleman is all reason: but reason, because it is everything, is the form of the organism, rather than a cerebral potential. Harmony, balance and decorum are the ideals of this kind of life. They are also educational aims. The creative potential of human beings is manifested in their ability to create other humans, by moulding the potential of the young. This potential becomes the form of the adult, but is always present, albeit in unrealised shape. Thus education consists, in essence, of formal training and mental discipline: of exercising innate potential till it realises its natural limits.

The neoPlatonic continuum of forms has already been mentioned (Ch.1, Section 3), as has its temporalisation into the history of humanity as the emergence of form from matter (reason from contexts of value and action) at the hands of the German romantics. Shaftesbury's own neoPlatonism formed, however, the immediate source of this romantic theorising. The importance of this contexts of ideas here lies in the bourgeois ideology of Bildung (education as the formation of character) which was constructed within it by Fichte and von Humboldt.(11) The outline of Shaftesbury's doctrine and its application to the creation of "new men" by impressing organic form upon them can stand as a summary of the theory of Bildung. Its social and historical context is, however, also important. It represented a break with the "old humanism" of the aristocratic schools (galantoria) which has emphasised elegance and style - the features of being which indicated the absolute leisurely independence of the noble. The "new humanism" of the Bildung ideology was part of an attempt to reconstruct German culture after the defeat, at the hands of Napoleon, at Jena in 1807. In this reconstruction, it was the middle classes who were to be the bearers of national culture, forming a new elite of civil servants whose status would be based on education rather than property: "Greek literature is and must remain a subject of study for the few" insisted von Humboldt. (Armstrong 1973:135). Greek culture was the chosen "organic form" for Bildung; it was, after all, the most adequate realisation of human reason in history, as the philosophical achievements of the Greeks demonstrated. This could be also applied to language: as a language was the essential form of a cultural whole, disciplined initiation into language was the key to the absorption of the culture in question. (cp Burrow 1967:186-7. The doctrine reappears, e.g. in Snell 1960).

Thomas Arnold was one of a group of "liberal Anglicans" who conceived the task of "reconstructing culture" and bringing their country into an organic age in very much these terms. (cp. the first section of this chapter). Drawing on the romantic philosophy of history of Herder, as well as on Vico, they saw the life of an individual as recapitulating the life of a civilisation. Thus not only could education bring about the revivification of the nation, but the content and course of education ought to follow the history of civilisation. Small boys were thus savages:

> "My object will be, if possible, to form Christian men, for Christian boys I can scarcely hope to make ... I suspect that a low standard of morals in many respects must be tolerated among them, as it was on a larger scale in what I consider the boyhood of the human race". (Arnold letter of 2.3. 1828 quoted by Forbes 1950:111).

Arnold's innovative reliance on prefects to rule younger boys, and his treatment of sixth-formers as adults, springs from the same view: the older boys "represented a different historical stage" (ibid:112). The inclusion of classics as a dominant curricular content, and its treatment as moral content and historical process, are legitimated in similar terms; Greek and Roman history, between them, offer us two complete cycles of human history, whereas modern history is incomplete (ibid:113).

Through Arnold's reforms, and the later influence of his pupils in public schools, the "moral magic" of Shaftesbury's gentleman ideal became the basis of the self-image of the new elite of educated gentleman. The gelded quality of the ideal, which Newman stressed - the negative character of the man who

"offends no-one" - made it an effective medium for socialisation into a group identity. The organic form of the gentleman became the rule of "good form", which, in making a statement about moral action in terms of the definition of the gentleman as a work of art, offered no scope for discussion or disagreement. As with the Renaissance courtier, the only choice was to be a member or leave; unless one had a separate power base as Bismarck had, for instance. His saying "Why should I be a harmonious personality?" exemplifies the direct challenge this makes possible. (Quoted in von Martin 1944:95).

How do these developments in secondary education relate to the curricular changes at Oxford described earlier in the chapter? How do they both relate to the overall process of noble-bourgeois assimilation in the period 1830-60? The rest of this section attempts to provide at least the outline of an answer to these questions, which will also pull together the separate strands of the chapter as it has so far developed.

The reconstruction of culture which fused critical reason with organic value, and thus brought about transition into an organic period of stability, was achieved through the creation of the gentleman, "... the mingling of the aristocratic ideal of chivalry with the Puritan notions of the successful middle class" (Laski 1940:21). The social harmony of the new "organic period" was thus the product of the development of individuals into harmonies via the balanced discipline of their several faculties. The literature of the period abounds in examples of the monsters which will result from the failure to preserve this balance in education.

> "... A theory of education which has for its end the triple development of the human powers ... if made universal ... would change the face of society ... A merely physical development ... would produce an external object of goodly appearance, but that object would walk over the earth, only superior to the untamed hero of the brutes in its erect posture. A merely intellectual development would give man the power to grasp the universe as he does now, but his rule would be the despotism of evil. A merely moral development might ensure virtue a stand-point, but it would rob it of motive and leave it a beautiful but humiliating negation of itself. A development of the intellectual and physical power, in total disregard of the moral, would place the soul of a fallen angel in the body of a giant ..." The Massachusetts Teacher 3 (Feb. 1850) 49, quoted by Katz 1971:92).

Thring of Uppingham provides an example with more vivid immediacy:

> "Supposing the due proportion between two great principles is lost, intellect versus character for example, ... the nation becomes all head and no body, like a dwarf ... The prizewinners big-headed dwarfs, the neglected boys hollow-headed animals ..." (Thring 1894:14; cp. Newsome 1961:1).

The nation is thus remade through the making of individuals. But the reformed public schools in which this "balanced development" was carried out were accessible only to those who could afford them. The renovation of the schools often included the breaking of founders' statutes providing for the education of the local poor; in some cases, the entry qualifications (especially of Latin & Greek) had the same effect. Paulsen saw this pattern very clearly:

> "... by lengthening the course and making the entrance to the Gymnasium more difficult, they ((classical languages)) have the effect of keeping the lower elements out ... it is an important consideration in leading many quarters to maintain instruction in the ancient languages ... We are still far from the goal of this movement, which, as in England, allows only the sons of the "propertied and

> educated" to attend the university ... The influx of sons of propertyless and uneducated parents lowers the honour of the Estate, therefore it is in the Estate's interest to increase the educational prerequisites so that no more can enter". (Paulsen 1897; 2.681-2, quoted and tr by Armstrong 1973:141).

The same pattern can be seen in England:

> "... it may have been more difficult for a poor man to get an Oxford or Cambridge education in the half-century before 1914 than it had been in earlier times ... The system of open competition for scholarships and fellowships introduced after 1850 actually worked against the interests of the poor. Under the new regime all the opportunities came to the men who had the best education, which normally meant the most expensive education. "What was certainly intended", said Prof. Montagu Burrows in 1867, "by Founders for the benefit of the poor is now used by wealthy men who can afford to go to Public Schools"." (Roach 1959:145).

One could hardly find a clearer example, in the categories discussed in Chapter 1, of the masking of reproduction by the illusion of nomination. The only thing free on the educational market is capital. In addition, however, the market of academic contents at Oxford - by 1860, a collection of alternative embodiments of reason - was itself open only to those who had acquired the knowledge, the connections and the gentlemanly style necessary for entry. Thus on the market of cultural goods, only cultural capital was free; and here the reformed public schools constituted the crucial link, for they transformed financial into cultural capital. It was this transformation of money into style which made possible the operation of an "open market" which could be guaranteed to exclude the lower orders.(12) As Laski says in summarising the gentlemanly code, "Be sure that in every sort of conflict the rules (which you must take care to make) are more important than the victory". (Laski 1940:21, my emphasis). The interpenetration of "virtue and

commerce" is also illustrated in the growth of the ideology of "academic" knowledge at Oxford. The market, and working for a profit, are 'moralised' by basing access to the "liberal professions" on the degree; but at the same time the university curriculum becomes itself a market of alternative 'moralising' contents. Indeed, being an 'academic' becomes itself one of the liberal professions.

What happened in the transitional period 1830-60 was the establishment of a coherent ideological basis for the reproduction of a new elite. This derived from the conception of the emergence of human reason in human history which passed from neoPlatonism to the Romantics and thence into the new humanism of Bildung and Arnold's school reforms. But the same process can be seen as the concealed structure of the emergence of free reason (sophia) from immanent reason embedded in value (phronesis) in the Oxford curriculum: from noble reproduction to 'open access' on a market of academic commodities. These two developments are therefore both ideologically congruent and mutually reinforcing in their objective results. The Arnoldian pupil, recapitulating the progress of civilisation, emerged from matter to form, his reason gradually becoming freed from its contextual constraints. He was then ready to move onto the market of academic commodities, a rational being in an arena of universal reason. What lay beneath this conception, this section has already suggested; but the dominance of cultural capital on the market of cultural commodities (academic specialisms) can now be redescribed in terms of the ideology which legitimated it. The process of emergence from contextual dependence to freedom which the Arnoldian pupil underwent constituted the

acquisition of cultural capital and the concealment of its dependence on the financial capital it transformed. The picture of the emergence of reason concealed the fact that this process was an essential precondition of success in the market to which it led.

If the account offered in this section is correct, it enables us to understand the nature and origin of what could be called the "absent centre" of Bernstein's analysis of curricular structure (1975): the ideological basis of 'specialist collectionism'. The academic 'collection' is simply a collection because it forms an array of equivalent embodiments of reason which are commodities on a curricular market. The ideological basis of this market is bourgeois liberalism, which conceals de facto reproduction beneath systems of nomination. The symbolic order of the academic market, therefore, is not "deep" because it belongs to a societal "deep structure", but because its ideological function is mystification.

There is a further reason for the absence of this ideological basis from Bernstein's analysis, which will be dealt with in the following chapter but deserves some mention at this point. This is that the dichotomies mechanical/organic and restricted/elaborated which underlie his analysis themselves derive from the same ideological tradition. The emergence of social man from mechanically to organically solidary society (and from repressive to restitutive law), is paralleled by the emergence of rational man from restricting contexts of culture (manifested in language) to those which represent the working-out (elaboration) of his rational potential. Both these conceptions of human progress belong

to the tradition outlined in Chapter 1 (see Section 3). The former has been detailed in the account of Durkheim's views in that chapter; the latter derives, via Cassirer's philosophy of symbolic forms, from the romantic theories of language of Herder and von Humboldt.(13)

The bourgeois liberal narrative of the gradual growth of freedom in 19th century England, it now appears, could more accurately be read as that of the growth of the liberty of the bourgeoisie. The unique English combination of freedom and order to produce liberty is therefore a combination of the illusory freedom of the market with the predictable orderliness generated by the objective domination of the market by capital. By the 1860s, as the next section will suggest, this domination, and the assimilative creation of a new social elite, had been consolidated.

2.4 Steering the ship of state: the professional amateur.

In the 1860s and 70s the triumph of liberalism was complete. The crucial period of transition had ended, and the new gentlemanly elite was firmly established, solidly linked to the ancient universities and beginning to intermarry.

> '... the separate roots grew into a trunk most massive in the sixties and seventies when the new liberalism of franchise reform, women's education, and university extension drew them together ... in the sixties two objectives vital to their class ... united them ... intellectual freedom within the universities ... and ... a public service open to talent. If they can be said to have had a Bill of Rights it was the Northcote-Trevelyan report of 1853 on reform of the civil service,

> and their Glorious Revolution was achieved in 1870-1 when entry to public service by privilege, purchase of army commissions and the religious tests were finally abolished. ...No formal obstacle then remained to prevent the man of brains from becoming a gentleman". (Annan 1955: 247).

The last section should have made it clear how important the qualification 'formal' is in that last sentence.

The consolidation of the new elite, however, brought with it changes in the content and status of liberalism. Comparing it with what had been in the 1820s the "assault of Liberalism upon the old orthodoxy of Oxford and England", Newman concluded that it was now "scarcely a party; it is the educated lay world". (Newman 1967: 62,233). Both the historicist and relativist speculation and the Puritan rigidity of the 40s and 50s had generated a reaction in favour of settled questions and stable values. Yet this new "organic period" was, as Young described it, based on "a compromise ... which possessed no ultimate principle of stability" (Young 1934; 2:428). This compromise, the gentlemanly mean constructed from noble and bourgeois values, produced, not surprisingly, an ideology of compromise, which recommended debate, but urged agreeing to differ; which valued the conflict of opinions, but as the material for compromise between them. The new elite, which represented a mean, thus employed the mean as a principle of stability. Not an ultimate principle, however, because it and its associated values (fair play, decency) were "secondary values", conceptions of means (in both senses) to ends, raised to the status of ends. To steer the ship of state was conceived as keeping it on an even keel.[14] It was these values, which commended debate and yet doomed it to non-resolution, which formed the

overall ideological context of the debates of the 1860s on the "conflict of studies".

In the last section, the growth was outlined of a market of curricular contents which, though formally "available", were in fact open only to the possessors of financial or cultural capital. That market, similarly, concealed the continuing dominance of "human studies", especially classics, beneath the tacitly-accepted separation between classics and science subjects as curricular commodities. The latter had been admitted, but how they could be related to traditional contents was a question which the conception of separate faculties and their discipline absolved anyone from having to answer. In the early 60s, however, this question was raised sharply by the appearance of the Origin of species, of Spencer's essay "What knowledge is of most worth?" (both published in 1859).

What Darwinism and its popularisers made possible was a challenge to the existing role of curricular legitimation performed by humanism and its bearers. Although the study of nature had grudgingly been allowed into university curricula, it was generally seen as "extra" knowledge. Classics still constituted not only part of the content of a balanced liberal education, but the source of the values which derived from the ideology of balance. Evolutionary biology therefore constituted a threat to this position, in that it made possible a natural science of Man himself. If the world of moral action could indeed be explained and investigated by science, then the traditional categories of curricular legitimation would collapse. Thus

> "it is perhaps fair to say that "anthropology" in the broad sense was the central intellectual problem of the 1860s". (Stocking 1963:784)

The challenge from biology passed away, at least as far as inclusion in curricula was concerned. The anarchic vocabulary of faculties, which offered to the supporters of "new knowledge" a basis for separate and compartmentalised inclusion on the curricular market, was adopted by the proponents of science teaching. (see Layton 1973, passim). The curricular debates of the 1860s have been described in detail by Connell (1950:Ch.8) and Kazamias (1960). The significant point in the present context is that the ideology of compromise and balance, and the conception of mind as a collection of faculties, formed the shared terms of the debate, while making it impossible to resolve the basic question posed by Spencer in 1859.(15) The lost chance of genuine debate, in which shared terms and different ideological viewpoints might have interacted creatively, is analogous to that described by Veysey in his study of the emergence of the American university between 1865 and 1910:

> "Only for one generation, while the university was actually coming into existence, did clearer, more articulate lines of debate find widespread expression. ... did the American university generate what could be called a coherent intellectual history. Before that, the college had such a history ... after that, the university tended to lose itself among individual disciplines".(16)

Thus on the curricular market, classics continued to be the dominant commodity, its status reinforced by the formation of the Head Masters' Conference (1869) and the subsequent production of standardised texts, editions and grammars, (Roche 1969); and when the endowed schools were released

from their endowment restrictions in 1869, they modelled their curricula on those of the public schools. In 1878, in an address on "Equality", Matthew Arnold predicted that:

> "Our present social organisation ... will and must endure until our middle class is provided with some better ideal of life than it has now". (Arnold 1964:205).

But in a sense, the solution had already been provided to the satisfaction of those who could afford it:

> "One of the great wants of middle-class education at present, is an ideal to work towards. Our old public schools have such an ideal". (Quick 1894:470, first published in 1868).

Under the leadership of the new elite, England entered, in effect, an organic period whose organising values were those of transition: balance, adaptive change, compromise, reasonableness.(17) In Mannheim's terms, the dominant total ideology represented itself as nonideological through the recommendation of particular ideology. (Mannheim 1972:49 ff). That is, the freedom of individual argument became a shared value, thus concealing its status as a value shared only within a limited social group, which functioned to preserve the dominance of the nation by that group. Under that dominance, England entered a "moral interregnum" pervaded by the values of interregnum. (Goldwin Smith 1879). From its beginnings in the 1870s, the civil service was staffed by the new elite, and the ideology of compromise and balance. Among the departments affected was the Education Office; and here the recent essays of Johnson and Sutherland (in Sutherland 1972) provide a good perspective across a considerable time

span of the interaction of organisational and ideological assumptions. between 1870 and 1920, what we witness is the creation of the self-image of the professional amateur, the central figure in a system of administration based on "nomination" recruitment (public examination), yet contriving to select the 'right kind of man'.[18] The major recruitment link was that between Balliol and the Education Office: Jowett's 'Guardians' moved from Oxford to the control of education in a steady stream. Thus the problem of the role of professionals was solved by making them specialists at being generalists (just as the new breed of professional academics cultivated the self-image of 'donnishness' (Rothblatt 1968: Ch.6)). As a result, the Education Office was filled with men who could discuss anything ... except education:

> "as Kekewich observed, "they were scholars, poets, philosophers and musicians etc., and they were ready to discuss - and discuss well - any subject under the sun except education" " (Johnson 1972: 128).

When the state education system was set up in 1902, it was the Board of Education, dominated by men of this kind, which administered it. In the present chapter, we have seen the growth of a dominant ideology which legitimated unequal provision and differential access to education in the name of "English liberty", and which stressed the centrality of balance, decency and harmonious equilibrium as English values. Just as the curricular market was a self-maintaining system, so the nation as a whole was a self-directing organism which needed only the maintenance of equilibrium. The task of the public servant could thus be presented as the service of a self-regulating system.

Yet it was in the first decades of the 20th century, too, that the bourgeois rationalist ideology of curriculum as an academic market emerged from the control of the professional amateur and his gentlemanly ideology of balance. Balance required elements to be balanced, and this the Board of Education administrators tried to achieve. The next chapter begins by describing the failure of this attempt, and the resulting shift of curricular values from gentlemanly balance to bourgeois reason. Parallel to this shift, as will be seen, is a change in the dominant definition of classics from "organic unity" to the rigorous discipline of Latin grammar.

CHAPTER 2 - NOTES

1. Musgrave begins his paper (1970) by rejecting the possibility of analysing educational change in terms of a theory of class relations:

> "Whilst social class was vitally important in England during this period, to use it as the central analytical concept obviates the possibility of relating this specific example of educational change to any more general theoretical model and thereby stands in the way of relating the understanding gained in this specific field to general themes. More particularly, this method fails to identify other important foci in the process of educational development and of social change". (1970:75)

In rejecting class analysis, Musgrave is criticising a paper by G.D. Mitchell (1964). That paper, however, also reflects the "end of ideology":

> "... the ideologies of social classes have tended to give way to a national ideology. The nature of modern society is more unitary; the day of the 'two nations' is over, and a general identity of interests is essential as power becomes diffused". (Mitchell 1964:795).

2. On the other hand, they are unwilling to take Mannheim or Durkheim seriously in this field, since they

> "tended to treat contemporary education prescriptively, as a function in the process of social integration, rather than analytically". (1971:1).

This attitude is symptomatic of the ethos of Vaughan and Archer's book, a combination of hard-headed analysis with an unimaginative parochialism. Not only is it assumed that prescriptive theory cannot assist in conceptualisation, but no mention is made of Durkheim's impressive account of "types of men" in French educational history (Durkheim 1969). The list of surprising omissions can easily be extended. In a comparison of England and France, it is difficult to understand the lack of any consideration of E.P. Thompson's "Peculiarities of the English" (Thompson 1965); in a study of educational ideology in the 19th century, of Raymond Williams' Culture & society and The long revolution (Williams 1958; 1961) (the latter containing a brief but

pregnant account of educational change and "types of man"). Finally, given their apparent familiarity with the French literature, one might have expected the work of Bourdieu and his colleagues, which turned to the sociology of education from the mid 60s, to have come to their attention. If it had, both their characterisation of Marxist analysis and their dismissal of it might have been, at the least, less summary.

3. Thus the 'consensus on democracy after 1832' to which Musgrave refers was the internal consensus of an enfranchised minority which formed the basis of the new establishment. Cp. Williams (1976) sv Democracy:

> "Democracy was still a revolutionary or at least a radical term to (the) m(iddle) c(entury) 19(th)."

Williams' own work on the 19th century suffered from an unresolved tension between two analytical perspectives, class conflict and liberal pluralism. In avoiding full commitment to either, he was (it can be argued) responding to the situation of the 1950s, where both 'end of ideology' complacency and the Marxist alternatives seemed unsatisfactory. This tension may also help to explain the absence of his work in Vaughan & Archer's book: their own preferred approach, in a sense, falls between the alternatives co-present in his analysis. On the tension and its non-resolution, see e.g. E.P. Thompson's review of Williams (1961) in New Left Review (Thompson 1961) and the survey of his work by M. Green (1974).

4. Copleston (1776-1849) was elected a fellow in 1795 and was provost 1814-27.

> "A stately don of the old school, he well-nigh ruled the university". (Archer 1921:34)

Engel, who has examined them, concludes that "The other defences of Oxford against the criticisms of the Edinburgh Review do not go beyond simply agreeing with Copleston on every point". (Engel 1975.2:311).

5. It should be remembered that Cambridge entered the 19th century with a single organised course of study, the Mathematics Tripos. The Classics Tripos was not set up until 1822, and until 1850, could only be taken after the other tripos had been completed.

6. A classic example is the Yale Faculty Report of 1828:

> "The two great points to be gained in intellectual culture, are the discipline and the furniture of the mind; expanding its powers, and storing it with knowledge. The former of these is, perhaps, the more important of the two". (Yale Faculty 1829: 300).

7. The Scottish philosophy is surveyed by M'Cosh (1875) and Pringle-Pattison (1907), and by Davie (1958, 1961). Its role as a conservative response (in Aberdeen) to the "polite determinism" of Hume's Edinburgh has been stressed by N. Phillipson 1973: 125-47.

8. Crudely, Will was added to Reason under Pietist influence, and Feeling joined them in the 18th century during the development of theories of artistic creation, based on Shaftesbury and extended by Mendelssohn, Baumgarten and others. See briefly, Mandelbaum 1971:274. In more detail, Beck 1969; Cassirer 1951; Eucken 1879.

9. Modern treatment of phrenology is scattered and inadequate, largely because it has been cast in the role of "prehistoric chaos" in histories of (scientific) psychology. See, however, de Giustino 1975; R.M. Young 1967. (I hope to produce an account of these views and their relation to curricular ideology and conceptions of education at a later date).

10. See Copleston 1810a:2, and compare the "English tree" passage quoted above in Section 2. The link between this idea of "English rural manliness" and the rejection of the Shaftesburian doctrine (see below) of taste and harmony is apparent in Copleston's declaration that he will leave one of his opponents in "undisturbed possession" of "the province of taste, wit, fancy and female education" (ibid).

11. The major source of material on the ideology and its institutionalisation in Germany remains F. Paulsen: 1897 (almost alone of Paulsen's books, this has not been translated). The categories of the ideology are lucidly set out by Fritz Ringer 1969: 85-96. The background to its ideological and institutional changes is provided by R.S. Turner in L. Stone 1975, 2.495ff. The salient features are placed in comparative perspective by Armstrong 1973. L.O'Boyle has provided two surveys of the ideology and its treatment: 1968, 1976. Humboldt's own 'Bildung' is discussed by W.H. Bruford 1975: Ch.1. Raymond Williams' labelling of this view as "old humanism", incidentally, is indicative of a particular lack of perspective in his account of 19th century English education (1961:145ff).

12. "Commerce should be considered vulgar if it is a rather small affair ... If it is extensive ... one should not criticise it severely. In fact, there seems to be every justification for praising it if a merchant who ... is satisfied with his profit ... retires from the quayside to his ... estates ... Farming is the ... livelihood ... most worthy of a free man". Cicero de officiis 1.151.

13. Cassirer's account of the emergence of a selfconscious ego from its immersion in the world, and of the linguistic forms characteristic of the stages of this emergence, is presented most clearly in (1953: 249-77). The language of gestures is succeeded by articulated speech, which creates the possibility of refinement and reflexivity. Languages based on nouns 'intuit' substantially. Verbs come to predominate, and

> "The construction of the sentence and of the language as a whole takes the verb as its point of departure, but the verb remains in the sphere of objective intuition. The essential factor ... is the beginning and course of the event, not the energy of the subject, manifested in action. This basic intuition changes only in those languages which have progressed to a purely personal configuration of verbal action. The I

> grasps itself through its counterpart in verbal action, and only as this latter becomes more elaborated and sharply defined, does the I truly find itself and understand its unique position". (Cassirer 1953: 276-7).

Von Humboldt has since been translated (Linguistic variability and intellectual development tr Buck and Raven, Miami UP 1972. See especially pp. 24-43; 136-41; 180-98.

14. On "compromise" the classical reference is the attack on the attitude by Morley On compromise (Morley 1874). Cp. Houghton 1957: 176ff. On "secondary values" see MacIntyre 1967: 37ff. These values, which elevate means to the status of ends, constitute the 'absent centre' of the liberal ideology (see Johnson 1976).

15. Shorter Oxford Dictionary sv faculty: "sight and hearing ... I should call faculties" Jowett. Cp. Quick 1894:537, "who shall say what 'all the faculties' are?"

16. Veysey 1965:12. The role of "mental discipline" in the defence of the college ideal of discipline with piety is discussed in his first chapter.

17. The relation of "adjustment" to the self-image of liberalism and to the development of Mill's image of himself is brilliantly treated in Cumming 1969.

18. Sutherland 1972: 118ff. On the operation of 'reproduction', see Armstrong 1973:209ff (on Method II recruitment in the British civil service); and the remark he quotes from Schmoller: the more examinations were required in the Prussian service, the greater the success of sons of the favoured official stratum (ibid:172). The link between Balliol and the Education Office is described in Sutherland 1972. The neo-Hegelian legitimation of this phenomenon is dealt with by Richter 1964, 1966, Mehta 1975 and Roll-Hansen 1957.

Cp. also F.H. Hayward's neat sketch of the attitudes involved:

> "(in the Mikado) the Lord High Executioner represented division of labour; the Lord High Everything Else represented faculty training. He was, doubtless, a public-school man, able to turn his hand to anything ... Division of labour is good enough for the poor; transferability of faculty is a useful creed for the rich" (Hayward 1913: 4-5).

CHAPTER 3

CLASSICS INTO LATIN: GRAMMATICAL RIGOUR AND THE ACADEMIC CURRICULUM

3.1 The Board of Education: staffing and ideology

Until 1914, the Board recruited its inspectors and other senior staff by patronage, though this was officially justified by classifying staff as 'experts' to take advantage of loopholes in earlier legislation on appointment to public service (Kelsall 1955:107ff). Yet these civil servants' expertise was defined in terms which made it clear that what was special about them was simply their "desirable antecedents": they were the right sort of chap. In the Memorandum circulated by Holmes (then Chief HMI) in 1910, which soon after led to the resignation of Morant, the Board's Secretary, he said of the local inspectors of education that very few

> "have the antecedents which were usually looked for in candidates for junior inspectorships, namely that they had been educated first at a public school and then at Oxford and Cambridge".

The elementary teachers from whose ranks these local inspectors were drawn were for the most part "creatures of tradition and routine", and Holmes expressed the hope that when they were pensioned off, their places "will be filled by men of real culture and enlightenment". These qualities could be ensured by going for the right "antecedents":

> "the inspector of public schools of the varsity type has the advantage of being able to look at elementary education from a point of view of complete detachment, and therefore to handle its problems with freshness and originality". (Sutherland 1972: 268ff., 283).

This "point of view" is itself identifiable as one which locates impartiality and "the free play of thought on our

stock notions", as Arnold had put it, in the gentlemanly training of the professional amateur. The ability to discuss anything except education was the characteristic of the man with good antecedents (see Ch.2. Section 4, and Note 1 below). An examination of the Board's administrative staff as constituted in the year of the Holmes Memorandum (1910) shows that on the whole the ethos of the old Education Office was maintained. In that year the Board employed 92 such staff, of whom 81 were Oxbridge men: Oxford 58, Cambridge 23. Of the Oxford men, 36 (about 60%) had read Greats; of the Cambridge men, 16 (almost 70%) the Classical Tripos. Of the whole 92, 73 had been to HMC schools, and 43 (almost half the total) to the nine "great" or "Clarendon" schools: Charterhouse, Eton, Harrow, Merchant Taylors', Rugby, Shrewsbury, St. Paul's, Westminster and Winchester. (Gosden 1966: 106-7). That the ethos of the Board was, in fact, the ethos of this group, is testified to by Eustace Percy, who was President of the Board from 1924 to 1929:

> "...administration was assumed to be the business of the permanent officials, on whom the politician President could be expected, at most, to keep a wary eye lest they offend the susceptibilities of sectarian supporters of the government" (Percy 1958:93).(1)

What were the essential features of the ideology which informed the Board's policy? They can be summed up as "fair play and free play", the secondary values dominant since the 1860s. The balance and equilibrium of the first, the apparent laissez-faire of the second, were both rooted in the conception of the social organism as a self-directing whole in equilibrium. Thus appeals were characteristically made to the "nature of things": and this "nature" was not human, but English.

A classical statement is contained in the report of Lord Bryce's commission on secondary education (1895) which in urging a "systematic organisation of Secondary Education" stressed that

> "We mean by 'system' neither uniformity nor the control of a Central Department of government. Freedom, variety, elasticity are, and have been, the merits ... in English education, and they must at all hazards be preserved. The 'system' which we desire to see introduced may rather be described as coherence, an organic relation between different kinds of schools ..." (2)

The stress on these features as being peculiarly English was reinforced by the chauvinism of the 1910s and 1920s, with the assistance of foreign observers such as Gaus, Dibelius and de Madariaga. (Cp. Ginsberg 1968, Ch.5). Within the administration of education, its influence continued through the 1940s, and is reflected in the Norwood Report's insistence that educational provision "must not ... be of a single pattern. It is ... important to achieve diversity". (The Report is dealt with in greater detail in Section 3, below). Nor is there any reason to suppose that it has become diluted; a more recent example both expresses and exemplifies it (note the combination of balance and vagueness):

> "The system involves a number of more or less autonomous people with a certain duty and certain degrees of freedom; within the system one has to look for ... the sense of direction of the organisation as a whole, not the sense of being directed from the top". (Sir H. Andrew (permanent under Secretary, DES). Report of Select Committee on Education & Science. House of Commons paper 449/ii, 1968-9, answer to Qu. 58).

There are times, of course, when this "organic" picture is insufficient or even embarrassing if employed in public utterances. In "critical" periods, when the social organism

is struggling for survival, the means to this survival may conflict with the values of organic wholeness. Thus Morant, Permanent Secretary to the Board from 1902 to 1911, declared that without

> "control by 'knowledge' in the sphere of public education of all grades ... a democratic state must be inevitably beaten in the international struggle for existence, conquered from without by the force of the concentrated directing brain power of competing nations, and shattered from within by the centrifugal forces of her own people's unrestrained individualism". (Quoted by Searle 1971:210 from Morant's report on Swiss education (1898))

This was the more vital given that the citizens of a democracy could not be trusted to make rational decisions; a view common in the 1900s, and based both on innatist psychology and on such events as the prolonged public celebrations after the relief of Mafeking in May 1900. (See Soffer 1969). LeBon's The crowd, first translated in 1896, had reached its 14th impression by 1922.

The educator's intervention could be justified in the name of the preservation of English values, just as it was for Durkheim, at about the same time, by the "completion" of French rationalism. The occasions of such intervention, however, may be expected to derive from external crises; or more generally, from 'brute facts' which pierce the veils of legitimating ideology. Thus if the major changes in English education in this century are listed, it could be argued that behind each lies a 'brute fact': war, international competition, Sputnik, inflation and depression, the Bulge and the Trend.

3.2 The social organisation of culture: the Board's defence of coherence and stratification in curricula, 1900-30.

From almost the beginning of the Board's history, control over curricula was exercised by the provisions of Regulations which applied to schools in receipt of grants. The "prefatory memorandum" to the first Regulations for secondary schools (1904) laid it down that their instruction must be general; complete; and graded. The first, and most important, of these requirements was elucidated as follows:

> "The instruction must be general; i.e. must be such as gives a reasonable degree of exercise and development to the whole of the faculties, and does not confine this development to a particular channel, whether that of pure and applied Science, of literary and linguistic study, or of that kind of acquirement which is directed simply at fitting a boy or girl to enter business in a subordinate capacity..." (Maclure 1965:157. On the context of such definitions, see in general Banks 1955, Ch.3, Kazamias 1966, Ch.5).

The tensions contained in this passage are fairly clear. Mental faculties and curricular channels are linked, but loosely; and the channels listed are of different kinds. Sciences and humanities form the 'balance' of academic subjects, while these together contrast with the training necessary for commerce. These tensions reflect a situation where secondary schools (pragmatically defined as those taking pupils between about 12 and 16 years) contained children whose probable futures differed widely; some were thought to require the discipline of academic subjects, others only the "acquirement" (i.e. the 'furniture' of the mind) of particular sets of facts. The loose link between "faculties" and "channels" in the Memorandum thus reflects the fact that one "channel" was excluded from the harmonious development of the faculties.(3)

The stress on "generality" in the Memorandum, however, had its roots not only in a concern for the nature of a pupil's curricular experience, but in a determination that curricular provision should be "general". In other words, the Regulations required that all the "channels" should be available in all schools in receipt of grant. This itself constituted the restoration of an equilibrium which had been disturbed by partial, and hence varying, provision as between schools. In Morant's own words,

> "It cannot be denied that the influence of the Specialist Grants from South Kensington in aid of one subject only ... in the curricula of secondary schools was decidedly mischievous ... this resulted in a lopsided development ... But in 1903 we swept all that away, and started a proper arrangement whereby our Grants were paid in respect of the curriculum as a whole, and not of one or two particular subjects". (Morant to Gill, 13 March 1911. PRO. Ed. 24/387 (Influence of science on classical studies).

Morant is referring to the rapid growth in provision of science courses in the 1890s as a result of the attractive grants offered by the Department of Science and Art, then in South Kensington but merged with the Education Office in the new Board of Education in 1900. This growth was greeted with alarm in many quarters, the Record of January 1898 reporting Lord Bryce as complaining that

> "secondary education was in many ways taking too exclusively scientific a turn. Science was a comparatively new thing in our secondary schools, which had formerly devoted themselves almost exclusively to literary subjects, and now the tables were so much turned that science was positively jostling other subjects out of the field".

The same picture, and an image of disturbed equilibrium similar to Morant's, is presented by J.W. Headlam, one of the

Board's inspectors, in a memorandum on the influence of science on classics which Morant was sending to Gill, an MP, at the latter's request: the Science & Art grants

> "put Science into the position of entering Schools in which it had hitherto held a subordinate place as a specially favoured competitor, and there can be little doubt that these grants did produce an unnatural warping of the curriculum". PRO Ed. 24/387; memo p.12.

The overall picture is of the defeat of partiality by impartiality, of the restoration of organic equilibrium by the efforts of the Board; whose "special duty", as its Second Secretary described it in 1916,

> "appears to be ... to try to hold the balance even as possible between various groups of study". PRO Ed. 24/1174; memo by W.N. Bruce.

Other evidence, however, suggests that this impartiality was partial. Headlam had also been responsible for the report which had documented the "unnatural warping of the curriculum". In it he stated that

> "In the majority of the schools ... the nature of the literary education ... requires the most serious attention ... In many of the schools ... no attempt is now made to give a classical education ... It is becoming increasingly difficult for a professional man who cannot afford to send his son to an expensive boarding school to procure in the grammar school of his district an education which will prepare him for a professional career". (4)

Morant later declared, however, that

> "...if I remember rightly, we got the Headlam report in order to support the changes we were anyhow going to make". (Quoted from a Board file (March 1909) by Eaglesham 1962:155).

The function of "balance" and "general education" as a legitimating criterion for intervention is made even clearer by a later summary.

> "The history of the Board since 1902 shows that ... when Grants have been found to disturb the balance of the curriculum by attracting it over much, for example, towards Natural Science, or again towards premature or excessive specialisation, the form of grant or its amount has been varied in order to restore the equilibrium". (Board of Education 1923:38).

The examples given suggest the humanist image of balance; in other words, the equilibrium of curricular provision derives from, and is used to defend, a particular kind of curriculum: literary, and especially classical. Hence a contemporary later reminisced:

> "In the early years of this century the classics were threatened with extinction, and could hardly have been saved by the universities alone had not the Board come to their rescue. Their great champion was Mr. J. Headlam Morley, HMI". (Leese 1950:289. Headlam changed his name to comply with the terms of an inheritance).

Classics thus entered the state system as one of a number of "groups of study"; yet the harmonious development of the faculties was a legitimating image which could be used both to keep it separate from those "channels" which were unsuitable for the discipline of faculties, and to protect it from competition from science subjects within that disciplinary field. Just as the referees of curricular competition at the Board saw classics as the humanistic source of the referee's values, so classical knowledge was an exemplary member of the secondary curriculum. It may well be this ambivalence which prompted the Spens Committee to suggest that the 1904 Regulations and their Prefatory

Memorandum were influenced by both 'unitary' and 'multiple' forms of the faculty doctrine. The former implied that some subjects were capable of disciplining all the faculties; the latter assigned one faculty to each subject.(5) This ambivalence is, in the light of the account of the curricular market in Chapter 2, only to be expected. In attempting to create a standardised and coherent curriculum for the new national system, Morant and his gentlemanly colleagues were in a position similar to that of Copleston in the early 19th century, defending the immanence of reason in value and pragmatic policy. The organic unity of curriculum, however, had to be found in the administration of a market of specialised embodiments of reason. The tension between 'organic unity' and the potential separatism of faculties can perhaps be seen in the 1904 Memorandum's definition of general education as giving exercise to "the <u>whole</u> of the <u>faculties</u>" (see the quotation at the beginning of this section; emphasis mine).

On this curricular market, classics was becoming simply one among an array of commodities. That classics disciplined all the faculties (i.e. was a complete curriculum) could no longer be maintained in public; yet the Board did its best to ensure that this particular "subject" received as much support as possible. This transitional status - classics as an exemplary commodity - is summed up at the close of Edward Thring's chapter on the theory of teaching in his <u>Theory and practice of teaching</u>:

> "...though it is quite immaterial to the theory of teaching what subject has to be taught, it is not immaterial what subject is taken as the most perfect illustration of the

> theory ... language, and Greek, and Latin, are the most perfect practice-ground in the world for training mind". (Thring 1894:120).

By the time Morant left the Board in 1911, the curricular market was becoming more crowded, and the Board's public pronouncements on curriculum more cautious. This can be seen in Circular 826 (1913):

> "the progress of knowledge during the last century has involved the introduction of new subjects" (p.9)
>
> but in addition
>
> "with the progress of knowledge there is a constant shifting of the relative values assigned to different branches of learning". (Board of Education 1913:5).

As a result, the Circular's definition of the aims of a secondary school represents a retreat from the certainties of 1904:

> "to provide for each pupil a good general education. The curriculum must therefore be sufficiently comprehensive in range to avoid undue narrowness of outlook and sufficiently varied in character to arouse latent interests and dormant capacities". (p.8).

No longer is 'general' a guarantee of 'good' education; the disciplinary stress is weakened, and placed last ('capacities' is a more acceptable label for 'faculties'). Child-centred doctrine is making itself felt: <u>each</u> pupil and his <u>interests</u> must be considered. The word "outlook" hints at the relation of this emphasis to the growing influence of doctrines of citizenship training (Whitmarsh 1972, Ch.1); in a book on this subject published in 1918, R.L. Archer said of the "passman" that he was

> "between <u>character</u> and <u>intellect</u>: he has <u>outlook</u>" (Archer 1918:24).

If the secondary curriculum was to be seen as a market of available knowledge of "comprehensive range" and "varied character", how was organic coherence to be maintained? The solution seemed to lie in the existence of

> "the groups into which they (subjects) naturally fall". (Board of Education 1913:9).

These could be used to ease the pressure on school timetables by allowing variation of emphasis on subjects with-in groups (the "principle of compensation" (ibid:10), which is again an 'organic' conception). But once it was accepted that a subject could, in some sense, 'represent' its group, a balanced curriculum could be seen as consisting of a small number of subjects. When the regulations for the new School Certificate examinations appeared in 1917 (Circular 1002, Board of Education 1917), they reflected this pattern. The First Examination, to be entered at age 16, had to be taken in five subjects, of which one had to be chosen from each of the following groups:

1) English, history, geography, scripture
2) foreign languages
3) sciences (including geography, domestic science, maths)

It can be seen that concealed exclusion is still operating: the groups are composed, with one exception, entirely of 'academic' subjects. The Board eventually added a fourth group, but insisted in its case on the choice of a maximum of one subject in the total five.

After the age of 16 (in other words, after those who had to, had left school to "proceed to posts...": cp.note 3 this chapter), these groups could also provide coherence by

preventing undue specialisation. In 1917 the Board announced that it would provide grants to support the provision of Advanced Courses leading to examination for the Second Certificate (at 18). Three courses were specified: the familiar duo of Sciences (A) and Classics (B: Latin, Greek, Ancient History) and a Modern studies course (C). Circular 826 had already announced the desirability of such a course, to include two modern languages other than English, plus modern history;[6] and from the account given there, it is clear that the provision of university scholarships in history or a single modern language was regarded as encouraging similar specialisation in schools - something which the Group might prevent. In another circular issued in 1914, the Board stressed that the subjects studied at this level had to form an "organic unity", and must not consist of an "arbitrary collection of disparate subjects" (Board of Education 1914). The following table demonstrates the amount of support attracted to each group among the schools:

	Sciences	Classics	Modern
	A	B	C
1917-8	82	20	25
1918-9	155	27	78
1919-20	189	29	118
1920-1	216	35	152
1921-2	230	37	180
1935	246	37	171

(source: Board reports for appropriate years. The report for 1923/4 contains a brief history of the Advanced Courses, pp.25ff).

During and after the war, the Board set up committees to assess the position of various subjects and groups in the educational system;[7] and when they had all published reports, produced a circular setting out their major findings, and pointing out the consequences for the curriculum of all these taken together (Circular 1294, Board of Education 1922). In instructing the Board's staff to form the "committee on committees" which drew up the text of the circular, Fisher stated that their job would be simple, since the four committees were basically in agreement (PRO Ed. 24/1192); the internal advisory committee on classics, however, remarked at about the same time on the "acute conflict" between the views of the Classics committee and those of the other three (PRO Ed. 12/221.S888, 17th October 1921). Not surprisingly, however, the published circular stressed the

> "general agreement displayed as to the main purpose of secondary education and ... the frank recognition of the claims of other subjects". (Circular 1294:1).

The most significant part of Circular 1294 is its tabulation of the "legitimate claims" of the four Committees with the likely "minimum claims" of other subjects. The result of this exercise was a total of 'claimed' time which equalled or exceeded that available in a typical school timetable. (Board of Education 1922:2 . Many girls' schools at this time worked hours significantly shorter than this 'typical' picture implies). The "squeeze of subjects" was not a recent problem, as the Circular points out; but

> "is becoming increasingly acute" (ibid:3)

The Board's solution was to allow more freedom and variation in the curricula of schools, confident that

> "the force of tradition and public opinion will tend to preclude for the present more than a limited divergence from the normal curriculum". (ibid).

The crucial statement, however, follows:

> "6. The principle that the curriculum of a secondary school should be primarily general in character is not disputed, but in practice a general curriculum is only justified in so far as it is a nucleus curriculum, and leaves sufficient margin of time for the individual tendencies of schools and their staffs to operate. If every subject, as it develops from a subsidiary subject into one regarded by its expert teachers as of the first importance, with a philosophy and technique of its own, claims a larger place in the general curriculum, this margin of time will disappear, and there will come to be little variation between the curriculum of one school and another. The Board believe, therefore, that less insistence should be laid on the general character of the curriculum, and that so long as a proper balance of subjects is maintained, more freedom should be exercised by schools in the allocation of time to different subjects, and even in omitting subjects from the curriculum altogether, at least for some pupils, at some stage of the course". (ibid).

This paragraph is a fine example of the organic ideology in detailed action. A retreat is beaten, and justified in the process, from <u>principle</u> to <u>practice</u> (in other words, from the rational to the reasonable). Generality is abandoned on the ground that the "squeeze of subjects" makes it inevitably a <u>uniform</u> characteristic, and so constitutes an infringement on "freedom" and "individual tendencies". The alternative proposed is the retention of a "general nucleus" of curricular provision in schools, while the curriculum as a whole should now be not general but "balanced". As a result, variety - including imbalance - in the experience of individual pupils is allowable, since the "balance" to be looked for inheres in the overall provision of curriculum.

Presumably the prescription of such criteria for the timetables of individual pupils was felt to smack of "uniformity".

The overall trend reflected in the Circular, then, is the acceptance of the legitimacy of specialists' claims, and the partial abandonment of the role of arbiter in matters of curriculum. The pressures of the curricular market are to be allowed to operate, in the belief that conventional expectations and the entry requirements of universities have already established a "normal curriculum" (ibid:3-4).

From this point into the 1940s, the "legitimate claims" of "expert teachers" became a more and more dominant factor in curricular provision. Yet in leaving the teachers to fight out timetable allocation among themselves, the Board had in fact achieved a certain coherence through the continued demotion of "practical subjects" (see the account of the 1st School Certificate regulations, above). In the interwar years, the central ideological principle which emerged in curricular provision to replace the "Edwardian" concern with generality, balance and organic unity was the superiority of theory over practice, of academic over practical subjects. Within the academic curriculum, the gradual collapse of the "Edwardian" stress on organic unity and the emergence of the "Georgian" pattern of separate academic commodities on a market open to the pupil/consumer can be traced through the 1920s and 1930s. The central thread is provided by the progressive relaxation of the School Certificate Group requirements:

> "The struggle over School Certificate groups has arisen from the desire in the schools to narrow the Edwardian conception of the breadth proper to the course followed by each pupil ...The progress of the battle ... is punctuated by three ... decisions of the Secondary School Examinations Council.
> 1928. In face of strong pressure, chiefly from girls' schools, to abolish grouping the Council re-organized and extended Group IV and announced that two of the five required subjects might come from this group ((instead of the existing maximum of one))...
> 1933. The group II requirement could now be satisfied by a paper consisting wholly of translation from a language into English, while the Group III requirement could be met by an elementary paper in Mathematics.
> 1938. Under continued pressure from the schools, particularly the girls' schools, the Council in effect abolished the Group system".(8)

This ideological shift is reflected in the changing definitions of classics in the school curriculum; its nature can therefore be clarified by describing the changing shape of classics courses through the 1910s and 1920s.

At the beginning of 1919, the Permanent Secretary of the Board (Selby-Bigge) asked the classics inspectors to consider whether a committee of investigation into the position of classics in the educational system was needed. The HMIs thought the position of classics in secondary education "more precarious and ill-defined than that of any other subject in the recognised secondary school curriculum". In local areas, the supporters of sciences and of modern languages were well-organised and in a majority, while support for classics was to be found largely at Oxbridge, the public schools and in the Classical Association, and its supporters were "often imperfectly organised". Nobody knew how many pupils did Greek or Latin, but "things have gone further than was probably suspected". The Board of Education regulations,

in their opinion, supported classics, but not very much,[9] and "the pressure of other subjects becomes every year more insistent", while classics teachers often looked for ways of saving time "not <u>for</u> but <u>in</u> classics teaching". (PRO Ed. 24/1188; cp 12/221. There is no trace of minutes files for either the Classics or the English Committees in PRO, which does however hold complete files on the other two committees).

The Classics Committee was appointed in November 1919, and reported in 1921. Its tone is defensive and conservative, lacking the chauvinistic exuberance of the English Committee's report, "The teaching of English in England" (which outsold all the others together). The Committee clings to the vocabulary of faculties, and offers its regret at being "unable to deal explicitly" with a memorandum on "Psychology in Classical Education" submitted by "Mr. Cyril Burt, of the London County Council".[10]

The "organic unity" of classics as a coherent curricular area or group could be said to have been supported by the Board's provision of grants for an Advanced Course in Latin, Greek and Ancient History (p.104 above). Few schools, however, were large enough to take the risk of appointing staff competent in all three subjects; and these were, in any case, being produced in smaller numbers by the provincial universities (see below). In the Board's 1917 Regulations, Group C (Modern studies) was defined as including "(a) two languages other than English, of which Latin might be one, with their literature, and (b) Modern History, including the

History of England and Greater Britain". An explanatory note justified the inclusion of Latin on the grounds that it was for long the common language of Europe. In December 1917, however, the Board commented on the Group C courses submitted to it as follows:

> "It has been generally assumed by the Schools submitting proposals for Advanced Courses that ((the Latin in a Modern Studies Course)) will be of the same kind as Latin in a Classical Course, with the result that it is left unrelated to the other subjects".

The 1918 Regulations went further and struck out Latin from Group C altogether, prescribing a modern foreign language; history; and either a second modern language or English. This resulted in protests from the girls' schools in particular, and the Classics and English Committees, who kept in touch with one another, both began to press for a separate course consisting of Latin, English and History (Board of Education 1921b: 120; 1921a: 77-8). Thus three birds were killed with one stone. Organic unity was partly responsible, since the English committee were warned off expansion into the Modern Studies group on the grounds that it was not a 'languages' group, but included literature and history too. (Board of Education 1921b: 120). In a sense, then, the new course (Group D: Latin, English, History), which was announced in September 1921, could be officially described as an "organic unity", as it contained language, literature and history. Yet "unity" had now been stretched to breaking point, and the result was that recruitment to Latin (which was required for university entry) grew, while the numbers of pupils taking Greek (abolished as an entry requirement at Oxbridge in the early 1920s) remained very

small. The HMIs who investigated the position of Latin and Greek in the state system at the end of the decade maintained that

> "Changes in the direction of greater elasticity which have been made in recent years in the Regulations for Advanced Courses have helped the development of higher work, especially in Latin". (Board of Education 1929:9).

This was true; but support for Latin was hastening the decline in recruitment to classics: "elasticity" and "organic unity" pulled in opposite directions.

The shift from classics to Latin recruitment can be seen in both universities and schools. At the universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds, Newcastle and Sheffield, for example, there were 41 honours students in 1914: 31 in classics, 10 in Latin. In 1928, they had 50 classics students and 61 Latin (Board of Education 1929:43-4; 1921a: 287-90). In 1919, the public schools supplied about three tenths of the entrants for the First Examination (at age 16) in Latin, but about three quarters of the entry in Greek at the same level. The same pattern appears at the level of the Second Examination in the same year. Of the entry of 411 candidates in group B (Classics), 347 used the Oxford and Cambridge Board, then almost entirely a public-school institution.(11) In addition, of course, the changing character of the universities' graduate output reinforced this trend by making it even more difficult for schools to find staff who could teach classics other than Latin; or as it now began to be called, "<u>full</u> classics".

3.3 Academic subjects and the tripartite system

The declining effectiveness of "grouping" regulations in maintaining curricular coherence led, in the second half of the 1930s, to their abandonment as standardising instruments. By the 1950s, the curriculum of state schools had become a collection of separate "subjects" from which, in varying degree, pupils were allowed to select their own groups. Behind this change lay two powerful (and superficially contradictory) ideological images: one viewed the child as a self-developing organism to whom instinct and interest were more important than intellect, the other stressed the superiority of reason over the contexts of practical activity in which it was, in daily life, embedded.

The first of these images was derived from the various movements toward "child-centred" education which grew in influence in the early decades of this century, notably in the USA, within the milieu of the psychology of individual differences and of Dewey's educational theorising. This perspective provides the organising focus of the Hadow Report (Board of Education 1926), and later the Spens Report (Board of Education 1938); the latter sums up the perspective very clearly:

> "The emphasis in educational theory has shifted from the subject to the child. We are more conscious of the differences between children, their varied aptitudes, sentiments and inclinations, and are no longer satisfied to put them all through the same mould. We have in particular learnt the importance of interests or 'sentiments' in education, and that the performance of a distasteful task is not necessarily a valuable discipline", (ibid 143).

The implications for curricular organisation are also spelled out:

> "We have ... urged that the educative effect inheres not in a subject but in the spirit of study, and are therefore prepared to agree ... to a reduction in the number of subjects studied at any one time ..." (ibid 188).

The second of these influences constituted a "Platonic turn", a shift of emphasis from the Aristotelian idea of reason as immanent in value and action, to Plato's conception of reason as separate and superior, constructing the order in the world rather than being immersed in it. This shift of emphasis is a product of the crises of the late 1920s and 1930s, which precipitated a change of mood in this country.

> "...in the 1920s there were faint hopes of a return to the world that had been lost, the world of 1914. But after 1931 there was a general understanding that this was no longer possible; peace and order ... could not be guaranteed within the existing mechanism. The thirties offered to its intellectuals a planning mission ..." (Whitmarsh 1972:1).

This planning mission formed the ideological context of the contemporary stress on the importance of 'clear thinking'. This is reflected, for example, in the popularising books of Susan Stebbing; it was also a central concern of the Association for Education in Citizenship, of which Whitmarsh gives a good account. It is worth noting that the A.E.C. rejected the idea of 'transfer of training' because it tended to undermine arguments, such as their own, for the inclusion of specific contents in the curriculum. This is the political aspect of the point made by Ballard (note 5).

These two images, Aristotelian and Platonic, were combined in the 1930s under the influence of the "organic" categories of variety and self-direction. To create a uniform educational system was to impose a strait-jacket on children whose individual differences and interests must be respected. The grammar schools had developed a tradition of academic education, but for many children this was unsuitable. Some children were more attracted to physical activity, or to emotion, than to cerebration. At the same time, many children had to leave school at 15, and so would suffer from the imposition of a curriculum designed for children who could work within it to a later point. Organic variety and respect for individual differences therefore combined to urge the construction of an organic system of varying kinds of provision. This was the picture which emerged, with increasing clarity, in the reports of the late 1920s and 1930s.

Percy was well aware (at least in retrospect) that the doctrines of 'free development' had considerable potential for the unfreedom of the pupil:

> "Educational philosophy had become dangerously romantic since the war ... encouraged by ... the American school of Dewey to clothe its romance in the trappings of science and to dignify it by the title of psychology ... the new romantic science had an ugly side ... believing in free development it believed also that the individual's capacity for development was determined at birth and that its limits could be measured in advance. The individual's "intelligence quotient" could be ascertained ... by the age of eleven; and it was unalterable". (Percy 1958:105).

The "Summa" of this ideological complex is to be found in the Norwood Report of 1943, whose proposals formed the

basis for the 1944 Education Act (Board of Education 1943). At the very beginning of the Report, the standard bogey of the mechanical, artificial and imposed idea presented and rejected. In this case, it would have involved the committee's taking

> "the actual scene of secondary education at some selected moment, as for example immediately, and, erecting it as a fixed and motionless background, had proceeded to consider in relation to it suggested changes in curriculum and examinations". (ibid:vii)

The organic alternative, on the other hand, involves an attempt to

> "picture to ourselves ... the main features of secondary education as, judged by its past history and present tendencies, it might perhaps develop in the future". (ibid).

In primary education, the innate tendencies of individuals begin to appear; after the age of 11, they are clear: but what are they, and how should they be catered for? The committee answer in "organic" terms, and in particular by specifying the distinctive progress of English education as a specific organism:

> "The evolution of education has in fact thrown up certain groups, each of which can and must be treated in a way appropriate to itself. Whether such groupings are distinct on strictly psychological grounds, whether they represent types of mind ... these are questions which it is not necessary to persue. Our point is that rough groupings, whatever their ground, have in fact established themselves in general educational experience ... For example, English education has in practice recognised the pupil who is interested in learning for its own sake, who can grasp an argument or follow a piece of connected reasoning, who is interested in causes, whether on the level of human volition or in the material world, who cares how things

> come to be as well as how they are, who is sensitive to language as an expression of thought, to a proof as a precise demonstration, to a series of experiments justifying a principle: he is interested in the relatedness of related things, in development, in structure, in a coherent body of knowledge". (Board of Education 1943:2).

The synthesis of the Aristotelian and Platonic conceptions of reason which is here crystallised is that of Plotinus, and has been described in Chapter 1. The world (here, the educational system) is a continuum whose reference-point is at its top; and when temporalised, this continuum becomes a process in which that reference-point is attained, in varying degrees, over time. Thus differences in <u>kind</u> are related within a system which also orders them in <u>degree</u>. In the Report, this is most clearly revealed in the concentration on the grammar school curriculum. The first 25 pages discuss the system as a whole, but the rest of the report (Part II, pp. 26-138) is devoted to grammar schools.(12)

What Norwood constructed, then, was a coherent vertical ranking of supposedly "equal varieties" of provision for different types of mind. In each sector of the system, the curriculum provided would reflect the relevant type of mind; thus in the grammar school

> "...there would be a curriculum of which the most characteristic feature is that it treats the various fields of knowledge as suitable for coherent and systematic study for their own sake apart from immediate considerations of occupation ..." (Board of Education 1943:4).

The vertical ranking is described with confidence at each end: that is, Norwood is clear as to the gap between

theory and practice, academic and practical knowledge. But just as Plato was never quite sure how to evaluate his middle group (warriors), so Norwood is uneasy with those similarly necessary yet alien beings, the technicians. This leads to a fine piece of special pleading - the "technical" child

> "often has an uncanny insight into the intricacies of mechanism whereas the subtleties of language construction are too delicate for him". (ibid:3).

Although language is mentioned here, Norwood avoids the prescription of curricular provision. The self-directing pupil, after all, could be expected (within the sectors based on types of mind) to create its own coherence by assembling an array of curricular units to suit its own nature.(13) In any case, Norwood was aware that explicit prescription carries its own dangers.

> '6. The idea of a number of subjects is dangerous. It tends to expand ... but (physical education, religious education, English) ... These three ... are <u>above</u> the curriculum". ("Notes on the curriculum" Com.28, in Ed. 12/479).

The Report is therefore consistent in recommending that the School Certificate examination should become a "subject examination",

> "that is to say, an examination in which pupils would take whatever subjects they wished without restriction as to minimum number of subjects or "groups" of subjects". (Board of Education 1943:47).

The secondary curriculum thus reached, when the new examination began in 1950, the final point in a process of

atomisation which had begun in the first two decades of the century. It was now a collection of self-sufficient contents, though grouped informally into categories such as "Arts" and "Science", "languages" and "practical subjects". This situation was, in a sense, congenial to the ideological basis of the grammar school curriculum. For this, in the terms which Norwood took and reinforced, was the group of contents which embodied the search for "sound learning" and "knowledge for its own sake". Here the pupil was allowed, more than in the inferior sectors, to select from the available collection of "subjects", because they were equivalent manifestations of reason. The implications for the organisation of choice seemed clear: as far as the training of reason was concerned, "more than one" was "more than enough", as Ballard had said (see Note 5).

That comment had been made about the training of all the faculties; now reason alone was to be trained through curriculum. But just as classics had been put forward as the "one noble subject" which could train all the faculties, so now Latin became the exemplary embodiment of reason in the grammar school curriculum.(14)

The grammar school curriculum, as this suggests, was a collection of alternative embodiments of reason. The qualities this connoted - complexity, rigour, distance from everyday and practical knowledge - were exemplified by Latin grammar. It was because of this that within a market of optional subjects, Latin was often compulsory; for in learning Latin, one was learning the values of the market. Beyond the school lay university entrance, the gateway to a world even further

removed from practical concerns and the secondary modern pupils who would one day cope with them; and the key was the SCE/O-level Latin pass, required for entry not just to Arts degrees, but often Science too. The vocabulary of 'mental discipline" might be too embarrassing to use in public, but the sentiments remained:

> "As a subject for study by a wide range of pupils the disciplinary value of Latin - and we stand by the phrase undaunted by bogey words - is its great educational asset".(15)

"A wide range of pupils". In other words, the 11 and 12 year olds who were compelled to learn the rudiments of Latin grammar before dropping it a year or two later were having the foundations of their reasoning powers laid and exercised. What is left for the minority is the study of Greek and Roman culture, which had bulked so large in the public discussion of classics a half-century before. In the state system in the 1950s, classics meant Latin, Latin meant grammar, and grammar meant grind.

Within the independent sector, "full classics" continued to be taught as a matter of course; and within the more prestigious grammar schools in the state system, the occasional capture of "a classics scholarship at Oxbridge" continued to be signalled by half-holidays and gold-painted honours boards. The two systems in fact represented the parallel continuation of the gentlemanly and academic traditions of the 1920s and the 1930s. Together, they constituted a market on which cultural goods were available for purchase. With financial capital, one could obtain a public-school education; with cultural capital, a grammar-school place. The former could lead to a post in the foreign and diplomatic services, the latter to jobs in the Home Civil Service.(16)

In this century, the state grammar schools have formed the exemplary avenue of social mobility; the means of access to employment which was both respectable and secure. It is only to be expected, therefore, that grammar-school teaching has been a paramount exemplar of this social location and the symbolic load it has carried. To teach Latin, then, has been to belong to and exemplify a system of education and of social stratification and mobility. Latin has symbolised, within the selective system, both access to the security of bourgeois existence and the bourgeois rationalism of "sound learning".

The common Romantic (and thus neoPlatonic) roots of Bernstein's restricted/elaborated dichotomy and the assumptions underlying the Norwood Report should now be apparent. In the Arnoldian public schools, the 'elaboration of reason' involved the pupil's career through the public school, and thence onto the academic market of the university curriculum. He became a gentleman, and only then a scholar; balanced and harmonious, before his reason was given its freedom. In the present century, balance and harmony have given way to reason, gentlemanly to bourgeois values, Classics to Latin. Yet the gentlemanly tradition has been preserved in the independent sector. In the state system, stratified provision has been legitimated by the neoPlatonic ideology of the immanent unfolding of reason from its restricting contexts. For the "thinkers" who reached the grammar school, the market of equivalent embodiments of reason awaited them. Academic subjects thus constituted a group of distinct commodities, mutually insulated by the Reason they mutually embodied.

The ideological basis of this "collection" of contents is thus bourgeois rationalism: the freedom of reason to choose embodiments of reason. Since the central characteristic of this ideology, as was pointed out in Chapter 2 with respect to liberal pluralism, is its capacity for self-concealment, it is not surprising that Bernstein took it for granted. Its invisibility to him in particular, as the above should suggest, is reinforced by the congruence between the 'elaboration of human reason' and the 'freedom of bourgeois reason'. The latter, too, is embodied, above all, in language - and especially in Latin.

The next chapter attempts to convey the elements of this multiplex location by tracing the biographies of a group of classics teachers. Their careers as persons are followed in relation to their occupation and its meaning; their careers as learners and teachers of classics are analysed as processes of initiation into assumptions about curricula, pupils and learning. It should then be possible to understand the tripartite system and its values as something experienced through time by individuals. For these individuals, however, this career into and through the educational system has also organised their perception of curriculum and of teaching in particular ways. It is with these modes of perception that they now confront challenges to the legitimacy of the content which they have been trained to teach; and part of their problem is that as their content exemplifies those modes, what is on trial is a tradition of values of which they are, in a sense, the standard bearers.

CHAPTER 3 - NOTES

1. Percy's comments refer to the period 1870-1917; he offers, in addition, a vignette which sums up "the normal place of education in political life" in that period:

> "In my first days at the Board, a well-known octogenarian 'character' of the time, a retired public school master and classical scholar of the old breed ... said to me: "My dear boy, I am very glad to see you in this position. I once played bridge with a President of the Board, an ex-President and a Parliamentary Secretary. None of them knew anything about education; and one of them could not even play bridge"."(Percy 1958:92).

This indicates the continuity of the 'Balliol tradition' of professional amateurism described in the final section of Chapter 2.

2. Quoted in Maclure 1965:147. Bryce's writings seem to constitute an exemplary source of material for the organic ideology. E.g. "There has been created in Oxford and Cambridge that impalpable thing which we call an Atmosphere, an intellectual and social tone which forms manners and refines taste, and strengthens character by tradition inherited from a long and plended past" (1913: 159-60). Cp further, Crick 1964:192 on Bryce and 'plain facts' and the 'pendulum theory' (which is a temporalised version of the idea of organic equilibrium).

3. "Secondary schools have a twofold function. They provide a general preliminary education for those who aim at occupations or professions which require highly trained intelligence ... Many of these pupils will pass from school to the Universities ... They are, further, responsible for the education of ... pupils who will leave school at ... the age of 16 and ... at once proceed to posts in public offices, commercial houses, and manufactories ... one of the chief problems of school organisation is to devise a common course of work suitable for both groups". Board of Education 1913: 8-9.

4. J.W. Headlam "Report on the teaching of literary subjects in some secondary schools for boys" in: General reports of higher education for 1902 HMSO 1903 (Cmnd 1738) British sessional papers, House of Commons 1903, Vol. 21: 61-6. (Also printed as an appendix to the Board's Report, 1903).

5. Board of Education 1938; 70-1. The implications of the two doctrines were stated very clearly by Ballard 1925:166, "if any subject can cultivate every feature ... of the mind, more than that one is more than enough; but if the training capacity of each subject is strictly limited to that subject, then the more subjects we have the better".

6. Board of Education 1913; 22, (according to Edwards 1970:13, this group originally consisted of history, Latin and German, but the last was made impossible as a candidate because of the war).

7. The committees on Science and Modern languages (appointed 1916, reported 1919) began life as subcommittees of the Reconstruction Committee; the English and Classics committees (appointed 1919, reported 1921) were set up partly as responses to the first two. The Board set up history committees in 1919, which reported in 1920; the Historical Association agreed not to press for a Prime Minister's Committee, since the then President of the Board (H.A.L. Fisher) was a historian and promised his patronage. See PRO Ed. 14/1186. On relations between the Board and the Reconstruction Committee, see Jenkins (1973), Sherington (1974), in Journal of Educational Administration and History.

8. Petch 1947:14. J. White's recent investigation of the end of the compulsory curriculum (White 1976) refers to the withdrawal from detailed curricular prescription in elementary education by the Board in 1926. It does not explain the "boiling down" of the Board's Secondary Regulations and several others (see Selby-Bigge 1927:168).

9. Since the Secondary Regulations were first issued in 1904, the Board had insisted that one of the "two languages other than English" to be taught should be Latin, unless an adequate case could be made for its omission. On support for classics in the Advanced Courses regulations (1917 on), see below.

10. Board of Education 1921a:2. For faculty-language, see e.g. ibid:119. In view of Burt's intermittent but consistent campaign against faculty psychology and transfer of training doctrines between about 1915 and 1960, it can be assumed that the Committee found it literally impossible to "deal explicitly" with it. As Valentine said, the Committee would otherwise have had either to make considerable changes in the Report, or to provide "some interesting attempts to deal with ... Burt's arguments" (Valentine 1935:56-7). Valentine and Burt were both members of the British Association's Committee on formal training, which reported in 1927.

11. Satisfactory statistics are not available across years; the Board of Education's annual reports have been used, together with the 1929 memorandum on Latin and Greek.

12. "(Norwood) regards himself as entrusted with the task of charting the scope of grammar schools in the wide field of secondary education" (Board of Education internal memo. 23 Dec. 1941: Ed.12/478).
The PRO file on the Norwood committee (Ed. 12/478) deserves more detailed analysis. From its material, for example, it is possible to show what lay behind the Report's stated concern to "picture ... the main features of secondary education" (quoted above in text):

> "Assume we have a picture of what we want (a) the average grammar school boy of 17 ... Assume also a similar picture of (b) the Modern school boy of 15"
> (Barrow, the committee's secretary, to G.G. Williams, 19.3.42).

The slip from 'secondary' to 'grammar', leaving other categories residual, is also documented by a question from the questionnaire sent to various bodies at this time: "What are the distinctive qualities which mark out a boy or girl as one likely to benefit from a secondary (i.e. grammar) education?"

13. "If we once admit that minds of varying types have an equal right to exist, we shall be ready to see that the interests of a boy or girl are rarely so erratic as not to offer the basis of a synthesis of studies that will perform all the essential functions of an education" (Nunn 1945:274).

14. Cp Thring 1894:120, qu.p.101 above. The phrase "one noble subject" comes from his earlier book Education & school. "Let the mind be exercised in one noble subject ... the universal consent of many ages has found such a subject in the study of Greek and Latin literature ..." (Thring 1864:46).

15. Incorporated Association of Assistant Masters 1954. Cp the remark of S.O. Andrew. - "... it may be admitted ... that Latin ... will "strengthen the mind", whatever be the exact meaning of this expression" (Andrew 1913:7).

16. The classical means of preserving stratified recruitment is the provision of entry mechanisms such as interviews and 'catch-all' categories which allow 'intangibles' to be rewarded. The way these operate in Britain, e.g. in Method II recruitment to the Civil Service, is discussed by Armstrong 1973:207ff., and also set out in naive clarity by a former Colonial Office recruiting officer:

> "As the scale of recruitment grew ((after 1918)) and what we were up to became more obvious, so there grew, in certain quarters, a desire that the Colonial Service should be recruited by written competitive examination ... But we felt strongly that in the wider and more varied field of colonial administration ... character and personality were more important still, and could not be assessed by any examination yet devised" Furse 1962:69.

CHAPTER 4

BECOMING CLASSICS TEACHERS: THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ORDER AND SECURITY

4.1 The classics teachers introduced

In this chapter, material from interviews with the teachers is introduced for the first time. The general features of interviewing procedure and of the selection of interviewees have been outlined in Chapter 1. Here a skeleton outline of their biographies is given in tabular form (see Table 2 below). This is designed to be used as a basis for reference back from the analysis of the material in the rest of this chapter. In Section 2, the teachers are located in relation to patterns of stratification and social mobility, localism and migration, and to the economic insecurities of the interwar years. Section 3 focusses more narrowly on the structural features of teaching as an occupation, since this has functioned as the avenue of their movement in the areas discussed in the second section. Section 4 deals with their initiation, as pupils and then as teachers, into the ideological assumptions of the tripartite system and its academic curriculum. Here the concern is with both the common pattern of assumptions, and the nature and extent of variation in individual beliefs and conceptions of classics. Finally, Section 5 makes a preliminary attempt to assess the implications of these different aspects of the teachers' biographies for the nature of their commitments and their consciousness.

Each of the teachers has been given a code letter, which also denotes his or her school. The group consists of the following:

TABLE 1

Teachers and Schools

School	Teacher(s)	School type	age range	sex	before reorganisation
A	A,AA,AAA	sen.high.schl.	13/18	mixed	2 GSs + 1 sec.
B	B,BB	"	"	"	"
C	C	"	"	boys	GS
D	D	"	"	girls	"
E	E	comprehensive	11/18	girls	purpose built
F	F	"	"	boys	"
G	G	"	"	mixed	2 GSs + 2 sec. mods
W	W	junior high schl.	11/13	mixed	sec.mod.
X	X	"	"	"	"
Y	Y	"	"	"	"
Z	Z	"	"	"	"

Notes on Table 1.

(1) M, N and O denote three classics teachers in Cardiff who were interviewed in an early stage of the research (once each), and whose statements are occasionally used as illustrative material.

(2) Schools: Before the reform of local government, which changed LEA boundaries, schools B and G were in the Glamorgan CC area, the rest in the Swansea LEA area; all are now under the control of West Glamorgan CC.

TABLE 2.

Teachers' Biographies

Teacher	birth date	birth place	school	advanced level subjects
A	1938	Neath	B	Lat.Fr.Sp; Gk.Anc.Hist.
AA	1919	Ystalyfera	Ystal.GS.	Lat.Gk.Anc.Hist.
AAA	1935	W.Bromwich	Wolverhampton GS.	Lat.Gk.Anc.Hist.
B	1935	Swansea	A	Lat.Fr.Eng.
BB	1915	Briton Ferry	B	Lat.Fr.Eng.
C	1933	Swansea	C	Lat.Fr.Sp.
D	1923	Ammanford	Amman Valley GS.	Eng.We.Lat.
E	1938	Swansea	D	Eng.Fr.Lat.Gk.
F	1934	Swansea	A	Lat.Hist.Eng.
G	1934	Gowerton	G	Fr.Eng.Lat.
W	1932	Swansea	D	Lat.Fr.Germ.
X	1915	Swansea	D	Eng.Fr.Lat.
Y	1935	Swansea	D	"
Z	1930	Swansea	A	"

TABLE 2.

Teachers' Biographies cont.

College	Dates	Degree Subjects	teaching jobs	Teacher
Cardiff	1957-61	Latin, Greek	mixed Gs(Mon)61-3 mixed comp.schl. (Glam) 63-7	A
"	1947-52	Classics	(A)	AA
Oxford (Bn)	1956-60	Mods.,Greats	Rochdale GS 62-7	AAA
Swansea	1949-52	Latin French	Hereford sec.mod. 57-9	B
"	1933-7	Lat.Fr.Greek	(B 1952-date)	BB
"	1951-4	Latin French Greek	(C 57-date)	C
Cardiff	1942-5	Latin Gk. Welsh	(D 60-date)	D
Swansea	1956-9	Latin Gk. Eng.	Weston S.Mare GS 59-62	E
"	1952-5	Lat.Gk.Anc.Hist.	Cathays HS (Cardiff) 56-9	F
"	1951-5	Eng.Gk.Lat.	Workington GS 55-7 Llanelli GS 57-61 Maidenhead HS 61-8	G
Cardiff	1949-52	Fr.Lat.Germ.	Coventry Comp.53-5 Brecon GS 55-70	W
Swansea	1934-7	Lat.Germ.Fr.	37-54 supply 55-69 Sw.sec.mod.	X
Swansea	1952-5	Fr.Lat.Germ.	D.55-60 BAOR Schl. 60-9	Y
Swansea	1947-50	Lat.Fr.	private schl.Llanelli A 66-70	Z

4.2 Mobility, migration and the grammar school: Learning & Leaving

Most of the teachers grew up in working-class or lower middle-class homes during the interwar years, their fathers occupations being in many cases typical of the dominant modes of employment in a coastal industrial belt (steel smelter, tinplate worker, colliery deputy, wholesale marine butcher, shipping department manager). In the South Wales of the 1930s, a grammar school education was generally regarded as the major avenue of escape from the economic insecurity and unemployment brought by the Depression. It made possible the escape from that world into one of secure employment and middle-class status, typically through entry into professional occupation.

The financial sacrifices made by parents at that period to make possible their children's continued education may sometimes have been based on the hope that this would eventually produce high levels of support for the family budget. In such cases, the assumption was that an educated child would find a good job locally; and this was rarely possible (DES 1967:5-6). In general, however, the motives of parents seem to have been more altruistic: the determination that their children would have the chance to escape from the hardships they had themselves suffered. For example:- *

"WHAT DID YOUR PARENTS THINK OF YOUR ... BEING A TEACHER?
To my father I'm sure it was a job with status and security, he was delighted. His background was working class, the insecurity of the 20s and 30s ...

* Interview material. Note the conventions: my questions are in capitals throughout. The numbers after the teacher's code letter refer to an interview and the page number in its transcript.

SO CHILDREN'S JOBS WERE IMPORTANT.

Yes. I look back on times when he would stay in the next room to mine, when I was studying, and just fill me up with tea and cigarettes, till about two in the morning. But apart from passing the exams and getting the job, it meant nothing to him ... it was the achievement ... they thought my getting to the university was a tremendous achievement." (C 5.4)

This is a familiar picture in the tradition of Hoggart's Uses of literacy and Jackson and Marsden's Education and the working class. But it is also related to the tradition of clerkly learning which long predates the Industrial Revolution. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, scholarship was something which provided access to a world beyond that of locality, home and women and children; and scholarship was symbolised by the learning of Latin, the lingua franca of the Church and diplomacy.(1) This tradition had involved schools and universities as locations for professional training; precisely the 'utilitarian' role which the 'gentlemanly' emphases of the 1830s and 40s (exemplified in Gaisford's famous remark that the study of Greek elevates a man above the common herd) obscured, until Rashdall exposed it at the end of the century.(2) In the years between the wars, Latin once again symbolised the escape from confining local conditions. In one sense, however, not freedom but security was at issue. What Latin and the grammar school represented was the escape from uncertainty.

It can be argued (and evidence will appear below) that the stress on grammatical rigour in the experience of many of the teachers belongs to this complex of attitudes. Latin

grammar has, on this interpretation, been a paradigm of order, of secure existence. The consequence for the learner's attitude to what is learnt may be that it becomes, for him, symbolic of 'learning' but detached from values or criteria which might suggest what is worth learning. Learning becomes its own end; an attitude perhaps contained in one teacher's statement that

"I'm a voracious reader, I read everything" (B 1.2)

Nevertheless, the role of learning in making possible the escape from one world of experience into another is reflected in the criterion of exclusion implicit in the conception of "academic" knowledge as uncommonsense. What goes on in school is something apart from everyday knowledge; one can speculate that teacher B would not have accepted the substitution of 'anything' for 'everything' in the statement quoted above.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, Latin became, between about 1930 and 1960, the symbol of "academic" learning in schools. In Wales, where the effects of the Depression were particularly severe, the situation to which C's sketch, above, refers, was a common one, and the rates of recruitment to selective secondary education began to rise. From the mid 1920s to the mid 60s, the English rate, measured by the percentage of 13-year olds in grammar schools, was constant at about 20%. In the mid 1920s the Welsh rate began to climb above this level, accelerating in the early 1930s to about 27% in 1937, and eventually to a peak of 33% in 1949. (Ministry of Education 1950:119). In the 50s and 60s, it gradually dropped to converge with the English rate again:

TABLE 3.

Percentage of 13-year olds in grammar schools

	1956	1960	1966	1968
England	19.6	18.9	20.6	18.9
Wales	31.2	25.8	23.0	18.6

Such figures have to be used with caution for estimating other than gross trends. Recruitment rates for different Welsh counties, for instance, varied in 1956 between almost 65% (Cardigan and Merioneth) through about 45% (Pembroke and Caernarvon) to just under 30% (Cardiff, Glamorgan, Monmouth: the last two of these held two thirds of the population of Wales at the time).(4) The English figures, on the other hand, do not include pupils in independent schools.

While this process of recruitment to selective secondary education was symbolised by Latin learning as the exemplar of the academic curriculum of the grammar school, specialisation in Latin was felt by several of the teachers to lead to restricted opportunities within the area of middle-class employment:

> "Fully committed to classics and, wishing to continue with the subject, decided to teach it" (A 5.1)
>
> "No deepseated convictions - previously drawn into teaching by the nature of the subjects chosen" (AA 6.1).
>
> "... choosing a subject like Latin I could have felt that there wasn't much to do but teach ... but that wasn't it, not the main reason" (E 2.1).

Teaching carried the obvious attraction, of course, that what had been learnt at school could then be taught. Certainly large numbers of grammar-school leavers chose to teach (it was, in any case, the shortest and easiest route to secure

employment), and thus joined

> "that rush from the hardship of the Welsh 19th century to the security of the middle-class professions, particularly teaching. The immense over-production of teachers in Wales has meant the emigration of a high proportion of educated Welshmen ... ((who)) follow the traditional paths of the Welsh teacher to Birmingham and London". (Thomas 1973:19).

For many Welsh school leavers, then, "getting on and out" (as it was usually called by these teachers) has been a single experience. Yet if emigration has been common, Wales is also generally regarded as a region where local ties are strong; where people do <u>not</u> leave, but (as the saying goes in Swansea) "keep close". What role has migration, return and "keeping close" played in the biographies of the teachers?

We can begin to estimate this by describing three separate but mutually reinforcing patterns of 'localism': administrative, economic and cultural. First, the administrative form. This kind of localism was a national norm before the last war, in the sense that grants for higher education were in most cases provided by local authorities for study at colleges in their home areas. The only grants which were available beyond local boundaries were a small number of State grants and Oxbridge scholarships.

> "Those were the days when you didn't go far, unless you were an Oxford or Cambridge scholar" (X 1.1).

> "... you didn't know whether you'd got a State scholarship till August ... I would have gone to Birmingham ... I knew about the scholarship too late to tell Birmingham" (C 2.1).

Such administrative constraints seem to have prevented several of the teachers from following up interest, however vague, in going to college outside Wales. In particular, some of them who wanted to leave home, and were unwilling to stay on in the sixth form for a third year, found that the English universities they applied to would not allow them to matriculate under the age of 18, whereas the Welsh colleges would admit them at 17.

Localised recruitment to higher education has a long history in England and Wales, and forms part of the system which the reformed public schools, with the aid of the railways, broke up in the mid 19th century. In 17th century Oxford, for example, 60% of the students at Brasenose came from Yorkshire, and 40% of those at Jesus, from Wales. (Stone 1975, Ch.1). During the present century, university catchment areas have become progressively delocalised (Oxford and Cambridge being excluded as already 'national' in catchment). This pattern can be seen in the following figures, calculated by Halsey (Halsey et al. 1961:462) from UGC returns. The 1961/2 figures are supplied from the Robbins Report Appendix 2a:176.

Geographical origins of students in English Universities, 1908-62

% within 30 miles

	1908/9	1948/9	1955/6	1961/2
Birmingham	-	56	38	29
Bristol	87	39	26	15
Leeds	78	60	40	27
Liverpool	75	62	55	37
Manchester	73	59	48	31
UCL (London)	66	53	43	?

Robbins (ibid 186) provides figures for the University of Wales as a whole:

	% within 30 miles		
1938/9	1954/5	1958/9	1961/2
66	42	31	25

Robbins (ibid) also gives figures for 1961/2 for the separate colleges:

	% within 30 miles
Aberystwyth	5
Bangor	15
Cardiff	43
Swansea	31

Finally, Ned Thomas (1973:18) gives some figures for percentages of Welsh students in the University of Wales:

1955	80	
1975	39	(Bangor 24)

The use of circles to define 'local' areas, whether of 30 mile radius or 10 miles (as do Duggan & Stewart 1970. None of the six areas they investigated is in Wales), is of course a coarse procedure. It tells us nothing of what an individual feels to be his "home area"; and in the case of colleges belonging to the University of Wales, blurs important distinctions. For example, in the statistics above Aberystwyth appears relatively "nonlocal"; yet is the centre of a campaign for the recruitment of Welsh students. The 30 mile boundary, in this case, has little meaningful relation to that kind of concern.

Recruitment from Welsh grammar schools to Welsh colleges has become self-reinforcing partly because of the characteristic grammar school concern to achieve status by maintaining links with higher education. In a school where most staff are products of the Welsh colleges, the obvious strategy has been to strengthen these existing links. Another factor has combined with this to direct pupils into the colleges from which their teachers have come: the weakness of provision for advice on higher education. Indeed, in some cases this weakness, which left pupils at the mercy of the personal experiences of staff, may often have been a product of the assumption that no problem existed as far as advice was concerned. After all, pupils usually went to the local college, or the next one along ... if they were very bright, perhaps to Oxbridge: but intellect would bring its own rewards. At times, one can imagine that a pupil's desire to begin or continue at college a subject not taught at all of them might generate comparison and choice. Something of this sort had happened to one of the teachers, whose comments below also illustrate the role played by differences in ages of admission.

> "They did (Spanish) in the English universities, but they wouldn't take me at that age, 17, so I went to Cardiff, though the French teacher tried to persuade me to stay on a year ... then I would have done French with Spanish at Leeds. But I was keen to leave then, you know, with everybody else ...
> YOU'RE UNUSUAL IN EVEN THINKING OF LEAVING WALES FOR UNIVERSITY
>
> I didn't mind where I went; I wasn't particularly keen to stay in Wales ...
>
> BUT WHY? IT <u>IS</u> UNUSUAL. WAS THERE ANY CONFLICT WITH YOUR PARENTS?
>
> No ... I think Leeds then had a good reputation for Spanish ... That was the recommendation, we usually went on the recommendation of the teachers. We didn't have counsellors then, college or university was all that was open to you really.

PERHAPS YOUR GUIDANCE WAS UNUSUAL, THEN?

Maybe; the French teacher was English, not Welsh, maybe that was it" (W.1. 1-2).

This self-reinforcing localism also permeated the recruitment of recent graduates for teaching, though it built on the supporting constraints of grant provision. In the 1930s, according to several of the teachers, grants for teacher training were difficult to get. The only way to guarantee a grant was to enrol at college for a four-year course: three undergraduate years and one for training. (Of the teachers who did one year of teacher training (all of the group except A), all did it at the college where they obtained their degree). In this way, apparently, a place on the training course, as well as a grant, were secured in advance. One teacher remembered that matriculating students who opted for this strategy were enrolled into the college by the Dean of the Education Faculty, rather than of Arts. In the 30s and 40s, according to the teachers who had trained then, it was taken for granted that receipt of the local authority grant for training carried with it an obligation to teach in the authority's area for a few years. The exact period had apparently never been clear; and according to one teacher, a test case after the war had revealed that the obligation was moral rather than legal.

On this administrative basis, localist recruitment supervened by maintaining internal links. This process operated through several channels. Some teachers (three of this group) have returned to the school where they were taught. Others have been offered jobs at a school while doing their teaching practice there, or have been told when vacancies in their subject would occur there. Finally, college staff, both in education and subject departments, have often acted

informally as agents, telephoning heads or being telephoned by them as vacancies were forecast or students approached the end of their training.

> "... at the end of the training year, I got on quite well with the staff at the university, and they were good enough to offer me jobs ..."

> "I was a student at Llanelli, and at the end of the year I was told I could either stay on as a junior teacher, general subjects, or go, come back in two years to replace the No. 2 Latin mistress, who would be leaving then. So I went away for two years and returned". (G.1. 1-2).

Finally, cultural localism (the positive evaluation of staying in a home area) must be considered as a factor which, though a stimulus rather than a constraint, has reinforced the economic and administrative constraints outlined above. The central feature of Welsh 'cultural localism' is the feeling that one should "keep close" to one's family; in particular, perhaps especially for women, that one should support one's parents and look after them when they grow old to the extent of moving in with them or bringing them to live with you. The following extracts give an idea of the importance of cultural localism in the educational and occupational careers of the teachers.

> "WHY DID YOU APPLY TO BRISTOL (UNIVERSITY)?
>
> I've relatives, spent many a happy holiday there ... I would have had relatives there, it would have been another ideal spot really, next to Swansea". (F.7.1)

> "I was seriously thinking of Birmingham ... my mother's relatives were there, and I would have stayed with them". (C 2.1)

> "The only reason I moved to Cardiff was to be nearer my parents, nearer home ... my parents were older and more frail by then ... (at that school) I was the only classics teacher; and there was less Latin, at a lower level too, than at Gloucester. But my parents were more important". (M 1.1)

"HAVE YOU EVER FELT LIKE MOVING?

Not really. It isn't my home; while I taught near Bridgend, I was living at home. But when I was fairly settled here, I brought my parents to live here. So then I was tied here". (N 1.1)

For some of the male teachers, the localist norm seems to have been confirmed, rather than disturbed, by such disruptive intrusions as National Service.* One teacher's father applied for a local job on his son's behalf while the latter was on National Service, having seen an advertisement in the local paper (it should be added that Swansea Education Committee advertised teaching jobs in the local papers, using the national press only when desperate). The relationship between service abroad and localist norms becomes paradoxical when England remains unvisited:

'... I haven't taught in England, never been there: my national service was in the far East ... so my horizons are very narrow". (AA 1.3)

AA is also, however, one of the two teachers in the group who were born inland from Swansea, "up in the valley" (the other is D, who has "several preachers in the family"(D6.1)). They might, therefore, be expected to reflect in their attitudes something of the Nonconformist zeal of the Welsh Revival of 1904. Here, perhaps, one might find a "culture" conceived not in terms of social mobility through education, but as 'value rationality' ... education as an absolutely good self-cultivation. These two are also the only bilingual members of the group, and so seem likely to represent the kind of linguistic/cultural/religious complex common to many

* In the words of one who experienced it, "Train for a career? Make long-term plans? What was the point, when the bastards were going to haul you into the Army in a couple of years?..." (letter to the editor, The Observer 11.8.74)

parts of central and West Wales, but which appears much more rarely in Swansea, and even less so in Cardiff. When AA talked about the Welsh tradition of culture and learning and I protested mildly that Swansea seemed to me in many ways uncultured, he replied

> "But it was a Welsh revival and Swansea's very much an English town ... twenty miles out of Swansea, the influence of the Revival is still very strong ... strong in people over fifty years old.
>
> I think there is the working-class myth in ... certainly in the valleys in Wales, at least until a generation or so ago, that Latin was one of the subjects that miners and tinplate workers thought you should do, to get out of the rut of the steelmill and the mines. They associated Latin with ... Oxford and Cambridge maybe? ... it was a status-subject ... so many clergymen had been produced from the valleys, and they automatically did Latin if they wanted to go into the Church, as so many did from an early age ...
>
> I think as far as the Welsh miner or tinplate worker is concerned, he's always been - this may seem rather pompous - at the turn of the century a more cultured man than his English counterpart ...
>
> THE WELSH REVIVAL...
>
> That's right ... with education forming the be-all and end-all of a man's ambitions ... the miners writing poems on the trams down below ... a tremendous weight given to education and what it could do for their children ... a way out of their kind of life for their children. And who are the educated people in the villages? Generally the parson". (AA 1.3-5)

This passage gives some idea of the 'culture' which might have informed a concern for educational attainment before the growth of an instrumental concern for certification and secure employment via education. To this extent it offers a contrast with C's description, quoted above, of his father's determination to help him pass hurdles of achievement whose

meaning were obscure. Yet the vision of the Revival is a distant one, and the miners who wrote poems in the mines are also those who saw in education "a way out of their kind of life for their children". The fading of the vision of culture and its replacement by the vision of a 'good life' defined in terms of economic security parallels, in a sense, the shift described in Chapter 3 between the curricular images of the 20s and 30s. Culture becomes learning, the end of learning becomes 'achievement'; and perhaps the model followed becomes - in the Welsh case - not the parson but the local doctor, whose mysterious knowledge was similarly marked off from everyday knowledge by Latin terminology.

As the Welsh educational system became part of the English early in this century, we can further expect that a different vision of culture appeared, one which also seemed higher and more remote than the concern for security and middle-class employment. This was the public-school and Oxbridge classics tradition which continued alongside the values of 'academic learning' which Latin symbolised in the state system. B's description of the groups of pupils doing classics when he was at school reflects this dual tradition in miniature:

> "We did the full classics course; I think there were five doing that, and five of us in with them doing Latin. I did French and English, a couple of others the same; some did Latin English History or something like that ..."
> (B 2.1)

'Cultural localism', it seems safe to conclude, does not relate to conceptions of the ends of education, except perhaps for those who are over fifty and live up in the Valleys. The question remains, how 'local' have these teachers been? The next section deals with this in the context of the nature of their involvement in teaching as an occupation.

4.3 Teaching as occupation

If we consider the teachers' movement through the stratification order, through space and over time --- social and geographical mobility during and after the interwar years --- then it is clear that teaching as an occupation is central to this complex whole. Along each of those dimensions, entry to and progression within teaching forms the major avenue of movement. Such movement is therefore likely to have been influenced by the nature of the experience and consciousness characteristic of this occupation.(5)

What were the features of the occupation which made it attractive in the conditions of working-class insecurity in the 1920s and 30s? It was respectable: in other words, it formed the minimal means of mobility into middle-class life and employment. It seems that after the second War, teaching became more attractive to school leavers within the middle class; or at least, that it became equally attractive, and that the greater numbers of middle-class school leavers then began to make it a middle-class occupation in terms of entry. (See Floud & Scott 1961. Cp. Kelsall & Kelsall 1969:7).

This brings us to the security of employment offered by teaching, which seems to have constituted an advantage when it was compared with the careers of barrister or minister. For the middle-class graduate of the 50s or 60s, teaching might have become simply the dependable but inferior alternative to such careers as law or medicine; for the working-class or lower middle-class graduate of a generation before, it formed, as it were, the bottom layer of an occupational and

status sector seen from below. F's experiences illustrate the role of teaching as acceptable second or third choice:

> "I did once think of going in for Law, it wasn't always teaching ... I had set my sights on being a barrister if I did law at all ... our solicitor ... rather discouraged me ... warned me that though it was an excellent profession to follow, it would mean six years hard studying and then one couldn't look for work, one had to wait for it to come ... so you needed financial resources to see you over the first few lean years ... it meant building up connections, solicitors, and so on ... There was another time when I almost went in for the Ministry ... I was made a deacon when I was seventeen ... that may have sparked interest in the ministry itself ... but our minister at our church, while he would have been delighted to see me enter the ministry, warned me against the hardships involved there. I thought about it, but by that time had done a lot of Sunday School teaching ... the teaching bug began to bite hard. (F 2.2).(6)

The security offered by teaching was related to its salary structure, which provided a career line which was typically 'front-ended' and 'unstepped' (Lortie 1975; 84-6). In other words, initial salary was considerable, but thereafter rose slowly, and without large promotional steps. Promotion consisted of obtaining departmental headships, for which allowances were added to salary. Further, this initial affluence was accessible. After a degree course and one year's training, employment could begin, and was in some cases almost guaranteed. Some of the teachers remember being enrolled for their fourth (teacher training) year at the beginning of their first (degree) year. Those who were thus enrolled were apparently guaranteed training grants which were otherwise difficult to obtain. In addition, grants paid by county authorities had attached to them expectations that the recipient would teach in the county area for a few years.

Thus the process of degree and training and its financial basis involved both obligation and guarantee. (After the second world war, according to one teacher, these obligations were tested in a court case and found to have no enforceable legal basis).

Finally, the most obvious feature of teaching from the perspective of entrants was precisely its obviousness. Teaching is the occupation to which all children who receive formal education are exposed. In this particular historical location, it may well have had the additional quality of appearing the 'obvious' way of continuing the academic route begun in school: a route which, as the last section suggested, might well have been perceived as being one to be travelled on (the continual mounting of obstacles to 'achievement') rather than being taken to arrive anywhere. Teaching may also, as F's account hints, have inherited something of the aura of the ministry as the source of the exposition of sacred truth. Two of the other teachers (AA and G) also reported that they had taught in Sunday Schools. In this case, there is no specific evidence to suggest that it constituted an originating factor in decisions to enter teaching. On the other hand, in terms of the distinction Lortie suggests (above previous para.) between early and late choice, it may well have been important in linking the two stages in the experience of an individual: maintaining an early preference through adolescence into the period of adult career choice.

F can be linked with three of the other teachers in his choice of teaching as a secondbest occupation. To some extent,

they can be interpreted as confirming the picture of working-class aspiration to teach, since two of them come from lower middle class families. AAA is an outsider in the group, having been born outside Wales (West Bromwich); his father was a draughtsman and at times an insurance salesman. He entered Oxford to read Law, but changed to classics. After teacher training, he went into industry as a management trainee, but disliked it and decided after all to teach (AAA 7.11). D, whose father was a colliery deputy, had never considered teaching in her 20s, and had worked as an archivist in a university library. The experience of bringing up her own children through the age of schooling made her feel that teaching was valuable and interesting, and she began teaching at school D, where she is now, in her late 30s. (D 1.3-4). F's case has already been mentioned; his father was a 'shipping butcher'. The third of the teachers who took teaching as a secondbest occupation is BB, who is eccentric in her experiences in several ways. Her father was an independent decorator, self-educated and a committed member of the Independent Labour Party. She herself is heavily involved in both teachers' unions and the WEA, being almost unique in these respects in the group. Her "working-class" background is therefore one in which the search for something more than security of employment might be expected. She wanted to train as a doctor, but the costs were too great:

> "I'd always wanted to be a doctor, but it was financially impossible ... so maybe I rejected science because I couldn't be a doctor ... in my fourth year there was a choice of Chemistry or Latin ... I knew I couldn't be a doctor, so I chose Latin. Then without chemistry, I wasn't allowed to do biology ...
>
> WHEN DID YOU BECOME COMMITTED TO TEACHING?
>
> Like many, I drifted into it ... I got my A levels (Highers then) and felt all I could do was teach, so went to university. Never thought of anything else ...

WHY IS TEACHING EVERYBODY'S BACKSTOP?

Well, people don't know what to do and that's the obvious thing to do with a degree ... other avenues seem less easy". (BB 2.1)

BB's employment history has also been unusual. After her teacher training (1938), she tried to find jobs:

"... when I left college, I couldn't get a job teaching Latin, so for ten years I taught shorthand and typing in a secondary modern ... I wasn't able to go far from home, I was living in rather difficult circumstances at home ...

DID THE WAR MAKE IT DIFFICULT TO FIND JOBS?

Well no. The schools were limited. I applied for this job twice: but the headmistress didn't want old pupils at the school, and so she coupled Latin with Welsh. I don't say deliberately, but it made it impossible. Then the next head couldn't find a Latin teacher, called me in December and asked me to start in January.

WHY TEACH SHORTHAND AND TYPING?

I was out of work for a long time. I began to despair of ever teaching, so I decided to get myself trained another way ..." (BB 1.1-2)

She began her present job, at school B, in 1952, at the same age at which D began teaching (37).

These teachers are, however, in varying degrees eccentric to the dominant pattern of mobility through secure employment. The overall pattern of careers, and their relation to geographical mobility, is illustrated in the following graphs, which show (i) teaching careers, the varieties of schools taught at and promotions; (Table 4) and (ii) geographical mobility; (Table 5).

Key

|	new job
- - -	non-teaching job
———	assistant
═══	head of department
NS	National Service
TT	Teacher training
GS	Grammar school
CS	Comprehensive school (11-18 yrs.)
PS	Preparatory school
ML	Multilateral school
SHS	Senior high school (13-18 yrs.)
JHS	Junior high school (11-13 yrs.)
ST	Secondary technical school
-B	boys
-G	girls
-M	mixed

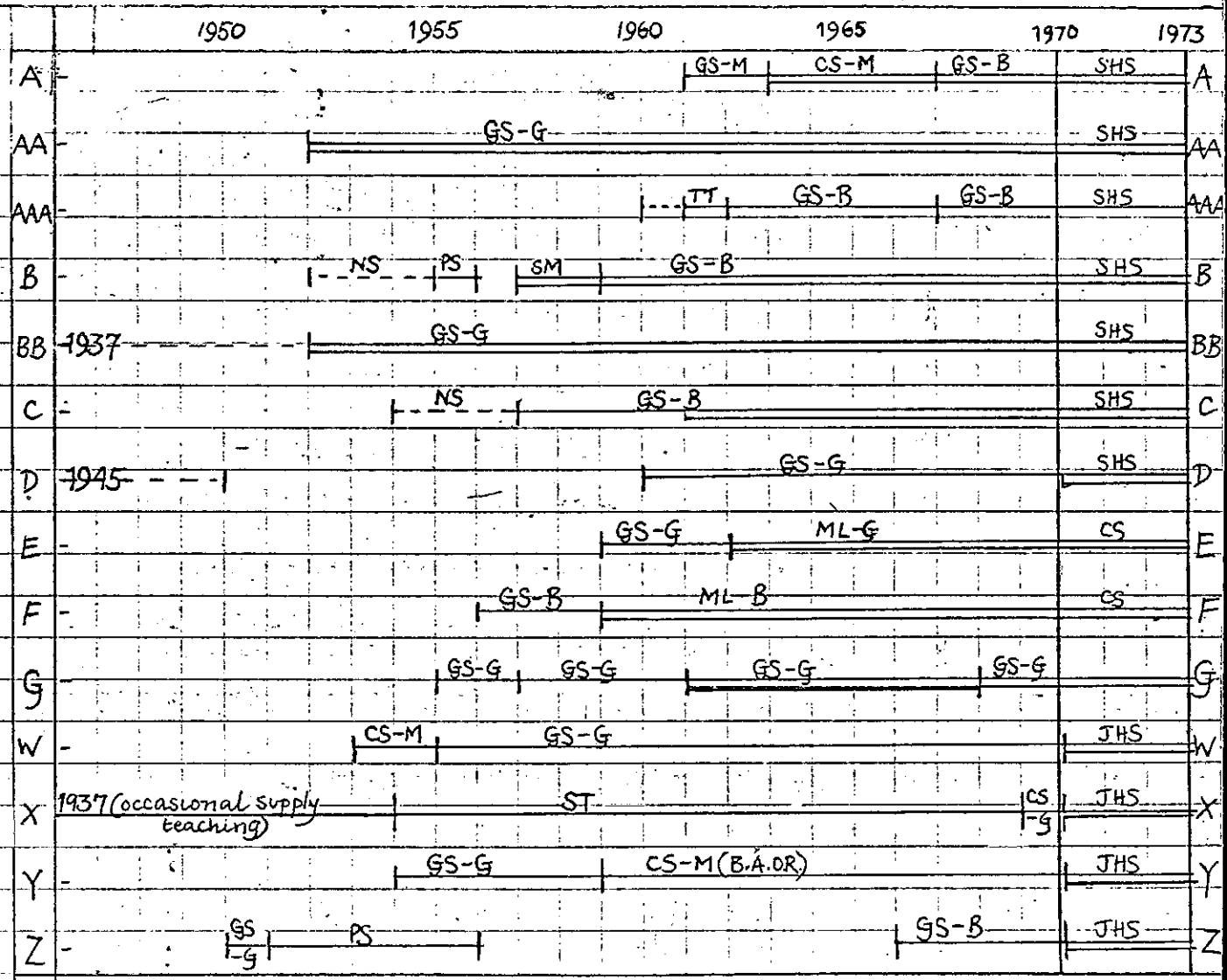


Table Four

Careers: Schools and Promotion

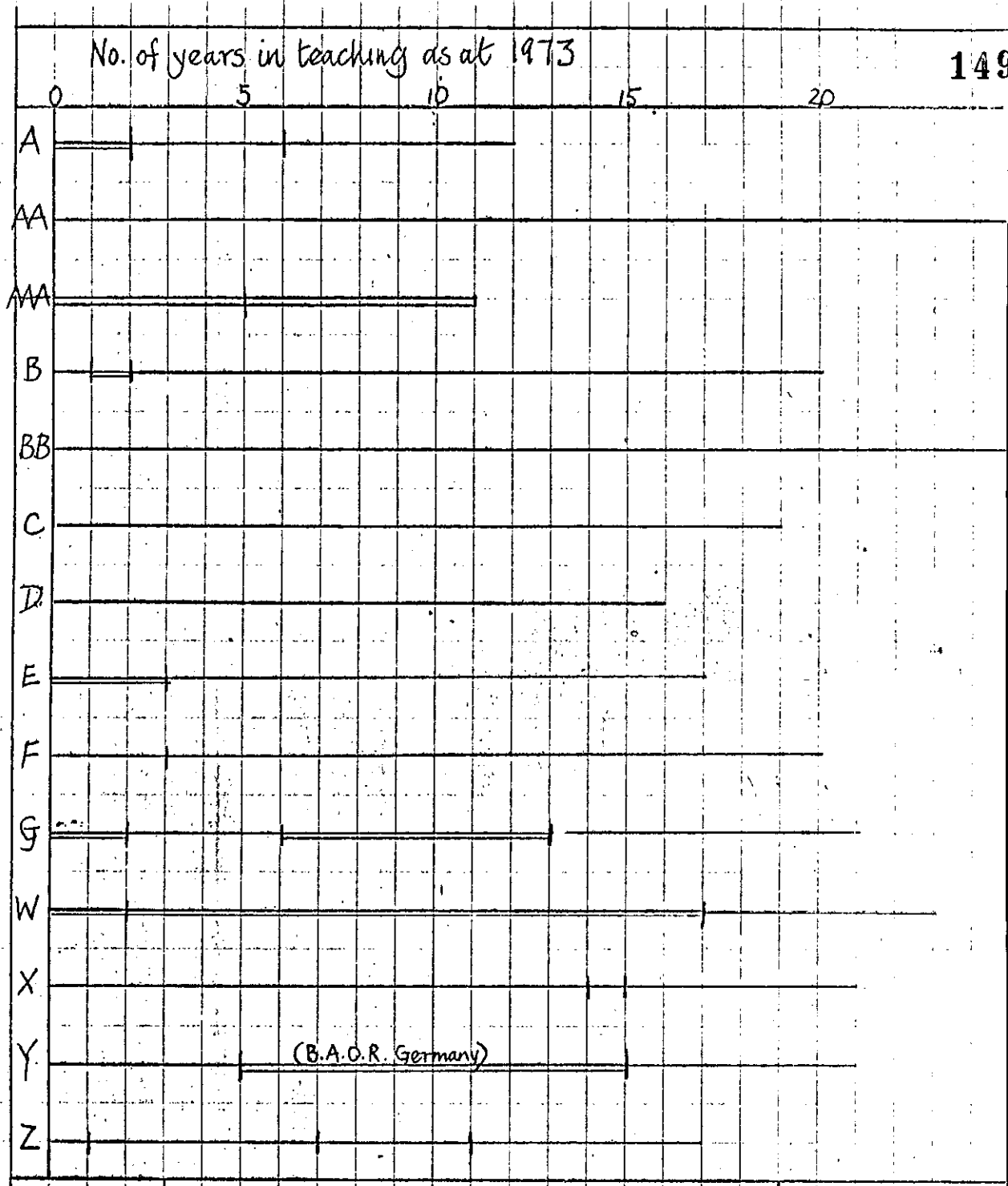


Table Five

Teaching Careers and Geographical Mobility.

(omitted: non-teaching jobs, National Service, unemployment before teachi

Table 4 shows that only A and G have changed jobs after promotion to head of department. A has taught at three schools, and reports that higher salary was one of the attractions involved in both his moves. These moves 'make sense' in several ways; he has taught in:

1st. A grammar school in Monmouthshire with, at first, little 6th form classics.

2nd. A comprehensive school a few miles from his birthplace (Neath) -- his first head of department job.

3rd. A prestigious grammar school (as it was in 1967) with a 'classics tradition' and a large department (hence higher salary). This school (A) and his second school are about equidistant from Neath.

This career is comprehensible, then, in terms of localism, classics, salary and the ranking of schools.

G's first head-of-department job lasted 7 years; the school was a high-status (GPDST) girls' grammar school, in a pleasant country town where she has relatives; and

> "with a head who was a classicist, of course the future was very bright, and we planned accordingly". (G 1.2)

From there, she moved to her own old school, then (1967) a respectable girls' GS but now part of a large mixed comprehensive on several sites. Here, in 1967, she succeeded her own teacher. As for B-F, the table makes it clear that they have not changed jobs since being heads of departments. In most cases, they were by then teaching in their home towns.

These two careers, then, form stable progressions in terms of promotion, school type and 'coming home' (G lives with her parents). B and C were the only members of the group eligible for National Service, but its effects on their careers were very different. C's experience has already been described; B seems not to have had the necessary local connections which might have helped to get him a local teaching job (it may be significant that his father had died earlier), and so he took what he could get (a year's temporary teaching in a local preparatory school, then French teaching in a Hereford secondary modern).

The four members of the group who now teach in 11-13 junior high schools form a distinct subgroup, as the tables suggest. They are all married women, whereas three of the four female senior school teachers (BB,E,G) are unmarried; their teaching careers have all been interrupted by childbirth and raising children. All of them moved from jobs as assistant teachers to headships of modern language departments in the junior high schools when these were created (from secondary modern schools) in 1970; and between them, have taught on supply, in technical schools, general subjects and part-time. Their careers are therefore related to each other, and stand somewhat apart from those of the other teachers.

The final 'eccentric' case -- that of AAA -- is of some importance. After fifteen years' teaching, AAA is still, technically, an assistant teacher. He receives an allowance for Greek which puts his salary on the same level as A and AA (who are joint heads of department, an arrangement universal at A since its amalgamation in 1970). His early rejection

of industrial management in favour of teaching suggests, to some extent, the abandoning of 'ambition' in favour of 'worthwhile' employment. But there is more to it than this.

> "I've never seriously considered looking for or taking a job where there wasn't Greek; and this has hindered my career. I messed up my career because I was so happy at my first school. Careerwise I should have left after two years; in fact I was so happy I stayed three years before it even occurred to me to consider leaving. (AAA 7.1)

The way in which this teacher feels he has ruined his career as a teacher, his determination to find jobs where he could teach 'his kind of classics', and the fact that, alone of this group, he is a long way from his birthplace: all these, clearly, are related. AAA's case raises several questions, but the one of most immediate relevance here is this: how do occupational choice and subject choice interact? How does the teaching of classics affect one's career as a teacher?

The most important link between subject and occupational choice is a simple one. Whereas whatever is learnt at school can, in general, later be taught in schools, the range of occupations other than teaching open to the school leaver varies according to subject specialisation. This latter point is illustrated by the remarks of A,AA and E quoted above (p.133): if you concentrate on Latin at school, what can you do with it but teach it?(7)

Subject choice also affects career lines. To teach classics means to abandon hopes of cumulative promotion to well-paid jobs, since classics departments are generally very small. Of those in which the members of this group work, only three have more than one full-time teacher; and those are all products of comprehensive reorganisation involving

amalgamation of schools and the preservation of existing jobs. Thus school A includes the staff (2 plus 1) of two former grammar schools, and schools B and G too (1 plus 1 in each case). The only schools in South Wales with three full-time classics teachers are school A and an independent school (Christ's College, Brecon).

This kind of career line has compensations, of course: to be the head of a one-person department may increase one's autonomy in some ways (just how, and to what extent, may be judged from the discussion in Chapter 6). It also makes possible very early promotion to such posts. Of the ten members of the group teaching in senior schools (11-18 or 13-18), only three spent more than five years teaching without becoming heads of departments. As a result, they have no chance of improving their salaries now unless they leave classics teaching: As AA commented, describing his appointment as head of department in his first job:

> "... it was sort of handed to me ... In retrospect I can say it was a bad thing careerwise, being a head of department immediately ... it can make you lazy ... you're financially secure at the outset. You couldn't improve on yourself ... there was no <u>need</u> to improve ... and where could you move for money ... in Classics?"
> (AA 1.6)

In this situation, one can expect geographical mobility to become a significant factor, since if salary prospects are "unstepped", in Lortie's terminology, the object of job changes will be to find comfortable jobs and preferred geographical locations. In the case of this group's experience, Table 5 shows that geographical mobility from the immediate margins of birthplaces has been slight. (Cp Becker's teachers, whose career movement was from inner-city schools to those in residential suburbs: Becker 1952.)

It is now time to examine in more detail the nature of the teachers' experience of curricular ideology, subject choice and the content of the subjects they chose as pupils, and have taught as teachers.(8) This can be seen as a retracing of the larger-scale narrative of Chapter 3 in terms not of the institutional structure and general features of curricular ideology, but of the "habitus" (Bourdieu) which that structure created, and which in turn recreated it in the occupational careers of teachers. What this involves, therefore, is the analysis of the teachers' initiation into assumptions about education, learning, pupils and curriculum content, within a system in which classics was the exemplary symbol of these assumptions. It is with these assumptions that the teachers confront the challenges of the 1960s and 70s to the legitimacy of classics. But these assumptions are also precisely those which their challengers are concerned to deny.

4.4 Becoming a classics teacher: academic market & classics standard

The teachers in this group have all passed through the highest (grammar school) stratum of the tripartite system between 1926 and 1956. This section presents a description of the conceptions of curriculum and classics into which they have been initiated during their pupil careers.

The salient features of the academic curriculum have been outlined in the last chapter. It is a market of commodities (curricular contents: subjects) which embody reason, and which pupils possessed of reason select to suit their inclinations. Academic subjects are therefore equivalent insofar as they are academic (were they equal, there would be no reason to have more than one). This equivalence, and the ideology of the immanent development of pupils' innate abilities, renders the choice of subjects through a pupil's career unproblematic, because 'natural'.

The freedom of the market, however, is an illusion which conceals two different kinds of unfreedom. The first of these derives from the fact that selection of subjects from groups, and the assemblage of groups by choice, alike take place in a symbolically-constituted field. The peculiarity of the market curriculum therefore lies in its institutional denial that this symbolic constitution exists; just as the peculiarity of Western economics is that it pretends utility exists independent of such symbolic ordering.(9) Patterns of choice are therefore taken as given, since they are "thrown up" by the natural workings of the developing reason of pupils as it manifests itself through pupil careers. (Compare the

terminology used by the Norwood Report in distinguishing the kinds of pupils 'thrown up in practice in English education' (above Ch.3, p115). Mead's idea of the "self-lodging" of personal identity through the process of socialisation belongs in the same category.)

The specific role of classics in the academic curriculum has also been discussed in Chapter 3, but can be reanalysed in the above terms. On the market of reason- commodities, Latin forms the common coinage. The relation between this 'coinage' and the other commodities on the market can be expressed in the following terms:

> "All values are apparently governed by the same paradoxical principle. They are always composed:
>
> (1) of a <u>dissimilar</u> thing that can be exchanged for the thing of which the value is to be determined; and
>
> (2) of <u>similar</u> things that can be <u>compared</u> with the thing of which the value is to be determined.
>
> Both factors are necessary for the existence of a value. To determine what a five-franc piece is worth one must therefore know: (1) that it can be exchanged for a fixed quantity of a different thing, e.g. bread; and (2) that it can be compared with a similar value of the same system, e.g. a one-franc piece ..." (de Saussure 1966:115. Quoted by Sahlins 1977:214).

Latin can be described as a commodity which embodies not just the membership-value of the academic market (reason), but the paradigmatic example of that value (grammar); it thus functions as coinage, the nearest approximation available to a standard of value against which other commodities can be judged.

The point can be extended to include the 'organic unity' of what has become known, in the academic market, as "full

classics": Latin, Greek, Ancient History. If Latin functions as academic currency, then Classics is the gold standard. It symbolises the dignity of content, rather than the price of embodiments of reason.(10) Although "gentlemanly" classics is also a manifestation of reason, it is, as Chapter 2 has suggested, a manifestation of immanent reason, of the individual as a harmonious example of 'organic form'. This is the tradition which retains a residual charisma in the academic market, an "aura of its own" as one of the teachers put it (see below).

The second unfreedom which the ideology of the academic market conceals can be pointed out by remembering that the market is only part of the tripartite curricular economy. Academic freedom is predicated on the unfreedom of the unacademic, which is thus manifested in (i) relative scarcity of choice of subjects, (ii) relatively rare embodiment of reason in subjects. Within the academic market itself, similarly, a margin or inferior stratum can be detected in which certain pupils ("dull") are allocated to certain subjects ("technical/practical") in a quite automatic fashion.

The pattern which emerges here is obviously congruent with the interpretation put forward in Chapter 2 (Section 3), and again in Section 3 of the previous chapter, both of the ideological basis of the 'collection' curriculum, and of the particular reasons for its invisibility to Bernstein. If the substance of the last few paragraphs, and the interpretation of the interview material below, is accepted, then that preliminary suggestion seems confirmed. Academic freedom represents the triumph

of bourgeois rationalism, which maintains its dominance over the working class by maintaining the dominance of reason over the contexts of technique and practical activity which restrain it from transcendence.(11)

It is now time to provide documentation for this picture of the academic curriculum. We can begin with the notion of 'freedom'. Several of the teachers stressed that guidance on the choice of subjects had been non-existent:

> "We were left to our own choices ... there was quite a wide choice, no real restriction ... The school was about 700 boys". (A 1.1)
>
> "It was all up to you ... we tended on the whole ... the sciences were grouped automatically, you know, but on the Arts side, it tended to be History plus Geography and then something else, English or French". (D 2.1)
>
> "The choice was left to us ... it was Latin or Music and that was that". (G 2.1)
>
> "The only choice was, to go to college or not; and subjects ... you chose what you wanted ... at that time ((Latin)) was a means of getting into colleges ..." (W 2.1)
>
> "there was a free choice in Arts ... but then there were only five subjects really". (W 2.2)

While G's comment is perhaps the most striking example, the co-existence of "free choice" with de facto limitations can be seen in several of the statements. Most obviously, a small school could not provide many subjects, so that a choice of 'any three out of five' seems to have been quite common. This exemplifies the difficulty faced by small schools (and therefore especially girls' schools) in gaining grants for courses in three grouped subjects (see Ch.3, p.108). Less obviously, such schools provided (to follow the example) a

specific five subjects, the specificity being concealed by the possibility of choice among those provided. This brings us to the 'symbolic constitution of the market'.

The disjunction between Arts and Science subjects was rarely mentioned by the teachers. This reflects the massiveness and taken-for-granted nature of the division. When asked to list the A level (higher Certificate) subjects available at their schools, they all gave list of the Arts subjects alone. D's comment was made only after a probe; and she is the most self-consciously "Arts" of the group in her self-identification.

> "I was an Arts type, I never had any trouble with my Latin. Some of them were completely swamped of course ... they weren't in ... I didn't regard them as being in my world, they were jolly good at Maths and things like that." (D 1.1) (12)

Two teachers, Z and O (one of the three Cardiff teachers), had scored high marks in both Arts and Science subjects, but neither was allowed to select 6th form subjects which straddled the divide. Z chose science, then found she disliked it and changed to arts; O chose arts, but was seen as a promising pupil on both sides of the divide:

> "I was clearly a linguist; not attracted to A level English because it was mostly literature. Also good at science; there was competition for me between physics and classics." (O 1.1) (13)

The Arts/Science division provides the most obvious example of the symbolic constitution of the "free" market. The next quotation enables us to perceive both another aspect of the market and an example of something alien to its values.

> "... the choice (at my old school) ... heavily weighted against the English monoglot ... completely Welsh area in those days ... there was a B class (boys), G (girls), M (mixed) ... you chose two languages from French Latin Welsh. But of course so many people were Welsh anyway that they automatically chose Welsh ... and then French or Latin. And this was a very unfair system, because Welsh wasn't comparable with the others, being the home language. It wasn't a language as such ... two thirds of the pupils chose Welsh and French or Latin". (AA 1.5)

The transcendence of the ordinary, of the everyday, by the academic commodities which embody reason is exemplified in AA's assumption that the 'home language' is not a 'language as such'. The terminology even echoes Plato's own: only the Form is really real. This criterion will reappear below with reference to the symbolic centrality of language subjects in the academic curriculum, as examples of initiation into the alien through reason (grammar). It will also reappear in Chapter 6, where 'what could be picked up at home' will be found to be defined by some teachers as "not a real subject". The subject is a commodity whose status resides in its distance from ordinary reality.

This teacher's recollections can also be read in another, and equally fruitful, way, as reflecting not deviance from the rules of the academic market, but a conflict between those and other rules. The parallel has already been suggested (pp. 141-142 above) between the Edwardian classics ideal and the Welsh Nonconformist ideal as 'visions of culture' submerged by the tide of academic specialisation. In AA's comments, then, it may be possible to see the last vestiges of cultivation being absorbed into the academic market. This was, after all, a Welsh-speaking area fifteen miles up the valley from Swansea

in the early 1930s. If we turn to the account given by his colleague AAA, we find a clear example of the English 'vision': a curricular economy which retains many of the features of the gentlemanly tradition.

> "The head came into the classroom and said, There's Greek German and Chemistry. The A and B forms have all three to choose from, the C form does Chemistry. I advise you to do Greek. One or two did Chemistry; maybe a third German; the rest Greek. The head was a classicist ... The 6th forms were 6 Classics, 6 Maths, 6 Modern languages and 6 Science; odd brave spirits did History and Geography or something like that ... in those days it was felt that the educated man read English in his spare time ... English went with modern languages. The few who did history were loosely attached to 6 Classics ... Choice was almost automatic: two-thirds of the A stream did Greek ... then did Maths if good, if not did Classics. 6 Maths and 6 Classics ... were considered the elite 6th forms ... they both had a specific aura to them, spirit or whatever ... modern languages were next in the hierarchy, science at the bottom". (AAA 1.1)

This refers to a prestigious ~~North of England~~ Mid direct grant grammar school in the 1950s. The criteria of the academic market are certainly visible. For example, the degree of choice available to pupils clearly reflects the system of streaming in the school: the C stream do not have the choice offered to their superiors. It is also probably significant that the bottom stream are assigned a subject which, among the sciences, seems to have suffered from its association with practical work and experiment: "stinks". But as AAA reports, science <u>as a whole</u> occupied the lowest place in the 6th hierarchy. What these extracts present is a vigorous survival of the "age of gold" into the age of the market; and the gold standard is certainly classics. Here the 'home language' is excluded, just as AA seemed to think it should have been in his school, and for a related reason.

English, in this example, is certainly not inferior because not academic, though this may have come to be significant in reinforcing its exclusion; rather it is detached, even superior. One could almost say that here formal education, not ordinary life, is the outsider.

There is more to be said about AAA's remarks. The 6th form subjects are not separate commodities so much as members of 'organic unities'. To choose to study history, for example, was to swim against the tide, to be marginal to the social life of other 6th formers, perhaps; certainly to be made to feel uncomfortable by the kind of pressure exerted by the intervening headmaster of AAA's recollection. In this particular case, the market and its gentlemanly predecessor are combined. The availability of chemistry to the A form surely represents the forces of the market (choice prevailing over content-hierarchy as a criterion of pupil-evaluation). But headmagisterial intervention was obviously effective in producing a pattern of actual choices which reflected the gentlemanly hierarchies: Greek for the A form, German for the B form, chemistry for the rest. One can guess (but one would like to know) what he said when presenting the choice to the B form.

AAA's comment that choice (i.e. patterns of choice) "was almost automatic" reflects an awareness of the 'constructed' nature of the 'free' operation of the market. The same point was made by one of the other teachers:

> "Latin was seen as ... one of the academic things to do... anyone who did A level in Arts was expected to do Latin. My doing it ... was a natural progression, I'd say ... the whole form did it, with very few exceptions".
> (Z 1.1)

Although the mention of what was expected indicates Z's awareness that this "progression" did not simply 'happen', it can be seen that with this example we are moving from AAA's cynical analysis of the, to him, irrational absurdities of the social organisation of allocation towards an acceptance of allocation within the terms provided by the ideology of the academic market: a natural progression.

The recollections of B and O give a picture related to AAA's, but take us a little further away from the charismatic 'gold standard' of classics.

> "There was a flexible but limited choice. It was a smallish school, perhaps a bit under 500, and limited by numbers of staff of course. We did the full Classics course; I think there were five doing that, and five of us in with them doing Latin ... some did Latin English History or something like that. Groups weren't offered, you had very little assistance". (B 2.1)

> "WHY DID YOU CHOOSE CLASSICS?
>
> There was family opposition to my doing medicine; I was told that I could change to medicine after doing lots of Classics, but not vice versa. There was also terrific pressure at school to send one classicist per year to Oxbridge ..." (O 1.1)

These convey clearly the location of grammar schools situated within the state system, but struggling to maintain connections, however tenuous, with the 'gold standard': Oxbridge and 'full classics' (sometimes, as O's extract suggests, at the cost of the frustration of the pupils chosen as the embodiments of these links).

School A, which before reorganisation in 1970 was the "Swansea Grammar School", has occupied roughly the same

position in the state system. All of its full-time classics teachers (A, AA, AAA) have taken Latin Greek and Ancient History at A level; the only teachers in the group who have done so. Yet both A and AA added the last subjects as afterthoughts of a kind. A did Latin French and Spanish in the 6th form, while rapidly passing O level Greek. In his third year he then took Greek and Ancient History for A level (and thus has five passes). His "full classics" is therefore to some extent the result of accretion. AA's case is similar, but more interesting, as it involves the grammar-school 'prestige syndrome' described above, as well as another headmagisterial intervention. It illustrates, in fact, the way in which 'old school traditions' are themselves constructed.

> "... I took Latin English Welsh ... Then at the end of my lower sixth year a new head arrived, and he wanted to have full classics ... he asked me to repeat the year and do Latin Greek and Ancient History.
>
> UNTIL THEN, IT WASN'T POSSIBLE TO DO GREEK OR ANC. HISTORY?
>
> No ... a member of staff was being appointed to the school".
>
> (AA 1.1) (14)

To conclude this account of the academic market and its principles, we can conveniently turn to its opposite boundary: that between the academic and the non-academic. Not surprisingly, the teachers, who have spent their lives, as pupils at least, moving through the upper reaches of the system, offered little material relevant to this lower limit of the academic. Yet two of the female teachers give some impression of it. Just as the gentlemanly ethos of classics stands above the academic market of reason, so in girls' grammar schools, the academic market stood above the female destiny of marriage and home-making. For a boy, to be academic was normal: the question

was, which subject? For a girl, academicity was a 'marked' category[15] which might connote 'bluestocking'.

> "The only choice was, to go to college or not ... at that time, Latin was a means of getting into colleges". (W 2.1)

> "In those days if you didn't do things like Latin ... and what else would you consider as particularly academic then, Physics ... you'd replace them with needlework, cookery ... things like that were given to the duller ones"... (Z 1.1)

4.5 Being a classicist: linguistic normality and cultural deviance.

The last section should have suggested the multivalence of Latin in secondary school curricula. It has operated as the symbol of academicity; of the Arts curriculum in particular; as the basis of several different groups of subjects. It is with these groups and their significance for the teachers' conceptions of classics that we are now concerned. The groups which have been mentioned in this and the last chapter can be listed as follows:

Latin Greek Ancient History (classics or 'full classics')
Latin English History (Board of Education Group D: 'modern humanities')
Latin plus other languages.

The teachers' 6th form subjects are as follows:-

Teachers' 6th form subjects

A	Latin	French	Spanish then Latin Greek Anc. History
AA	Latin	Greek	Anc. History
AAA	Latin	Greek	Anc. History
B	Latin	French	English
BB	"	"	"
C	"	"	Spanish
D	"	English	Welsh
E	"	"	French Greek
F	"	"	History
G	"	"	French
W	"	French	German
X	"	English	French
Y	"	"	"
Z	"	"	"

The distribution of subjects may be clearer if shown in other ways as well:

subject combinations

Latin Greek Anc. History	3
Latin English History	1
Latin French English	6
Latin French Spanish	2
Latin French German	1
Latin English Welsh	1
Latin French English Greek	1

subjects by popularity

Latin	14	Anc. History	3
French	10	Spanish	2
English	9	History	1
Greek	4	German	1
		Welsh	1

This suggests not only the dominance of the "academic" tradition (Latin rather than classics), but also the overwhelming majority of teachers for whom a particular kind of group - languages - is likely to constitute the basis of conceptions of curriculum and of their self-images as "classics teachers". The following extracts from interviews make these conceptions abundantly clear.

> "... I found that I was naturally interested in languages and er it's difficult to describe, something about the Latin language that appealed to me. I remember feeling at the time that the literature had no more appeal for me than French ... or Spanish literature ... I found greater satisfaction in tackling a Latin prose than a French or Spanish one ... It's the struggle with the er the necessary comprehension ... French is more word for word translation, I took great delight in Latin prose". (A 1.1)

"Latin was always the one I enjoyed most. I liked grammar, I mean English grammar, the same thing ... you can't do Latin for long without doing the grammar side".
(B 1.1)

"I suppose words have always fascinated me; I was bilingual in English and Welsh, I loved words, I was completely Arts type ... and I thought that Latin was beautifully logical and clear, the look of the words was marvellous and the declensions were great, you know? But then we did a lot more English grammar in those days, so the terms of reference were heard <u>across</u>, it wasn't just done there (i.e. Latin) and nowhere else.... At university ... the Greek I did for the Latin, I didn't like it all that much". (D 1.1-2)

"I did English French Latin and Greek in the 6th form, but I was mainly interested in Latin right through, it was the grammar side that particularly appealed to me I think". (E 1.1)

"I've always been interested in languages, and that's what really prompted me to do Latin ... especially when my old headmaster kept on saying "If you want to do languages you must know some Latin" ... and then, you know, the linguistic flair ..." (F 1.1)

"(I was) not attracted to English A level because it was mostly literature". (O 1.1)

"I liked (Latin) because I liked languages anyway, and I learnt all my English language through the study of Latin. We did do English language, but I'm quite convinced the Latin taught me more than anything else. It was a basis then for the study of German, you did cases there and we'd already done that in Latin ... Again Latin was a fantastic basis for Spanish, so many of the words are alike ..." (W 1. 1-7)

"I could manage languages, I had a certain aptitude for them. The linguistic side isn't so tough, you can give more time to the history and literature and that sort of thing.
I didn't concentrate on (languages), I just went that way ... I did Latin language and Greek language all right, but the set books ... that didn't appeal to me".
(X1.1; 2.1)

The picture that emerges from these comments is fairly consistent. Languages form a group united by their basis in grammar; Latin has the paradigmatic grammar, and so is the 'language of languages'. This is congruent with its definition as symbolic of the Arts curriculum, since languages can be said to represent the Arts variant of academicity (as suggested above, they are exemplars of the 'alien'; cp. Stevens 1960: 120-1, for hints in the same direction, though not at all conclusive ones). Literature does not appeal: it lacks the challenge of the 'code to be cracked' which the mastering of grammar, and the struggle to write a Latin prose, both exemplify. Here Latin is supreme in being itself more alien from our own experience. As A says, modern languages involve fewer structural and syntactic changes in transposition (he might not have been so definite about German as he is about French and Spanish). Greek comes off poorly: its notoriously complicated and flexible grammar and syntax make it inferior in terms of rigorous and orderly complexity.

This condensed summary reflects the feelings of most of this group. There are, however, a few deviants; and their deviance does not simply follow the patterns of A level subject choice.

> "I was taught on the traditional method, but was lucky enough to be able to learn Greek in the 5th form. My experience of Greek in one sense changed my whole attitude to Classics. I found Greek exciting and wonderful".
> (BB 1.1)

> "I was just as involved in modern languages as Latin in the 6th form ... I would have done Greek if I could".
> (C 1.1)

> "The only Classics at school was Latin, so I did O and A level Latin. I've always been interested in Ancient History, that was my first love, there wasn't any other subject for me ... (for my teaching diploma) I took RI as my special subject ... again, the ancient world.

> It was just Latin in the 6th form ... I wanted Greek but the answer was no ... (my teachers) didn't confine their attention to the page of Latin in front of them ... there's such a wide scope in Latin, more than any other subject, as well as the language there's the philosophy, the history the daily life ..." (G 1.1; 2.1)

C is included here because his attachment to the 'Latin grammar' syndrome seems more lukewarm than that of the majority group, and he specifically mentions Greek. The other two (BB and G) both can be described as "crusaders". They share a forthright manner and strong convictions on the content of classics. They can both be categorised as Hellenists, in a sense, together with AAA (whose attachment to Greek has already been made clear above). G's remarks on classics constantly stress "the ancient world" (AAA is also keen on teaching ancient history), but as the extract shows, her earlier ambition was to learn Greek. This extract, incidentally, demonstrates the inadequacy of deducing conceptions of curriculum from what individuals were <u>allowed</u> to learn.

This brings us to the question of the teachers' attitudes to their knowledge, and their conception of classics. Already it seems clear that AAA, BB and G form a deviant subgroup; and reference back to the details of their careers will show that those are also deviant in form (geographical mobility for AAA and G; unemployment for BB). Of the other teachers, C and E can be seen as occupying a middle position which can be categorised crudely as "classics as liberal humanities" (cp the comments on C's extract, above); the rest being "linguists". Within this last (majority) group, the four junior high school teachers (W-Z) form an enclave to some extent, in that their official responsibilities are for modern languages, and Latin and Classical Studies teaching is 'attached'

to their care.

All the teachers were asked what they thought the benefits of learning classics were, for both teacher and pupil. Both questions produced very little in the way of answers, which is, perhaps, not surprising, since they were being asked to express what they took for granted.

The most common response as far as pupils' benefits were concerned was to stress the feeling of achievement and successful struggle created when something was learnt. This, of course, belongs to the same ethos as the comments on their own feelings reported by the majority of the teachers (interview material above). Once again, C offered a slightly different perspective, saying that he wanted his pupils to gain a feeling for the "sweep of history".

Responses to the second question (about the benefits to themselves) were very similar. The major point of interest is that the comments offered had very little to do with the content of what was taught. Most of the teachers responded with anecdotes in which a stupid pupil who was usually unteachable suddenly understood something, or - in one case - offered the rarer of two syntactic possibilities for a prose composition exercise. Once again, the "sense of achievement" was the aspect constantly stressed. In other words, the responses to both these questions had, in almost every case, no necessary relation to classics. They had to do, rather, with what it is like to be a teacher.(16)

This is unsurprising, of course, given the multiplex location of Latin as the symbol of occupational security, social status, educational achievement and academic learning. To master Latin was to enter a world of order and stability; to teach Latin was to exemplify those values throughout one's occupational career. Within this ethos, 'full Classics' constituted a deviant category, just as its adherents (AAA, B, G) have had deviant career patterns. Most of the other teachers pay lipservice to the traditional 'organic unity' of language, literature and history; but their attachment is to the challenging rigours of language. To some extent, D is deviant within this subgroup: alone among them, she penetrated, in her career, beyond the use of Latin as a mode of access to security and order, and into the world of culture. She has committed herself to Roman-ness, not just Latinity, and - as she says - Cicero is her favourite man.

Most of these teachers, however, have been socialised into the values of stability and order; their own specialised knowledge, after all, has acted as the legitimating exemplar of those values. We can conclude that they are not likely to have been very aware of the possibilities of change on any major scale. The pattern of their socialisation into teaching here seems to reinforce their location in the grammar schools as standard-bearers of academic values. Yet it would be going too far, perhaps, to add that these teachers are those who stayed at home, while the more energetic and ambitious "got on and out". That process of emigration was something which featured in the lives of their contemporaries as a 'normal path', after all. Getting out was a consequence

of the search for secure employment; how many other teachers from the same locality have tried to 'come home', but failed?

This stable world was, in any case, beginning to crumble in the late 1950s. New paradigms of language teaching were emerging, often based on linguistic theories developed in explicit opposition to the long dominance of Latin grammar. Sputnik appeared in the sky, and the Ministry of Education became the Department of Education and Science. Comprehensive reorganisation was gaining speed (faster in Wales than in England). Above all, the central bastion of grammar-school classics - the Oxbridge entry requirement of O-level Latin - was being eroded, and seemed likely to fall. It is in this situation that the last chapter left the account of the career of Latin, and this chapter leaves the careers of the teachers. When the legitimacy of their knowledge was openly challenged in the early 1960s, it was becoming isolated in an exposed position, cut off from the ideological and institutional supports which had protected it for so long.

The following chapters deal with the crisis this has created in the occupational lives of the teachers, and with the ways in which they have coped with its challenge to their conceptions of their knowledge and their selves.

CHAPTER 4 - NOTES

1. "We were taught these languages because long ago Latin had been the language of civilisation; the one way of escape from the narrow and localised life had lain in those days through Latin ..." Wells (1911):73. Cp. Ong 1959.

   Wells was an opponent of classics teaching, and the words to be stressed are 'long ago'. Not only narrow localisation could be escaped through Latin: "In his autobiography, Booker Washington says that for ten years after their emancipation, the two chief ambitions of the young negroes of the South were to hold office and to study Latin". Hall 1908; 2:459.

2. Gaisford's statement is usually located in a Christ Church sermon, but never with any precision. He was Dean there from 1831 to 1855. Rashdall's Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages was first published in 1895.

3. The related criterion excluding "what you can learn by yourself" from the class of "real subjects" is discussed in Chapter 6.

4. Pill 1970:23 and 37. As she points out, the Welsh rate declined because of provision of comprehensive schools: the figures (same years) are: (13 year olds)

	1956	1960	1966	1968
England	1.0	4.1	9.7	18.9
Wales	2.6	9.2	27.2	43.6

   (ibid:23)

5. The concern in this section is thus Simmelian; it asks "What is the shape of the occupation, and how does it shape the consciousness and identity of those within it?" D.C. Lortie's recent book Schoolteacher (Lortie 1975) is a humane and stimulating example of this tradition, which has been continued by his teacher Everett Hughes. Lortie's concern too is with the kind of self-image teaching gives teachers (and vice versa), and his discussion of this is referred to below. In many ways, however, the particular features of the organisation

of schooling in the USA makes it impossible to use direct comparison. For example, Lortie traces much teacher-conservatism to the prevalence of early affective choice to teach (women) and late instrumental choice (men). But the latter seem often to plan to leave the classroom for the superintendent's office after a year or two. In this country, an administrative career line of this kind and size does not exist - yet.

6. The status of teaching as reserve choice is to some extent predictable within the ranking system of 'professional' jobs, as it involves salaried work and 'clients' who are largely compelled (i.e. must attend school, irrespective of choice of subjects). Both this and the 'referral network' for controlling the 'open' market of free clients is discussed in Lortie's early study of anesthesiologists (Lortie 1949). The classical study of referral systems is Hall 1949, by which Lortie was influenced.

7. See the analysis of career plans and motivations of degree students in physiology, engineering and philosophy by Becker and Carper 1956. Most of the first two groups were accomplishing social mobility out of working-class or lower middle class families; most of the philosophy students, though coming from the same social strata, "have renounced the pursuit of class mobility in favour of the intellectual life" (ibid 347).

8. In this area the American work is scanty. Child-centred ideology and the elective system have combined to render curricular content almost invisible as something deserving analysis. In Lortie's book, curriculum refers to the bureaucratic prescription of courses of learning in pupil careers; and the contrast with the "professional concern of teacher for child" is explicit in Gracey's discussion of 'production' and 'craftsman' teachers. In Waller's Sociology of teaching, (Waller 1970) curriculum appears, similarly, in the analysis of "the battle of the requirements". Finally, it hovers on the edge of Peterson's analysis of teachers' roles as one of several modes of self-identification for the elderly teacher: the "old character"; 1964:265-315, esp.279 and 311.

9. See Sahlins 1977, esp. Chapters 4 & 5. Though apparently written in ignorance of Bourdieu's work, this book's arguments are in many ways complementary. If Bourdieu's point is that culture is produced, Sahlins' is that production is cultural.

10. 'In the kingdom of ends everything has either a price or a dignity. If it has a price, something else can be put in its place as an equivalent; if it is exalted above all price and so admits of no equivalent, then it has a dignity". (Kant 1964:102).

11. The heretical suggestion that the 'truths' of mathematics were simply conventions acquired in practical activity was, after all, put forward by a philosopher who designed rocket motors and preferred Black Mask to Mind. See Bloor 1973.

12. The imagery of 'sides' deserves separate analysis. It represents the absence of a co-ordinating criterion of division, and was promoted by the incoherence of 'faculties' in the 19th century; hence 'modern sides' and 'Army sides' in schools. Cp. MacRae 1975:64, "Beside is confederate or paranoid: it is an ambiguous category of place". [Lesterw has it modern "equivalence"].

13. This conjunction (physics and classics) is exactly that proposed by Hudson 1967. But Hudson's "North London grammar schools" were doubtless teaching a particular kind of "classics" when he studied their pupils in the late 1950s; something he seems not to have thought of. Cp. his strange and unsupported definition of "Arts", 'the arts side of the English 6th Form: forms specialising in English literature, modern languages and history. It does not include the classics ..." (1967:57 n2).

14. This was still happening in the 1950s, e.g. at my own school, where 'gentlemanly' 6th form subject groups were created, headed by 'full classics' (the new head's subject), and a classicist added to the staff to cope with Ancient History. The classics 6th were allotted the old entrance-hall as a form room, since they were (now) its elite representatives.

15. On this and the whole question of language and its constraints on the expression and confirmation of identity by females, see Lakoff 1975.

16. This can be illustrated very clearly from the case of AAA, whose deviance (i.e. special interests in Greek and Ancient History) might be expected to lead to articulated definitions of content:

"WHAT DO YOU GAIN FROM TEACHING CLASSICS?"

Well ... I suppose ... er ... if it's the case ... which it still is ... that you tend to teach the brighter children ... counterbalancing that ... it's probably harder to get an O level in Latin than French or ... I mean it's your subject, and that's true of anything as it were." (AAA 3.1)

CHAPTER 5

REORGANISATION AND REDEFINITION: CLASSICS IN SWANSEA IN THE 1960s.

5.1. Introductory.

In chronological terms, this chapter carries on from both the preceding two chapters. Chapter 3 described the encroachment of the academic market curriculum of the 19th century universities on the schools of the new state system; its relation to the stratification of educational provision; and the central position of classics - now mainly Latin - in symbolising both academic knowledge and the social differentiation connoted by the distance of the academic from the everyday. Chapter 4 then presented the biographies of the teachers interviewed, as a case-study in the workings and dominant assumptions of the academic market and the tripartite system over time. Both these chapters, therefore, give a picture which remains broadly accurate for the 1950s. In the early 1960s, however, as the introduction to Chapter 1 has already made clear, this picture began to change rapidly. The function of the present chapter is to bring together the foci of its two predecessors by examining the fortunes of classics in Swansea during the planning and execution of comprehensive reorganisation there: that is, from the early and sporadic building of multilateral schools in the second half of the 1950s, up to the wholesale reorganisation set in motion by the government's Circular 10/65 (1965) and carried out in September 1970.

This progressive narrowing of focus is justifiable on several grounds. The concern of the thesis as a whole is to present the history of thought as the history of men thinking;

in particular, the history of ideological traditions as actively and selectively continued in and through the lives of individuals who receive, transmit and transmute them. In the case of the traditions of definition associated with classics, the 1960s are historically a period of challenge and response, rather than of receipt and transmission. Although the tripartite system and its academic curriculum can be described in general terms true of England and Wales as a whole, the current situation is, as far as curricular definition goes, very much a 'night battle' (one could add, taking place in a 'secret garden'): many separate local skirmishes are taking place, and the issue remains often in doubt. The overall national trends in recruitment to classics are fairly clear; the major patterns of comprehensive reorganisation are tolerably well understood. But their conjunction in particular localities takes place in terms of local traditions, political alignments and personal relationships which national trends cannot reveal.

This chapter begins, indeed, with national trends in the recruitment of pupils and students to classics in the 1960s. This is intended to provide a context for the narrower focus which follows; but it also presents, of course, an overall picture which is part of that narrower one, in the sense that it has been present in the consciousness of the classics teachers and others involved in the provision of classics in Swansea.

The next section describes the pattern of school reorganisation in Swansea from the late 1950s to the complete

reorganisation of 1970, concentrating on those features of the content and presentation of plans which were significant for the negotiation of classics provision. The nature of the teachers' experience of classics recruitment in the 60s is also described with the help of interview material. Finally, the agreement on classics provision in reorganised schools, reached in the late 60s between the teachers and the LEA, is described, and its causes and consequences suggested. That agreement represented the culmination of a first phase in the negotiation of classics. It has also provided a 'charter' for its provision and negotiation since 1970; but this latter phase is the concern of Chapter 6.

5.2. Recruitment to classics in the 1960s: national trends

The following tables (6 and 7) provide an adequate picture of the decline in recruitment to classics in schools and universities. In schools, (see Table 6), the major element in classics provision in terms of numbers has been the course leading to Latin O-level. The 1960 figure represents a decline relative to trends for other subjects, and this became absolute in 1965 after a peak the previous year. A-level figures, as one would expect, reflect the trend at a distance. Greek shows roughly the same pattern, though with very much smaller numbers. The major blow to Greek recruitment took place in the early 1920s, when its requirement for entry to Oxbridge was abolished; the abolition of the requirement of Latin in the early 1960s, therefore, is a repetition of this process. Greek figures are difficult to interpret, partly because provision is often an offshoot of the provision of Latin, so

	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
LATIN															
O	28135	28935	31627	33809	33996	33396	32574	31270	30128	29060	27811	29073	26944	25008	21459
A	4910	5158	5319	5211	5772	6012	5911	5341	4873	4530	4134	3855	3515	3081	2893
GREEK															
O	1838	1816	2152	2108	2046	1985	1858	1855	1745	1422	1630	1520	1466	1589	1400
A	1140	1148	1126	1122	1252	1203	1121	1005	958	843	796	757	712	624	564
ANCIENT HIST:															
O	251	274	327	318	405	362	377	374	411	483	384	519	525	717	646
A	974	1005	947	885	920	920	884	914	888	936	933	1145	1038	1063	1076

Table 6: GCE passes at O and A level in Latin, Greek, Ancient History 1960-74
(NB/ Summer examinations only, passes only.)

that Latin figures affect those for Greek. The latest trends in pupil numbers for Greek suggest that the decline has levelled off, leaving a hard core of provision (c 2500 candidates per annum at O level) which is likely to remain constant.

Ancient History, long the residually-defined member of the triad of classical subjects, provides a deviant pattern of recruitment. The A level figures reflect an early involvement in syllabus reform by J.A.C.T., and the consequent maintenance of pupil numbers through the 1960s, the beginnings of decline to about 1963 being checked, and a slight increase produced at the end of the decade.

The variations in categories and presentation of examination statistics have made it advisable to give figures for passes rather than entries. All figures are for summer examinations only; the winter figures are extremely small. The source throughout is the annual statistical report of the D.E.S. (since 1968, volume 2 of each year's set).

Several organised attempts were made during the mid 1960s to produce classics syllabuses which would combine attractiveness to pupils with an emphasis on classical civilisation rather than formal language learning and the peripheral memorising of its historical "background". The Ancient History Committee of JACT produced and administered an experimental A level syllabus designed to be available to pupils without any knowledge of Latin or Greek. It broke with the tradition of studying the 'outlines' (usually military and political) of

very long periods, and substituted the intensive study of social and cultural contexts in short periods, emphasising the use of translated original sources by pupils. One of the sample questions on the original proposal for the syllabus encapsulates the course's orientation: "What was the Parthenon for?"

In quantitative terms, however, classics in schools was, and is O level Latin. This was the heart of the problem of declining recruitment to classics; and it was this that the Cambridge School Classics Project was set up to deal with in 1965. The project produced a three-year syllabus, leading to O level, which represented a radical departure from the traditional Latin course and the academic ideology it enshrined. Formal grammar instruction was entirely absent, the major emphasis being on the development of reading skills. The linguistic material was presented in a detailed context of social life and historical events (in the first section, Pompeii just before the eruption of Vesuvius). The printed material was supported by tapes and slides; much of the material having been collected and copied on site in Pompeii. In 1967, the project was expanded to include the construction of nonlinguistic ("Classical Studies") material for the 11-16 age range. Both sets of material, as will be seen below (this chapter and Chapter 6) have been used in the Swansea schools since reorganisation in 1970.

The decline in recruitment to classics courses in schools has, of course, affected university recruitment. In a sense, the university departments are now suffering the effects of

the tight de facto control over school classics they have exercised through admission requirements and influence on examination papers and standards. At present, several departments (e.g. Cardiff and Lancaster) have a student intake which is growing, but in which recruits to nonlinguistic classical civilisation courses form a considerable majority. At the same time, Greek is being taught from scratch to students at Oxford and Cambridge.

In 1969, JACT organised a conference to consider the prospects for classics in universities, as a result of which the Council of University Classical Departments (CUCD) was set up. In its first Bulletin (1972), its chairman stated that among the reasons for its foundation was

> "the belief that the changing position of classical studies in Britain was bound to involve the universities as well as the schools. There were some who doubted this, or if they suspected that it was true, preferred not to talk about it, least of all in public ... if present tendencies persist it is possible to foresee that in ten or more years from now Classical Departments in universities will be teaching not Greek only, but Latin also, from the beginning and to most of their ablest classical students".
>
> (Kerferd 1972).

He further commented, in a later issue, that

> "An overall decline in numbers, it would seem ... can only be avoided by developing the attractiveness of courses which do not require achievements at A-level in the ancient languages".
>
> (Kerferd 1975).

Table 7 illustrates both the rate and the nature of the change in classics recruitment at universities. Most striking are the decline in single honours recruitment, and the

	First Year Honours			Second Year Honours			Third/Fourth Year Honours		
	Single	Joint	Total	Single	Joint	Total	Single	Joint	Total
1968-9	736	173	909	618	145	763	666	141	807
1969-70	712	219	931	668	165	833	663	164	827
1970-1	708	253	961	603	190	793	689	151	840
1971-2	644	331	975	658	247	905	711	232	933
1972-3	601	211	812	558	188	746	768	174	942
1973-4	532	664	1196	495	383	878	662	222	884
1974-5	531	591	1122	492	336	828	609	253	862

Table 7 Classics students in British universities 1968-75.

Source: Council of University Classical Departments.

compensating increase in joint honours. More particularly, and as these outline figures do not reveal, the greatest single honours decrease is in Latin, the paradigm of academic knowledge under the tripartite system. In addition, it is worth adding that of the 1st year joint honours figures, about 200 consist, since 1973-4, of recruitment to non-linguistic courses in classical civilisation.

Meaningful statistics on the numbers of classics teachers trained or employed are almost impossible to establish. In the late 1960s, about 250 students were training for classics teaching in Britain every year, and about three thousand full-time teachers registered as devoting most of their time to the subject in maintained schools; the numbers showing a slight drop after 1967.*

Full-time teachers in maintained schools giving classics as first-named subject.

	1970	1969	1968	1967	1966
Men	2035	2067	2080	2098	2056
Women	1064	1078	1104	1119	1072
Both	3099	3145	3184	3217	3128

An example of the problems facing any meaningful estimate of national numbers is that in the DES's survey of 1965/6, classics teachers were reported as spending about 67% of their time on classics, whereas the figure for English and Geography teachers was about 81% (see SS4, 1966. Special series of statistical reports on education).

* Figures for students in training supplied by W.B. Thompson, Department of Education, Leeds. Figures for teachers from a source in H.M. Inspectorate.

5.3. The pattern of reorganisation in Swansea.

One of the underlying causes of this national decline in recruitment to classics was the trend towards comprehensive reorganisation, which had grown slowly during the early 1960s under a Conservative government, but accelerated after the Labour victory of 1964, and especially after the issue of Circular 10/65 in the following year. The rest of this chapter is concerned to outline the process of reorganisation in Swansea, and the way in which this process, and the pattern of schooling which resulted, affected the negotiation of classics provision in Swansea schools.

Swansea has been a 'Labour town' since the early 1920s. Of the two parliamentary constituencies, Swansea East has been a safe Labour seat since then, while West has hovered between the Labour and Tory margins.(1) Until very recently, in the wake of arrests and accusations of corruption, the county borough (now city) council has been consistently dominated by Labour, which has controlled all seven wards in Swansea East and three of the 8 in West. The city is a complex entity. As a seaport, it contains several small foreign communities, but is also penetrated on the NE by the culture of the nonconformist revival carried down the Swansea Valley. It began life as a collection of small communities, and parochialism within Swansea is still strong. Roughly, the East is Welsh and working class, the West Anglicised and middle-class; geographical mobility has locally tended to be E. to W. The nature of Swansea as community and environment is difficult to catch, and this is not attempted here. (See Rosser and Harris 1965, Harris 1971).

There is now a considerable body of literature on the politics of comprehensive reorganisation, both national and local.(2)

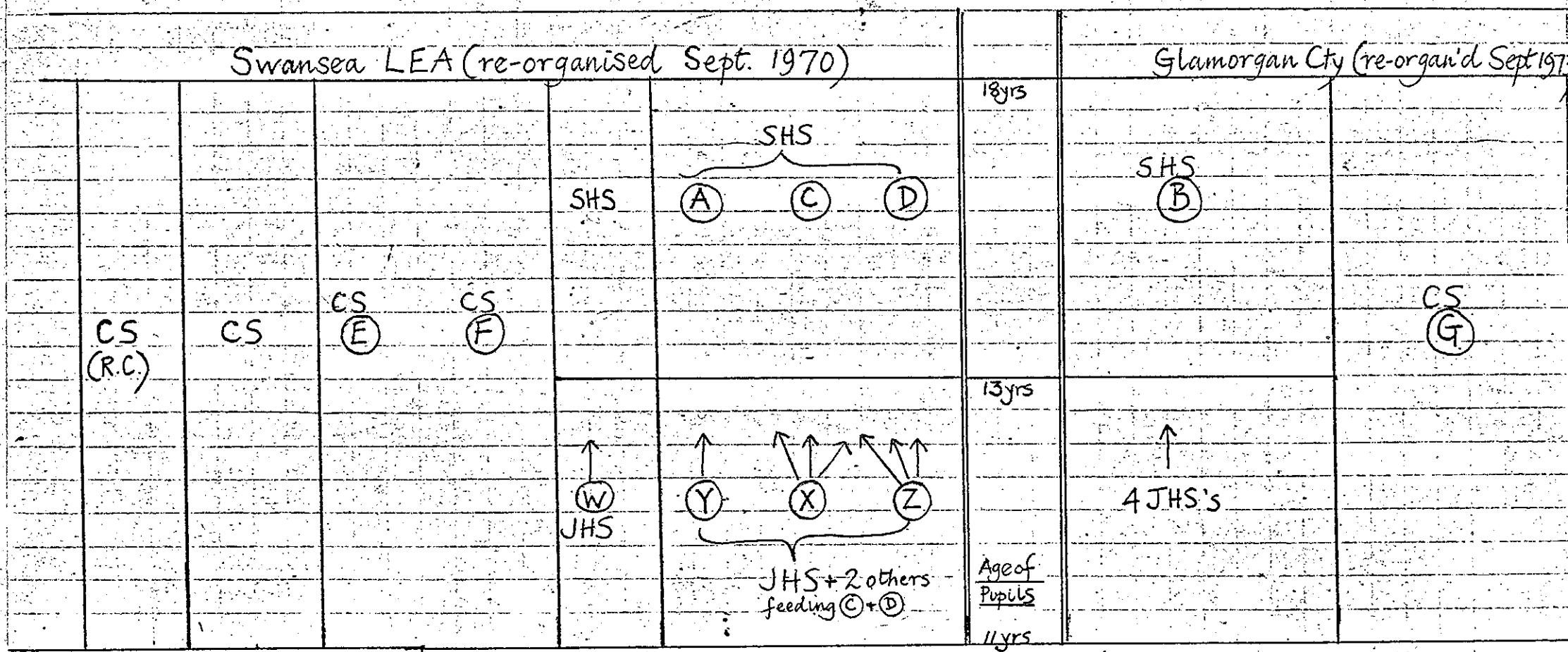
The situation in Swansea is in some ways similar to that in Gateshead (Batley et al, 1970). A Labour-dominated council has moved towards comprehensive education fairly consistently since the mid 50s, obstructed only by lack of money and by Tory governments. In response to the enabling provisions of the 1944 Act, the then county borough council produced a Development Plan in 1947. The Plan explicitly rejects the Norwood 'three kinds of mind' schema: "The tripartite solution was rejected because psychological evidence to show that there are three types of children to correspond with the three types of school is lacking ..." (p.9). The council at first voted for bilateral schools, but eventually settled for multilateral schools, which they thought would facilitate transfer between streams. Mixed schools were rejected for several reasons; among them, because "there might be some danger in bringing adolescents in regular and close association with one another". (p.11). (Filed in Swansea Central Reference Library, reference Sw.69).

In 1957 a revised plan was produced after negotiations with the Ministry, who wanted small-scale experiment rather than the introduction of a complete system of common secondary schools. The council had wanted to build six common schools; by the time the Tory government entered office in 1959, only two existed: E and F (single sex multilaterals) opened in 1956 and 1959. By that time, the authority was already thinking of changing them into comprehensive schools. (Swansea LEA, Comprehensive schools (1959) ref. Sw.3342).

The Labour victory of 1964 prompted further planning, and circular 10/65 met with an immediate response. The new

plan envisaged eight areas each served by a mixed all-through comprehensive. It soon became apparent, however, that financial constraints and the kinds of building available would not allow this homogeneous system, and so when, in 1967, the then Secretary of State asked for three-year plans to run from September that year, a mixed plan was submitted and approved. This plan proposed both all-through and two-tier schools, the latter consisting of senior high schools (13-18) converted from existing grammar schools, fed by junior high schools (11-13) converted from existing secondary modern schools. September 1970 was set as the date for the changeover. (Sw.1532, 4219, 4224-5).(3)

The following table (Table 8) shows the structure of the reorganised system which operated from that date. Schools B and G have been added, as their classics teachers are among the group interviewed, but it should be remembered that they were then in the county of Glamorgan, and became comprehensives in September 1973. All the schools are mixed, except for the two built as single-sex multilateral schools (E and F) and two ex-grammar schools (C and D). The vertical lines on the table indicate catchment boundaries; it can be seen that each of the pairs of schools mentioned has a single catchment area.



KEY

A-G, W-Z: schools with teachers in group interviewed

CS: 11-18 comprehensive school

JHS: 11-13 junior high school

Table Eight: Re-organised Schools in or near

5.4: Negotiating the provision of classics.

The process of reorganisation in Swansea is thus marked by a consistent overall movement through the 1960s, and a period of several years (minimally, 1967-70) in which it was possible for those affected by impending changes to discuss them and organise action where necessary. The experience of the schools in the county area seems to have been very different:

> "they went comprehensive overnight and weren't ready... just hoped to change over the summer holidays."
> (AA 4.2)

An even more striking contrast is provided by the course of reorganisation in Cardiff, where several successive plans (and Chief Education Officers) ~~was~~ were tried, found wanting and abandoned. The pattern eventually adopted, which was modelled on the system employed in Doncaster, had a considerable effect on the provision of classics. In September, the Cardiff selective schools became either 11-16 or 13-18 high schools. All pupils started at the former, and then either stayed on to leave at 16, or transferred to the latter to leave at 18. The LEA decided not to introduce Latin teaching in the 11-16 schools. The immediate result was

> "to reduce the total number of pupils studying Latin in 1966-7 by nearly 600 or 40% of the pupils studying Latin in 1965-6, and to shorten the course to Ordinary Level as from September 1967 from four to three years ..."
> (Report by HMIs on classics in Cardiff high schools, 1966:5).

This decision is explicable in relation to the nature of the type of reorganised school involved (see in general Joint Association of Classical Teachers 1964). On the other

hand, the classics lecturer in the Swansea department of education emphasised the lack of positive support for Classics provision in Cardiff:

> "IN CARDIFF, SOME SCHOOLS HAVE NO CLASSICS AT ALL
> There was no-one in the LEA who pushed it ... I think this was the real reason". (interview with R.E. George, 25th January 1977).

His opposite number in the education department at Cardiff is an ex-Indian Army officer who is a firm believer in Latin as a source of mental discipline, and so has refused to organise teachers' meetings for the discussion of the Cambridge Latin Course. This is probably one of the reasons for the particularly active intervention in Cardiff by the Inspectorate, who surveyed classics provision and produced two reports, one of which is quoted from above.

The extent to which forward planning of the system which came into operation in 1970 in Swansea was possible, has already been suggested. Here, as in Cardiff, the nature of the proposed system was a relevant factor. School A was to be the product of an amalgamation between two single-sex grammar schools and a secondary modern; and it and schools C and D were to be fed with pupils from several junior high schools, each senior school receiving children from more than one (at one point, four) junior schools. This system was the fruit of the LEA's determination to go comprehensive and the lack of buildings and money which had forced the revision of earlier, more homogeneous schemes. The consequence was that it became necessary to arrange for standardised curricular provision in the schools, so that (for example) pupils arriving

in school A from three of four different junior high schools would be teachable in mixed groups, having all reached the same point in a standardised syllabus. The LEA therefore appointed a secondary schools adviser, set up a teachers' centre, and encouraged teachers to form subject panels. These panels constructed proposals for standardised curricular provision which were then submitted to the teachers' centre's steering committee (largely heads and deputy heads of local schools) for approval.

The local classics teachers were thus formed into a Classics Panel; and elected AA as their chairman. Three years earlier, in 1966, the teachers had begun to discuss new teaching material and courses at meetings organised by the education department's classics lecturer; but in the first half of the 1960s, contact between them seems to have been uncommon.

> "... we didn't meet as classics teachers as such in Swansea, went on independently of each other ... until 6th form conferences and so on started at the College ... about 1966. ... a bit before reorganisation the Teachers' Centre was set up, that's when we started meeting together.
>
> WHY WAS THERE NO CONTACT BEFORE THAT?
>
> I just don't know ... I started about 1955, it was er four or five years before I got to know some of the Latin teachers in the area. People who do know each other often do so from childhood, went to the same school say ..."
>
> (AA 3.2-3)

The teachers' collective action thus developed in two phases. The first began in 1966, when the discussion meetings (the "6th form conferences" referred to by AA) began to be held at the local university college's education department; the second in 1969, when the Classics Panel was formed:

"WHO SOLD THE CLASSICS TEACHERS AND OTHER PEOPLE ON THE CAMBRIDGE MATERIAL?

There were two prongs really. First, I held a number of evening meetings with the teachers ... we had a study group in fact, on new developments in classics teaching, so I talked about it and showed them the materials. I also got Morton ((director of the Cambridge project)) down to give a lecture ... and then John Ellis, who was the adviser for schools in Swansea, he got interested in it, and he formed a study group, he got the classics teachers together at the Teachers' Centre, and they made decisions ...

HE ORGANISED GROUPS IN DIFFERENT SUBJECTS...

But he was very well disposed to classics ... I think he just felt it was a good development and ought to be encouraged ... the teachers have certainly told me they owe a lot to him. There was a fear in the early days that Swansea was not going to have classics in the junior high schools ... and in fact it went quite the other way, they had it in all of them, ... which was quite remarkable". (Interview with R.E. George, 25.1.77)

As the implicit comparison with his earlier comment on the lack of authoritative support for Classics in Cardiff might suggest, the intervention of the LEA Adviser in Swansea was clearly a crucial factor in the eventual acceptance of the Classics Panel's proposal. The accounts given by AA and other teachers confirm this impression.

"... we set up a classics panel and met the steering committee two years before we went comprehensive.

WHY DID THIS HAPPEN HERE?

The impetus came I think from Mr. Ellis, who was the secondary schools adviser ... he came in 1969 ... I saw him first in October 1969. The teachers' centre had started a bit earlier, and the classics panel started within a couple of months of my seeing Mr. Ellis. By Spring 1970 we had got the steering committee's agreement that Classical Studies <u>should</u> and Latin <u>might</u> be introduced in the junior high schools". (AA 4.2)

"Mr. Ellis ... attended the meetings in the Teachers' Centre ... the view that went to the LEA was written ... by AA I think. We met under the auspices of the Authority of course ... I should think Mr. Ellis was probably instrumental in calling the meetings".
(C 5.1)

"THE JHS HEADS WERE EX-SECONDARY MODERN HEADS: WERE THEY ANTI-LATIN?

Well, there was hardly any opposition when we were trying to get Classical Studies onto the curriculum there.

DID THEY HEAR ABOUT IT FROM THE AUTHORITY, OR DIRECT FROM THE CLASSICS PANEL?

From the Authority, they must have been consulted".
(C 7.1)

This material also makes it clear that for both the LEA Adviser and the classics lecturer, the Cambridge Classics material was central to any viable proposal for classics provision in the reorganised schools. The local Classics HMI was also strongly in favour of the Cambridge course; in fact E identifies him with it in recounting a visit he made to her school in the late 1960s:

"Two HMIs came here several years ago ... they'd heard on the grapevine that Latin was very much suppressed here ... Mr. H. ((local classics HMI)) was going the rounds, selling his Cambridge course, though I didn't realise it at the time".
(E 5.2)

The Cambridge Latin Course represented, however, the contradiction of the assumptions embedded in 'academic Latin'. The solidity of the authoritative support for its adoption in Swansea, therefore, might simply have produced conflict between classics teachers and the "experts" who were advising them. That such conflict seems never to have arisen, can be explained very simply. Without fully understanding why it

was happening, the teachers came to realise, through the first half of the 1960s, that the apparently eternal value of Latin was in fact something which lasted only as long as enough people thought it existed. Formerly, the jeers of the uninitiated could be taken as evidence of the legitimacy of the division of the world into those embedded in ordinary reality, and those who could rise to higher things through initiation into academic knowledge. But when the implicit consensus on values within the academic sphere began to collapse, classics teachers became increasingly isolated, in both staffroom and classroom. The following quotations convey quite clearly this sense of a shifting climate of opinion.

> "When I came here in 1962, Latin was established ... I think everybody was against the impression that Latin could ever change". (E 1.2/2.4)

> "In one of the course books somebody said Latin was the carpeted floor of the classroom. It has an affinity with other subjects, it's intangible but it's there. But with more subjects appearing, Latin is squeezed out ... now it's reading, the modern languages are spoken". (AA 3.2)

> "It's one of these things where you've got a feel for it rather than being able to pinpoint anything ... I meant that fifteen, twelve years ago there was a stress on grammar in English teaching. So pupils who did Latin were helped by English and vice-versa. But then English began to move away from grammar to free expression and creative writing, and then ... I began to sense it in pupils' questions about a decade ago ... they questioned the point of doing a subject in which it seemed you had no chance of success unless you had mastered all that grammar. One sensed that the translation into Latin ... became more and more inaccurate ... and the rules of grammar becoming more and more unfathomable. English was followed by French ... which created the audiovisual course ... then German ... so Latin was left on its own..." (AA 4.1)

"When I went to do my teacher training, this was the late 40s, I was asked questions then, of course having a student and so on, precocious 3rd forms ... I was being asked questions then which never appeared in the girls' school where I taught ((now A)) until fully a decade later, about why should they be made to do Latin ... boys are more ... utilitarian in their attitudes".
(AA 1.2-3)

Several of the teachers mentioned nostalgically how they used to enjoy comparing Latin marks with those for English and modern languages; something no longer worth doing, now that the once-universal terms of Latin grammar are not "heard across". The decline from that Golden Age is most severely felt, and the lost values most eloquently expressed, by D, the most conservative of the group:

"People here have lost their ideals about education ... when I started teaching in this school 14 years ago, I can't recollect one child in the worst stream who didn't have solid ideas about education ... and now in the top stream you're hard put to find one girl with it.

WHAT SORT OF IDEALS DID THEY HAVE?

They wanted to learn, they weren't very good but they wanted to learn it, they felt that learning it in itself had something intrinsically valuable, which it has obviously, it's the mental discipline of it ... even without being able to use that piece of information, being able to learn it, disciplining yourself so that you're able to handle all that". (D 4.2-3)

"I did a lot of English teaching when I first came here, I taught lots of grammar, now that's gone out of the window. The English I'm doing now, I find quite frankly I can't teach it to ... well the CSE English group, they keep on making the same grammatical mistakes. I can't get them right somehow..." (D 5.1)

The gradual isolation of the classics teacher from his or her former academic allies became more difficult to ignore as the examination performance of pupils dropped. O-level Latin was (and is) significantly harder to pass at a given level than almost all other subjects. This had been accepted as an aspect of its virtue as the exemplar of academic rigour, while pupils who failed were defined as those whose abilities were insufficient to meet academic standards. The emergence of rival paradigms of curricular legitimacy, however, meant that the point was being reached where a rising failure rate in O-level Latin was more likely to be seen as evidence against Latin than against pupils.

Even if Latin remained an exemplar of legitimacy, rather than something requiring legitimation itself, the sheer numbers of pupils who spent a year or two learning compulsory Latin and then dropped it, or continued to O-level and failed to pass, constituted a growing embarrassment. This was reinforced by the fact that the local pool of 11-plus passes now had to be shared out between the grammar schools and the new multilaterals (F(1956) and E(1959)). (It is interesting to note that Rosser and Harris (1965:7) refer to "the new grammar school at F" - my emphasis). Once again, AA provides a lucid sketch of the situation.

> "The signs were unmistakeable in the old type of course: there was a decline, and a rapid decline at that. Between 1955 and 1967 new schools were built which took some of the eleven-plus passes. Hence the grammar schools got fewer of them. But in my school Latin was compulsory for two forms ... so the pass rate dropped fast, and Latin was made optional in 1969". (AA 5.5)

> "Latin was introduced in the second year to two forms, who then continued taking the subject to O level. However, as new multilateral schools were built over this period, the quality of the intake declined, and girls began to drop Latin during the O-level year to concentrate on other subjects. By 1968, nearly 50% of the second stream were doing this. The headmistress finally introduced an option at the end of the third form ... Latin or Biology to O level, or Classical Studies to CSE. In 1969, the groups for these were 18, 30 and 17 girls respectively; the next year, 16 chose Latin and 21 Classical Studies". (AA 8.1-2)

The agreement reached with the LEA in 1970 on the provision of Cambridge material was therefore a guarantee of the continued teaching of classics. It offered protection against current challenges to the provision of classics, because it carried with it the Authority's fiat. It also offered a firm basis for legitimation, since the content of the Cambridge material conformed to the ideological emphases which had run counter to the values of 'academic Latin'. The material was claimed to be accessible to a wide range of ability; it was either nonlinguistic, or had its language material set in a "para-linguistic" context of culture; and it provided extensive audiovisual supporting material. It would be understandable, then, if the symbolic exemplars of academic rigour felt that as times changed, so must they; and that they should count themselves lucky to have been given, in the Cambridge course, what seemed to be (by whatever standards) the most respectable way out of an increasingly difficult situation. This rather complex shift can perhaps be seen in the following anecdote:

> "I think we're much the same in our views ... once a bloke said from the back after a few hours' talk on Cambridge Latin, 'All I can say is, you're trying to make Latin easy!'" (C 7.3)

At the same time as these interviews were being conducted, the Classics Committee of H.M. Inspectorate were carrying out a survey of classics provision in comprehensive schools in England and Wales. The results have recently been published (Department of Education and Science 1977), and show just how fortunate the Swansea teachers have been in securing their agreement. Of all comprehensive schools in England and Wales, just under 50% provided some form of classics. The range of regional variation, however, is very large; from 83% in North Wales to 21% in the Midlands (the figure for South Wales is 73%). If those comprehensives which were formerly selective schools are isolated, the overall figure is 74%; purpose-built schools, on the other hand, provide classics in only 21% of the cases reported (non-reports were taken as indicating lack of provision). Since Wales has produced a very high rate of recruitment into selective secondary education from the 1920s into the late 1950s (as shown in Chapter 4), the figures for South Wales and for ex-selective comprehensives (73% and 74%) can be assumed to be more than coincidental.

With 100% provision guaranteed from 1970, then, the Swansea classics teachers were clearly surviving the 1960s challenges to the legitimacy of classics better than most. Yet their good fortune was brought about, in a sense, without very much involvement on their part. If the gods were unlikely to resent their success, it was because it had been secured by a deus ex machina. Several, in fact: they had been shown the Cambridge material by its producers, local HMIs and the local education department lecturer, and had it blessed and promoted by the local schools adviser.

The nature and limits of their good fortune can be identified by redescribing their situation in terms of the analytical perspective presented in Chapter 1. During the 1960s, classics reached the stage, in its career as curricular knowledge, where its legitimacy became problematic; something to be negotiated, not assumed. At the same time, the dominant mode of curricular allocation shifted from a command toward a market pattern. In future, what pupils did not want (and hence did not choose to learn) would be assumed to be, not valuable as a source of mental training, but illegitimate as a candidate for allocation. In this situation, the teachers in Swansea were, in effect, offered the chance to distribute a new and attractive product. While its producers 'sold' the teachers on the product's virtues, the LEA offered a guarantee of finance to buy the product, and of its provision on the curricular market.

The 1970 agreement, therefore, represents the end of a phase in the negotiation of the provision of classics. It has also constituted a "charter" for the subsequent negotiation which is the subject of the next chapter. This second phase of negotiation has presented far more difficulties for the teachers than their artificially smooth path through the late 1960s. Legitimacy does not guarantee success. The "charter" of 1970 guaranteed the fact of provision, but not its nature or extent. Most importantly, it left untouched the question of allocation, on which classics teachers have suffered severe challenges because of their comfortable former position, when they taught only the brightest and best. As the market of curricular knowledge has opened up, so has the market of pupils, whose choice of subjects generates patterned allocation of pupils to teachers. The second phase of negotiation,

therefore, is focussed on the organised provision of knowledge on the curricular market; and the central questions at issue are those identified in Chapter 1: who learns what? and who teaches whom?

CHAPTER 5 - NOTES

1. It was a marginal Labour seat until 1959, when the Tories narrowly won it; in 1964 it became marginally Labour again.

2. National: Fenwick 1976.
   Local: Saran 1967; Saran 1973; Peterson 1971; Peschek & Brand 1966, Donnison & Chapman 1965; Batley et al 1970.
   None of these deals with curricula; Saran alone explicitly excludes it as a topic (1973:3), but by distinguishing between the politics of school provision and schools' internal organisation and curricula (ibid) - a distinction which is not always tenable.

3. Batley et al (1970) note in Labour-dominated Gateshead, the reorganisation plan was named after two councillors, whereas in Darlington, where the political balance was fairly even, the CEO had more influence and gave his name to the plan. A local HMI reported to me that when the Welsh Office held meetings with LEAs in Cardiff, it was noticeable that whereas the (old) Glamorgan CC education committee sat on either side of the CEO, the Swansea committee sat as a group, their chairman in the centre; the director of education was placed at one end.

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CHAPTER 6 - NEGOTIATING CLASSICS

6.1. The 1970 'charter': freedom and constraint

The distinction was drawn in Chapter 1 between the legitimate inclusion and status of curricular knowledge; and it was argued that in the selective system, the status of Latin almost required a separate category, as it was not only legitimately included, and allocated to high-status pupils, but exemplified the values from which rules of allocation were derived. From that unique position it has now so far declined, that in many schools it is not even included in the curriculum. In Swansea, however, the 'charter' of 1970 has guaranteed the inclusion of classics in the curriculum of all secondary schools. Yet the charter leaves open the nature of this inclusion. In other words, the legitimate status of classics - its position in the allocation system of these schools - is not guaranteed, but open to negotiation.(1)

Some of the analytic dimensions of this negotiation have been set out in Chapter 1. Where the distribution of curricular commodities is a legitimate mode of cultural transmission, specialist teachers are the distributors of these commodities. For classics teachers, this used to be unproblematic, since the symbolic constitution of the curricular market was oriented toward the allocation of high-status pupils to Latin, and their own definitions of the commodity were congruent with those of its producers in the higher education sector. The new commodity whose provision the 1970 charter guarantees, however, represents a break with the grammar-school tradition of academic rigour and the "grammar grind". Precisely for that reason, it has been designed to be "teacher-proof". Its pamphlets, work-cards, slides, tapes and teachers' handbook provide a planned and pre-structured course embodying particular conceptions of linguistic structure, and hence of language teaching.

The 1970 charter, therefore, has imposed constraints on classics teachers, as well as on heads. The teachers are constrained in two ways. First of all, the pre-planned nature of the Cambridge course deprives them of classroom autonomy. In the selective system, their job was to get pupils through O-level Latin; how they did it was, to some extent, left to them. Within limits, they could choose between the available text books and editions of set texts; and could employ their own personal methods of explaining difficult points of syntax, their own favourite unseen translation passages. These freedoms have disappeared with the provision of the Cambridge material; the only variation possible, if the written rules of procedure are not to be flouted, is in the pace at which the material is assimilated by pupils. The second constraint is a related one: the conceptions of language on which the course is based are diametrically opposed to those of the "grammar grind". It was constructed, in fact, to avoid formal grammar, and to attract pupils. The design of a 'teacher-proof' course was therefore necessary, since almost all those who would use it would have been socialised through, and into, the values of the "grammar grind". For such teachers, <u>this</u> "Latin" or "Classics" is an alien thing. In the selective system, the constant possibility of reinforcing their own self-image enabled them to forget that they were distributing a commodity. By re-producing the products of academic rigour in the process of Latin prose composition, they remained masters of the hieroglyph of Latin grammar. The alien commodity which now confronts them is a hieroglyph whose key they do not, and would not, possess.

This will serve as a preliminary indication of the extent to which the 1970 charter has constrained the local classics teachers. How much constraint has it placed on heads? As was made clear above, the charter guaranteed the <u>fact</u>, not the <u>nature</u> of inclusion. The leeway this leaves to heads can be illustrated by the allocation of Latin and classical studies in

the four 11-13 schools whose classics teachers were interviewed.

The agreement between the Classics Panel and the LEA specified that nonlinguistic classics would, and Latin might, be taught in these schools. In general, most pupils are taught one or two periods a week of the former; and a small group of second year pupils is taught Latin, which is included in a group of optional subjects for the top stream. The variation in the composition of these schools' catchment areas was reflected in a considerable variation in the speed with which the Cambridge Latin material was taught. As a result, the intake into the 13-18 schools in the first post-reorganisation year contained pupils who could not be taught together, as they had reached different stages in the course material.

This has now been rectified by agreement between the schools concerned, and the several 11-13 teachers all aim for the same point in the course. Yet the material is still covered with a varying degree of thoroughness, because of the differences in timetabling and allocation in the schools. The junior comprehensives are all former secondary modern schools, and most of their heads were secondary modern heads; and so very little support is given to the teaching of Latin as far as timetabling provision is concerned. School Y, which has the most generous provision, is at the western end of Swansea Bay, where the English professional middle classes live. School Z, on the other hand, is perched on top of a hill above the city, in the middle of a large and battered prewar council estate. Here the head has introduced a ten-day cyclic timetable; and he has set Latin against Games for one whole afternoon per cycle. The pupils who opt for Latin are thus, as Mrs. Z. says, "the ones who don't like running".

The timetabling of nonlinguistic classics - which unlike Latin, it will be recalled, is required to be compulsory - is

similarly subject to variation at whim. Here school X offers an outstanding example; classical studies is farmed out to five different teachers, who have one period each. Of the five, two are needlework specialists. Yet none of this has affected the self-images, or sense of occupational rights, of teachers W to Z. They are by training, and regard themselves as being, modern linguists who have been given an additional and peripheral responsibility for classics. Almost no contact with the relevant senior school classics teachers seems to exist. In fact, the only examples they offered of contact with senior schools which had anything to do with classics, concerned suggestions from modern language teachers that their subjects should be substituted for Latin in the 11-13 schools.

This example reminds us of what is likely to be at stake in the negotiation of the status of classics in the 13-18 and 11-18 schools. So far, we have seen some of the constraints and freedoms generated by the 1970 charter. In the 11-13 schools, a wide range of interpretation exists of the meaning of "provisio There, however, the distributors of classics are relatively uncommitted to it, and its disappearance would leave them regretful, but not alarmed. In the senior and allthrough schools the situation is very different. Here the occupational rights and self-images of classics teachers are at stake, and their fate depends on their success in negotiating the status of classics in the curricular economy. This status is embodied in the position of classics in the system of allocation which brings together specific categories of pupils and knowledge. What is immediately at issue, then, is the legitimacy of claim to such positions: in other words, the claim to have one's knowledge allocated, as of right, to particular groups of pupils. How are such rights negotiated by these classics teachers? The rest of the chapter attempts an answer to this question.

6.2. The plurality of social systems

The legitimacy of a claim - whether to domination, or, as here, to a scarce resource - has to be established in terms of rules which embody 'agreed conceptions of right'. What are the rules which govern the competition of teachers for pupils in the curricular economy? It was suggested in Chapter 1 that "collegiacy norms" would function to regulate such competition. Yet not only teachers are involved in the system of allocation. The above description of the Cambridge Latin Course, and of the classics teachers' relation to it, suggests that it is an empirical commodity which has several analytic dimensions. It is (1) classics, (2) teaching material, (3) a commodity which must be bought: organisational hardware.

This variety of analytic location, and hence of relevant rules, can be incorporated coherently in the analysis of negotiation by adopting Burns' conception of the "plurality of social systems" (Burns 1966; cp. Burns and Stalker 1961, Burns 1962). In the organisations he studied Burns identified three analytically separable systems of interaction: the working organisation, the status system and the career system. (The similarity to Mannheim's trichotomy in his discussion of success and careers (Mannheim 1952:240) is surely more than coincidental, though Mannheim is not mentioned by Burns).

Burns begins by pointing to the co-existence of co-operation and competition in organisations, where shared concerns with limited resources generate competition for them. He suggests that

> "All social milieux in which such competition occurs have codes of rules, explicit and implicit, which distinguish illegitimate behaviour from legitimate ... Moral codes of this kind are specific to individual occupational milieux ... The existence of such codes, and of such definitions, bespeaks the presence of a specific class of acts and relationships, with its own normative rules ... i.e. of a social system ..." (1966:165-6)

He goes on to point out that within a single organisation, it may be 'normal' to legitimate action in terms of one's rights in one system, but one's duties in another:

> "It is only backstage, so to speak, that the imputations of empire-building ... occur ... in universities ... in faculty meetings ... the only legitimate reference is to the needs of students and to the advancement of ... learning. Allegations ... of careerism ... are entirely improper in faculty meetings; yet may be entirely ... legitimate in other settings. Indeed, in certain gatherings it might be imprudent to the point of social suicide to impute higher motives than self-interest ... to reformers ..." (1966:167)

It can be seen that this perspective makes considerable sense of the negotiation of allocation. Within the 'micropolitics of teachers, we might identify the relevant systems as those of knowledge, occupation and organisation. The specialist teacher is thus a participant in the first two 'games' by virtue of his dual allegiance to his subject and his occupation, and these two systems are closely related through the historic dominance of the specialist teacher. The allocation of knowledge to pupils is thus a focus of negotiation in the knowledge-system, the allocation of pupils to teachers in the occupational system. In the latter system, the talk is not of Michelangelo, nor of education, but of the legitimate claims of teachers who share access to limited resources; and such talk will be conducted within terms of 'collegiate regulation'. That is, we can expect to hear such phrases as 'unbalanced timetable'; 'trying to get children to choose his subject'; 'unfair options'. The rationality is a material one, for there are almost no written rules. Appeals are likely to be made to a constructed ideal type of the 'reasonable man' of the kind employed in 'Kadi justice' (Weber 1948:216ff) and discussed by Gluckman (Gluckman 1955 is the earliest source).

How do these two systems relate to the third? In the grammar school, all three overlapped empirically. As an

organisation, the school was a separate part of an education system stratified according to intelligence, and the academic hierarchy was the most important one in the running of the school; it also dominated the occupational system via the distribution of responsibility allowances. This is clear from Lacey's account of the allocation of allowances at "Hightown Grammar"; house-masters had more nonteaching work to do than heads of subject departments, but received smaller allowances. It is also worth noting that house-masters' allowances were given to heads of small departments, and so acted as supplements to the money available within the knowledge-system (Lacey 1970: 158ff). The overlap of systems was also manifest in the labelling of forms of pupils in curricular terms. Thus the top two forms of the third year in the girls' grammar school studied by Lambart were known as "the Latins and the Germans" (Lambart 1970:128. Note that this school was unstreamed). In Swansea, school A retained, for the first year or so after reorganisation, the form-labels inherited from its major constituent school, "the Swansea Grammar School":

> "Latin Welsh and French are set against one another ... this goes back to the grammar school set up where we had a language form, a science form, and what we call a general form. Those who opted for languages did Latin as a matter of course, those who did Science did no Latin at all, those in General did Latin if they wished ...
>
> DO THE OLD FORM NAMES SURVIVE?
>
> Yes, the initials stand for Language, Science, General, Practical, Technical". (A 4.3)

This extract offers a convenient summary of the knowledge-hierarchy: the academic superior to the practical, the special to the general, humanities to science. The General form is also interesting because Latin was optional for its members, one could say that in the whole hierarchy, the principles of the academic market (choice) and its symbolic constitution (differential evaluation of contents) are co-present. Thus the General form represents <u>membership of</u> the market, its superiors <u>status in</u> the market.

In contrast, the systems have moved apart in reorganised schools, and this is especially noticeable to teachers in a school like A, which has a "glorious past":

> "WERE YOU CONSULTED ABOUT THE OPTION CHANGES?
>
> The options were presented to us at a head of department meeting: there they were, already mimeographed. It was discussed; and I suppose theoretically we could have objected, if it had arrived earlier. But one thing I do find rather chastening in the new comprehensive setup is that the head of department status has declined, it certainly has ... there's no point in saying things because the decision has already been taken. In the old set up it was the head, deputy head and heads of departments . now it's head, deputy heads, academic registrar, heads of upper, middle, lower school ... all these administrative posts ... I'm unhappy about it. In many cases they're not in the best position, they don't have all the knowledge that's required ... on all subjects. We've had this in staff meetings where we've been told, This is school policy and school policy is not going to be changed ..."
> (AA 2.6)

The specific point which lies behind AA's complaint about the lack of knowledge possessed by some administrators seems to be that several of the former secondary modern staff have become year tutors and heads of lower and middle school at school A. Thus the potential antagonism between ex-secondary modern staff and the classics teachers who, for them, symbolise the academic uselessness they now have a chance to oppose, is being realised in conflict between the knowledge and organisational systems.

The interaction of the three systems can be illustrated most vividly by considering specific examples of empirical overlap. For example, the classics teacher's timetable is his specialist knowledge organised in occupational form. Its content reflects the definitions, which as a specialist he has a right to make, of knowledge (here classics). The distribution of these through the week in his timetable reflects occupational conceptions of pacing, pupil-attention spans and other pedagogical notions. But the allotment of numbers of periods,

or of single- and double-period provision, may well reflect the process of constructing the school timetable - manipulating availability of rooms within constraints such as the need to locate science practical lessons in rooms with sinks, and so on.

On occasion, these criteria come into conflict. A classics teacher in a Swansea school (not one of those interviewed) was offered the chance to teach Greek to a small group of pupils (who had asked to learn it) by a sympathetic deputy head. It was only possible, however, to include this in her timetable if she gave up two of her four free periods. The teacher refused the offer on the grounds that she had registered for an M.Ed. course at the local university college, and needed all her free periods for coursework. This can be interpreted as a conflict between the values of the knowledge system (offering classics) and the occupational system (protecting one's free periods). A further interpretation would incorporate the factor of M.Ed. registration, and would suppose this to indicate an intention to shift the teacher's career into the organisational system (educational administration, e.g.). In either case, systems and their values are in conflict.

The interaction of systems can also be seen in the case of textbook provision. BB had inherited a traditional textbook from her predecessor, and disliked it. When it became dilapidated, she managed to replace it with a set of books she preferred:

> "The head was careful with money, but she was ill and I got permission for new books via the deputy head".
> (BB 1.2)

The special interest of this case lies in BB's deviant definition of classics (her career has also been deviant: see Chapter 4). She had by this time become converted to the 'direct method' of Latin teaching (i.e. teaching by holding conversations in the

language). This approach has been promoted by the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching (ARLT) since 1911; but has always been viewed with suspicion by traditionalists (and especially independent schools) because its stress on dramatised stories and verbal action has been felt to be undignified and 'unmanly' (in the 1910s it was also accused of being unEnglish). Because of this, it is possible that the question of finance was not the only relevant one in this case. The price paid by classics teachers for the paradigmatic position of Latin in the grammar school was the participation of heads in decisions which would now fall entirely in the knowledge system. In a sense, this is the opposite face of the balance of advantage and disadvantage in the reorganised schools. On the curricular market, classics teachers can collect enough consumer support to argue strongly for changes in the organisation of knowledge provision.

A final example also concerns textbooks. Here it is possible that a nonfinancial excuse masks a financial refusal:

> "... once I asked the head for money to change to Approach to Latin, and she said it was too heavy for the girls' satchels". (AA 3.1)

This also illustrates the helplessness of the teacher in the face of the fiat. The school administrator may offer refusal in terms of organisational possibilities; a head is able to give absurd or irrelevant reasons for decisions in the knowledge that (as AA said in the earlier quotation) "there's no point in saying things because the decision has already been taken".

However alien the new classics commodity is to its distributors, its "authoritative" novelty offers incidentally a certain freedom of manoeuvre. Latin has now moved from the command to the market sector of the curricular economy; from an exemplary position in the transmission of culture, into the market of cultural commodities; in consequence, it has broken

free of the constraints of the command sector. To discover just how much the heads, and other staff, are involved in negotiating the status of classics, we have to consider the way in which the allocation matrix is constructed, revised and operated.

6.3. Systems, stages and schools

The notion of an 'allocation matrix' was introduced in Chapter 1. The phrase denotes the system of organised relations between differentially-evaluated pupils and knowledge. The matrix thus constitutes a representation of the status of units of curricular knowledge. From it, the status of a subject can be 'read off' by establishing (1) against which other units it is optional, i.e. related according to rules of 'appropriate matching'; and (2) for which pupils it is available. On the curricular market, it is the structure of this organised presentation of commodities to (selected) consumers which largely determines what kind of timetable a teacher will have.

The nature of the process of matrix-construction and -revision can be made clearer by locating its path through the several arenas in which negotiation takes place. These arenas are the "stages" on which interaction takes place, and which can be identified with the different systems of interaction to which teachers belong. Table 9 depicts the path of the matrix through these stages.

The stages on which interaction takes place can be distinguished in descending order of 'visibility' as front, middle and back stage. On the front stage, teachers interact with pupils, and occasionally - hands across the footlights - with parents. On the middle stage, teachers interact with one another behind veils which conceal them from view by pupils.

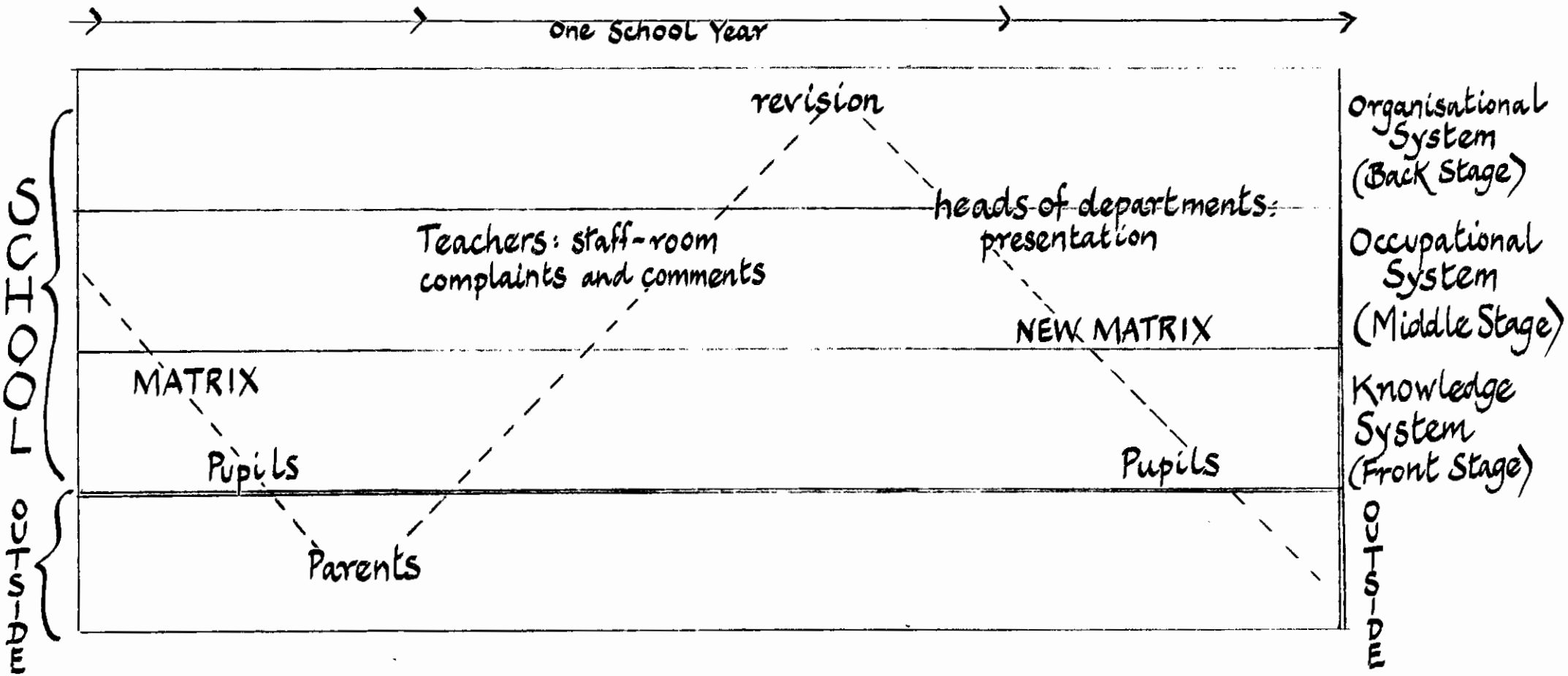

Table Nine : Matrices, Systems and Stages

Here the "staffroom door" and the invisible barrier which remains when it is opened are the empirical focus of the boundary between stages; just as the swing doors leading to the kitchen are in restaurants, as Whyte pointed out (Whyte 1948, 1949). Finally, the back stage, once occupied by heads of subject departments, is now the preserve of timetablers and administrators, while departmental heads advance only to its front boundary, as it were, to "discuss" curricular allocation with the head.

As the table suggests, the matrix is subject to revision within several sets of rules. Each system of interaction contains rules governing the legitimacy of claims, which are negotiated on the stage which forms each system's empirical focus. Thus in the organisational system (backstage) we may expect to encounter the invocation of economic viability and the technical possibilities of timetabling; in the occupational system (middle stage), the collegiate norms of fairness in allocating pupils to teachers; and in the knowledge system (front stage), the strategies of pupil-recruitment tempered by the ethics of salesmanship.

When the Swansea schools are examined from this perspective, it becomes clear that the interaction and relative strength of these systems and their rules varies considerably from school to school. The situation in a given school is largely a product of the location of the school in the selective system, and of the way in which it has been affected by the process of reorganisation (See Table 8, Chapter 5).

Of the Swansea schools, E and F have changed least (they were founded as multilateral schools and became comprehensive in the second half of the 1960s). School C has a strong tradition of staff solidarity (i.e. the occupational system is dominant), has grown little in size, and seems to have absorbed change without much strain. On the other hand school D, which shares

its catchment area, is an exGPDST school which has been conscious of its past high status; its staff have adapted much less easily to reorganised status. Finally, school A was created by merging two single-sex grammar schools (the boys' was "the Swansea Grammar School") and a secondary modern. It has grown into a large and rather disorganised school, partly because its head is near retirement and has been content to keep it ticking over, rather than taking any very vigorous policy decisions. In the former county of Glamorgan, schools B and G became comprehensive in 1973. To some extent, this accounts for the impression of confusion they gave when visited that year and the next, when the Swansea schools had had several years of reorganised existence. But their reorganisation seems to have been confused in itself, and each school is run on several sites. To some extent their situation resembles that of school A in Swansea, as they have grown quickly from the same kind of merger. The following table summarises the major relevant features of the schools.

TABLE 10

The reorganized schools compared

school	original schools	pupils
A	2 grammar schools 1 secondary modern	1800
B	2 grammar schools 1 secondary modern	1900
C	grammar school and secondary modern	850
D	grammar school and secondary modern	500
E	comprehensive	1300
F	comprehensive	1300
G	2 grammar schools 2 secondary modern	1800
W-Z	secondary moderns	500-800

(pupil numbers approximate, 1973-4)

The detailed material presented below concentrates on the provision of classics in school A. The accumulation of material related to a single school may make it easier for the reader to form an independent opinion about it. Since interviews were conducted with all three classics teachers at A, as well as with two teachers who taught it part-time and with the timetabler, there is in any case more material available for this school than for any other. In addition, the provision of classics at A is an object of particular interest. As has been mentioned already, the boys' grammar school which forms part of it (and on whose grounds it stands) was the elite school in Swansea before reorganisation. The impact of the changes since 1970 have thus been felt very strongly by the ex-grammar school staff (as indicated in AA's comments, quoted above). A feature which is probably unique to it is that because the LEA guaranteed the status of teachers whose schools were merged in reorganisation each department has two heads. Thus at school A, A and AA were in charge of classics at the former grammar schools. AAA is on the same salary grade as the other two because he receives an allowance for the teaching of Greek. The existence in the school of a large and well-paid classics department with not very much to teach is clearly part of the background to the negotiation of allocation of classics in this case. In 1973-4, all three classics teachers had full classics timetables, but spent a lot of their time with small 6th form groups (leaving free periods out of account, this made up about half the timetables of the two heads of deparment, and a third of AAA's).

The impact of reorganisation in this context can be outlined in terms of the social systems already identified. The growth of the organisational system has been dealt with adequately in AA's comments above on the loss of power on the part of heads of subject departments. As the discussion there suggested, this has been related historically to the entry of exsecondary-modern staff into the school. But the merger of schools has also

introduced pupils from secondary modern schools, whose presence is viewed with apprehension by many teachers. One of the part-time classics teachers, who was formerly full-time and has now become a fulltime counsellor, referred to this;

> "... the head, when he came here, was the only one here who had experience of a large comprehensive: he told us there was a new type of boy coming within our orbit ..." (S 1.6)

These pupils brought with them a 'new kind of teacher' too:

> "Some of the secondary modern teachers were transferred to ((the girls' grammar school)) because we had more pupils, hence needed extra staff, and the type of pupils coming in of course, the existing staff had had no experience of this kind of child.
>
> WERE THESE STAFF TRANSFERRED FOR TEACHING OR ADMINISTRATION?
>
> At first, purely as teachers. But as the comprehensive developed, so it seemed that some of them were eminently suitable to deal with the troublesome type of child who existed in the old secondary modern school. They became year tutors, then graduated to, for example, head of middle school". (AA 5.5)

(The head of middle school referred to here is also a good example of the shift in dominant dimensions of evaluation, since before his elevation he was second-in-command of the PE department). A certain amount of contrast to this picture of rampant organisation, and its domination by those who may be suspected of seeking revenge on classics teachers for their former superiority in the tripartite system, is offered by E. School E is one of the ex-multilateral schools, and here the classics teacher's major complaint about organisation is that after reorganisation, she found herself doing lots of paperwork which interfered with her teaching.

6.4. From command to market allocation.

One of the advantages of looking at the negotiation of knowledge-allocation is that within the processes of selection and comparison which are involved, criteria and classifications which are otherwise assumed, or held in inchoate fashion, emerge into visibility. But if competition and comparison generate explicit appeals to 'the rules', the shift of a commodity into the arena of allocation may be expected to be even more instructive. How is a unit of curricular knowledge allocated when it becomes optional for the first time?

As one might expect, much of the information given by classics teachers in interviews concerns the crucial (and traumatic) shift from command to market provision; in other words, the point at which classics finally ceases to be compulsory for any group of pupils. The events leading up to such a shift at AA's old school (the girls' grammar school now part of school A) have been described above in Chapter 5: a changed pupil intake combined with compulsory Latin to produce embarrassingly low O level pass rates. The other girls' grammar school (now school D) faced a similar problem later on for much the same reasons:

> "A suggestion has been made to me recently ... our best stream have been doing Latin en bloc but it may well become an option and posed against geography, which makes me shudder . you can always catch up by just reading the textbook in geography ...
>
> HOW DO THESE CHANGES COME ABOUT?
>
> ... the head of upper school ... suggested to me the other day that Latin might be optional against geography ... this alarmed me, but we can't do very much about it. This year's 4x will next year be the first 5x not to have done the O level English Language in form 4. Now this 4x, they are the guineapigs who came in at 13 ((i.e. the first comprehensive intake)), and they were so much behind that they can't enter them for English Language. So next year they'll be doing English Language and Literature at the same time ... so time is short, so option the Latin against something else to solve the problem ...

BUT WHY LATIN?

> Oh it's regarded as a minority er subject and there it is. I feel like resisting heavily, but I can't argue that their English Language is less important than their Latin". (D 3.2-3)

At about the same time, classics was ceasing to be compulsory at school A. Here the immediate causes were rather different.

> "... in the head of departments' meeting ... the head confronted us with a sheet of paper which showed the options ... we were horrified to see that Latin had been put against for instance History. Whereas at present in the 3rd form was a class subject for the top two classes, numerically that's to say, not necessarily ability range, that's 3A1 and 3A2, they all did Latin. Now it was proposed to make Latin optional ... It was eventually fixed at Latin versus RI completely, no other subject ... the argument being that they wanted to remove the distinction ... on the grounds that we were creating specialist classes ... it was felt (this may well be the result of pressure from the junior comprehensives) that pupils from the junior comprehensives had been asking ... to do Latin simply because they'd been two good forms ... so they put it right through the A band, but this meant there were four classes who wouldn't have done Latin before, so ... it had to be an option, and RI was devised ... as the only subject which might not have a deleterious effect on the numbers of pupils taking Latin". (AA 5.2)

In a later interview, AA gave substantially the same account, but added that

> This time last year we were having a carrot dangled, if that's the right expression, that the option should be Latin/Scripture ... so that we'd have larger numbers than in the previous year ... (AA 2.4)

In the earlier quotation, the possibility was mentioned of setting Latin against History. This latter subject itself became optional in the third year at the same time as Latin; and the teachers' comments on this throw more light on the assumptions and parties involved.

> 'The historians ... they were unhappy that history was an option. But we had to face the fact that combinations of all subjects were possible, much though everybody individually wanted to keep a preference for his own subject.
>
> WHAT REMAINS OUTSIDE THE OPTIONS?
>
> English Maths and French ... French I suppose is the basic ... it's the traditional modern language.
>
> I GATHERED THAT THE SCIENTISTS HAD PRESSED FOR HISTORY TO BE OPTIONAL
>
> Not against French, oh no, not even the scientists pressed for French or ... everybody accepted French, English, Maths.." (AA 5.3)

A added more detail to this account:

> "... it was felt, I think by the scientists that why should history be generally taught, or compulsory, why shouldn't it stand on its own feet". (A 4.3)

This was then checked with AA in his next interview:

> "I WAS TOLD THE SCIENTISTS THOUGHT HISTORY SHOULD STAND ON ITS OWN FEET...
>
> True, but everybody was using their own individual argument ... against other subjects simply to guarantee the security of their own subject ... we have to accept these as being specious arguments. No not specious ... partial ... They ((the historians)) felt there was a case for history to be put on a par with English Maths French. Most of the others acknowledged that their subjects should not be made compulsory". (AA 5.3-4)

One feature of this information is true both of A and D: contrary to what might have been expected from the earlier accounts of "discussions" about options, a certain amount of consultation seems to have gone on. D spoke of having received a suggestion in a private conversation, and AA of a 'carrot' being dangled. The meeting he and A mention was, indeed, presented with a matrix containing the setting of Latin versus History, which 'horrified' the classics teachers. On the other hand, since Latin and History were becoming optional

for the first time, we can suspect that this listing was designed to produce a discussion which would lead to a revised matrix. In other words, it was in the interests of 'the historians' to challenge the matrix; which was revised to provide large numbers of pupils for both subjects. In general, then, the teachers affected were handled with care by the heads and timetablers in these cases. The reason is surely that the command/market shift is a large (and in most cases, irrevocable) one, and is not believed to be manageable simply through organisational fiat. These cases thus mark out some of the boundaries of the negotiable and the non-negotiable.

Once their knowledge ceases to be compulsory, however, teachers move into an area where any claims they may make for the allocation of their knowledge to highly-evaluated pupils must be negotiated within rules to which they are subject as their colleagues are. Thus classics teachers, in this case, are in a situation very much like that of the apparatchiki whose experience in the 'command sector' has given them little preparation for participation in the running of a market economy. As Montias says,

> "Many directors who are getting large bonuses now without great exertions are worried about the uncertainties of the future; some who banked their careers on their party connections and on their knowledge of the rules of the game in a command economy know they will be at a relative disadvantage when it comes to competing with men ... with experience in running a firm according to business principles".(2)

When a subject moves from command to market status, both its rate of pupil recruitment and its status according to market criteria may rise or fall. Here the cases of Latin and History offer an interesting contrast.

When Latin was made optional at school A, the "carrot" turned out to produce larger pupil numbers than had formerly been recruited. In addition, Latin was also made available to

the year above, so that, as AA put it

"Latin has two bites at the cherry, the other languages only one." (AA 5.3)

Recruitment to history, on the other hand, dropped when it was made optional. In the opinion of Mr. T. the timetabler, this showed that tradition was not to be relied on in evaluating subjects.

"HOW DOES THE CURRICULUM COME TO BE THE WAY IT IS? THAT IS, HOW IS IT THAT SOME SUBJECTS ARE CLASSED AS COMPULSORY, OTHERS AS SUITABLE FOR OPTION?

The main thing is tradition. English and French is compulsory, always has been. German has as good a case, but tradition supports French. History has always been compulsory, but this year it was decided to put it in a pool, and the results were interesting. Last year 180 had to do it; this year 104 chose it, compared to Geography 131, Chemistry 136, Biology 135. On these figures, it seems that these other subjects had a more valid claim to be compulsory subjects. But tradition has held history to be a valuable subject; that tradition is dying slowly." (T 1.1)

Here the values of the command and market sectors are juxtaposed: at the moment of change of sector, it is possible to compare the status of a subject in their terms - assumed value versus weight of numbers. The new criterion for 'compulsory eligibility' then (paradoxically) becomes a high rate of market recruitment. AAA offered an opinion in this area which coincides in part with T's, but also incorporates the alleged role of T himself.

"WHO DOES DECIDE WHAT GETS TAUGHT?

I'm not sure. In a sense we're still running on tradition. There has always been Latin and Greek, so in a sense it's an automatic process. So who's causing the difficulties? There are four areas, I think. There's the LEA ... economic viability. So that's a pressure, but I don't know how it operates. Then there's the head; I'm never quite sure about the head ... he's not at all decisive, and I sometimes suspect that he uses his indecision as a way of saying no to people. Then there's the Mr. T. theory; I know nothing about this ... ... I don't really know him. This supposition has come from ((AA)) or ((A)) ... that in doing the timetable ... this is why Greek didn't appear in the options this year ... I don't

> know. The fourth one ... I'm told that in head of departments' meetings there is pressure from other subjects. Now what they normally say is 'the scientists'. The person I had in mind was Mr. Q, but when I asked him to fill in your questionnaire he said, a total surprise to me, that he nearly did classics himself ... again, I sometimes feel that the biologists are hostile, but no evidence ..." (AAA 7.2)

If the head's arguments are unassailable because he is the head, Mr. T's timetabling (unless sudden changes broach a previous pattern, as with the omission of Greek) is difficult to argue with because its principles are mysterious - like "economic viability", it represents an ethic of means rather than ends:

> "Last year the option was changed, and when they'd chosen, by some ... wizardry, Mr. T. fitted them all in ... Timetable arrangement is ... out of my ken." (A 1.2)1

In this way, the "uncanny technical mastery" distinguished and demoted by Norwood in the 1940s has finally turned the (time-) tables on the standard-bearers of academic rigour and the "grammar grind".

6.5. Competition and commodities

When it moves into the curricular market, classics competes for scarce and valued pupils with the commodities offered by other teachers. When A and AA (the two heads of the department) described specific challenges to the legitimacy of classics, they usually identified "the scientists" as the source. This kind of identification, however, is based on stereotype and gossip rather than on direct encounters, which might (as AAA's remarks above suggest) disconfirm stereotypical labelling. Challenges of this kind can be seen as belonging to the academic market, and produced by competition within it. But the classics teachers also reported hostility from beyond that sector of the market:

> "Certainly as far as the question of graded posts is concerned, several people don't see why a subject they think is on the decline should have two graded posts; Points are taken away from their own departments such as practical subjects. They see themselves as more relevant to the comprehensive setup than classics".
> (AA 5.4)

This kind of hostility may be based on resentment of the de facto stratification of the curricular market; but the resources it refers to are, at least officially, independent of such stratification. Responsibility allowances and graded posts are allotted to a head by the LEA, and are, in effect, in his gift. It is rarely clear to teachers whether a head is holding some of these allowances in reserve; but in general, their allocation is zero-sum. Thus one more allowance for the classics department is one fewer for other staff.

Challenges such as these involve an appeal to norms of collegiate 'fairness'. On the other hand, notions like 'fairness' and 'balance', as has been argued in Chapters 2 and 3, are secondary values whose meaning is parasitic on conceptions of ends. In this case, occupational norms of procedure are being attached to currently dominant values which provide conceptions of the ends of education. In the "comprehensive setup", what can legitimately be demanded of, and claimed by a teacher is something different from what was allowable within the collegiate norms of the selective system. In that system, the dominance of the academic was reflected in the stratification of staffs, and "specialists" were superior to "general subjects teachers". As the content which trained reason was superior to that which provided only "furniture" for the mind, so the teacher whose expertise went deep, rather than being spread over breadth of content, was acknowledged as superior. In such a situation, the "general subjects teacher" was something of a helot, allocated to the least desirable areas of teaching of several specialist departments.

This evaluative dimension persists in reorganised schools. The difference is that it can now be legitimately attacked in collegiate terms. In some cases, indeed, it is invoked by LEAs and heads when changes in catchment areas generate 'comprehensive' intakes which make such stratified allocation a source of embarrassment. This was the case in school E, where heads of departments continued to urge their prior claim to A-stream and 6th form pupils. As a result, the head issued a general warning on the subject:

> "We've just had our meeting to discuss next year's time-table ... nothing was definitely discussed, we were told we would be expected to teach ... sort of ... more broadly across the timetable, not so much specialised teaching ... more people would be called upon to teach the lower streams really. Well, there wasn't a discussion!"
> (E 4.1)

In school A, the classics teachers have now acquired a defence against such charges, since they teach nonlinguistic Classical Studies Courses (also developed by the Cambridge project) to large numbers of pupils in the lower streams of the B band. This teaching also bolsters their position in terms of the evaluation of subjects on a numerical basis: the 'market basis' which Mr. T. the timetabler compared with 'tradition' above.

> "HOW IS CLASSICS DOING IN THE SCHOOL? HOWEVER YOU MEASURE SUCCESS OR FAILURE...
>
> Numbers? ((laughs)) certainly if you regard numbers as of any significance the lower forms, this year's 3rd and next year's 4th, show that with the Cambridge ... project we're getting more enthusiasm there ... The head's in an awkward situation in that he's got three classics specialists you see. I think this is probably one of the reasons why the classics empire is expanding; he has to employ us, and this is why he has opened the door so widely to Classical Studies"
> (A 4.4)

On the other hand, the removal of collegiate challenges is bought at the cost of classroom confrontation with large numbers of the "new type of pupil":

> "Well I expected the B band, but expected other attitudes ... these attitudes I'd expected only of C streams ... apathy, find almost everything boring or difficult ... if it goes on like this then ... well I shall become more and more depressed

and despondent personally". (A 4.1; 1.2)

A's experience is in part a product of the position of Classical Studies in the allocation matrix. In the old grammar school, Latin had been grouped with Welsh and French, and the head decided to continue this grouping with Classical Studies substituted for Latin.

At the time the teachers were interviewed, it was set against French and Welsh for the entire B band. Views on the nature and origin of this group differed illuminatingly:

> "Classical studies is protected by being in a language group; the head said it was really a language wasn't it? It isn't of course, but the head said it was". (T 1.2)

> "... well the head says, it is a language of a sort isn't it? which beats me ... Latin for the A band, if not you're palmed off with Classics, and it is 'palmed off' ... it's given to boys who can't cope with French or Welsh ... it's being provided ... as a third option for the less able streams". (S 1.1-2)

In other words, the head's ability to announce stipulative definitions of subjects has guaranteed for Classical Studies both a large and an 'inferior' intake of pupils. The classics teachers believe that this has muted earlier complaints from other departments about their own sybaritic life in the A band, but find the price a heavy one:

> "... we get the poorer children, the difficult children. Now in a sense you may say this is justice, since we've had the cream in the past ... so in the nature of things we ought now to receive the less able. But ... by virtue of the choice, the pupils we're getting, they're the rejects of of ... they're rejects as far as we're concerned". (A 1.2; 4.1)

> "If they've got ability or interest, they tend to do French or Welsh ... I suppose I do er more than a third of my timetable Classical Studies I suppose ... It's not what I came into teaching to do ... Thursday is the day ... my timetable is 4B double 5B 3B ... it's tough going". (AAA 7.4; 2.1-2)

The position of classics in the allocation system is thus ambivalent. While Latin is offered to A-band pupils, Classical Studies involves the classics teachers with the B-band for about a third of their time. Even within the A band, as AAA says,

> "... now I'm relying on French, where they've heard of tenses, to squeeze them into Cambridge Latin. So it's come full circle now". (AAA 1.2)

In other words, Latin is no longer the compulsory and 'basic' language whose teaching enabled other language teachers to take pupils' knowledge of a technical vocabulary ("tenses") for granted. The wheel has come full circle, because it is now dependent on other languages for the same thing; yet the Cambridge course is designed to <u>avoid</u> all those technical terms.

The classics teachers at school A have jointly decided that the Cambridge course goes too far in its complete avoidance of formal grammar, and have introduced some discussion of it into their own teaching. This can be related to one of the imponderable features of the course: its ability to encourage pupils to continue with Latin after O level, where it stops. The connection with the formal teaching of grammar is that no special A-level courses exist for use after the Cambridge course. Indeed, it was designed to form the basis for achievement in a <u>conventional</u> A-level course.

The importance of this is that it will affect the numbers of 6th-form pupils taught by the classics teachers. When they were interviewed in 1973/4, nearly half their timetables consisted of 6th-form teaching. There were very few pupils involved - the last remnants of the final selective intake. The continued segregation of pupils from the two single-sex grammar schools, who had been using different set books for their A levels, helped to produce this very large proportion of 6th-form teaching. At that time, however, there seemed no sign that the years below would provide replacements:

"... there'll be an awkward situation next year in the lower 6th, whereby a single boy makes up the Latin class. That's out of our control ... because there are so few candidates in the 5th form ... the Cambridge Latin Course is giving us bigger classes ... whether it will do the trick I don't know". (AA 2.3-4)

This serves to illustrate as well the importance of sheer pupil numbers. For Mr. T, subjects' claims to status can be judged on this basis. But if the Cambridge Latin Course is a successful market commodity, it may also make the difference between the inclusion or disappearance of classics from the 6th-form timetable. Other things being equal, large teaching groups in the third and fourth years will produce large groups of pupils later on. What this example also points to, however, is the importance of recruitment rates in the negotiation of allocation.

Mr. T. has already offered the logical extreme: a subject which attracts more pupils when optional than a subject which was once compulsory, has some claim to be compulsory itself. More generally, recruitment rates can be used as relevant evidence in arguing for an improvement in one's subject's position in the allocation matrix. Who can argue with consumer numbers? The problem is, of course, that numbers are influenced, though not determined, by the organised form in which commodities are offered to consumers.

"SOME OPTIONS ARE PUT IN SEVERAL GROUPS ...

History is in three; geography was, but numbers were too small, so it went down to two.

HOW IS IT DECIDED HOW MANY GROUPS A SUBJECT GOES INTO?

Past experience; geography had had large numbers, so was given three. Scripture had died away, so couldn't be given more than one. Classics ... that seems to be dying too. In the past it's been in more than one group, but in terms of er cost er efficiency, it seems it will have to be in one in the future ..." (T 1.1)

The major determinants of the rate and "quality" of pupil recruitment are thus (1) the categories of pupils to whom a subject is offered; (2) the other subjects in its group and (3) the number of groups in which it is included. Thus it is not surprising that the classics teachers typically refer to "good" (or "strong") choices (i.e. preferred settings against other subjects), as opposed to "bad" or "weak" ones. The former fall into two categories. If subjects are offered to a narrow stratum of pupils (as for example the A band or, at school A, the top three streams) the classics teacher will hope for a setting against Art, Music or Religious Education, which regularly attract small numbers. If subjects are offered to a wide band of pupils, then the traditional stratified group is favoured; e.g. Latin Geography Woodwork. The hierarchy of Greek, German and Chemistry which AAA described in Chapter 4 is a variant of this; and the current location of Classical Studies exemplifies it too. At school A, as outlined above, it has become the 'residual bottom element' in a stratified group of options.

As the classics teachers at school A have discovered, the nature of the specific commodity they have to offer makes a considerable difference to recruitment rates. This can be stressed by comparing the situation at school B, where traditional Latin is still taught (this school was outside the Swansea LEA area, and thus unaffected by the 'charter' of 1970). As B explained,

> "This year, the first year of reorganisation, we've had an unfortunate situation: last year they were given a Latin/crafts choice in form 2, and lots chose the latter, as you'd expect at that age. As a result we've still got three forms of 30 plus in form 2, but last year we were 800, now the school is 1900. (B 1.2)

It is not clear what status to assign to B's assumption that pupil preference for Crafts is predictable "at that age": he seems to be suggesting that the choice was 'unserious'. The conclusion he would himself draw is probably that Latin should

be compulsory for pupils of 12 and 13. Himself a strong supporter of Latin as a mind-training discipline, he believes that the pupils who chose Crafts in preference to it saw the former as "more appealing". In addition, even were he able to convince pupils of the sterner virtues of traditional Latin, that year he had no opportunity:

> "We're not always told why they're selected as options; in fact I didn't know until after the option had been given to boys in form 1 last year that there was such a thing. I don't know whether other people were but I wasn't. The first I knew was when boys started appearing saying "I've chosen Latin", I just happened to pass them in the corridor". (B 1.3)

At school B, then, any negotiation of the position of classics in the allocation system will have to be carried on with those who organise the option groups. But in this area, B expects only verbal support:

> "Lipservice is paid, "We think Latin should be done", but we've been cut down drastically over the last ten years or so. It was originally 4 periods in forms 1-3 then 5 in forms 4 and 5. The whole of the first year went out, that's about 160 periods gone. Then ... the head took ... from ... form 4 one of (the) periods ... this year the fifth form has also lost a period, though I told the head and deputy head that we'd never had less than five periods in form 5 ... so the tendency's clear". (B 1.2)

One could almost suspect an unholy alliance at school B: while the head offers lipservice in support of Classics while cutting down the time available to it, B himself seems to prefer to go down with a sinking ship rather than to try to keep it afloat on new terms.

B's attempt to justify existing timetable provision for classics by arguing that it had never been less in the past certainly smacks of dogmatism, defeatism or both. What arguments would he have offered to pupils in favour of their choosing Latin

> "... the forms were handed out fairly freely and filled in without much thought, so we may have lost people who ... we wouldn't have forced them but we would have explained the advantages". (B 1.3)

This comment is fairly representative of the statements of other classics teachers on this subject. The specialist teacher, as it suggests, interacts with pupils as recipients of culture transmitted by him as teacher, and as consumers of the commodity he offers on the curricular market.

The tension between these roles is felt acutely by classics teachers, precisely because the unproblematic flow of valued pupils to classics in the selective system (the emergent reason of A-stream pupils gravitated naturally to Latin, the paradigm of reason) has given them a "trained incapacity" for <u>selling</u> their knowledge. This is nicely revealed in a slip of A's tongue:

> "I've never felt the need er the desire to press a child to do Latin for instance or classics". (A 4.2)

A corollary of the belief that the pupil should be treated as a rational consumer is that his irrationalities should be left unchallenged. AAA was prepared to brand this "immoral" while admitting to practising it:

> "When you're discussing why one does Latin, and one kid says, I want to be a doctor, do you keep quiet ... I've certainly been immoral in that sense.
> The ones who choose Greek ... mostly they're good at Latin, and they know (well, I <u>tell</u> them!) that Greek works the same way". (AAA 5.1; 7.6)

This brings us to the final question to be considered: to what extent can the matrix itself be changed through argument? How can a classics teacher press for a change in the position of classics in the matrix, other than by invoking the high rate of pupil recruitment to classics?

Some of the teachers mentioned in interviews that in comprehensive schools, a wide range of subjects should be available to pupils. Here what they see as a defining feature of comprehensive education is invoked to support the claims of their own subject. On the other hand, none of them mentioned having advanced this kind of appeal in argument with colleagues or heads. A few generally-accepted views about the nature of curricular evaluation may offer purchase for argument. One has been mentioned by Mrs. D: when Latin was made optional, it was set against English, which she felt unable to claim was less available than Latin. At school C, the classics teacher has been able to invoke 'fairness' to protect a "strong" position for classics:

> "Latin versus Music, it's a strong choice, that's in the first year; it's the next choice ... that's destructive as it were. And I think I can keep the Latin/Music option because I have this very strong argument that I'm set against a major school subject, Geography, in the 3rd year". (C 1.5)

6.6. Conclusion

At school A, the classics teachers have rather little freedom of manoeuvre in negotiating the status of classics. Large areas of such negotiation are pre-empted by the stipulative definitions and technical possibilities identified on the 'back stage' - the organisation system. These particular teachers happen to have a benevolent despot within that system; though much of his benevolence is the result of his concern to avoid the embarrassment he would suffer if the classics teachers were grossly underemployed. Reliance on the concealed support from the backstage, however, is not likely to make for the more aggressive stance which might be necessary when a less benevolent despot succeeds him as headmaster.

On the curricular market, there seems to be grounds for optimism on the teachers' part. The Cambridge material,

whatever they themselves think of its abandonment of formal grammar, has attracted large numbers of pupils. Yet this also represents a source of anxiety. The affinity of commodity and consumer rests on the values of a world which is largely alien to these teachers. In the 1950s, to do your job conscientiously, both as a teacher and as a classics specialist, was for most of these teachers a pleasant burden. The context of activity and assumption within which they worked was that into which they had been socialised, and which their own special knowledge exemplified. The links between past and future, between the transmission of culture and the legitimate allocation of knowledge in schools - all these were direct and stable.

In the selective system of that period, the congruence of the future with the past was continually confirmed by the annual intake of pupils ready to conform with the system and its rules. The most eloquent lament for that lost time was given by Mrs. D. whose account of the "ideals" of the pupils of that time has already been quoted (Chapter 5, Section 4). She went on, however, to compare that situation with the present, and to identify the nature of the changes which had intervened.

> "When I came here in 1961, it was the ordinary, straightforward traditional Latin, you know? A hard grind and they seemed to enjoy it ..."
>
> (D 2.2)

The current nonselective intake, however, are of a different kind:

> "... it's not so much the teaching of classics I'd change, it's the pupil! We've done something to these children I think ... their values. And anything I say is going to be a criticism of everything the comprehensive system has produced. I'm a part of it, but a part that can't do anything about it ... It's all part of this dreadful thing we're in ... the teenage vandalism and all that ..."
>
> (D 4.2-3)

The future these pupils represent is far removed from the one D understands, and in which Latin was centrally located:

"Classicists have been recruited into the civil service ... to such a large extent ... I think it's that type of person it produces: a person who can think clearly, who's methodical, self-controlled ... Latin, as far as character-building is concerned is very valuable. But they don't like to discipline themselves mentally ... or physically, it's part of today".

(D 4.4)

As this stable world disappears, and new dominant values emerge, the 'rules of the game' in schools inevitably change. Knowledge, occupation and organisation rules become separate, and may conflict.

This separation is reflected in the 'moving apart' of school subjects whose teachers could once converse within a set of shared assumptions. For Mrs. D, these assumptions were those of grammar; and so in teaching the Cambridge course she feels that

"you've no terms of reference, you're lost ..."

(D 1.2)

But this is the area of her special knowledge, and so she feels able, at some cost, to contravene the principles embedded in the course:

"You have to feed some of the better girls grammar, and that makes you guilty ..."

(D 1.4)

On the other hand, she also teaches a CSE English group given her to fill her shrinking classics timetable; and here she feels unable to infringe the collegiate norms of teaching:

"... the CSE English group, they keep on making the same grammatical mistakes. I can't get them right somehow ... and it's entirely due to the fact that we don't teach grammar as such any more you see. But what are you to do, you can't sort of go against ... friends and teach it regardless? You know".

(D 5.1-2)

The roots of the complex changes during which Latin ceased to provide "terms of reference" can hardly be examined here in

any detail. Clearly the crisis of classics is part of that "crisis in the humanities" which was announced in the early 1960s after the alarms of Sputnik and the Cold War (3). In the very different climate of educational opinion of the USA, this generated a call for a "return to learning" and pressure for an emphasis on mental discipline in school curricula. (4) In the UK, the ideologues of English teaching, who had long proclaimed themselves the true guardians of the 'great tradition' of the humanities, prepared to step into the role left vacant by O level Latin. The Cambridge Examinations Syndicate produced a paper on the Use of English which, they said, "would be designed to test the candidate's powers of reasoning and use of language". The retiring senior chief HMI, Percy Wilson, warned English teachers that as classics disappeared from the leading schools,

> "science is already preparing to take its place, and will do so if English allows it". (5)

This kind of academic competition is reflected in the classic teachers' assumptions that pressure against classics generally emanates from "the scientists". But the wider changes, and the challenges which they face within their schools, go beyond this competition, which takes place within rules which they understand, and which derive from the academic market of the grammar school. The new rules of economic viability, organisational efficiency and 'relevance to the comprehensive ideal' are alien and separate. Their negotiating activity is therefore bound to follow the course of a weak participant, seeking to carry out defensive measures by sheltering behind rules he cannot challenge. (6)Their hopes must be pinned on recruitment in the curricular market. Classics thus seems to have a future; whether this is a future - or a 'classics' - to which they can feel any commitment, is another matter. Macneice at least had the satisfaction of certainty:

> "Goodbye now, Plato and Hegel,
> The shop is closing down;
> They don't want any philosopher-kings in England,
> There ain't no universals in this man's town".

The shop, for these teachers, is open; but both wares and customers are strange. They are in another man's town.

NOTES - CHAPTER 6.

1. The existing sociological literature in this area is very meagre. The tendency in the USA to equate 'curriculum' with 'bureaucratic requirement', commented on in Chapter 4 Section 3, obviously discourages the consideration of curricular provision as something constructed or negotiated. Parsons' explicit assumption that schools are simply channels for "virtually ascribed" expectations of post-school education (Parsons 1958:27) has, however, prompted an investigation by Cicourel & Kitsuse (1963) into the organised construction of pupil careers within the bureaucratic structure of schools. Their argument is that schools may act not as neutral channels for pre-existing ambition, but as allocative mechanisms which direct pupils to college or elsewhere. The content of curricula, however, is only mentioned incidentally in distinguishing the "college preparatory" from other curricula; much as the Manchester project in this country (Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Lambart 1970) stressed the dichotomy of academic and nonacademic without investigating the content of the academic ideology or of academic subjects.

The same dichotomy is employed by Heyns (1971 and 1974), who investigated the systems of tracking (i.e. allocation of pupils to different curricula) in nearly fifty high schools. Her methodology is largely statistical, and she has little faith in Cicourel and Kitsuse's "provocative assertions" (Heyns 1971:23; 1974:1436-7). Her own conclusions are that class and race do not influence tracking except insofar as they are mediated by tests of verbal achievement (1974:1449). This is, of course, a large exception, as Cicourel and his students demonstrated in their study of the processes of linguistic interaction which generate the 'objective test scores' employed as a basis for pupil placement (Cicourel et al 1974). The constructed nature of such scores is demonstrated in this work, but the implications, and relationships with the organisation structure of schools, are left undeveloped. Woods' recent study of the realities underlying the "myth of subject choice" (Woods 1976) takes us further in this direction. This article reports research into choice in a secondary modern school, and complements the present research by dealing with interaction between teachers, pupils and parents, rather than between teachers and their colleagues. The focus on the academic/nonacademic dichotomy reappears here, and differences between teachers with respect to subject content and ideology are not discussed.

It may be, of course, that such differences hardly exist in the milieux in which Woods' research was conducted (as in the case of girls' grammar schools, discussed in Chapter 4, on the fringe of the academic ethos the academic/nonacademic dichotomy may dominate other distinctions). Yet it has to be remembered that the academic market typically conceals its own symbolic base. Perhaps what Woods does not discuss is what Bernstein took for granted: the "ideological basis of collectionism".

2. . . quoted by F. Parkin, Class inequality and political order, Paladin 1972:171. On the cultural apparatus, see C.W. Mills' essay of that name, reprinted in his Power politics and people, OUP 1974:405ff.

3. See J.H. Plumb ed. Crisis in the humanities Penguin 1964

4. See, e.g. W.B. Kolesnik, Mental discipline in modern education Wisconsin UP 1958

5. P. Wilson, Views and prospects from Curzon Street Blackwell 1961.

6. The teachers are, in Mannheim's terms (1972:49ff), used to arguing within a single 'total ideology', and thus to concentrating on 'partial ideology'; that is, engaging in argument within a framework which is taken for granted.

The linkage between the 'rules of the game' and the identity (including self-image) of participants is also central to the interactionist sociology of professions based on Mead's version of the Hegelian dialectic. Mead characterised the fundamental difference between his own and Hegel's views as follows:

> "In so far as the individual can fit himself into the acts of all, ... there is a unity. Individuals have different functions as they play different parts. That structure Hegel does not present, but rather the situation in which the individual objects to the way in which the game is played; he wants other individuals to use different rules played in a different way".
>
> (The philosophy of the act, Chicago UP 1938:656)

This tendency to analyse membership, rather than challenge, is reflected in the interactionist emphasis on professionalisation: the process of becoming a professional. However, this has been transcended in the 'institutional ethnography' of Strauss et al (1963, 1964) and Bucher (1961, 1962). The latter's pathologists, torn between the conceptions of their work as 'science' and 'medicine', offer, in fact, an interesting parallel case to the classics teachers.

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