Volume 1

TEACHERS' TACIT KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF CHILDREN'S MORAL LEARNING

A comparative study of teachers in three schools with different perspectives

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A thesis submitted to
The University of Gloucestershire
in accordance with the requirements of the degree of
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in the Faculty of Education, Humanities and Sciences

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ABSTRACT

Tessa Julia Lovemore - Teachers' tacit knowledge and understanding of children's moral learning: a comparative study of teachers in three schools with different perspectives.

The study focuses on 9 teachers teaching pupils aged between 12 and 18 years of age at the turn of the twenty first century in three schools; a Technology College for boys, a Rudolf Steiner-Waldorf School, and an Islamic School for girls.

Starting from the premise that teachers may express different views to what they do in practice, qualitative methods of close examination (through interviews and observations) were used to explore the influence of ethos of the different schools on the teachers' expressed knowledge and behaviour, and sought to identify relationships between the models of learning and the models of moral learning teachers expressed in interviews, and implied in their interactions with children. The methodology highlights the qualitative perspective of 'the researcher as an instrument of the research', and 'gaining closeness' to the subjects and the data; and demonstrates how closeness and triangulation ensures the trustworthiness of qualitative research of this nature. The analysis is grounded in the research through themes arising from the data; and three fields of knowledge (e.g. theory and research on learning processes, philosophical perspectives of morality, and theory and research of moral development) inform the models of teachers' understanding identified from the implicit values or philosophical perspectives that they expressed verbally or implied by their behaviour.

In general teachers expressed more eclectic views of learning processes and moral learning than they appeared to use in practice. Furthermore, some teachers may have been influenced towards mainly behaviourist perspectives by the ethos of their schools, and their perceptions of respect for their roles. However, unique characteristics and personal tacit knowledge of how children learn and learn morally dominated teachers' actions in the way that they imparted knowledge and guided children morally.

Finally, the thesis acknowledges the personal journey of the researcher moving from positivist values and analytical methods involving quantifying qualitative data, to postmodern, constructivist and feminist values that emphasise the relationship between knowledge and context; and the validity of subjectivity and 'lived experience' as exploratory tools in research.

Declaration

I declare that the work in this thesis was carried out in accordance with the regulations of the University of Gloucestershire and is original except where indicated by specific reference in the text. No part of the thesis had been submitted as part of any other academic award. This thesis has not been presented to any other educational institution in the United Kingdom or overseas.

Any views expressed in this thesis are those of the author and in no way represent those of the University.

Signed

Date 12 April 2006

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Finally, I offer my grateful thanks to the subjects of this study - teachers, pupils and schools, for their hospitality and for granting me the opportunity to learn from their experiences of real life.

Dedication

I dedicate this work first to David Alexander Lovemore. I consider it a great privilege to have been a fellow lifelong learner through our separate and shared sufferings and joy.

This thesis is also dedicated to learning, and the unique human privilege of learning through others and their lives; in particular my children Andrew, Philip and Michael and those many children and people who have taught me what life is really about. Thus, I acknowledge with gratitude my own learning. For it has been that through real life that I have come to appreciate the wisdom of the Xhosa saying, 'Ubuntu ngumuntu ngabanja Bantu', 'People are people through other people'. For it is through real human experiences with people that I have discovered the real human and moral within myself - Tessabella.

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> Can you tell me, Socrates, whether virtue is acquired by teaching or by practice; or if neither by teaching nor by practice, then whether it comes to man by nature, or in what other way?
>
> Meno's question – Plato

1. Introduction

The intention of this chapter is to give a brief description of this study; also, to set it in context, and to explain how it may contribute to theories of how children learn morally.

I collected the data in this study prior to the Foot and Mouth epidemic in Britain, and the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York. Due to continuing problems with my health there has been a considerable delay in completing this thesis. Yet, as teachers' perceptions of moral values may have changed following the recent bomb attacks in London, aggressive action in Iraq and devastating natural disasters, this study may offer some insight into teachers' perspectives of morality and children's moral learning before these world events may have coloured their views. Thus, I will begin by describing the focus of the study.

1.1. The study

The study focuses on how some teachers of secondary age pupils understand how children learn morally. Their understanding may not be something that they express verbally, but rather by what they do and say when dealing with children in a variety of school situations. I intend to show evidence of their hidden or tacit belief, knowledge or understanding of how children learn, and learn morally, in the things they consistently say or do.

I will describe my journey as a researcher using qualitative research methodology, and explain why it became necessary to change aspects of my research design, and to use case studies of the teachers to provide evidence of the teachers' expressed and tacit understanding of how children learn; and discuss their perceptions of morality, and moral development. Thus, the thesis will draw from, and include discussions of the main theories of learning, philosophical perspectives of morality, and key studies of moral development.

In the next section I will give my reasons why this study excludes some related material.

1.2. Focussing on relevant literature for the research

I knew I was exposing myself to a plethora of literature and research when I set out to examine teachers' tacit knowledge, understanding or underlying beliefs as to how children learn or develop their morality. For morality, learning, understanding, beliefs and knowledge have been of prime interest to human beings since the beginnings of recorded history. So, as soon as I declared my interest in the above, all manner of people enthusiastically suggested areas of research they thought relevant. Consequently, before I had begun, the nature of the subject was revealed.

Teachers teaching, children learning and anything to do with morality is everybody's business. Simply mentioning teachers, morality, learning, knowledge, and beliefs and the range and extent of suggested avenues for research explode like rays off a child's drawing of the sun. Each noun and verb in my title seems to invoke volumes, filled with mystery and multiple meaning. Thus, my challenge has been to focus on relevance; and not every possible connection. Inevitably, many related or interesting aspects have been excluded, yet my aim of maintaining clarity may be met with what I have included. Clearly, three main areas of literature support my exploration:

- how children learn,
- morality,
- moral development.

However, some areas that may be related to the field have been excluded. For example, formal moral education programmes in the UK and elsewhere are not included. Also excluded are the specific moral educational programmes of the schools in the study, and those of their local educational authority (LEA). These exclusions are not only for reasons of keeping the thesis to a manageable size, but are because my research interest is focussed on a specific area; i.e. tacit or underlying knowledge that governs behaviour. In other words, I am interested in teachers' characteristics that may not be easily influenced by opinion, formal programmes, teacher education or training; or for that matter, the school's, LEA's or government's policy.

Furthermore, my research is not about testing for evidence of, or proving one point of view over another, but about gaining a deeper understanding of connections between the three main areas of literature and research in relation to how teachers understand how children learn morally.

Thus, where this study may contribute to knowledge is by focussing specifically on teachers as people; and how they may intentionally or unconsciously be involved in the complexities of children learning and developing their moral reasoning. For, teachers may or may not consciously choose to guide or influence their pupils morally; yet, by implication and society's expectations, it happens that teachers enter a domain of responsibility to educate children morally. Furthermore, teachers in this study may have been exposed to a perplexity of opinion on 'what educates children morally' and even on what morality might be.

From time to time new ideas and efforts have been made to avoid such a conundrum. For example, philosophers and researchers have tried to explain how children may learn morally. In most cases initiatives have tended to seek to arrive at formulas or programmes that offer one widely acceptable moral perspective in the general moral education of children. Furthermore, governments and educational bodies have backed moral imperatives to meet public demand for moral education. Yet, there has been a tendency to offer teachers quick fixes, and one-sided, oversimplified and moralistic moral education programmes (Stewart, 1976; Zigler, 1998).

In the next section I will briefly describe recent government initiatives that have tried to address the problem of children learning morally in school.

1.3. Statutory obligations for learning morally in school

The 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA, 1988, p1) declared that a National Curriculum would promote the 'spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society'. To achieve this aim, moral elements were included within cross-curricular Dimensions, Skills and Themes of the National Curriculum (National Curriculum Council, NCC, 1990; Tilley, 1991). For example, moral education was implicit in the Dimension of Personal and Social Development that embraced core and foundation subjects and Religious Education (RE).

Soon after I began this study a large programme described as Values Education, initiated under the Conservative government to facilitate spiritual, moral and cultural education across the curriculum (Schools Curriculum Assessment Authority - SCAA, 1996; Qualifications and Curriculum Authority - QCA, 1998a) was abandoned without explanation. The programme was announced in April 1998, along with guidance for schools on the introduction of the programme, and a commitment to report on government backed advisory groups on related topics of Citizenship, PSE and Creativity and Culture (QCA, 1998a). However, 5 months after this announcement the QCA published what they called an 'Update'; in a new format, with a new address for the QCA among other changes, and making no mention of values (QCA, 1998b). In this 'Update' Citizenship was described as 'high on the agenda' (QCA, 1998b; p.8); and in a simultaneous publication (QCA, 1998c) 'Citizenship and Democracy' appeared as desired values for UK education. In other words, the QCA made no excuse for the disappearance of the values theme, but claimed;

> ... Britain is now a culturally diverse society (and) our understanding of citizenship must include matters of national identity in a pluralist society (that must) include the European and global dimensions of citizenship.
>
> (QCA, 1998c, p.19)

Thus, since collecting my data for this study, Citizenship (previously a cross-curricular theme) has become part of the National Curriculum. For example, in September 2000 the National Curriculum introduced Citizenship as part of the guidelines for Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) at Key Stage 1 and 2 and since September 2002 Citizenship has been a statutory subject at Key stage 3 and 4 (Ofsted, 2003). However, Ofsted (2003) report that the introduction of Citizenship as a National Curriculum subject is unsatisfactory. The reasons being that the full implications of the subject have not been understood; in some cases not accepted; and training provided for key staff appears to have had little effect, and in some cases those attending training have been misinformed.

It is likely that teachers have been overwhelmed by changes in government policy, and their responsibilities for children's moral learning and/or development. Therefore, studies of teachers, and children's responses to them, may be more directly relevant to teachers than the development of grand schemes for moral education. More assuredly, a deeper understanding of how teachers give children moral guidance and how it relates to their personal understanding of how children learn morally may be invaluable to those who wish to ensure an effective moral education.

Some teachers in this study may have been aware of impending changes to the National Curriculum re Citizenship. However, as the initial announcement was simultaneous with my data collection they may not have had time to consider the implications.

However, this study will try to speak to some of the general issues regarding moral education that teachers face at the present time, as what appears to be missed each time a new idea for moral education is proposed, is that teachers will implement it. This means teachers may adapt and personalise what they teach; and how they teach may be influenced by what they believe and understand. In other words, teachers may teach or give moral guidance out of their beliefs, or personal knowledge and understanding of morality; or out of their own experiences of what was done to them. However, to discover what motivates teachers to behave in the way they do may be difficult. Therefore, in the next section I will briefly discuss why the concept of tacit knowledge underpins my research.

1.4. Tacit knowledge

In this study I depend on the concept of tacit knowledge, as motivation for action, to provide evidence of teachers' underlying notions of the ways children learn morally. For example, observing what teachers do and say while interacting with children may identify a level of consistency in each teacher's behaviour.

Polanyi (1958) maintains all actions stem from underlying, hidden, or tacit knowledge. As Zigler (1999, p.163) explains, tacit knowledge is, 'unarticulated, preconscious, personal belief' that 'forms the basis for human judgement and decision making.' Thus, when someone does something, his or her motivation for doing so may be hidden from an observer (or even from themselves). Furthermore, as many actions are automatic and not consciously controlled, when a person is not consciously trying to do something else, his or her behaviour may indicate an underlying motivation (i.e. a subconscious reason that motivates his or her actions). For example, Berlak and Berlak (1981) in the USA and Sharp and Green (1975) in the UK maintain that teachers' behaviour often contradicts the beliefs they express verbally. Therefore, teachers' behaviour may be a better measure of their underlying and personal beliefs than those they express verbally, or demonstrate occasionally (Elbaz, 1990).

Similarly, while teachers may express a perspective on morality or moral learning; and their views may or may not be congruent with the published educational philosophy of their schools, they may also express something that is specific to themselves. This something may not be what they intend to communicate, but what comes out of an examination of consistent issues in a variety of things that they say. In other words, their hidden understanding and motivations may be implicit in some of the things that they say, as well as in their informal interactions with children, and their teaching. Therefore, identifying elements of consistency in the things teachers say or do, may add to a general understanding of how teachers act (knowingly or unknowingly) as agents in children's moral learning.

Bearing in mind that my exploration is based on the concept of tacit knowledge underpinning teachers' behaviour, to interpret teachers' views, behaviour and hidden understanding the study will look for models of the ways teachers (knowingly or unknowingly) think or believe children learn to become morally responsible adults. To find these models I will:

- explore the literature concerning morality and the ways children learn;
- interview teachers and their pupils on their understanding of morality and learning; and
- carry out observations of teachers' and pupils' behaviour in and outside the classroom.

Thus, I intend to draw on both teachers' expressed and implicit knowledge and understanding of the ways children learn morally, to gain a wide and overall picture of the many models teachers may use to ensure that children learn and develop morally with reference to the literature. This is expressed in my research questions as follows:

- What expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally influence teachers' approaches to moral guidance?
- What expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles influence teachers' approaches to general teaching?
- How do teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally and teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles relate?

Thus, to arrive at the point where I will be able to look for relationships between teachers' tacit knowledge and understanding of the ways children learn and develop morally, the analysis will go through two stages;

- Identify the models of the ways children learn and develop morally in the literature that may make sense of teachers' teaching styles and behaviour.
- Look for commonalities between these models that appear to underpin teachers' approaches to teaching and moral guidance.

Having outlined the purpose of this investigation what follows is a brief explanation of how I intend to identify teachers' knowledge using qualitative methodology.

1.5. Exploring knowledge qualitatively

The nature of this investigation is exploratory. A wealth of theory generated in the last century (and to a certain extent the last two millennia) will inform me in my exploration of the different models teachers use to understand the ways children learn morally.

I will use qualitative methods to arrive at teachers' hidden or tacit knowledge and understanding based on interviews, observations reflection and reflexivity. For, as I will show, qualitative methods lend themselves to exploration and interpretation of unique situations such as those explored in this study. For example, I will not be seeking to test one theory against another or conduct experiments, or ask the teachers what theories they depend on; but I will explore experiences of the human beings involved (teachers, pupils and myself as the researcher). Therefore, I will be using a combination of qualitative methods of research to explore and compare the experiences of the human beings involved in this study with the aid of my case studies of nine teachers (three teachers in three different schools), and use existing theory drawn from the literature to interpret and develop new understanding.

In the next section I will briefly describe the background literature that I will use to explore teachers' knowledge and understanding of how children learn morally.

1.6. Literature background

Learning, and how it takes place, is fundamental to this study. However, the question of how children learn includes a plethora of hypotheses and diverse perspectives. Furthermore, the field of research into how children learn presents philosophical problems, as views tend to range from finding the 'truth' about the mechanics of learning; to defining the learner, and quantifying effective methods of learning. Thus, this exploration will draw from a wide range of views expressed in the literature to identify theory that may explain how the teachers in the study understand how children learn.

As I have explained, formal aspects of moral education are not addressed in this study, as the study focuses on moral values that may be implied informally. For example, the values teachers communicate through their subjects, their personal conduct and the way they treat pupils and adults, may educate children morally. Also, the way teachers discipline pupils or give advice may contribute to their pupils' moral learning. Another aspect of general or implicit moral education may come from the values the school holds and expresses through policies, the hidden curriculum, and its ethos (McNeil, 1999).

Much of the literature in this context tends to focus on identifying standards of morality, and teachers in this study may argue for what they believe is right or wrong. For example, morality may imply a human capacity to choose (or learn) to act in specific ways towards others or the environment, yet people tend to talk in terms of knowing the difference between right and wrong. However, a definition of this kind creates problems, as there appears to be no common moral standard or universal morality.

The word moral has its root in the Latin for 'custom' (Manser & Thomson, 1995) and may best be understood in relation to the beliefs and expectations of the groups and communities that agree to a set of standards in their behaviour. Thus, as with the research about how children learn, this study will not aim for an agreement of what moral, or right and wrong may be, but will try to highlight the different views held by the individuals and school communities in this study. In this way, philosophical perspectives of literature concerning morality and moral values may help to clarify the different perspectives of right and wrong or morality, held by the teachers in this study. Similarly, theories of moral development may help clarify what teachers believe has an effect on children's moral learning. Thus, the way I will approach a summary of the field of research into moral development, will be to illustrate a range of views of moral development, including studies of effects of social and cultural influences on moral development.

In other words, the fields of literature that support this exploration will be presented as views on how children may learn, and learn morally. This will include views of what the aim of learning morally may be to different people. Ultimately, this means that the way the study is conducted, and the way the data are collected and interpreted are likely to be influenced by a wide range of views, including my own. Equally, the study will include how the teachers themselves, and my experiences during the study affect me. The next section explains this further.

1.7. The researcher in the study

In a study such as this, aspects of myself are likely to have had some effect on the study and my conclusions. For example, in the previous section, I suggested that my views may be an integral part of the study. This implies that my background and my experiences during the study have had implications on my research.

Qualitative methods of research do not ignore, or deny the effects of the researcher on the research, or the effects of the research and subjects in the research on the researcher. For example, a PhD student said:

> ...all her learning during her research involved personal (including affective) and social (including moral and ethical) factors.
>
> (Hanrahan, Cooper, & Burroughs-Lange, 1999, p.403)

Thus, I will include how the research and the teachers in the study affected me, and reflect on how I may have affected the subjects and the research. For, close observation of the teachers in this study, and gaining closeness to them through intensive examination of their behaviour and opinions has had an affect on me, also, it is likely that my presence and the content of my questions will have had an effect on them.

Thus, this study may also be viewed as a project of personal development. This study has developed out of my experiences in education and particular interest in how children learn and the effects on children's learning. In over thirty years of experience in education I have taught adults and children of all age groups with a wide range of abilities. Ten years in school were taken up in extremely challenging work with emotionally and behaviourally disturbed children, where I had practical experience that no course could provide. For example, I have learnt that I could be guilty of preparing work that children simply did not understand, or that they were not interested in; or that they learnt what I had taught them and then applied it in some illogical way. Thus, I am deeply indebted to these pupils, for they accentuated the positive and negative effects of my abilities as a teacher; mainly because they tended to be beyond the politeness of other children, and could show up my shortcomings in alarming ways. More recently, my MEd., encompassing studies of children's behaviour, special educational needs, and education psychology, has given me the opportunity to expand my knowledge of children's behaviour; and focussed, and sometimes confirmed what I have learnt from the children I have taught.

Thus, overall, my personal experiences as a daughter, mother, teacher, lecturer, and counsellor have inspired my interest in what helps children learn morally, and ultimately how they become morally aware adults: an area of learning that seemed largely to be omitted from teacher training. Furthermore, I have been so inspired by the clarity with which study at Master's level could shed light on the interrelationships between learning and behaviour that I found myself drawn ever deeper into the study of children's behaviour. Thus, my teaching career and post-graduate studies have led me to a greater understanding of causes, preventions and interventions pertaining to children's learning, emotional, and behavioural problems; also where learning success, or the lack of it, is something to do with the teacher.

One other aspect of myself that ultimately has affected this thesis comes out of a long period of illness that led to long periods of deferment and extensions during the writing up of my thesis. The experience of illness and opportunity for reflection has changed me in many ways and affected my thoughts on many aspects of life; as well as my interest in morality and learning. While freshness may have been lost, I trust that during this period of time, a more reflective view may add to the quality of this study. In the final section that follows, I will give a brief outline of the thesis.

1.8. Outline of the thesis

I have introduced the study and placed it in context in this first chapter.

In **chapter 2** I will focus on theories of learning emerging from a century of experiment and deliberation. I will summarise the field to illustrate different aspects of learning, and different philosophical perspectives of learning processes.

The field concerning morality is equally extensive, and extends into many areas of knowledge. Furthermore, it offers accepted wisdom over millennia. Thus, in **chapter 3** I will present an overview of the field to illustrate some of the main positions on morality in historical and contemporary perspectives; and explain why I excluded moral arguments coming from religious perspectives.

In **chapter 4** I will discuss theories of moral development. I will also discuss how the contribution of science (e.g.) psychology may have added to philosophical perspectives. For example, studies of differences in moral development of different groups imply different moral values that may relate to genetic or social effects.

Chapter 5 explains my choice of research methods, and deals with the appropriateness of qualitative research in this instance. The chapter will include a full account of all the research decisions and methods selected for data collection and analysis. Here I will also explain that it became necessary to write case studies (included in the appendices) to support evidence of tacit knowledge. Furthermore, I will explain that these case studies serve to demonstrate aspects of qualitative research methodology gained from sustained examination, gaining closeness to the subjects, and the richness of narrative as evidence of trustworthiness. I will also acknowledge the influence I have had on the research, and describe the effects the research has had on me as a person, as well as a researcher.

In chapter 6 I will focus on the different perspectives of the schools. I will outline my reasons for describing the schools from the qualitative methodology of gaining closeness to the subjects; and give an account of my interpretation of implicit aims for pupils' moral learning and development, based on the evidence I found in the hidden curriculum or ethos of the schools.

In Chapter 7 I will introduce the teachers. I will demonstrate that by describing the teachers through themes arising from the data (e.g. my initial impressions, examples of what they said and did etc.), I was able to reflect the way that I came to know more about the teachers, and gain closeness to their hidden values.

Chapter 8 describes the teachers interacting with children. This discussion, using themes arising from the data and depending on the case studies for evidence, illustrates the methodology of gaining closeness; and serves to reveal their attitudes to children, teaching, learning, morality and discipline.

In chapter 9 I will discuss why teachers may be viewed as 'moral agents by the nature of their profession' (SCAA, 1995, p.9). For I will draw on the literature to illustrate perspectives and hidden knowledge the teachers in this study hold of how children learn morally. I will go on to examine the teachers' perspectives in relation to different philosophical perspectives.

The final chapter, 10, is a review of the research, methodology and findings. In it I will discuss the value of including teachers' own perspectives within a general understanding of moral education.

1.9. Summary

I have introduced the study and briefly described the purpose of this research. Furthermore, I have shown that although teachers' understanding of morality and moral development is the focus of this study, how children learn morally is the context; and the theory of 'tacit knowledge' is the key conceptual framework.

I have described how the background of accepted wisdom and research informs this project. I have also indicated that problems with universal agreement of moral values are inextricably linked to the diversity of studies on how morality is learned or taught. Thus, while it is unlikely that universal agreement may be reached on morality and how it is learned, it may be useful to examine factors not easily reached by government or educational policy. For example, something that comes with teachers, something that resists public expectation or educational policy. Namely, something appertaining to the person, not always obvious, but integral; also that which motivates and underlies teachers' instructions, interactions and the actions they may use in their formal and informal moral guidance of children. This thesis intends to focus on that 'something'.

The teachers, who speak through the study, show different perceptions of moral standards and values. They express different views and beliefs, and their schools appear different in their guiding ideologies and the style of education they provide. However, I will look for common ground between the literature, the teachers and the schools.

Thus, the originality of the thesis rests on drawing together discrete fields of research, ideology, and personal experience, as hitherto relationships between the tacit models of children's learning, moral learning, and development teachers use remain unexplored. Furthermore, the study offers insights into how teachers of children of secondary school age behaved prior to the relatively cataclysmic events of the last five years and the introduction of Citizenship as a statutory subject at Key stage 3 and 4 (Ofsted, 2003). In this way, this study intends to expand theoretical perspectives and contribute towards a greater understanding of the part teachers play in children's moral learning.

In the chapters that follow I will give brief summaries of the literature on learning, morality, moral development, and describe my chosen methods of research. This will be followed by exploration of the data; illustrated by descriptions of the schools, the individual teachers, and the teachers at work. Finally, I will summarise my findings and review the study.

Chapter 2 - How children learn

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Chapter 2 - How children learn

All men by nature, desire to know.
Aristotle.

2. **Introduction**

In the last chapter I introduced the study and gave an outline of the thesis. In this chapter I will briefly describe theories and studies related to learning; and look at morality and moral development in the following two chapters.

Since I will draw from information from three different fields of knowledge, the limited space within this thesis and the form of this study means that I will not present full and critical reviews of each field of literature in these chapters. However, in each chapter I will summarise theories and studies in order that I may draw on them when I discuss the teachers' perspectives in chapter 9.

Thus, mindful of the many perspectives teachers in this study may hold on how children learn morally, this chapter focuses on theories and studies that try to define how children learn.

I will begin by describing the field of research that has tried to explain and measure learning processes.

2.1. Learning explained

The last century has seen the field flooded by studies trying to explain something that cannot actually be observed (Riding & Cheema, 1991). While this chapter does not try to decipher and integrate all the literature on how children learn, I will attempt to illustrate the breadth and diversity of the research by using the pre-Socratic method of contrasting synthesis with analysis (the one and the many) suggested by Ernest (1995), to describe how researchers have tried to explain how children learn. Therefore, I will;

- Give a brief outline of the main studies that attempt to demonstrate how children learn;
- Use a model that attempts to synthesise the diversity of research to summarise the many studies of the ways children learn;
- Discuss philosophical perspectives that represent these theories and studies; and
- Suggest how this wide range of studies and theories of learning may be placed within a philosophical framework.

In the three following subsections, I will show how three schools of thought have tried to isolate and identify predictable processes of learning by analysing learning from distinct philosophical perspectives.

2.1.1. Behaviourism

Behaviourism rests on the assumption that stimuli cause learning (Davies, 1998). Skinner (1953) and Pavlov (1927) demonstrated processes of learning by showing that changes in behaviour take place in association with changes in conditions. Traditionally, food and electric shock have been used as stimuli in animal experiments. They show a dog will salivate when stimulated by conditions associated with food (Classical conditioning) and a pigeon or rat may learn to create the conditions (Operant or instrumental conditioning) that deliver food. Thus, in behaviourist terms punishment causes a reduction (weakening) of targeted behaviour; and praise/reward or a reduction of punishment, will encourage it; and the rate of learning, or intelligence of the subject, is measured by how long it takes the subject to 'learn'. In principle behaviourism assumes anything can be learned and repeated, regardless of the individual abilities or personal values of the learner; in other words, the content of whatever is learned could be useful or meaningless. In essence, behaviourism rests on the premise that behaviour is strengthened by;

- Positive Reinforcers – Rewards strengthen behaviour.
- Negative Reinforcers - Behaviour is weakened by, or removal of, or avoidance of punishers.

Thus, the main difference between behaviourist theories and others is that the effectiveness of sanctions and praise is attributed to an automatic orientation to reward. In other words, learning takes place as a result of automatic responses to reward, a promise of a reward, or the withdrawal (or avoidance) of a punishment.

Yet, on this point, critics' views of behaviourism are concerned with its practical application, moral limitations and relevance in human learning. For example, Tolman (1948) and others have objected to traditional behaviourism, as it only considers the actual process of learning single pieces of knowledge. Yet, learning may be latent or hidden; and elements of learning may be stored until further learning makes sense of the stored pieces of knowledge (Tolman, 1948). In addition, learning is neither dependent on reinforcement, nor demonstrated by behaviour (Bandura, 1974; Glasser, 1996).

Bandura (1977) claims reinforcement is informative, and therefore motivational not mechanistic. Furthermore, Kohn (1993) maintains the reward/punishment system is most likely to create resistance to learning; and Seligman (1974; 1975) demonstrates that repeated use of punishment causes a breakdown of learning ability; even to the point that it causes failure to learn (Learned Helplessness).

Yet, regardless of a great deal of sound criticism, behaviourism continues to hold some authority, as it seems to underpin general behaviour, and pervade many aspects of psychology (Davies, 1998; Littledyke, 1998).

Thus, it may be that behaviourism has a place in a wider perspective of the ways children learn. For example, behaviourism may focus on a starting point or natural/biological basis of a more complex learning process as indicated by Vygotsky and Gagné. For instance, Vygotsky (1929/1994) suggests that the responses in humans are different from those of animals due to social and cultural learning, and Gagné (1974) maintains 8 qualitatively different processes describe the developmental complexity of the learning process; and that 6 subsequent processes of learning build onto classic, and operant conditioning (see Gagné's 8 learning processes in 2.1.3. and figure 2.1.). Furthermore, research into effects on learning and learning styles (see section 2.3.) confirms that the ways children learn may be more complex than a behaviourist point of view would suggest. Therefore, as social learning theories are generally seen as stemming from dissatisfaction with behaviourism (von Glasersfeld, 1995), the following subsection on social learning theory includes some objections to behaviourism.

2.1.2. Social Learning Theories

I will discuss social learning theories that led the way for research into social and cultural effects on learning.

Bandura (1973) objects to the mechanics of behaviourism. For example, he explains that 'learning by example' or by the way children imitate a range of behaviours (modelling), proves that they do this without promises of rewards or threats of punishment

(Bandura, 1974). For example, modelling explains why children learn antisocial habits, such as aggression (Bandura, 1973). He suggests reinforcement is seen to motivate learning because the learner thinks about it (Bandura, 1974). Furthermore, behaviourism cannot explain novel behaviour, as an orientation towards learning is indicated by the fact that children imitate the behaviours they observe (Bandura, 1977).

Criticising Pavlov's behaviourist theory Vygotsky (1929/1994) suggests there are two levels of learning, a natural biological learning and cultural transformations of nature. For, like Gagné, he does not totally reject behaviourism but adds to it. For example, he describes a transitory role in children's learning processes of mental associations between stimulus and reaction. In experiments of mental associations between learning and reaction Vygotsky (1929/1994) found that during the process of a concept being learned mental associations diminish; and later a reaction occurs automatically after stimulus. Thus, initially learning involves mental associations; and over time a response becomes automatic.

However, Vygotsky's main contribution to understanding learning is the social dimension of learning. He claims learning is a product of language (1934/1965). For example, language has within it cultural concepts in the way that it is formed and the way it is used; also, by the fact that children use abstract forms of grammar before they understand the meanings of these forms (Vygotsky, 1929/1994; 1934/1965). Piaget (1955), on the other hand, claimed language to be an indicator of learning, as it reveals the content of cognitive processes. For example, children may learn words that can only be used appropriately when they understand the concept, a view also expressed by Pinker (1994) and Chomsky (2000). Thus, Vygotsky and Piaget maintain that learning occurs as a result of an orientation in humans towards other humans. It is this view that places them among pioneers in social learning theories. However, as they also describe developmental processes associated with language development and human learning behaviour, their theories include another perspective, namely developmentalism. Accordingly, the following subsection shows that theories identifying stages of development in learning do not necessarily preclude social learning theories.

2.1.3. Developmentalism

In the previous subsection I discussed Piaget's and Vygotsky's perspectives of social learning. However, they have also contributed towards theories of developmentalism by claiming that intelligence and styles of learning change over time.

Like behaviourism, developmentalism has tried to explain learning by describing what takes place between 'not knowing' and 'knowing'. For example, Vygotsky (1978) describes a 'zone of proximal development' where learning takes place. Thus, through social interaction, learning from others takes place by 1. imitation, 2. suggestions, and 3. leading questions; this he calls scaffolding.

However, he maintains children begin learning from natural understanding. For example, they;

- naturally understand quantity before they learn to count;
- they imitate and recite numbers before they successfully count out on their fingers; and
- sometime later they dispense with the use of fingers.

Thus, children may learn the names of things before they learn what the names mean and how to use the information. Therefore, Vygotsky's (1929/1994) three stages of the learning process span four stages of knowledge:

1. natural understanding - association
2. imitation - creating new associations
3. joining - connecting two parts
4. understanding - inner schemes

Piaget (1953, 1955) also describes intelligence developing through four stages; from motor activity to abstract thinking e.g.:

- motor actions (age 0 – 2yrs),
- intuitive (age 3 –7yrs),
- logical related to concrete (age 8 –10yrs)
- abstract thinking (age 12 – 15yrs).

Piaget's (1970) developmental stage theory (based on how children understand natural laws and social rules) describes a process of forming concepts (schemas) that can be changed or modified. In other words, something already learned can be replaced by something new by a process of adjustment, so that through a process of adjustment and integration (seeking new schemas) an early concept may be discarded for a new concept.

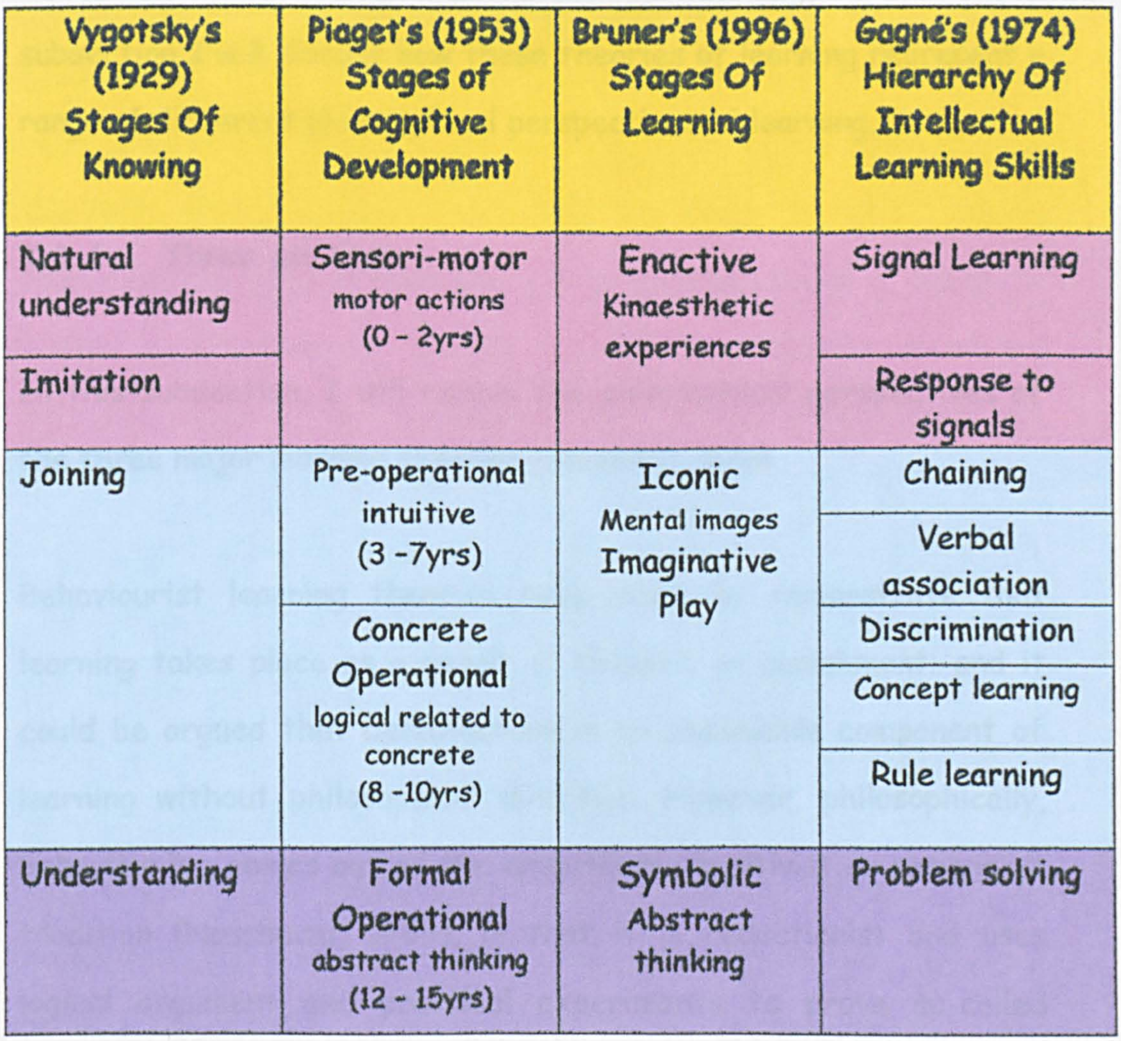
Bruner's (1966) theory of three stages of intelligence demonstrates a development of learning and knowledge initially expressed by action (Enactive), followed by an ability to imagine (Iconic), and culminating in abstract thinking (Symbolic), while, *Gagné's* (1974) theory describes 8 distinct steps in learning stages, with the previous stages being prerequisites for the following stages.

In **figure 2.1.** (overleaf) the difference in the contributions of developmental stage theorists appears to be their focus:

- Vygotsky (1929/1994) focuses on social interaction developing understanding;
- Piaget (1953) interprets changes in how children perceive natural and social rules in relation to stages in cognition;
- Bruner (1966) explains how children relate to, and use what they have learned, and
- *Gagné* (1974) focuses on distinct changes in learning processes.

To show their similarity and dissimilarity I have placed the theories discussed in this subsection in the following table (figure 2.1). Using colour and alignment I have tried to indicate similarities between the theories. For example, aligning Vygotsky's, Piaget's, and *Gagné's* theories with Bruner's stages of learning within a coloured band the theories show some similarity. However, reading down the table the numbers of stages differ, and describe different aspects of learning. Thus, with the exception of Vygotsky, whose development stage theory begins from a stage of natural understanding, reading across the table there appear to be similarities (denoted by coloured bands) between the theories. For example, stages of development within the coloured bands begin with an orientation towards action, followed by making connections between external stimuli and internal responses, culminating in internal cognitive processes.

Figure 2.1. Similar And Dissimilar Elements In Developmental Theories



Vygotsky's (1929) Stages Of Knowing	**Piaget's (1953) Stages of Cognitive Development**	**Bruner's (1996) Stages Of Learning**	**Gagné's (1974) Hierarchy Of Intellectual Learning Skills**
Natural understanding	Sensori-motor motor actions (0 – 2yrs)	Enactive Kinaesthetic experiences	Signal Learning
Imitation			Response to signals
Joining	Pre-operational intuitive (3 -7yrs)	Iconic Mental images Imaginative Play	Chaining
			Verbal association
	Concrete Operational logical related to concrete (8 -10yrs)		Discrimination
			Concept learning
			Rule learning
Understanding	Formal Operational abstract thinking (12 - 15yrs)	Symbolic Abstract thinking	Problem solving

While these developmentalists describe learning as interactive processes leading to internal cognitive processes, they demonstrate different positions with regard to the degree that they consider learning is socially constructed. For example, they all maintain that intrinsic processes determine developmental changes in cognitive ability; however they appear to say different things about the construction of knowledge. Yet, they all refer processes in learning, where stages of learning evolve and depend on previous stages.

As, the three schools of thought discussed in this section (behavioural, social learning, and developmental) seem to make different claims about the nature of learning, in the next subsection I will discuss how these theories of learning represent a range of different philosophical perspectives of learning.

2.1.4. Three positions

In this subsection, I will review the philosophical perspectives of the three major learning theories discussed above.

Behaviourist learning theories have tried to demonstrate that learning takes place as a result of rewards or punishment; and it could be argued that behaviourism is an undeniable component of learning without philosophical direction. However, philosophically, behaviourism comes out of the empiricist - positivist or rationalist tradition (Nussbaum, 1989), in that it is reductionist and uses logical argument and practical experiments to prove so-called 'truths'. Furthermore, behaviourism focuses on the ways that the nature of the learner determines learning processes, and also makes claims about intelligence and ability to learn.

However, learning processes viewed purely from a behaviourist perspective do not explain fully how children learn; and social learning theorists, in opposition to the philosophical basis of behaviourism, have argued that social life affects learning. Therefore, an aspect of social learning theory is that it clearly invites a philosophical debate.

Social learning theorists like Piaget and Vygotsky are often cited as pioneers in constructivist theories of learning (Confrey, 1995; von Glasersfeld, 1995), and their different or opposing theories have been used to discuss and unify constructivism in education (Cole & Wertsch, 1996). However, the different focus in their theories characterises two distinctions within constructivism - social or radical. In other words, learning is either the internalisation of the external (exogenic) or developed by the mind (endogenic) (Richards, 1995). This presents another dualist problem (Gergen, 1995) where social constructivism (exogenic) allows for a stable or given world, and radical constructivism (endogenic) claims intrinsic capabilities in the learner to interpret or construct a version of the world. This disagreement between constructivist views is bound up with how we perceive knowledge; and constructivism is inextricably linked with the problem of epistemology (the study of knowledge) or perceptions of knowledge. Thus, the difficulty comes from the basis on which we try to confirm knowledge (Nussbaum, 1989;

Gergen, 1995) and probably why a number of authors suggest constructivism is post-epistemological (Gergen, 1995; Richards, 1995; von Glasersfeld, 1995). Yet, most constructivists hold onto the importance of epistemology (Bauersfeld, 1995; Richards, 1995). For, it is constructivists who continue to point out this dualistic problem; as they try to draw the opposing sides together (Confrey, 1995; von Glasersfeld, 1995).

However, as I have indicated, Bandura (1973), Piaget (1953) and Vygotsky (1929/1994) describe three different views of social learning that could be integrated to create a general holistic view of social learning. Therefore, it may resolve the problem to go along with Newman, Griffin and Cole (1989) when they say cognitive change means that social (cultural) and individual (cognitive) constructions are intertwined. For example, as in Holism, first described by Smuts (1927), a bridge relates opposing theories. In other words, if we look at constructivism in holistic terms; and view the contribution of social learning theories as adding to the understanding of how children learn; it could be said that Piaget and Vygotsky have bridged the distance between social and cultural effects, behaviourism, and inherent cognitive stages of learning. For, there is no denying that children learn by imitation and cultural adaptation, and that language serves as a way that concepts can be learned, checked and confirmed (Pask, 1975).

Developmentalism also seems to stand in two positions. In so far as developmentalist theory (Vygotsky, 1929/1994; Piaget, 1953; Bruner, 1966; Gagné, 1974) rests on claims that there is an order or structure to learning it presents a positivist view. However, it could also be argued that Vygotsky and Piaget describe a view of ordered 'constructivism' as they focus on this order coming from social and cultural influences. In contrast Kelly's Construct Theory (1955/1991) or social constructivism, describes a random assimilation. For example, social constructivists like Kelly (1955) maintain all individuals construct entirely original versions of reality; and that knowledge is formed through random sequences of learning experiences, which may occur in any order at any time. For this reason, not all developmentalists can be viewed as constructivists; furthermore those that express constructivism seem to do it by different degrees (Ernest, 1991). In fact, developmentalists appear to express views covering the distance between differing theories such as behaviourism (empiricist - positivist), social learning theories (of ordered constructivism) and radical constructivism.

Theories describing three different learning processes, or domains of learning (discussed in the next section), like developmentalism also present degrees of positivist and constructivist views of the ways children learn.

2.2. Learning Gateways

Theories in this section focus on three different ways of learning within the same learner. They appear to name the same characteristics; and also to have a strong resemblance to Socrates' three divisions of soul (Plato, in de Botton 1999). For example, Socrates' Spirited, Appertitive, and Rational souls reappear as learning through activity, affect and cognition. Bruner (1966) (described earlier as a developmentalist) in his stages of learning makes this distinction when he maintains the development of learning processes go through Enactive, Iconic and Symbolic stages.

Steiner (1909/1965) describes three constant soul natures, or faculties continually active within one person (willing, feeling, and thinking). However, he explains that these faculties appear in an immature form until the time when they develop fully during childhood; each over a period of 7 years e.g.;

- Willing – activity: ages 0 -7 yrs,
- Feeling – affect: ages: 7 -14 yrs, and
- Thinking – cognition: ages: 14 – 21 yrs.

Thus, while these soul natures play a part in learning at all ages, Steiner (1909/1965) explains children learn best and benefit most if the ways they are taught focus on methods appropriate for their age, as this will ensure that each faculty or soul nature, is fully developed. For example, focusing on activity in the early years will enable children to draw on willpower to overcome challenges in later life.

Bloom's Taxonomy (1956) of learning domains describes learning as three distinct skills or point of entry for learning where specific skills relate to specific activities. For example, learners may demonstrate more skill in one point of entry, and therefore demonstrate more ability in that domain. The domains and concomitant skills or abilities briefly are;

- Cognitive - recall, comprehension, application of concepts, analysis, synthesis to establish meaning, and evaluation;
- Affective - attitudes to learning such as willingness to notice phenomena, valuing, adapting to values, and characterisation (generalising and integrating a personal philosophy); and
- Psychomotor - physical and perceptual abilities.

Extending Bloom's Taxonomy, Seagal and Horne (1997) describe nine ways learners prefer to learn. For example, they maintain learners learn best through one domain (renamed as mental, emotional or physical), or they depend mainly on one domain and lean towards another. So that learners may be one of nine types, and prefer specific ways of learning by doubling the label learners demonstrate a dominant dependency on learning by either cognitive, affective or psychomotor skill. Combining two labels, for example, a Physical - emotional learner may prefer learning through drama. Seagal and Horne (1999) research demonstrates that there is no correlation between a learner's 'personal dynamic' and age, race, gender, or ethnicity; however they claim five types appear to predominate in western cultures and two of them in the Far East.

While Steiner, Bloom, Seagal and Horne, and Bruner appear to identify three of the same human capacities, they differ in many ways. For example, Bruner (1966) describes stages of learning; Steiner (1909/1965) describes stages of learning that each develop over 7 years overlaying an intrinsic tripartite whole; Bloom and his associates (Bloom, 1956; 1964; Harrow, 1972; Simpson, 1972; Krathwohl, Bloom and Bertram, 1973) describe innate processes in three separate domains; and Seagal and Horne (1997; 1999) use combinations of three domains to describe nine learning styles. Thus, from the same concept (tripartite soul or tri-domain capacity for learning), Bloom, Bruner, Seagal and Horne, and Steiner present different philosophical perspectives.

In this instance, Bruner and Steiner describe a developmentalist view of learning processes. However, as Steiner combines developmental stages with three constant soul natures, by implication he presents a holistic perspective of the ways children learn. Bloom presents a constructivist view of a positivist concept, by relating traditionally accepted learning domains to educational objectives and teaching methods. However, Seagal and Horne appear to present a positivist view (e.g. a tripartite nature is unquestioned) and then use a constructivist methodology to test its validity.

However, what these theories appear to have in common is that their discrete perspectives point to ways of adapting teaching to how children learn. Furthermore, they appear to have the same perception of human abilities in common. In other words their perception of how children learn starts from a perception of three gateways to learning. However, Seagal and Horne may have moved away from this position by reflecting a change in popular views of the ways children learn by focussing on learning styles.

In the next section I will show that learning style research has moved away from research into how children learn to how children learn best when the way they are taught is adapted to evidentiary ways that they prefer to learn.

2.3. Styles, strategies, preferences

Towards the end of the last century research relating to how children learn best proliferated. For example, Kearsley (2005) lists over 50 research-based theories on learning processes and learning styles. However, such a wealth of literature may be a disadvantage in understanding or evaluating the practicability of individual theories among so many. Furthermore, as some theories appear to describe the same things in different terminology and others appear to be vastly different, there are likely to be problems categorising studies by model, type, or process, in order to evaluate them. Yet, Curry (1983; 1987), Keefe (1998), Riding and Rayner (1998), Riding and Cheema (1991) maintain categorising and listing theories relating to learning processes and styles will help to clarify the terms and the different types of study. For example, Curry (1983; 1987), Keefe (1998), Riding and Rayner (1998), Riding and Cheema (1991) have each published comprehensive frameworks of different learning style theories. Yet, these frameworks or models appear to examine a divergence of studies of different types of intelligence, cognitive style, learning styles, and taxonomies of learning from different points of view.

Keefe's (1987) model categorises research areas of learning in cognitive, affective and physiological domains. For example, studies are listed by what is studied, e.g.;

- Cognitive - Learning Style Preferences, Memory, Attention;
- Affective - Self-Esteem, Motivation, Persistence
- Physiological - Activity, Time, Habits, Health, Gender

Schmeck's (1988) model appears to identify the same domains relating to cognition, affect, and action. However, as he categorises studies by methodology he focuses on neurological, experiential and behavioural processes. For example, Schmeck's (1988) model categorises studies by evidence of;

- structure of learning development - Neurological
- motivation - Experiential
- observable changes - Behavioural

Keefe's framework of learning style research (Keefe, 1987, 1991) has led to a number of all-inclusive manuals for teachers (Keefe & Monk, 1986; Keefe, 1987, 1988, 1991). Yet, Keefe (1987) and Schmeck (1988) do not include all research on learning styles; and although McLoughlin (1999) describes Riding and Cheema's (1991) painstaking review as comprehensive, there is some agreement that Curry's model (1983; 1987) makes sense of the complexity of learning style research (Riding & Cheema, 1991; McLoughlin, 1999).

Using the analogy of the learner being like an onion, Curry presented a model of three layers in 1983 (see figure 2.2.) and one of four layers in 1987 and 1991 (see figure 2.3.).

Figure 2.2. Curry's 1st onion model (1983)

Onion layers	Instructional preferences	Information processing	Personality types

Figure 2.3. Curry's 2nd onion model (1987;1991)

Onion layers	Instructional preferences	Social Interactional	Information processing	Personality types

In both models (1983, 1987, 1991) factors become more stable towards the middle of the onion; with Instructional Preferences in the outer layer and Personality Types in the middle. In other words, the 1987 model is expanded to include an added category of Social Interactional effects on learning. So, by allowing for more layers to be added Curry's model can grow to embrace previously excluded, or new areas of research. However, Curry does not argue the validity of research included in her categories (onion layers). In other words, she aims to include all related research into one synthesis of research in the field.

The main aspect that distinguishes Curry's models from others is that she includes all theories of learning, effects on learning and learning styles; while Keefe (1987) and Schmeck (1988) view the field exclusively from individual differences assigned to three categories of learning styles. Thus, Curry's model may outlive other attempts at clarification and synthesis of the field; not only for its epicurean interests, but because her model is useful in organising all literature on learning.

Accordingly, with the aid of Curry's Onion models I will briefly describe differences that different areas of research identify in learners in the following subsections.

2.3.1. Instructional preferences

As studies on instructional preferences are mainly attributed to Dunn and Dunn, this subsection focuses on their research.

Curry (1987) maintains Rita Dunn and colleagues have led the field by the number of studies they have published. Students are reported to have 75% improvement in learning after being accommodated for learning style (Dunn, Griggs, Olson, Gorman & Beasley, 1995). The Learning Style Instrument (LSI) (Dunn, Dunn & Price, 1985) identifies 22 areas of preference for instruction. Subjects are asked to state preferred ways of learning by completing a questionnaire of statements.

For example;

I study best when it is quiet.
I concentrate best when I feel cool.
I try to finish what I start.
I hardly ever finish all my work.

However, as the LSI is based on categories of learning style research in areas of psychological, physical, sociological, emotional and environmental effects on learning, and depends on areas of learning style research that have been developed as single theories, the LSI may be better placed in Curry's Selecting And Processing Information categories (discussed in the next subsection) and related to their sources e.g. single theories. For example, Dunn and colleagues' research identify different ways of learning based on age, development, cultural and gender differences (Dunn, Cavanaugh, Eberle & Zenhausern, 1982; Dunn & Griggs, 1995), as well as distinctions between global/analyst, brain hemisphere orientation, and thinking tempo. Thus, their postmodern approach draws from (yet effectively avoids dealing with) other models of learning style research. Accordingly, the LSI is difficult to fit into any single category of Curry's Onion model, as it crosses over the broader domain of learning style research, and embraces more than one domain or aspect in its selection of areas for learning preferences.

In the next subsection I will draw on Dunn and colleagues' research when I discuss the field of research trying to explain why different learners select and process information differently.

2.3.2. Selecting and Processing Information

In this category of Curry's onion model Riding and Cheema (1991) have identified 30 cognitive style labels that describe 'the fundamental makeup of a person' (Riding & Rayner, 1998, p6).

Described as Holist-Serialist / Global-Analyst type theories they appear to be closely related to brain lateralization and split-brain theory (Sperry, 1969; Orstein & Thompson, 1984) or Left brain/Right Brain theories (McCarthy, 1996); and could be the same thing. Yet, there is little research to confirm this. The differences attributed to each side of the brain are well established (Ehrenwald, 1984). For example, cognition and skill predisposition demonstrate dominance of brain activity thus;

Left brain	Right brain
Abstract	Concrete
Linear	Holistic
Analytical	Intuitive
Rational	Artistic
Logical	Musical

According to Dunn (1993) the three psychological factors that influence the way learners select and process information defines their cognitive style. For example, a learner may favour one side of the brain; prefer learning about details before or after the full context, and grasp new ideas at different rates. Studies of this type describe two divergent ways of thinking and appear to describe similar attributes for each category, but under different terminology. For example, Wallach and Kogan (1965), Kogan (1976), Witkin, Moore, Goodenough and Cox (1977), Pask (1988), Schmeck (1988), Dunn, Dunn and Perrin (1994), Riding and Rayner (1998), and Felder (2002) use terms such as;

- Category and Breadth;
- Field dependent and Independent;

- Global/holistic and Focussed/detailed;
- Global and Analytic;
- Global and Articulated;
- Holistic and Articulated;
- Holistic and Atomistic;
- Holist and Serialist;
- Impulsive and Reflective;
- Sensors and Feelers.

The LSI (1984) pinpoints students' cognitive styles or personal styles of selecting and processing information by determining their orientation in the LSI items of Global/analytical, Hemisphericity (left/right brain), and Impulsive/reflective (thinking tempo) (Dunn, 1993). Testing variables against a global/analytic contrast Dunn, Cavanaugh, Eberle and Zenhausern (1982) found that global learners require regular intake (food and drink, chewing etc.) to concentrate, like frequent breaks, informal seating and low lighting while learning; and analytics are better at staying on task and tend to be more motivated (Cody, 1983). Their research also demonstrates that younger children tend to be global learners and become more analytic with age (Dunn & Dunn, 1992; Dunn & Dunn, 1993; Dunn, Dunn & Perrin 1994). However, the research does not make it clear what differences, if any, there may be between young global learners and adult global learners, as gifted and highly gifted students, and paradoxically underachievers, tend to be global learners too (Cody, 1983). Yet, this area of research may have an impact on gender studies, as recent research demonstrates differences in the ways males and females process information (Sommers, 2000). For example, Gurian (2001) found females are likely to be global learners, and right brain type thinkers.

Some researchers have described four categories of learning style by combining more than one dimension of difference into one theory. For example, Riding and Rayner (1998) define cognitive style by using a continuum of verbaliser/imager across an analytical/synthesising (holistic) continuum; and Good and Brophy (1986) use Kagan (1965) 'conceptual tempo' continuum across a field independent (global) and dependent (logical) continuum.

Mainemelis, Boyatzis & Kolb (2002) maintain Kolb's (1984) Experiential Learning Theory (ELT) distinguishes ELT from other learning theories where cognitive learning theories emphasize cognition over affect. To simplify Kolb's theory - learning is a continuous cycle of observing, thinking, feeling, and doing; learners tend to prefer one learning experience, and therefore are identified as Accommodators, Divergers, Convergers or Assimilators (Kolb, 1984). His theory has been imitated, marketed and reworked. For example, Honey and Mumford (1995) use terms Activists, Pragmatists, Reflectors and Theorists to describe types of learner; McCarthy's 4MAT System (1996) is used commercially; and publications of studies relating to Kolb's work are in the region of 1000 (Kolb, Mainemelis, & Boyatzis, 2000).

Other leading theories in this category of Curry's onion model include Gardner's Multiple Intelligences (1993), and Miller's Chunking (1956). Miller's (1956) theory (short term memory capacity e.g. learning is limited to 5 - 9 points in a chunk) focuses on limits of short-term memory in relation to learning, which translates easily to practical application (e.g. lesson plans or bullet points etc.). Gardiner's theory of eight types of intelligence (1993) is a call for inclusiveness, as it describes seven intelligences or capacities for learning. For example, learners may demonstrate different measures of language, logic, spatial, kinaesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal or natural intelligence.

Reviewing the range of theories in this section they appear to represent a dualist problem of positivist and constructivist philosophies. For example, Kolb, Gardner, and Holist-Serialist / Global-Analyst type theories attempt to place all learners in a fixed scheme. Yet, they differ from general positivist type philosophies in that they allow for more variety in learners and appear to match up to constructivist views as they claim to be derived from research.

While Dunn and colleagues make no claims about their reasons for selecting specific categories for their 22 elements, it appears that they base their categories on positivist type theory. Thus, research in this section could be viewed as representing a wide range of philosophical perspectives.

However, some studies clearly draw from positivist ideas of personality determining learning styles. For example, while Curry places Kolb's (1984) theory in her 'Selecting and Processing Information' layer it may be best placed in the innermost layer describing 'Personality Levels', as it clearly defines four types of learner, and appears remarkably similar to a number of personality and psychologically identified learning types. Kolb and colleagues (Conner & Hodgins, 2000; Kolb, Mainemelis, & Boyatzis, 2000 maintain ELT is a holistic model of the processes of learning and development based on what we know about learning that embraces constructivist, pragmatic and radical empiricist ideas. Furthermore, they maintain it includes a number of ideas, including Piaget's theory of cognitive development, Lewin's social psychology, and Dewey's pragmatism. However, theories in this category of Curry's onion model tend to follow positivist claims of truth; and Greenaway (2002) suggests Kolb's ELT is clearly positivist.

Thus, in the next subsection, I will discuss research that appears under Curry's onion model's designation of theories that focus on personality differences that are stable, and unlikely to change.

2.3.3. Personality and Learning Style

This area of learning style research appears to invite the least comment in summaries of the field. This may be that they are less popular as they seem reminiscent of ancient Greek descriptions of personality by Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle.

Strictly speaking Steiner's (1908/1980) description of four temperaments does not belong in this category of personality and learning style research, as it is not based on research in the accepted sense. However, as three teachers in this study may be familiar with Steiner's view, I have included his description of the effects of temperament on children's learning. For example, Steiner (1908/1980) maintains melancholic children learn out of a natural sympathy for personalities who have suffered or experienced difficulties; sanguine children learn best when they can feel love for a personality (imaginary or real); phlegmatic children benefit from social interaction with their peers; and choleric children learn best from teachers they respect.

H.J. Eysenck's research (1947; 1967), reminiscent of the same ancient divisions of temperament e.g. phlegmatic, choleric, sanguine, and melancholic, demonstrates that temperament may determine conditionality. In other words, the way the learner reacts to people and information affects the way they learn. Eysenck bases his theory on his research of continua of extravert and introvert, and neurotic and stable traits (Eysenck 1947; 1967). Thus, he explains intersecting these two continua temperaments result in the four quarters. For example, within the melancholic quarter a person with strong traits in this direction is identified as moody, anxious, rigid, reserved, and unsociable; accordingly choleric (neurotic – extravert) is touchy, restless, aggressive, impulsive, active; sanguine (extravert - stable) is sociable, outgoing, responsive, carefree and a leader; and phlegmatic (stable - introvert) is calm, reliable, controlled, thoughtful and passive.

The Myers-Briggs Type indicator (Myers, 1978) of 16 personality types bears some resemblance to Eysenck's theory with four dimensions (extravert / introvert, sensing / intuition, thinking / feeling, judging / perceiving).

Felder and Silverman's (Felder, 1996) theory differs from others in this category, as its personalities fall into 5 categories described as;

- sensing/intuitive,
- visual/verbal,

- inductive/deductive,
- active/reflective and
- sequential/global.

Similarly, Thomas and Chess (1977) describe three temperaments that have long lasting effects on their relationships and learning as their temperament sets the ways parents and others treat them. For example, negative, positive or 'slow to warm up' responses of babies to new stimuli have an effect on the ways their carers respond and the ways carers treat them, affects their views of life. Yet, Kagen (1994) maintains only two behaviours in young children remain constant into adulthood e.g. inhibited and uninhibited.

Riding and Rayner (1998) claim that, having reviewed the field, the most reliable and valid method of establishing cognitive style, and the most appropriate combination of personality traits are derived from holist/analyst and verbalizer/imager intersecting continua. They criticise the validity of Witkin and Goodenough's (1981) field-dependence field-independence studies for validity for the reasons that their tests appear to have correct and incorrect answers, and also that the theory implies that field-independence is best. However, as Riding and Rayner's (1998) theory appears to revive old theories based on extrovert-introvert type models (verbalizer/imager), and intersecting them with two ways of learning (holist/analyst), other ways of determining personality may need to be disproved.

As I have shown in the previous subsections, the research in this category seems to present a range of philosophical positions ranging from positivism to constructivism. For example, studies or models that claim personality is demonstrated by predictable responses to learning based on temperament types, assume their models are based on universal truths; while studies that arrive at personality types from research on behaviour and stability describe a constructivist perspective. However, it could be argued that examples in this section tend towards the positivist end of a continuum of philosophical perspectives, with the result that they may have become less fashionable. However, their usefulness to education may be that they alert teachers to different learning styles (Keefe & Monk, 1986; Dunn et al., 1989; Riding and Rayner, 1998). For, personality and learning style research clearly demonstrates that children may respond in different ways to social factors based on their temperament traits.

In the next section I will give a brief description of some of the research and theory that has tried to show that social influences impact on the ability of learners and the quality of their learning.

2.4. Social Interactional factors

In this section I will discuss an area of research viewed as external effects on children's learning.

Curry's (1987, 1991) second (figure 2.3. page 42) model places Social Interactional effects between stable factors such as personality, selection and processing styles and less stable factors of instructional preference. Studies in the Social Interactional category include all social effects on learning such as social interaction, gender, culture, environment, background, poverty, school and teacher effects within learning style theory. However, some of these studies may best fit in different layers of her onion model dependent on their outcomes and stability. For example, gender and cultural studies tend to fall into two categories (biological differences and cultural bias) (Cook, 1993). Furthermore, factors affecting learning such as gender, ethnicity and cultural differences in cognitive style research are less well researched, as separating ability and ethnicity and gender from cultural influences may be unpopular.

However, studies of gender differences in relation to learning may need to distinguish between social and cultural influences, and ways of receiving and processing information. For example, Hess & Shipman (1965) found that differences attributed to cognitive styles in males and females were due to different experiences. Hyde, Fennema and Lamon (1990) pointed out that differences in cognitive style measured in critical areas that females find difficult relate to experience and expectations. On the other hand, Sommers (2000) suggests biological based research demonstrates genetic and neurological evidence for cognitive styles.

However, research is yet to uncover the extent to which social effects influence, and the way male and female learners think and learn, as cultural values, and specific behaviours usually attributed to gender stereotypes, may be inextricably linked to cognitive styles (Bar-Yam, 1991; Anderson, & Adams, 1992). For example, research shows teachers react more harshly towards boys and girls comply more readily, as they tend to seek rapport with their teachers (Upton, 1993, Sadker, 1999).

Furthermore, teachers may validate and reinforce stereotypical-gender based behaviour (Davies, 1984; Upton, 1993; Sadker, 1999; Keddie, 2003).

Studies in this category of Social Interactional effects indicate many children will remain disadvantaged in their access to learning (Feingold, 1975; Rutter, & Madge 1976; Crook, 1980; Brighouse, 1994; Hurst, 1994). For example, diet, poverty, ignorance, neglect and many forms of discrimination are so far reaching and difficult to change that they almost excuse the significant and detrimental effects on learning that they reveal (Sylva, 1994).

However, some studies in this category of Curry's onion model are uplifting because they offer potentially easy solutions. An example is research by Lawrence (1972) and James (1990) who found that children with spelling and reading problems made significant improvements when they received counselling at school: even greater improvements than those receiving remedial assistance. Lawrence (1972) and James (1990) maintain feelings of self-worth, self-esteem and physical conditions influence learning; and that counselling can be more remedial than traditional forms of intervention.

Maslow (1954/1970) has shown that the ability to learn is at risk when self-esteem is built on conditional affective messages and externally set goals; and learning cannot be separated from feelings of self-worth. He describes learning as a 'need' that only arises after underlying physical and psychological 'needs' have been met. Furthermore, feelings of self-worth and positive self-esteem give rise to a need to learn. This developmental 'hierarchy of needs' (Maslow, 1954/1970) determines motivation in a learner and explains why health and comfort, safety, feeling loved and a sense of self-worth, precede the motivation to learn. In other words:

- the motive to learn has an affective foundation; and
- learning leads to higher stages of development.

The view that motivation underpins learning and achievement has led to a move towards the promotion of unconditional praise and appreciating of the efforts pupils make in school (Canfield & Wells, 1976; Rogers, 1994); so much so, that Burns (1982) and Rogers (1994) say a teacher's role is to provide empathy. However, McNeil (1988) says that the bureaucratic control of a school may hinder positive student teacher relationships.

Even so, teachers may discriminate against some pupils because they have a view of an ideal pupil; and discriminate according to class, and gender (Keddie, 1971; Sharp & Green, 1975; Upton, 1993; Gurian, 2001). Thus, the role teachers play in self-esteem and learning may be insidious and difficult to detect. For example, Becker's Labelling Theory (1963) demonstrates that labels such as stupid, slow or difficult become associated with a pupil who is then stigmatised within a social setting. Furthermore, pupils are likely to behave as they are expected to behave e.g. Self-fulfilling Prophecy (Merton, 1948). Thus, the effects teachers have on the ways children learn, and are motivated to learn, may determine how they learn, or how their ability to learn is assessed. For example, Wright (2002), Blatchford, Burke, Farquar, Plewis and Tizard (1989) and Keddie (1971) describe ways that teachers exercise their power over pupils by streaming, labelling and holding negative expectations; also that pupils collude, and the whole school system supports such practices. For this reason, children from minority ethnic groups may be affected by teachers' views, as significant differences among ethnic groups are most likely due to cultural influences, and teachers may respond negatively towards culturally orientated behaviour. For example, Driver (1981) found that white teachers misread the body language of black students as insolence; and Fuller (1980; 1982; 1983) found that teachers misread black girls' physical mobility and ostensible nonchalance in the classroom as evidence for poor motivation and achievement.

Thus, too many decisions about children's learning ability are made on the assumption that children have fixed or unalterable limits for learning. Furthermore, the legacy of defining and measuring intelligence begun by Simon and Binet in 1905 and Wechsler in the 1940s (Richardson, 1990) may still be part of a teacher's understanding of children's ability to learn, and thus, what teachers think may cause some children to succeed and some to fail (Sylva, 1994). Yet, this effect can be used to advantage, for example, if the label or expectation is positive, the effects may have positive results. For example, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) found that teachers were able to improve their pupils' learning ability by expectations alone. Even though methodological flaws are held against this study (Snow, 1969), the evidence is strong in support of the effects that teachers have on children's learning and how well they learn (Good, 1987, Kuklinski & Weinstein, 2001).

Well-meaning teachers may lack skills. Kounin's (1970) explains that good teachers have 'withitness' (awareness of what was going on all around the room), use 'signals' (words such as 'right' or 'ready'); and 'successful teachers' demonstrated 'momentum' and 'smoothness' in successful management of their classes. Whereas pupils whose teachers give conflicting instructions (flip-flops), half an instruction (dangles), insert irrelevant information (thrusts), and distract pupils with events from outside the classroom (inappropriate stimuli) have more learning and behaviour problems in their classes. Thus, it is clear that teachers' teaching skills, techniques, behaviour and attitudes to children may have serious consequences for learners. Learning style research offers teachers' opportunities to broaden their views on the many ways children learn; and moves away from narrow views established by research on ability and intelligence (Grigerenko & Sternberg, 1995).

As learning style research demonstrates social effects on learners, much of the research in this layer of Curry's onion model stands firmly within constructivist and postmodern perspectives. Thus, in the next section I will review how learning style research has impacted on our understanding of how children learn.

2.5. Learning Style research

This chapter has tried to give an overview of theories looking at how children learn, how they may learn differently, and what may affect how they learn.

Since Allport first described cognitive style in 1937, learning style research has moved on to show connections between aptitude and personality, and social effects on learning. However, the plethora of literature in this field has made the task of assessing ability and learning potential more complex. Thus, I have briefly described how research has tried to explain the process of learning, and with the aid of Curry's onion model I have reviewed a wide range of research relating to how children learn.

While Curry's onion model categorises the research from different measures of stability, her model does not include broad categories such as Behaviourism, Social Learning Theories, Learning Domain Theories and Developmentalism. Thus, to complete the process of looking at the one and the many in this chapter I will attempt to place groups of the studies in a framework showing their link to philosophical ideals.

2.6. A philosophical framework

In this final section I will review some of the philosophical perspectives of the studies in this chapter by what appear implicit in their approach and results; and discuss how a philosophical framework may include all studies of how children learn.

Nussbaum (1989) suggests classifying philosophical differences by asking questions, and answering them to arrive at the different standpoints of different philosophers. I have adapted the framework to deal with my question, 'How do we find out how children learn?' to arrive at a philosophical perspective. The framework adapted from Nussbaum (1989, p.532) shows a vertical path of questioning and demonstrates differences between types of research horizontally (see figure 2.4. overleaf). The result is a left-right ordered continuum of philosophical views as suggested by Nussbaum (1989). Applying Nussbaum's question and answer technique, behaviourism appears to the extreme left of this framework; described by Skinner (1971) as positivist, reductionist and determinist in its view; and even as a doctrine by Kincaid (1996). From this perspective social learning theories, opposed to the philosophical standpoint of behaviourism and theories based on biological determinism, represent a wide range of constructivist views of learning (von Glasersfeld, 1995); and therefore should be placed on the right of Nussbaum's framework.

Figure 2.4. Philosophical standpoints based on Nussbaum's framework

<table>
<tr><td colspan="5">Question - How Do We Find Out How Children Learn?</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">By finding out the truth</td><td>By using judgement</td><td colspan="2">By popular opinion</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">through facts</td><td>by weighing up what has been published</td><td colspan="2">in agreement among professionals</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">On the assumption that</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Truth can be confirmed</td><td>Personal judgement is valid and reliable</td><td colspan="2">Nothing external can be confirmed therefore the internal is constructed</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Evidence is provided through</td></tr>
<tr><td>senses</td><td>logic</td><td>experience</td><td>senses</td><td>logic</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Method used</td></tr>
<tr><td>Empirical</td><td>Rational</td><td>Bridging
Inclusive</td><td colspan="2">Constructivist</td></tr>
<tr><td>Positivism
Reductionism</td><td>Realism
Rationalism</td><td>Holism</td><td>Social Constructivism</td><td>Radical Constructivism</td></tr>
</table>

However, there may be a number of problems with this technique, for among social learning theorists are pioneers such as Vygotsky, Bandura and Piaget whose views depend on seeking truth and empirical studies. For the same reasons, developmentalist theorists (including Vygotsky and Piaget) may appear in different positions along a continuum of philosophical perspectives based on how much their theories depend on biological changes or social interaction. A similar problem occurs when trying to place learning style research. For, while much of the field of learning style research tends towards the radical end of the continuum, when studies are evaluated separately they too seem to represent a range of philosophical perspectives. Thus, it may be that theories and theorists need to be evaluated independently to determine their unique philosophical perspectives and assess their position along such a continuum. For example, Ermarth (2000, p700) maintains a postmodernist view is that 'there is no common denominator' or answer to the problem of synthesising different theories. Thus, it may be necessary to take a postmodern view and place all studies and theories individually within a philosophical framework and not to try to group studies by their categories.

I will draw on this postmodern view as well as Nussbaum's framework in chapter 9 when I summarise the teachers' perspectives in relation to their understanding of how children learn and learn morally. Thus, in the following chapter I will discuss philosophical perspectives that underpin interpretations of morality.

Chapter 3 - Notions of Morality

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He who knows the good chooses good
Socrates

3. Introduction

In the last chapter I presented a summary of theories and research relating to processes and ways of learning, and effects on learning. This chapter focuses on philosophical perspectives concerning morality, and is the first of two chapters on two distinct areas in the field of morality. The following chapter concerns theories of how morality is learned or develops in children.

Morality is fundamental to many areas of human life; strongly linked with religion, law, relationships, behaviour, values, science, business and trade etc.. The literature is extensive, and therefore, while this chapter makes references to some of the contributors in the field, it focuses on the problem of a definition of morality; and not a full review or critique of contributors' work.

In order to present a background of knowledge from which I can explore teachers' perceptions of morality (and how they perceive it manifesting in children), I have chosen to focus on philosophical and psychological perspectives; and to deal with religious perspectives of morality from a philosophical perspective. Thus, this chapter will introduce and discuss;

- interpretations of morality; and
- concepts of good or right.

I will begin by discussing the problem of defining or describing morality.

3.1. Definitions of morality

To begin describing morality I looked for brief definitions. For example, my laptop dictionary defines morality as;

> standards of conduct that are accepted as right or proper; the rightness or wrongness of something as judged by accepted moral standards; a lesson in moral behaviour.
>
> (Microsoft ® Word, 2004).

The Chambers Combined Dictionary Thesaurus definition reads as;

> the quality of being right or wrong; behaviour in relation to accepted moral standards; a particular system of moral standards.
>
> (Manser & Thomson, 1995, p.810)

In the Cambridge Dictionary Of Philosophy Gert (1999, p.586) describes morality as;

> an informal public system applying to all rational persons governing behaviour that affects others with the aim of lessening evil or harm as its goal, and including what are commonly known as the moral rules, moral ideals, and moral virtues.

Thus, words selected to describe morality indicate the difficulty in describing morality. For example, when Socrates (Plato, in de Botton 1999) said morality is how we 'ought' to live he implied morality is self-evident (a priori) or an obligation following reasoning; whereas, the dictionary terms 'standards of conduct' or 'public system' imply conformity.

However, using words such as 'harm' we have an added problem. For, it is difficult to establish harm or to incorporate different interpretations of what constitutes harm. This problem is the same for words such as 'good', 'right', 'proper', 'wrong' and 'evil'; as all allude to something finite, or an underlying principle of truth that requires interpretation.

Hare (1963) said that the meaning of the moral words we use are secondary, as it is what people understand the words to mean that determines the meaning. For this reason, all moral terms have the potential for being ambiguous (Frankena, 1981) and people interpret moral terms according to what they believe. For example, people may say moral when they mean sexual to avoid embarrassment (Midgley, 1981), or right and good when they mean obedience to rules. Thus, the words people use and the way they use them may or may not lead to an understanding of what they believe about morality. Rachels (1995) explains that values determine perceptions of morality; and definitions of morality reflect beliefs. For example, if we believe there is no way of identifying a perfect or universal morality then we will use terms such as 'standards of conduct' or 'public system' and:

> If we believe that there is a God who has provided us with important moral information, then this will influence the ways we [describe morality].
>
> (Mouw, 2000, p. 756.)

However, perceptions of morality are likely to be influenced by popular thinking (Mouw, 2000), and popular thinking is subject to change, therefore morality may constantly require redefinition. Furthermore, constant redefinition may help to identify motives for proclaiming a certain morality. For, deciding how we may determine the origin or most appropriate way to examine morality may depend on a shared background, e.g. ethnicity, gender, age group, social class, and religious or non-religious affiliation.

The next section will introduce the idea that when examined from different perspectives, morality may be a different thing to different people.

3.2. Which morality

Engels (1894/1976) puts this section in context by asking:

> What morality is preached to us today? There is first Christian-feudal morality, inherited from past centuries of faith; and this again is divided, essentially, into Catholic and Protestant morality, each of which in turn has no lack of subdivisions, from Jesuit-Catholic and the Orthodox Protestant to the lax and enlightened morality. Which then is the true one?
>
> (p. 117)

Had Engels included other faiths and secular views of morality, his question may have troubled his readers even more. For, his egocentric European Christian standpoint fails to mention views beyond this perspective. Yet, literature on morality is largely dominated by references to the work and thoughts of philosophers and psychologists of the north western hemisphere; where major contributions in moral studies have come from middle Europe and

Britain, and latterly the United States of America. For example, except for translations of the ancient Greek and European philosophers, there is relatively little available in English that originates in the rest of the world; and when it does appear it tends to be mainly descriptive, informative or rhetorical. However, this northwest biased body of literature is vast, with few other subjects reaching such a high level of interest since the beginning of recorded history; for religion, science, politics, law, art, education and medicine all lay claim to some interest in morality.

Thus, I have chosen to examine morality from mainly philosophical and psychological perspectives. However, as the teachers in the study may believe religion is a more appropriate domain for morality, I will include a brief discussion of some of the ideas expressed about religion's part within morality.

3.3. Religion in morality

In this section I will argue that religion's contribution to understanding morality represents a view to its origins.

There is little doubt that religion has held a prominent position in determining moral codes (Mouw, 2000); as 'religion (even if primitive) is generally assumed to be in some sense moral' (Murdoch, 1992, p.487). However, the role and place of religion has been questioned for thousands of years. For example, Socrates was put to death for saying morality was the domain of human beings and not religion (de Botton, 1999); and since the Enlightenment religion has been thought of as 'the enemy of morality' (Mavrodes, 1986, p.487). Notably, Nietzsche's passionate antipathy for Aristotle, Kant, Jesuits, Methodism and the Salvation Army, led him to proclaim a new approach to morality based on what human beings want to become (MacIntyre, 1981).

Yet, there is no doubt that religion has a major role to play in the continuing moral debate. For example, religious or faith-based rules affect many aspects of life, such as the choice and preparation of food, care of animals, clothing, ablutions, toilet habits, marriage, sexual relationships, conduct, acts of charity and the meaning of life (Bell, 1992; Mitchell 1993). Furthermore, religious moral rules may have many social implications, as they tend to focus on aspects of everyday life such as health and social control (White, 1997). For example, the Jewish practice of abstinence from sexual intercourse during, and for seven days after the last day of menstruation (Margolina, 2002) is well timed with ovulation to ensure a pregnancy. However, some rules may have moved away from their original purpose. For example, rules concerning ablution such as Wudu in Islam (BBC Religion and Ethics, 2002) and Jewish Mikvah (Margolina, 2002), in their present forms appear as rituals of devotion. So, rules within religious groups that may have originated to protect health and survival may have become rules to be obeyed without question. Thus, in religious terms, specific practices may be described as right or wrong and may be judged as good or bad. For example, actions judged to be right or good in religious terms, tend to be referred back to a rule, law or command. In other words, since the moral code is attributed to God, the original reason may be lost. Such religious perspectives of right and good, where good is a product of obedience to a law or command; and right is the action that leads to the said good, are known as Divine Commandment Theory (Rachels, 1995).

It serves little purpose to argue whether Divine Commandment Theory is valid, as it is based on belief and not enquiry or debate. For, an argument based on belief places belief above reason; and any argument using reason can only succeed with people who value reason over belief. Socrates (Plato, in de Botton 1999) suggests both views may be true. For, after having asked Euthyphro the unsolvable question of where goodness originates, he suggests that the gods' approval of that which is good or holy is evidence of the good being part of the gods (Plato, in de Botton 1999). However, if good originates with God (or gods), as many believe, then followers need only obey, but if God (or gods) points to it, we may conclude that with or without commands from a higher authority human beings are free to make moral judgements themselves.

On a continuum of doctrinal and broad-minded religious views, there may be different degrees of obedience and freedom. However, in their extremes these views (doctrinal and philosophical) may oppose each other. Thus, Billington (1988) identifies a central problem with morality being doctrinal, i.e. morality is not automatically acquired by the acceptance of Divine Commandment Theory, as morality may be learned or developed either by innate qualities or external causes.

In the next section I will look at how some philosophers have tried to explain how morality comes about.

3.4. How then morality

Around 350BC Aristotle (translation, 1947) said moral character develops out of learning and the discovery of truth. Moral character (the seat of moral action) he said is achieved through observing the natural laws of the world. Aristotle says it is not possible to know this natural order unless through the senses; and disagrees with his teacher, Plato, who claimed truth and moral qualities, such as justice and virtue, exist first in ideas (Plato, in de Botton 1999).

The view that morality is constant and absolute (in ideas or the natural world) suggests a perfection that can be accessed by anyone. Kant, Plato, Socrates and Aristotle all refer to this perfection, yet describe different routes towards recognising it. For example, Socrates and Plato (Plato, in de Botton 1999), and Kant (1873/1967) claim morality is accessed through the mind; and Aristotle (translation, 1947) is specific saying morality is revealed in observing the perfect plan in nature. However, this may be the same thing.

Kant (1873/1967) maintains that by thinking about morality a person can begin to act morally. Thus, when Kant says 'an action done from duty derives its moral worth from the maxim by which it is determined' (Kant, 1873/1967, p.16), he is saying that morality is an act of conscience; and that the act can only be judged as moral when one knows the maxim or motto upon which the action is based. Thus, Kant holds the human being responsible for both morality and spirituality. For example, he assumes that everyone may come to universal maxims (rules to live by) by thinking about God; and he describes it as a duty and 'morally necessary to assume the existence of God' (Kant, 1873/1967, p222).

Therefore, Kant describes an approach to morality that depends on a developed character discovering categorical imperatives, such as 'never tell a lie' through reasoning. In other words, he says reasoning distinguishes right from wrong (sic), and that evil (sic) is a transgression of reasoning (Kant, 1873/1967). Kant's view of morality may be unusual in that he represents three positions that are usually kept separate;

- conscience and free will to act morally;
- morality is natural and therefore universal;
- morality is evidence of God's goodness.

The first two of these positions are similar to those expressed by Aristotle, and the first and last appear in line with Socrates and Plato. Therefore, Aristotle, Socrates, Plato and Kant demonstrate that the emphasis placed on different origins of morality, e.g.

autonomy, an external authority, or natural laws, determines interpretations of morality.

In the next section I will discuss philosophical positions on obedience or autonomy as preferred motives for moral action.

3.5. Autonomy or obedience

There is no doubt that when there is debate about the existence and participation of God or gods in moral codes, there are problems over the motives for moral action. Thus, in this section I will introduce the different approaches to morality described by philosophers as autonomy or obedience to an external authority. This is illustrated here by Durkheim's criticism of Kant's thesis on morality, and the motives for moral action attributed to them.

Approaches to understanding motives for moral action may result in a distinction between unquestioning obedience to an authority (duty), or to the value placed on autonomous morally developed characters (good). Durkheim (1925/1961) maintains the problem lies with the distinction between good and duty, and that when we perceive morality as duty it demands obedience to an external authority like a commanding God; and when we perceive morality as good, it is independent of God.

Perhaps Durkheim and others interpret Kant's idea of duty in a particular way (e.g. as the call for unquestioning obedience), yet

Kant (1797/1967) suggests humans are drawn to do their moral duty through autonomy. Furthermore, Durkheim's (1925/1961) criticism of Kant does not give credence to Kant's proviso on so-called moral acts that are not consciously moral. For Kant's (1797/1967) very point is that moral behaviour that is not consciously moral has the same value as unconscious immoral behaviour.

Thus, Kant believes morality is a product of reason, and that when a person is consciously immoral they were acting out of an error in their reasoning. Furthermore, the main difference between Kant and Durkheim's view is that Kant sees human beings as potentially moral through their own efforts (1797/1967), while Durkheim sees human potential for immorality that needs to be overcome (1925/1961). In other words, Durkheim asserts that morality is the overcoming of human nature, whereas, Kant sees morality as the attainment of human nature, e.g. reasoning.

Durkheim (1925/1961, p.124) said 'it is in submitting to rules and devoting' themselves to others that people become truly human; 'To do one's duty is always to serve some other living being' (p.217). Thus, Durkheim's idea of duty is to support an external authority or order, and Kant (1797/1967) describes duty arising out of reason, where human beings make the laws they feel an obligation to obey:

> Hence it follows that a person is subject to no other laws than those, which he (either alone or jointly with others) gives to himself.
>
> (Kant, 1797/1967, p.279)

Thus, Kant's concern is that morality may be dictated, or controlled without involving autonomy; and Durkheim objects to moral control coming from religious doctrine.

However, Rachels (1995, p.57) maintains believers may claim that their 'moral views are derived from their religious commitments', yet they are 'making up their minds about moral issues' and attributing them to scripture later. If this is so, then religion may inspire people to reflect on their moral codes; in the same way that environmental issues, social pressures and historical developments may influence the development of moral codes and moral theory (Littledyke, 1998).

Yet, what becomes clear is that, by whatever means, when trying to define morality we arrive at a central theme that has concerned philosophers of all times; that is whether morality is sourced in virtue, character, or obedience. For, virtue and character (goodness) is usually placed opposite duty and obligation; and while it is feasible to place most philosophers in either category it is less so in the case of Kant. Kant (1797/1967) appears to present a perspective on morality characterized by his view that it is everyone's duty to be worthy (through moral action) of the happiness that religion can bring. Thus, I will discuss Kant's unusual approach further in the next section.

In the next section I will clarify these distinctions as made in moral philosophy.

3.6. Approaches to morality

In the last section Kant and Durkheim represented a distinction made in the literature concerning views of morality. This distinction is sometimes described as deontic (relating to duty and obligation) versus aretaic (based on virtue or goodness) derived from the Greek words for right (deon) and goodness (aretê) (Sedley, 2000).

Deontic approaches have been labelled Kantian (Steutel, 1997). Kant describes a sense of duty that is self-imposed; and developed from refining conscience autonomously. For example, he maintains duty is a result of an obligation to one's own moral advancement and the happiness of others. Furthermore, morality need not be dependent on a religious view but can be explored independently to arrive at categorical imperatives (moral or religious rules, e.g. thou should not steal).

On the other hand, Durkheim (1925/1961), who rejects religion, claims that human beings should submit to moral codes determined by people in civic authority. For example, he focuses on a civic duty to the happiness of others, and not individual autonomy. Thus, Durkheim seems to present a deontic approach and Kant's approach is only deontic to a point in his description of duty and obligation to universal categorical imperatives. Thus, deontic approaches may be better labelled Durkheimian, for Durkheim (1925/1961) clearly stresses the importance of duty and obligation to an outside authority. Furthermore, he makes it clear that morality should be determined by the state, which to me makes him a 'deontist'.

However, views of morality from both deontic or aretaic perspectives assume something about what constitutes goodness, the rightness of rules, or imperatives/authority to be obeyed; and Kant and Durkheim illustrate the complexity of distinguishing between deontic and aretaic approaches. Which brings us to the next problem in moral studies and that which I will discuss in the next section, namely, how to identify what goodness or rightness may be.

3.7. Right and good

In this section I will discuss some philosophical perspectives on the concepts of good and right.

Many authors point out that the ancient Greeks described good as beautiful, while recently the trend has been towards a description of good based on wants and desires (Larmore, 1996). However, this distinction is not new as Aestheticism described good as perfection or beauty; and Epicureanism described good as pleasure, and evil as pain (Magee, 2001). For example, MacIntyre maintains that at the end of the nineteenth century Moore gave a new meaning to the word good by focussing on 'personal intercourse and the beautiful' (1981, p.15). However, common perceptions of good may have originated from when moral philosophy underwent a change of perception that led to the development of Utilitarianism (with the maxim the greatest good is equal to happiness for many), and Emotivism (the words we choose to describe good are emotive (MacIntyre, 1981). For, that which is good seems to be inextricably linked to motive, e.g. whether or not one needs to know good to do good (Danto, 1972); and whether good is only truly good when no reward is sought (Mavrodes, 1986). For example, MacIntyre (1981) and Durkheim (1925/1961) claim that good can be done unknowingly. Yet, Mackie (1977) and Foot (2002) claim good should be attributed to both the action and the product, as the one is linked to the other. Gaarder (1995) explains that Socrates and Plato said that knowing good is the motive for doing the right thing. Kant (1873/1967) also unites the nature of good to motive and action.

However, it is difficult to prove what is good. For example, Ayer, 1946) maintains it is a mistake to assume actions are right, or good by consensus. For, ultimately, when we call something good we project our own interest onto reality (Korsgaard, 2000). Thus, simply to assume one point of view is the most right or good, and that other cultures are uncivilized does not solve the problem. Here I am reminded of a problem facing the last indigenous Bushmen (Kalahari San) in Botswana, who have lived up until recently not knowing the concept of stealing or ownership; and are now being prevented from living as they would by those who consider them bad or primitive (Goddard, 2002).

Evidence of cultural differences in moral standards is likely to invite judgements of certain cultures and their reasons for moral actions. For example, not too long ago Eskimos offered their wives to their guests as a sign of hospitality (Rachels, 1995). In the present day Ethiopian girls of twelve years old or younger are still forced into arranged marriages (Unicef, 2001); and police in the UK are currently investigating over 100 so-called honour killings (Amnesty International, 2005).

Moral philosophers have considered this problem since the earliest times. Herodotus (c.485 - 425 cited in Rachels, 1995) gives an account of King Darius of Persia's moral lessons to the Greeks after he had learned that the Callatians (a tribe in India) out of respect ate the bodies of their dead. The Greeks in Darius' court were horrified at the thought of eating their deceased, while the Callatians were equally horrified at the thought of the Greek practice of cremation. Thus, history presents many examples of people having different moral practices and definitions of what is good. There are endless examples of people projecting their interests onto practices and calling them good or bad. Evidence of changing moral codes within religions and divisions within religions are a prime example of this. As Engels points out:

> The conceptions of good and evil have varied so much from nation to nation and from age to age that they have often been in direct contradiction with each other.
>
> (1894/1976, p.116-7)

So, good has been described in many ways ranging from a sublime perfection to simply useful (Raphael, 1981). Yet, good is clearly a word that indicates value and quality; and in this way it is synonymous with morality, and points to what human beings approve of and enjoy. The problem being that philosophy may try to determine the meaning of good, yet, be confronted with a broad range of interpretation (Williams, 1978). This may be because good is only the language we use to what we desire or value. Therefore, it is likely that the differences between conceptions of good originate with the differences between the people that hold different views.

A global view of moral philosophy has tried to identify the relativity of moral codes or standards (Carter, 1985). Therefore in the next section, I will introduce theories of Moral Relativism.

3.8. All relative

In this section, I will discuss the basis of a Relativist view.

A Relativist view of morality is one that the moral principles of a group are only valid internally. Philosophers observe this fact, however, they do not say that the morality within each culture is desirable, though, Lukes (1995) suggests it should be.

Relativism embraces two distinct views of morality. For example, Epistemological Relativism recognises the diversity of moral codes coming from the knowledge or belief of a group, and Cultural Relativism describes a group agreement without reference to their values or beliefs (Carter, 1985). However, a further distinction occurs. For example, Cultural and Personal Relativism oppose each other, as Cultural Relativism has groups cooperating and Personal Relativism is unique to individuals. In other words, Epistemological Relativism describes the external validity of Relativism; and comes down to Cultural Relativism on the one hand and Personal Relativism on the other where Epistemological Relativism serves as an umbrella term (Carter, 1985). An illustration of Carter's (1985) view of may look like this:

Figure 3.1

Representation of Carter's (1985) of Epistemological Relativism

Relativism
Morality is relative.
Epistemological Relativism
Each moral code is valid within its culture
Cultural Relativism and Personal Relativism
When in Rome do as the Romans do.
What you think is moral is moral for you.

Cultural and Personal Relativism draw parallels to Constructivism (2.1.4.); where perceptions of the world (personal constructs) are created by individuals, and that these views cannot be checked as they originate in individual people (Kelly, 1955/1991). Also, the dualist problem of Cultural Relativism or Personal Relativism is reminiscent of social Constructivism (exogenous) and Radical Constructivism (endogenous). For example, Cultural Relativism describes social constructions of morality and Personal Relativism describes the deliberations of an individual to interpret or construct a personal version of morality.

The difficulty is that Constructivist/Relativist approaches suggest that the fixing of moral codes may be arbitrary or accidental, without a process, or development, or reasons. This may be so; however, there must also be other elements involved otherwise differences in moral standards between cultures may have been greater than they are today.

Gergen (1995) and Nussbaum (1989) have said that these conflicting perceptions come from different perceptions of knowledge. However, Confrey (1995), von Glasersfeld (1995) and Wersch (1985) maintain the differences can be resolved, while Kohlberg (1984) is less optimistic saying Relativism is a philosophical doctrine closed to solutions.

Thus, problems with, or objections to, Cultural Relativism are based on a range of ethical, scientific or philosophical grounds. For example, Williams (1972) believes the term Cultural Relativism is an evasion of reality; and maintains that the observation of what takes place has been mistaken for a recommended practice, namely one of moral tolerance. Yet, where Relativism and Cultural Relativism may be appropriate or useful is when one group or culture has to make a moral judgement of the other; and a Cultural Relativist view may avoid the tendency to assume one's own moral code is superior to another.

As Lukes (1995) maintains Relativism's:

> reaction to moral diversity can serve as an antidote to the dangers of hasty and overbearing ethnocentrism and abstract rational moralizing.
>
> (p.179)

Thus, Relativism may be valuable in developing moral policy or codes. For it reflects what has developed out of the recognition of different moral values, and that to understand how it is constructed may lead to greater understanding. However, Relativism may not succeed in practice, solve problems between different groups or describe how relative moral codes develop. For example, the problem still remains whether the practice of Relativism can overcome differences between individuals, groups or cultures. This problem may stem from not recognising that morality is a social and emotional construct, for it is likely that all moral arguments are based on sentiment rather than logic or common sense. Hume may have understood this very well when convinced that morality is personally constructed he developed the theory of Subjectivism (Rachels, 1995). Therefore, in the next section, I will discuss how Subjectivism and Emotivism describe the construction of personal moral opinion and how it is communicated to others.

3.9. Feelings as motivational

In this section I will describe how Subjectivism and Emotivism explain the phenomena or origin and justification of moral codes.

By way of illustration, let me state the case of a moral code that claims that it is right, good or moral for a man to be married to more than one wife at a time. I do not agree. I recognise that my moral judgement is subject to my feelings. Yet, there are no facts other than local traditions or laws to prove that I am right in my feeling in this case; therefore I declare my subjectivity. For, it is my feelings about women's freedom to choose that lead me to decide it is wrong. However, there are many people, men and women, who state they feel it is morally right for a man to have more than one wife. Simple Subjectivism is a way of describing what happens, however, not a way of evaluating moral action, or of gaining agreement of good or bad, right or wrong (Rachels, 1995). Thus, Stevenson (1944) maintains Subjectivism does not adequately describe the way moral codes are agreed.

For this reason, Rachels (1995) maintains Emotivism is 'a superior theory because it' replaces Subjectivism with a model of 'how moral language works' (p.38). For example, when I say, 'More than one wife is humiliating and denigrates women', the words I use show my feelings and demonstrate my personal constructs of morality and immorality. In other words, the language I use communicates my feelings to others as if they are facts. Thus, because I believe women have equal rights to men, I presume equality is fact. Thus, Emotivism focuses on the words I use to convince my listener.

From this perspective all moral statements come from what the speaker wants the listener to conclude; and it goes without saying that theological claims and moral principles are most likely emotively communicated and concluded (Ayer, 1946). Emotivism also explains how 'the moral demands and social pressures' (Brezinka, 1988, p.83) persuade members of a group to accept a moral norm.

Yet, this is not an argument that theological or moral principles are randomly constructed; for there may be other factors that cause the emotive argument. For example, it may be that emotive statements are about facts (Stevenson, 1944). Thus, arguments here are difficult to prove. For, it matters not whether emotive statements are in the interests of others or ourselves, and on what basis morality is argued; for Emotivism simply claims it is the desired end result that motivates the argument. Thus, Emotivism describes a way of identifying the prime force in moral codes and the essential ideal of a moral philosophy (Raphael, 1981). Furthermore, Emotivism may be compatible with a wide range of moral perspectives that express teleological reasoning (Ends - action in relation to causes) as the aim and product of morality rather than deontological reasoning, which is concerned with the integrity of the act or its orientation e.g. Utilitarianism (see next section).

In today's language Ends are implied in values. For example, Utilitarianism describes a perspective of teleological reasoning (Ends or values). Thus, when I discuss values in the next section I will introduce Utilitarianism, and discuss the move towards the notion of values being the core of moral philosophy in contemporary thinking.

3.10. Utilitarian values

In this section Utilitarianism is discussed from the point of view that it may have become the dominant British value underlying contemporary western arguments in moral philosophy along with theories of Relativism and Emotivism.

Hill (1991, p.4) describes values as more than belief or feeling, but something that has 'special priority or worth', 'by which (we) tend to order our lives'. Take for example values of fairness and equal opportunity to happiness. These have their roots in Utilitarianism (Magee, 2001). Utilitarianism offers a maxim from which to make judgements. First voiced in the early 18th century Utilitarianism established a new value, namely happiness for many, or inflicting the least harm (Magee, 2001). The maxim (the greatest good of the greatest number) has been taken up by legal, political and social policy (Magee, 2001). For example, the greatest happiness or least harm principle, put forward by Mill, supports the jurisdiction of laws to prevent or punish persons who commit harm, or where their actions could lead to harm (Brock, 1999; Magee, 2001). In other words, Utilitarianism advocates that the preservation and happiness of the individual is a justifiable moral aim, and replaces long held moral traditions of hard work and suffering (Rand, 1964).

If it is as Magee says, that these values are mainly British (Magee, 2001), it is likely that most British people will judge moral actions from these values; and that values such as 'happiness' and 'least harm principle' will be the values used in their moral argument. However, we must not be naive and ignore the obvious diversity of backgrounds and beliefs among British people (McNaught, 1997). Furthermore, it may not be possible to argue that Utilitarianism is a central moral ethic held by all British people. As Rachels (1995) has pointed out, it is not the design of Utilitarianism that causes this difficulty, but the differing values of those who judge and measure the quality of happiness and unhappiness. Thus, Raphael (1981) and Billington (1998) claim that the weakness in Utilitarianism stems from the problem of balancing happiness for all.

The recognition that values hold a central position in moral judgement has led to research on values, core values and the practice of values clarification (a process of refining or changing values) (Leming, 1981; Kirschenbaum, 1992). Based on the understanding that values may determine moral codes and moral judgements, practice has led to inferred or overt statements about good or bad, inferior or superior values (Kirschenbaum, 1992): and there lies the problem, i.e. 'there is no common ground' (McNaught, 1997, p.15) from which to agree which is which, for people argue from their personal beliefs (MacIntyre, 1981). Consequently, research into finding common values is extensive (Kirschenbaum, 1992; Halstead, 1998; McNaught, 1997; Talbot & Tate, 1997; Hofstede, 1998; Hytter, 2001).

Based on an assumed understanding that 'personal morality combines beliefs and values' (SCAA, 1995, p.5), the concept of values has had wide publicity here, in Europe, and in the United States. For example, Hofstede (1998) has provided a wealth of information on different and changing cultural values. Also of note is an international study of changing cultural values conducted in 16 languages across 45 countries being carried out by Växjö University Sweden (Hytter, 2001). Even so, this field of research may not resolve whether promoting desired moral values is effective or even ethical (Bevan, 2000). For example, the implicit aim to instil values (Talbot & Tate, 1997) is open to criticism on the grounds of inconsistency in delivery, indoctrination, and cultural discrimination (Kirschenbaum, 1992).

So, as there is unlikely to be such a thing as a value-free moral argument, or education, it is difficult to guarantee that inconsistency in delivery, indoctrination and cultural discrimination will not happen anyway (McLaughlin, 1994). Thus, the hope that values may be an answer to differing perspectives on morality may be fading. For example, an extensive values education programme, for inclusion in the National Curriculum in Britain, was abandoned (1.3.). However, the abandonment of this project, and some of the philosophical perspectives in previous sections illustrate the problems that moral philosophy encounters in trying to understand morality.

In the next section I will try to summarise the content of this chapter by looking at what may be considered general perceptions of morality.

3.11. Understanding morality

I began this chapter by trying to define morality (and that which may be considered good and right) to identify a background of knowledge that may help me explore teachers understanding of how children learn morally (or to be good).

Perceptions of morality have been described as beauty, truth and perfection, or the product of natural law or social contract; and philosophy has tried to identify the origins or reasons for moral action. Central to this are arguments relating to obedience to rules or autonomy and conscience, perfection or pleasure, knowing good to do good and altruistic actions. However, in the present day very few claim truth or facts support evidence of the origins, validity, or interpretations of morality. For, it is more likely that defining 'goodness', and reasons for arguing the essence of morality are related to how we feel about the outcomes.

A North Western hemisphere or British perspective of outcomes tends to focus on happiness or the greatest good for all (Ends-teleological). Yet, the greatest good for all may not be a universal value, and there have been attempts to establish shared or universal values. For example, viewed from wider perspectives of differences between different groups, ethnicities, ages and genders, the field of philosophical perspectives of morality demonstrates the difficulties in finding common understanding of morality and in finding shared values.

Furthermore, as psychology indicates morality is learned or develops with maturity (chapter 4.), the implications are that differences between moral codes point to a hierarchy of moral values, or stages of moral development where some moral codes may be judged to be more 'moral' than others. For example, Kohlberg (1969) and Gilligan (1982) have demonstrated that differences in moral development appear when assessed by gender; and Hofstede (1998) maintains differences in moral aims may stem from masculine and feminine values.

Thus, it may be that the field of psychology offers insights into identifying universal standards of morality, or moral values. Therefore, in the next chapter I will discuss theories of how morality is seen to develop in individuals.

Chapter 4 - Moral development

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> I get the feeling that what we are really talking about is conscience. Because everyone has a conscience don't they?
>
> Sophie's World (Gaarder, 1996, p.278)

4. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of research relating to moral development that may throw light on teachers' understanding of children's moral learning. Thus, continuing from the last chapter where the focus was on the nature of morality from philosophical perspectives, this chapter draws mainly from the contribution of science and psychology to the understanding of morality and moral development.

With the advancement of psychology as a science in the last century, a change of emphasis has taken place in the understanding of moral development. For example, the concept of development of morality implies a hierarchy of moral reasoning or behaviour. It also implies a development of a specific value system. This has been emphasised by research looking at differences in individuals and groups; and social and affective factors in moral reasoning. Furthermore, it may be said that different evaluations of what developed morality may be, have added new dimensions to philosophical perspectives of morality; and that differences recorded in the moral reasoning of cultures, males and females, and individuals have raised questions of the relevance of underpinning moral values in the assessment of advanced moral reasoning.

To help understand the range of views on children's moral development expressed by teachers in this study, I will briefly discuss the field of research and literature to illustrate different perceptions of the ways children develop morally. Thus, in this chapter I will;

- discuss the problem of defining development of morality;
- introduce the main theories of moral development; and
- relate theories of moral development to philosophical views of what developed morality may be.

To begin I will look at some difficulties in arriving at a definition of the word development.

4.1. Definitions of development

Chambers Combined Dictionary Thesaurus (1995) describes development as 'the act of developing or the process of being developed; a new stage, event or situation; a result or consequence' (p352). This description seems to reveal how development can be interpreted in different ways, for an act and a process may be quite different, and a stage and a result seem not to be related to the activity suggested by act and process.

The following synonyms show its potential diversity of interpretation;

> evolution, advance, blossoming, change, consequence, effect, elaboration, event, expansion, furtherance, improvement, maturity, phenomenon, refinement, unfolding.
>
> (Chambers Combined Dictionary Thesaurus, 1995, p.352)

Take, for example, what may be implied by evolution. It may be seen simply as a maturing process, or incremental change: but it could be metamorphic, which implies the disappearance and appearance of different aspects in different forms. Whereas refinements imply there is something unrefined to refine; and unfolding implies something exists like a bud before opening. In addition, words such as effect, result or consequence imply an outer influence not dependent on any precondition. So, with this range of possible interpretation unless theories clarify what is meant by development, it is unlikely that the word development alone describes something specific about changes in moral reasoning.

Some authors solve the problem by embracing ideas or describing terms in association with familiar processes. For example, Graham (1972) maintains moral development is a process of progressive change related to childhood alongside physical, intellectual, social development, and Kay (1968) talks about development in terms of maturation and growth. In this way Kay (1968) and Graham (1972) have tried to incorporate points of view that retain a certain ambiguity that may cover a range of interpretations.

Notions of development may be encoded by personal belief and differences in culture and language (Vygotsky, 1929/1994; Morris & Morris, 1996); and the words we choose to describe something may reveal an underlying belief. For example;

- the behaviourist view of conditioned reflexes (2.1.1.) states moral development is a complexity of responses and habits acquired over time (Skinner, 1953; Eysenck, 1976b; Bandura, 1986);
- social learning theories (2.1.2.) imply moral reasoning is imitated (e.g. learning by example), and
- cognitive developmental approaches (2.1.3.) associate changes in cognitive abilities with stages of moral reasoning that are expressed in hierarchies of values (Aronfreed, 1968; Mischel & Mischel, 1976).

Thus, in most cases development implies change, and Kay (1968) maintains only one distinction is necessary, namely, that it is important to note whether or not people mean development is a slow transition, or critical points of change. So, to explore this distinction I will introduce Piaget's theory of moral development.

4.2. Moral development as transition

In the last section I explained that development may be construed in a number of ways. One perspective has been to associate moral development with cognitive or other developmental aspects (Dewey, 1922); but so-called stage theories go further as they show a progression from amoral to moral judgement that may be predicted and measured by distinct stages (Kay, 1968). In other words, with advancing maturity, developing abstract thinking processes enable the child to use more advanced forms of abstract reasoning in moral dilemmas (Piaget, 1932; Kohlberg, 1958). Thus, as they grow older, or when exposed to reflection on dilemmas, they go on to superior views stage by stage because of improved abilities in their reasoning (Kohlberg, 1969).

Stage theory is mostly credited to Piaget (Kohlberg, 1964; Lapsey, 1996; Leman & Duveen, 1999; Nucci, 2002). Graham (1972) points out, that there are a number of different categories in Piaget's stage theory (e.g. understanding how things relate, reasoning behind application of rules, appropriateness of punishments and moral reasoning), and corresponding ages of development in each category. Also, as I will explain, Piaget's theory of changes in perspective of morality is not strictly a stage theory. For example, Piaget (1932) describes distinct cognitive stages of development occurring during the ages of 0-2 yrs, 2-5 yrs, 7-8 yrs and 11-12yrs. These four stages he describes as Sensori-motor, Pre-operational, Concrete Operational and Formal Operational during which children demonstrate different ways of understanding how things relate. As children go through stages of cognitive change they give three different reasons for the application of rules, e.g.;

- Rules are set by authorities,
- Rules are negotiated by others, and
- Anyone can engage in debating or adapting rules.

Furthermore, they give different reasons for punishment. For example, children at different stages maintain punishment is related to;

- the quantity of damage or harm done,
- fairness, and is reciprocal, or
- determined by circumstances, or self-imposed.

However, Piaget (1932) stipulates that the ages (2.1.3.) children understand rules and apply them are approximate. For example;

> The correlation between the three stages of development of the consciousness of rules and the four stages relating to their practical observance is of course only a statistical correlation.
>
> (Piaget, 1932, p18.)

Thus, studies show that differences may occur between the onset of cognitive and social stages; and children's understanding of rules at different stages of development do not correspond exactly with the way they will apply them (Piaget, 1932). Furthermore, some children will still adhere to earlier stages of judgement in later stages of cognitive development.

Piaget (1932) also makes it clear that his descriptions of two types of morality are not stages. In fact, he claims social processes, such as play and conversation, bring about an internal review of moral orientation, so that at any age or stage children and adults may move from one type of morality to another. Thus, Piaget maintains two types of morality appear as 'an equilibrial limit rather than a static system' (1932, p.402). In other words, he places moral development on a continuum with 'relations of constraint' on the one side and 'relations of cooperation' on the other (Piaget, 1932, p.402). Thus, the ability to judge levels of intentionality (as opposed to the amount of harm done by an act) is one of developed cognition (Piaget, 1932). Furthermore, with maturity, experience and social activity children develop an understanding that rules are agreements made by society. This explains why younger children experience morality as constraint, and older children and adults may experience morality as 'the sum of social relations and cooperation' (Piaget, 1932, p.402).

Graham (1972) explains that Piaget's reason for variation between stages of development is because 'there is no single, simple scheme of developmental stages' (p.202). Furthermore, as Piaget himself does not present his thesis on moral development in diagrammatic form, nor does he try to ensure parallel equity between stages, Korthals (1992) recommends presenting a diagram of Piaget's stages as 'four stages of rule practice, three of rule-consciousness and three stages of distributive justice' (p.26). For, he maintains Piaget's theory resolves dichotomies most stage theorists ignore. For instance, broad and narrow views of morality, such as moral values or imperatives, may be seen as evidence of moral reasoning along a continuum in relation to clear stages of intellectual and social development.

Clearly, Piaget (1932) lays moral development entirely at the door of social processes, giving the evidence that children will not develop far along the continuum of moral development by cognitive development alone. For this reason, he maintains games and conversation will stimulate cooperation and 'cooperation alone will therefore accomplish what intellectual constraint failed to bring about' (Piaget, 1932, p.409). From this perspective, Piaget's theory stands alone (Lickona, 1976).

Although his original research focussed on the way his own children explained rules in games and the appropriateness of punishments, his stage theory has revealed much about children's perceptions at different ages and stages of cognitive development (Lickona, 1976). For example, the way a very young child understands the laws of nature and codes of behaviour may be described as rigid, focussed on authority, and based on rules. In association with Inhelder (1956) Piaget explains that the reasons why children under the age of six are rigid in the way they interpret rules, and in acts of disobedience and mistakes, is that they appear unable to understand that different people have different experiences or perspectives from their own. For this reason, young children may judge incidents that cause a lot of damage to be worse than conscious antisocial acts (Piaget, 1932; Lickona, 1971). It may also explain why very young children find the idea of changing or modifying a rule difficult (Kohlberg, 1968); and also why they seem in awe of social codes (Piaget, 1932). From this we understand that children move from moral restraint (due to conformity) to a sense of responsibility; and that they grow out of a belief in, and awe of, absolute rules, to recognising social contracts motivated by mutual respect. However, there may be many reasons why young children think and behave in relation to rules. Kohlberg (1981) maintains that obedient children simply fear punishment. Even so, there is wide agreement that 'moral realism is characteristic of childhood up to the age of about nine years' (Graham, 1972, p. 196) and becomes more objective later (Feffer & Gourevitch, 1960, Graham, 1972; Sutherland, 1992).

A large body of research confirms that children follow an identifiable process of moral development related to their cognitive and social development (Sutherland, 1992); and differences between Piaget's and his critics' research may be to do with changing times, social values and cultural differences. For example, Sutherland (1992) and Langford (1995) cite a number of studies that disagree with Piaget' stages of intellectual development.

Thus, while criticism has followed Piaget's 1932 publication, studies in support of his thesis continue to defend his ideas (Kohlberg, 1963; Korthals, 1992). For example, followers of Piaget, such as Kohlberg, have expanded on his stages (Bryant & Trabasso, 1971; Donaldson, 1978), and offered detailed and exhaustive examinations of the development of morality in relation to stages (Leman & Duveen, 1999; Lapsey, 1996).

In the next section I will give a brief outline of theories that have developed out of Piaget's stage development theories.

4.3. Moral development as critical points of change

In this section I will briefly outline post-Piaget contributions to the field stages theories of moral reasoning and theories of moral development.

Leman and Duveen (1999), Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, and Thoma (1999), and Nucci (2002) maintain Kohlberg's theory of moral development dominates the field of moral development. Boom (1989) maintains Kohlberg's theory is a more rigidly organised and detailed stage theory than Piaget's; as building on Piaget's 3 cognitive stages Kohlberg (1958; 1964; 1976) maintains there are 6 quantitatively different patterns of thought (2 stages within each of Piaget's stages) in cognitive and moral development. For example, Kohlberg maintains there is a weak stage and a more sophisticated stronger stage within each of Piaget's stages (see figure 4.1 on page 103).

Kohlberg (1976) maintains anyone following children longitudinally will come to his conclusion. For his theory depends on the assessment of the logic children or adults use to express what they think is right when presented with a moral dilemma.

In Kohlberg's well-known moral dilemma 'penniless Heinz's' wife will die unless he steals life saving medication from an unsympathetic and wealthy pharmacist (Kohlberg, 1969). Thus, based on specific criteria (see figure 4.1.), subjects' responses are analysed to identify subtle differences in their cognitive and moral development (Kohlberg, 1969; 1976; 1984). As, Kohlberg explains;

> ...individuals pass through the moral stages one step at a time as they progress from the bottom (Stage 1) toward the top (Stage 6).
>
> (Kohlberg, 1976, p.31)

Figure 4.1. overleaf shows Kohlberg's theory based on Piaget's stages of intellectual development. I have illustrated it in the way Kohlberg describes it, namely showing a vertical progress in moral development from the bottom to the top. Kohlberg's (1976) 3 levels of moral development relate to Piaget's stages of Pre-conventional, Conventional, and Post-conventional.

Kohlberg's levels are indicated in horizontal bands illustrated in figure 4.1. in two shades of the same colour, e.g. Level I (blue), Level II (green) and Level III (yellow). Each level illustrates 2 stages, e.g. stages 1, 3, and 5 (weak stages of development - Kohlberg 1976) are illustrated in a lighter colour than strong stages. Descriptions of stages of moral reasoning are indicated in the left hand column, with columns to the right indicating respectively logic, reasons and values expressed by subjects presented with moral dilemmas.

Figure 4.1.

Kohlberg's (1976) stages of moral development
and criteria for moral reasoning.

Stages	What is right	Reasons	Values
Stage 6 Universal ethical principles Rights /Justice	Self-chosen ethics based on respect for all	Universal moral principles are valid	People should be treated as ends in themselves
Stage 5 Social contract	Keeping to agreements except in extreme cases	A sense of responsibility for laws and agreements	Many perspectives in moral dilemmas
Stage 4 **Social conscience**	Contributing to society, duty, obeys laws,	The system is dependent on each one doing their part	Society's needs may differ from personal needs
Stage 3 **Interpersonal expectations**	Treating others well, Living up to expectations	Needing to be good, earn respect	Do good to receive good. Aware of the others' feelings
Stage 2 **Instrumental purpose**	Fairness and equality	Every one has equal needs	Aware of different needs
Stage 1 **Heteronomous (Egotistical Morality)**	Avoid breaking rules and causing damage	To avoid punishment	No understanding of others' experiences

Kohlberg (1976) explains that moral development follows cognitive development; and cognitive development is only part of the stimulus for moral development. For example, subjects in a Pre-conventional level of cognitive development operate morally at stage 1 or 2 of moral development, and someone at a low stage of Post-conventional level of cognitive development may have only reached stage 3 or 4 of moral development (Colby & Kohlberg, 1987).

Kohlberg (1976) maintains children and young people have the potential to pass through all three levels before they reach the ages of 20 - 25, although, for a number of reasons, development may be delayed or limited. So, it does not necessarily follow that having reached high stages of cognitive development a child/person will have reached equally high stages of moral reasoning. The evidence of this is that, 'most children under 9, some adolescents and many adult criminal offenders' express pre-conventional morality' (Kohlberg, 1976, p.33). Furthermore, whole groups may only develop morally to stages determined by the demands of their ways of life, and the;

> ...opportunity to take the point of view of the more distant, impersonal, and influential roles in society's basic institutions (such as) law, economy, government' and socioeconomic status, influences moral stage development.
>
> (Kohlberg, 1976, p. 50)

So, when subjects report levels of moral reasoning that is not their own, their reasoning may be influenced by others (Kohlberg, Scharf and Hickey, 1972). For this reason, developing 'relationships between the self and society's rules and expectations' (Kohlberg, 1976, p.33) may improve the moral stage of an individual as well as the community. Kohlberg's 'Just Community' democratic intervention programme for use in schools and institutions to raise moral stages is based on discussion of rules and expectations (Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989).

Most notably, controversial results of this research are that Kohlberg and Kramer (1969) say women are more likely to reason morally at lower stages than men. Carol Gilligan (1982) argues that Kohlberg's theory is flawed, for it places a woman at a low stage of moral development if she is concerned about her child's safety before her responsibilities towards the wider community. Also, she claims his cohort's moral reasoning may be associated with methods of teaching that were popular at the time of his original research (Gilligan, Ward & Taylor, 1988). Furthermore, his research was based on a male cohort from ages 10 to 36. For this reason, Gilligan, Ward and Taylor (1988) claim that;

1. Kohlberg has neglected to explore alternative ethics; and
2. his stages of moral development may be a product of gender and culture (boys learning by didactic teaching methods).

Surprisingly, C. Gilligan's assertions have not been followed by a wave of research interest. Yet, her 'ethics of care' as alternatives to Kohlberg's ethics of justice have not gone unnoticed, for they are widely discussed and have some practical application (Noddings, 1992).

However, Rest (1983) claims Carol Gilligan has exaggerated gender differences, and Leman (2001) reports that under more rigorous testing two studies had less supportive results (Walker, 1984; Ford & Lowry, 1986). Thus, the question of gender differences in moral development, and the effects of teaching methods on moral development claimed by C. Gilligan (1982) and Gilligan, Ward and

Taylor (1988) remain unresolved. For example, alternative ethics have not been fully explored (C. Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan, Ward & Taylor, 1988), and there is some doubt over the validity of Kohlberg's moral limits (Lickona, 1976, Korthals, 1992; Sweder, 1991). For example, very young children demonstrate an understanding of fairness in real-life situations; and descriptive skills, social skills, and intelligence or the lack of them, may be mistaken for moral reasoning (Coles, 1986; Lickona, 1991; Asendorpf & Nunner-Winkler, 1992; Laupa, 1995). Sweder (1991) and Gates (1986) give examples of boys suggesting that Heinz could save his wife without resorting to stealing by giving her to a man who can afford the drug.

While, Kohlberg has added little to the gender debate and doubts about his implied moral values, he has responded to other problems, such as, using moral dilemma interviews to assign stage six (Kohlberg, 1981; Colby & Kohlberg, 1983), as distinguishing between the two upper stages rests on subjects holding values that may cause them to act above the law. Therefore, stage six is now considered 'theoretical' (Colby & Kohlberg, 1983, p28).

Neo-Kohlbergian researchers have tried to resolve problems and differences that arise in Kohlberg's data, and build on Kohlberg's interview method, e.g. the DIT (Defining Issues Test) and the DIT-2 (Rest, Narvaez, Thoma & Bebeau, 1999) designed to identify and rank issues within a moral dilemma, and Lind's (1978, 2005) MJT (Moral Judgement Test and MUT in German - a play on gemüt -

warmth and friendliness) is designed to measure both cognitive and affective responses to moral dilemmas. However, these tests are unlikely to resolve the problem of what constitutes a developed morality for this may depend on a universal hierarchy of moral values.

There is no doubt that Kohlberg's stage theory has had considerable impact on moral development studies. For example, many of over 400 studies have defended the central precept that morality develops in stages (Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, & Thoma, 1999). However, Kohlberg focuses on how children and adults define justice (Kohlberg, 1987), while Piaget's investigation (1932) explores how children understand why they choose to follow rules and what they say when they philosophise about justice. Thus, Boom and Molenaar (1989) maintain Kohlberg's theory moves away from Piaget's studies of children's behaviour to the meaning children place on their actions.

A major difference between Piaget's and Kohlberg's theories rests on Piaget's philosophy of two moralities (justifiable punishment and autonomous responsibility for moral standards) and Kohlberg's (1958; 1964; 1976) six distinct stages of morality (moral stages of reciprocity becoming more adequate). Furthermore, Piaget's theory emphasises the role of mutual respect in developing morality that may be more appropriate in a plural society (Korthals, 1992) while Kohlberg's theory depends on justice as the highest moral value. Thus, Leman and Duveen (1999) argue that Piaget's perspective on mutual respect may not only be the highest stage of moral development, but may also lie behind the best approach to develop moral reasoning. Therefore, although there is evidence to show that Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning occur, there is little evidence to show that they are preferable or universal. Furthermore, his theory highlights the problem of moral values being the measure of moral development.

In the next section I will discuss moral values from the point of view of moral development, for the teachers in this study may identify different hierarchies of values as a part of the way children develop and learn morally.

4.4. Hierarchies of Values

In this section I will briefly discuss values underpinning research into moral development and moral reasoning.

In the last section I reported the dissatisfaction some researchers have with Kohlberg's hierarchy of values. Lickona (1976) and others (Veatch, 1980; Habermas, 1990) suggest Kohlberg's views are Kantian; and that his view of justice and his commitment to universal principles places him firmly in western philosophical perspectives. For, example, Lockwood (1989) maintains a Kantian view holds the value of life and telling the truth over all other values. Kohlberg and colleagues maintain that these moral values are universal (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs & Leiberman, 1983; Kohlberg, 1984; Colby & Kohlberg, 1987; Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989).

Kohlberg (1976) maintains his categories and criteria are 'true' because they are empirically evidenced, yet, it is likely that American children are socialised to think and behave in ways underpinned by American values, such as the right to life; property; conscience; truth; sexual relationships; personal roles of affection; contract, trust and justice. From this he would have us agree that all moral dilemmas will involve one of these values. However, the researchers themselves are likely to be socialised by these values and read them into the already socially produced data.

James Gilligan (1976) says Kohlberg has failed to recognise that love is a further stage development. He argues that shame and guilt, underpin Piagetian and Kohlbergian thinking, e.g, acts of aggression and abuse of others may cause shame, and guilt underpins the positive value of humility used to repress egoistic ambitions. In other words, because they are embedded in Western philosophy and Christianity, Piaget and Kohlberg have both described moral development as moving from underpinning ethics of shame to guilt. Yet, since humanity may not have needed to develop higher stages of morality 'in order to survive', 'love' has not been considered in studies of moral development (Gilligan, J., 1976, p.155).

In other words, 'love and psychological understanding' may be the highest stage of moral development, and by implication the most highly developed 'cognitive and affective capacities' (Gilligan, J., 1976, p.155).

Love and psychological understanding, as underpinning ethics of moral development, may resolve irreconcilable differences in the moral development of men and women when assessed from Kohlberg's values. For example, care and concern for others (women's ethics - Gilligan, C., 1982), and Piaget's and Kohlberg's theories of mutual respect and justice may be adapted to a hierarchy of vales based on love as the highest underpinning ethic. For, it may be that the implied values determine developmental stages of moral reasoning, and the aims of moral development. For example, a hierarchy of values associated with psychological development may be a better measure of moral development (Peck & Havighurst, 1960; Loevinger, 19&6; Puttick, 1997).

Simpson (1976) says theories that explain retarded development, such as Maslow's (1954/1970) Hierarchy of Needs theory, explain why some people gain higher stages of intellectual and self-actualising development than others (see 2.3.4.). For, it may be that basic needs for survival, security, love and belongingness, esteem and learning (Maslow 1954/1970) determine the values that underpin moral reasoning. Thus, a growing child goes through processes of having these needs satisfied to varying degrees dependent on the care they receive. These needs relate to (and offer insights into the causes of) Kohlberg's stages (Simpson, 1976). For example, the need to survive, experience security and love, or to belong, may explain Kohlberg's (1964) assertion that children fear punishment, and desire reward and approval. Similarly, respect for authority and peers (e.g. Piaget's and Kohlberg's theories) may relate to Maslow's description of the need for self-esteem. From this perspective, it is possible to see why someone is motivated morally from the perspective of avoiding punishment in order to survive; and why poor education and living conditions, as well as social and emotional deprivation may be associated with low stages of moral development (Simpson, 1976).

Clearly, not all people develop the capacity to be sympathetic and concerned for others (Eysenck, 1976b; Hoffman, 1991); Simpson (1971) says children develop morally by experiencing the other's feelings; and in order to do this they need to imagine what it feels like to be them. In other words, the basis of moral development is the sum of personal growth comprising of;

- Fulfilment of basic needs,
- Exposure to superior levels of moral reasoning,
- Imagining the feelings of the other, and
- Solving dilemmas.

(Simpson, 1976)

Questions raised at the end of this section indicate that affective factors in moral development may add to the understanding of how children learn morally. Thus, affective and social factors within the context of moral development are discussed in the next section.

4.5. Affective Factors In Moral Development

In the last section I looked at how values may underpin ways of evaluating moral development. Studies of emotions and social effects in relation to moral development may add to understanding why individuals demonstrate different levels of moral reasoning; and why some people fail to develop morally. Therefore, in this section I will briefly look at some affective factors that have been named as affecting or inhibiting moral development.

Most theories of moral development note how important an internalisation process is in moral development; that moment when external constraint changes to an internal autonomous motivator of pro-social activity or altruism. Some researchers describe this internalized control as conscience.

Hoffman (1976) says guilt is the maker and measure of conscience. He describes two types of guilt; existential guilt (feeling responsible for the suffering of others without being directly responsible) and true guilt (the result of some action or inaction that has caused suffering). However, he distances his notion of guilt from that of Freud's, e.g. fear of losing parental affections (Hoffman, 1984). For, although these two forms of guilt are conditions associated with parental discipline, they arise from sympathetic and empathic distress. For example, sympathetic distress (distressed when others are distressed) becomes empathic when young children are moved to help one another.

We know from studies of nursery children that they experience sympathetic distress and make efforts to comfort others (Feshbach & Roe, 1968; Feshbach, 1982). Yet, Spiecker (1988) points out that psychopaths demonstrate empathy but do not have 'the disposition to feel sympathy' (p100). In other words, psychopathy is 'stagnant moral development' where subjects lack 'altruistic emotions like care and compassion' (Spiecker, 1988, p103). Hoffman (1986) and Spiecker (1988) blame deprivation of sympathy, and behaviourist forms of discipline (even from loving parents) for the inability to feel the other's feelings.

Another view is that individual differences within personality affect how morality develops. For example, parents may react to something in the child that in turn affects the child's moral development (Bell, 1968) or as Eysenck & Eysenck (1963) (see 2.3.3.) maintains two major dimensions of personality e.g. predispositional responses to stimuli (introvert - extrovert, E), or responses to external pressures (neuroticism - stability, N), link personality traits to moral development and behaviour. Thus, a predisposition combined with environmental pressure, influences moral development, and determines how phenotypes (temperament) respond to life situations. For example, introversion is associated with high cortex arousal (responsiveness) and causes inhibited behaviour, while high levels of stability are not associated with moral development problems (Eysenck, 1971).

However, immorality and criminal activity are associated with high levels of E and N (Eysenck, 1976a). This may be due to high levels of boredom, and a tendency to seek stimulation in such people (Eysenck, 1963); or by the fact that they are less receptive to guidance, or discipline (Eysenck, 1976b). Eysenck (1976b) maintains extroverts seek sexual excess, risks, bright lights and loud music, and introverts may be antisocial or callous. Thus, moral deviation may be down to receptivity to conditioning and levels of cortex arousal. Thus, murderers (generally antisocial or callous) and thieves (risk takers) tend to be opposite phenotypes (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1978).

In one way, Eysenck agrees with Freud. For example, he maintains anxiety caused by swift discipline develops a desire to avoid so-called bad, naughty or evil actions. However, he also blames Freudian doctrines for permissive discipline techniques, and causing immoral behaviour (Eysenck, 1976b). For this reason, Eysenck (1976b) maintains psychopaths require complex affective stimulation, and extroverts need more affective conditioning in order to develop morally.

It is likely that a range of affective factors plays a part in moral development. For example, heredity, early child experiences, peers, environment, media, and school may affect moral development

(Campbell & Bond, 1982). Keddie (1971), Kounin (1970) and Upton (1993) identify school and teacher related causes for problem behaviour; and Burt and Howard (1974) maintain teachers may contribute to poor moral development by being unsympathetic, condoning bullying, failing to follow up incidents and offering an unsuitable curriculum. Parenting is also associated with delinquency (and by implication moral development) (Charlton & George, 1993), as are problems with attachment, and social and emotional development (Bowlby, 1946).

Thus, moral development may be, as Aronfreed (1968; 1976) has described, a process of association, where children learn from feedback, and how to gain approval; or as Bandura (1986) claims, children observe others, imitate and internalise actions that then become meaningful to them. Yet, Graham (1972) argues that these social learning theories are not theories of moral development, because they imply that moral learning can be reversed. However, Piaget and Kohlberg have all noted regression taking place in moral development (Piaget, 1932; Kohlberg & Kramer, 1969).

As studies of affective factors on moral development are dependent on standards of behaviour, and social and cultural norms, and moral values may change due to social or environmental factors, moral development theories are dependent on measuring moral values and concomitant behaviour. In other words, there may be no way of confirming theories of moral development in isolation. Therefore, attempts at value free conclusions within an area such as morality may have come to an end (Lapsey, 1992; Campbell & Chambers Christopher, 1999); and the way forward is to present psychologically based studies grounded in philosophical perspectives. It may also help to examine what effect a philosophical background may have on a theory of moral development, and its desired outcome, e.g. moral values.

In the next section I will briefly discuss the contribution of philosophers to philosophical perspectives of moral development.

4.6. Philosophers on development

As theories of moral development may depend on a philosophical perspective of morality with specific moral values, I will briefly discuss philosophy's contribution to understanding moral development.

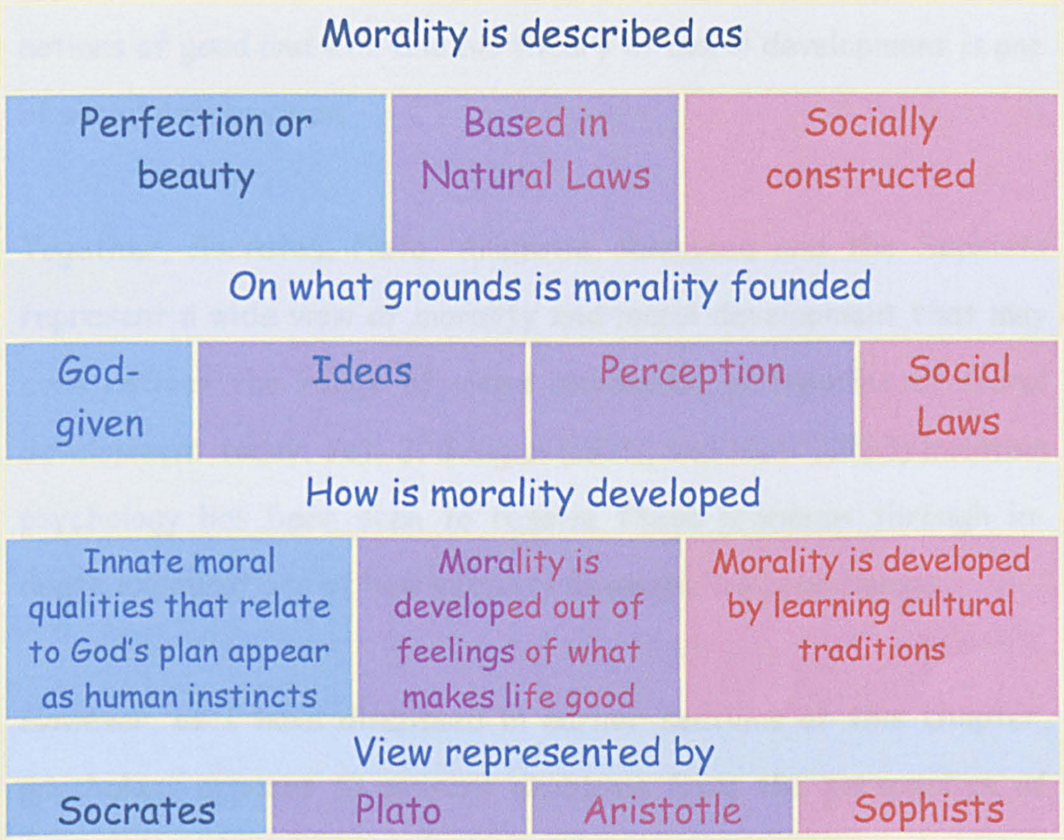
As philosophical literature during the ages seems to focus on what morality is and not to deal much with the development of morality, this information needs to be extrapolated. For example, over 2000 years ago the Sophists, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, tended to make only brief didactic references to how morality develops in children, and since ancient Greek times up until the 20th century and the rise of psychology much of the major contributors on morality make little reference to development of morality in children (though it may be implied). For example, Plato recommends that teaching children to love good and hate bad to stir innate qualities (virtues) to higher levels that may be otherwise slow to develop naturally (Plato, in de Botton, 1999). Socrates places more importance on identifying good (thinking about perfection) to educate morally (Plato, in de Botton, 1999). Aristotle (1947) believed that human capacities laid down by nature give rise to human feelings; and that feelings of pain or pleasure produce states (relationships to good or bad); thus morally children need to be educated (affectively) in pain and pleasure. On the other hand, the view that a child is like an empty slate (Tabula Rasa - wax coated writing tablet of Roman times), to be skilfully scripted or ruined was put forward by Locke, Leibniz and Rousseau (Audi, 1995).

Thus, pre-enlightenment philosophers appear to have struggled with different philosophical perspectives of morality ranging from positivist-absolutists ideas to constructivist-relativist perspectives. Based on the idea of asking questions to arrive at philosophical viewpoint, as suggested by Nussbaum (1989, p.532), figure 4.2. shows a continuum of perspectives on morality and how it develops in human beings as described by ancient Greek philosophers. No linear categories are given, as theories may appear to cross over boundaries of ideas.

Read downwards for qualities in a category and horizontally for changes in perspectives represented in colour, left to right, in indigo, violet, plum, and red. Indigo towards violet represents the positivist-absolutist end of the continuum. Violet represents a developmental view of morality with positivist-absolutist views. Plum represents a developmental view with relativist views and red represents the relativist end of the continuum.

Figure 4.2.

A continuum of three perspectives on developing morality



Morality is described as

Perfection or beauty | Based in Natural Laws | Socially constructed

On what grounds is morality founded

God-given | Ideas | Perception | Social Laws

How is morality developed

Innate moral qualities that relate to God's plan appear as human instincts | Morality is developed out of feelings of what makes life good | Morality is developed by learning cultural traditions

View represented by

Socrates | Plato | Aristotle | Sophists

Socrates and Plato represent a positivist-absolutist perspective with Aristotle leaning towards constructivist thinking. The Sophists' view of morality (de Botton, 1999) is that moral behaviour is entirely based on cultural traditions and therefore relativist.

However, Rousseau's view stands somewhere across positivist-absolutists and constructivist-relativist perspectives, for he seems to include both. For example, he rejected absolutist views of original sin, yet, held onto concepts of good and evil (Gaarder, 1995). Thus, Rousseau appears to have a view of morality that is philosophically different from how he believes children learn morally. Therefore, to place Rousseau in figure 4.2., his name should appear twice, as his moral values appear to be absolutist based on notions of good and evil; and his theory of moral development is one of social construction.

Together, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau and the Sophists represent a wide view of morality and moral development that may even reflect the range of views expressed in theories of moral development today. Yet, J. Gilligan (1976) and Hunt (1993) maintain psychology has been seen to resolve these problems through in-depth examinations of how morality develops in human beings.

However, as I have discussed in earlier sections of this chapter, psychology appears to present problems from the perspective of underlying philosophies or values. Therefore, it may be that psychology can help to solve a philosophical problem or that philosophy resolves a psychology problem. For, while psychologists may concentrate on and demonstrate moral development through scientific processes, all psychologists do not agree on what morality may be.

Therefore, in the next section I will show how the studies discussed in this chapter may be viewed when categorised by their implicit philosophical perspectives and moral values.

4.7. Some philosophical views

In the last section I briefly looked at philosophical perspectives of moral development. From this brief description I suggested that views of how morality is developed appear to be linked to problems of how moral values are derived. Furthermore, when examining theories of moral development in relation to underpinning values it may not be possible to assign one philosophical perspective to a philosopher, e.g., Rousseau's underpinning values and theory have different philosophical perspectives. Clearly, philosophy has not resolved this problem. In this section I will discuss how psychological theories of moral development appear to add to this debate rather than resolve it.

Psychological studies focus on internalization of moral ethics or how conscience develops. This critical point distinguishes theories based on social, affective, psychoanalytical, behavioural and cognitive effects on moral development. However, anomalies appear between underpinning values to assess moral development and the philosophical methods by which they are determined. Thus, problems relating to 'whose values' and 'what philosophy' may be common ground on which to understand them.

Depending on their focus, many researchers express a number of views in the way they have presented their work. For example, Piaget describes moral development as a social exercise revealed by developing cognitive processes. While he describes children's respect for rules, he does not talk about God-given rules, but of 'good' being mutual respect as apposed to duty (Piaget, 1932).

It may be that Piaget's views of goodness (mutual respect) have been read in more positivist-absolutist terms than Piaget intended. For example, he rejects Kantian and Durkheimian values of obligation (Piaget, 1953; 1955; 1968). Yet, Weinreich-Haste (1982) suggests Piaget's views are implicit in his questions about justice and fairness, and that his values place him firmly in western values of equality and individual rights. However, it seems that Piaget holds views of morality that differ philosophically from his perspective of moral development. For these reasons I have given Piaget the unique position of appearing in three positions in a scheme of philosophical perspectives (see figure 4.3. on page 124). For example, his underpinning moral values appear to be positivist-absolutist, yet his description of stages of cognitive and social development are more in line with constructivism e.g. relativist. He also expresses a holist type philosophy, as he is willing to contemplate a range of influences on moral development.

Kohlberg, on the other hand, aligns himself with the moral principles that he considers right (Kohlberg, 1976; 1981) e.g. his 6th stage of moral development. Although he acknowledges social influences on moral development, he holds cognitive process above all other influences. Therefore, he is clearly placed within a absolutist-relativist category (see figure 4.3. on page 124) for having little interest in holistic, alternative or relativist views.

Carol Gilligan (2002) appears to represent holistic sentiments, for building on Kohlberg's stage theory underpinned by her perspective of women's values, she maintains moral development is more than culture, life history and genetics. So saying, she implies an inclusive approach, and rejects exclusively positivist and relativist approaches. This problem is not simply solved by suggesting C. Gilligan's theory is weak, for it has not been fully explored. Also, the point that she makes about gender differences in Kohlbergian assessments of moral development is that development may be socialised, biological and autonomous. Thus, she demonstrates a holistic view in that her theory does not stand exclusively in one perspective by attempts inclusivity (see Holism 2.1.4.). However, her theory is not strongly holistic as it remains under explored, and she does not make the case for an inclusive theory. For this reason, I suggest her theory is weakly holistic with roots in relativist views (see figure 4.3. on page 124).

Coming from a Freudian background James Gilligan's (1976) theory draws on ideals of social perfection and Darwinism, with relativist views of cultural modification of moral behaviour. However, his claim that love represents the highest stage of moral development above Kohlberg's stages, aligns him with Kohlberg's positivist-absolutist perspectives.

Simpson (1976) bases her holistic approach to moral development on Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (1954/1970). She also includes a range of conditions that play a part in moral development. So while there may be an argument for positivist undertones in her theories she appears within the holistic area of perspectives.

Eysenck's theory may be seen as relativist, for he does not depend on underpinning moral values to demonstrate temperament, and he describes environmental influences that bring about individual differences. However, he gives genetically based reasons for temperaments, deeply buried in his tests are positivist-absolutist values; for example, a belief that inherent factors control behaviour. For this reason, his theory presents a positivist mindset in the same way as behaviourism does (Marras, 1999; Nussbaum, 1989).

Thus, some psychologists, or theories, appear to represent more than one philosophical perspective. Figure 4.3. overleaf continues from figure 4.2. (after Nussbaum, 1989, p.532), and the questions asked in figure 4.2. are continued in figure 4.3. to arrive at three perspectives, positivist, holistic and relativist. In this instance linear categories are given, yet theories may appear twice to illustrate that they cross over boundaries of philosophical perspectives. Read downwards for qualities in a category and horizontally for changes in perspectives represented in colour, left to right, blue, violet, and red. Blue represents the positivist-absolutist end of the continuum. Violet represents holistic views and red represents the relativist end of the continuum.

Figure 4.3.

Philosophical Perspectives of Moral Development Theories

What causes moral development		
Innate moral qualities determine development	Morality is developed out of feelings of what makes life good	Morality is developed by social learning and cultural traditions
What underpinning values are implied		
Positivist	**Holistic**	**Relativist**
Piaget's implicit ideals Kohlberg's theory and underpinning philosophy J Gilligan's theory Behavioural theory of moral development Eysenck's phenotypes and underpinning philosophy	Piaget's sentiment Simpson's theory of moral development based on Maslow's theory of human development C Gilligan's sentiment and underpinning philosophy	Piaget's stage theory C Gilligan's theory Social learning theories Affective factor studies Eysenck's moral development theory

Viewing theories in this way demonstrates a general inconsistency in theories of moral learning and development that argue for a set of values, relate development to cognition, and approach their theories from the results of their research. Clearly theories that depend on describing the nature of the human being in relation to moral development tend to represent a positivist perspective, and theories generated from external effects on learning or change represent the relativist view. It could be argued that the questions determine the position.

In this section I briefly discussed philosophical perspectives that may underpin some of the studies in this chapter. In so doing I have begun summarising the content that has been presented. So to continue, I will briefly review the purpose of this chapter, and the contribution of psychology to the understanding of how children learn morally.

4.8. Summary

In this section I will briefly summarise this chapter and discuss its relevance to the study.

People may mean different things when they talk about moral development and the development of conscience. These different interpretations of moral development add to a general picture of what underpinning philosophical views of moral development each researcher holds within their theories.

I have shown how ever since ancient Greece moral development has been described as coming from innate qualities on the one hand, and external factors on the other. To illustrate this point I have used the views expressed by Plato, Aristotle and the Sophists to illustrate that there may be a continuum of possible causes of moral development. From this perspective philosophers such as Rousseau and psychologists such as Piaget have brought new meaning to moral development theories. For example, Rousseau is concerned about what morality children may be exposed to; and Piaget focuses on when and what children may express in relation to moral issues. Thus, Piaget introduced the idea that children express different kinds of moral reasoning at different times. In this he shows, a developmental sequence of their understanding of moral responsibility, e.g. moving from self-interests to expressions of social concern.

Although Kohlberg presents a similar theory to Piaget he rests heavily on underpinning moral values to assess cognitive and moral development stages, e.g. the right to life and property. His contribution is significant in the field in that many studies have supported the idea of stages of development, and the effects of cognitive development on moral reasoning (Turiel, 1974; Lind, 1978, 2005; Nucci 1985; Lapsey, 1996; Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau, & Thoma, 1999; Nucci, 2002). Criticisms of Piaget's and Kohlberg's implied moral values have brought to light the possibility that moral values may have origins in differences between groups, e.g. social class, genders and cultures (Kohlberg, 1984; Colby & Kohlberg, 1987; Sweder, Mahapatra and Miller, 1987; Gilligan, Ward & Taylor, 1988; Power, Higgins & Kohlberg, 1989; Sweder, 1991; Noddings, 1992).

Stage theories also relate levels of moral development to something fixed within the learner, e.g. internal conditions relating to cognitive ability, and limitations set by external conditions, e.g. social effects. Havighurst and Taba (1949) and Eysenck (1967; 1971; 1976b) extend this view by describing fixed temperaments that influence social interactions, and responses to social and moral learning. Their theories also claim to be able to predict moral development from identifying phenotypes or temperament. For example, temperament may determine whether someone becomes a murderer or a thief; or how they respond to moral learning.

On the other hand, Simpson (1971; 1976) maintains moral values stem from experiences of human needs being met or denied (as described by Maslow). Furthermore, the capacity to imagine others' experiences is necessary for the development of conscience and socially proactive moral reasoning. Psychoanalytical approaches emphasise the importance of internalising social experiences to develop conscience or altruism. These processes, or socialising effects, are described as fear, shame, guilt, sympathy, empathy and love (Feshbach & Roe, 1968; J. Gilligan, 1976; Hoffman, 1976; 1984; 1986; Kohlberg, 1981; Spiecker, 1988). Thus, theories that focus on external effects affecting moral development (internalising) go a long way to explaining the overwhelmingly conclusive results of studies of parenting, cultural practices and factors associated with school on moral development.

Thus, I have shown that there are many different views of what moral values underpin measures of moral development; accordingly there are many ways to assess moral development, and many philosophical standpoints associated with psychological theories of moral development. Furthermore, different philosophical perspectives of morality may determine measures of moral development, for example, different perspectives may determine whether someone has developed to a high stage of moral reasoning or functions at a lower level.

I will draw on the information described in this chapter and the two preceding chapters when I examine the views and behaviour of teachers in this study to illustrate their tacit assumptions of how children learn morally.

In the next chapter I will describe how I explored aspects of teachers' knowledge and understanding of the ways children learn morally; also, how doing the research modified and affected my perceptions of qualitative research.

Chapter 5 - Research Methodology

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> ... the role of Quality in the scientific process doesn't destroy the empirical vision at all. It expands it, strengthens it and brings it far closer to actual scientific practice.

Zen And The Art Of Motor Cycle Maintenance (Pirsig, 1974, p.285)

5. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methods that I selected to use to explore aspects of teachers' knowledge and understanding of the ways children learn morally.

I will argue that qualitative methods as opposed to quantitative, were more appropriate for finding the situationally specific information I required. For the same reason, when it came to analysing and discussing the data, I found it necessary to include case histories in the appendices to demonstrate authenticity; and to remain faithful to the ordinary events in natural settings implicit in philosophical reasons for qualitative research.

I will discuss how my search for appropriate ways of exploring hidden or tacit dimensions of teachers' knowledge led me to a deeper understanding of my chosen methodology. For an aspect of this study is that unforeseen opportunities and limitations served to modify my original ideas and changed my own paradigmatic assumptions. These opportunities and limitations may be seen as those serendipitous and unique experiences that reflect the qualitative reflexivity of qualitative research (Banister, 1994a; Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Thus, I will explain;

- how activities within the research played a part in redefining the whole project;
- how my background and aspects of myself are undeniable influences on the direction and outcomes in this study; and
- that acknowledging changes that took place within myself as part of the research process is more than simply an account of my growing awareness philosophically, but reflects a philosophically qualitative approach to research.

I will also explain how the qualitative approach of seeing the researcher as an instrument of the research is appropriate in this type of research: for 'getting to know' the individual teachers in the study (gaining closeness) was instrumental in identifying subtleties in their behaviour.

Finally, as my reasons for selecting specific methods to gather data are based on the view that hidden knowledge may be more indicative of what teachers believe about how children learn and learn morally, the first section explains why the theory of Tacit Knowledge is integral to my reasons for exploring and interpreting teachers' behaviour as evidence of a core or hidden level of their primary understanding.

5.1 Tacit knowledge

Connelly, Clandinin and He (1997, p666) report an 'explosion' in the amount of research into teachers' knowledge, based on;

> the assumption in teacher knowledge research [...] that the most important area is what teachers know and how their knowing is expressed in teaching.

However, the field of research examining teachers' knowledge, encompasses a range of different perspectives of how their knowledge affects their teaching. These studies of teachers' knowledge mainly look at two areas e.g., in relation to imparting knowledge and the interplay of different levels of knowledge.

Garrison (1996) describes teachers' knowledge in terms of background and foreground knowledge. His research, based on Dewey's theses on Affective Thought, Qualitative Thought; and Context and Thought (Dewey, 1926, 1930, 1931), demonstrates that background information continuously appears in the foreground of teachers' knowledge. Thus, background knowledge may underpin foreground knowledge. However, the relevance of some aspects of knowledge may be unrecognised, or concealed by the one who knows. For example, Collins (2001, pp.72-73) maintains concealed areas of knowledge may be 'tricks of the trade' (concealed knowledge); not knowing what the other needs to know (mismatched salience); something that cannot be understood without explanation (ostensive knowledge); or that some knowledge is not recognised as important (unrecognised or unrecognisable knowledge).

Thus, teachers' knowledge may comprise many forms of unrecognised, concealed or hidden knowledge. Yet, studies that seek meaning in behaviour imply the theory of tacit knowledge. In other words, what is implied by research examining behaviour is that people do things for specific reasons (Ernst, 1995); and that all areas of knowledge (and by implication all actions, including religious beliefs and moral codes), may be based at unconscious levels of cognition (Zigler, 1999). For example, Kohlberg (1984 p218) explains, 'it is these unarticulated tacit understandings that actually govern decision making and behaviour, not that which is verbalised ...'. For this reason, consistent behaviour may be more representative of underpinning knowledge, or those core beliefs that motivate and govern actions e.g. tacit knowledge.

Michael Polanyi is usually considered the main exponent of 'Tacit Knowledge' (Zigler, 1999). His theory attempts to explain why people act in specific ways, while not necessarily knowing what knowledge underpins their actions (Polanyi, 1958). From Polanyi, and research describing the effects of tacit knowledge, we may understand that human beings have unconscious levels of cognition that affect their conscious cognition, and that unconscious cognition informs the complexity and broad base of their knowledge (Reber, 1995). For this reason, I have acknowledged that the theory of tacit knowledge is an a priori tool for exploring teachers' tacit knowledge and understanding of children's moral learning; and that an exploration of the ways teachers express their knowledge, and how they confirm or contradict what they express through their behaviour, may help to identify knowledge that underpins their actions.

So, what follows is an account of the way I have conducted my research. However, I will begin by describing how events and preliminary exploration precipitated a move from a positivist quantitative approach to seeking the 'qualitative' in qualitative research.

5.2. The undoing of my initial research plan

In this section I will discuss how events precipitated a decision to change the focus of the research and changed my philosophical perspectives.

My initial interest was in exploring integrated and multidimensional approaches to moral education described by Dehaan, Hanford, Kinlaw, Philler and Snary (1997), The Schools' Curriculum & Assessment Authority (SCAA, 1997), and the Curriculum & Assessment Authority (April, QCA, 1998). I intended to develop an argument that all teachers are, whether they accept it or not, by the nature of their tasks, involved in children's general moral learning (Bolton, 1997; Damon & Gregory, 1997; Zigler, 1998); and that they may be more willing to acknowledge their responsibilities, and be more effective when they understand how children learn morally. Also, I was embarking on my research at the same time as SCAA (1997) was in the final stages of a project designed to endorse all teachers teaching moral education across the whole curriculum. The project was being tested in 150 schools and due to be introduced into all state schools in the following academic year (personal communication Feb, 1998).

However, as I have explained some months into my research, the SCAA project disappeared with no explanation given for its demise (see 1.3.). Disappointed, I decided to go ahead with a pilot study, based on exploring relationships between a multi-dimensional approach to moral education and research into the ways children learn.

I planned to test a semi-structured interview with 2 groups of MEd students at Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education; and (subject to any changes made following the pilot stage) I planned to interview teachers in groups, who had experience in both primary and secondary education. The groups could not be focus-groups as such, for members of focus-groups, ideally, should not know each other (Kruger, 1994). Also, as I was aiming at specific answers, I would be imposing more structure than the brainstorming nature of a focus-group interview.

Furthermore, I intended to confirm my ideas by showing that many teachers intuitively practised integrated and multidimensional moral guidance. To demonstrate this I intended quantifying qualitative data, by showing how frequently teachers made reference to, or showed by their behaviour that they believed children's' moral learning is multi-dimensional; and that their intuition related to the ways children learn in general.

Even though some quantitative methods have their place when used appropriately in qualitative research (Huberman & Miles, 1998) I came to realise that I had approached this project inappropriately from a positivist perspective; and consequently had approached qualitative research from a quantitative (empiricist) mindset. In other words, by intending to 'gather data by means of interview and observation' and then code and statistically analyse it, I was '...in fact quantifying qualitative data.' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, pp.17-18).

My initial philosophical approach to this research (empirical) may not be surprising, as prior to this study my research activities were based on statistical analysis (Lovemore, 1995; Charlton, Lovemore, Essex & Crowie, 1995; Charlton, Lovemore & Jones, 1995; Lovemore, Flores-Hole & Charlton, 1995; Charlton, Coles & Lovemore, 1997; Burnett & Lovemore, 1997). However, during the project I began a process of moving philosophically towards a deeper appreciation of qualitative methodology. Thus, when events beyond my control led me to make some methodological changes (see 5.4.), these changes changed my paradigmatic assumptions, so that now I am able to see how I was serendipitously saved from the limitations of my positivist type thinking; and less appropriate aspects of my original research design.

In the following section I will describe the merits of qualitative research methods and their appropriate use in this study.

5.3. Qualitative methods of research

In this section I will describe methods of research identified under the broad heading of qualitative methods of research.

It is generally accepted that science has aimed for results that would lead to universal principles, and that these objectivist and mainly positivist values have incurred a number of problems (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). In other words, so-called longstanding 'rules' of research that imply that knowledge can only be objectively tested and proven from isolated facts, have been questioned (May, 1997).

The feminist perspective is that these established paradigms are based on a male point of view, where men's values and issues of rigour reflect bias of gender, social class and 'dominant conceptions of knowledge' (Burman, 1994b, p.124). However, Parker (1994, pp.4-8) maintains the main problems with the established paradigm are due to the following:

- Ecological validity - research settings have variables that are difficult to control and by eliminating them the research may be less representative of the real situation it aims to understand.
- Ethics - aims for objectivity, in application, may necessitate deception or depersonalisation of the subjects.

- Demand characteristics - subjects have their own ideas that may or may not influence the results.
- Volunteer characteristics - volunteers may represent the characteristics of volunteers and not the research sample.
- Experimenter effects - researchers may communicate expectations that influence the behaviour of subjects.
- Language - communication requires language, whether it is controlled by carefully worded written questions or spoken.

Thus, to meet these problems Parker (1994) maintains a new paradigm should include realist, constructivist and feminist values, as well as the philosophical perspectives of researchers and the experiences of the subjects of research.

However, it is unlikely that replacing an old paradigm with a new paradigm embraces all aspects of research. In other words, there may be no universal standards by which all research may be judged; and that the results of research are most likely to be related to the research situation. For this reason, Heshusius and Ballard (1996) and Crotty (1998) suggest viewing philosophical paradigms that underpin different research methodologies on a continuum. In this way philosophical perspectives of objectivity and subjectivity are placed at either end of a continuum; and methods of quantifying data reflect the objectivist/positivist mindset, while in-depth content analysis (qualitative) reflect subjective perspectives of the constructivist/feminist and postmodern theorists.

Therefore, qualitative methodology is neither better nor superior to quantitative methodology; it is different, and appropriate in specific situations. Accordingly the nature of the research and its underpinning philosophy is implicit in its methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), and the evidence of rigour in research is directly associated with the specific criteria that guide it. For this reason, positivist theories seek internal and external validity, while philosophically qualitative paradigms such as constructivist, feminist and postmodern research aim for trustworthiness (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Thus, criteria such as caring, emotion, lived experience, race, class and subjectivity are used as exploratory tools in qualitative research to establish evidence of trustworthiness, and;

> Terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity...
>
> (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p27)

While, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to represent the range of views expressed by realist, constructivist and feminist writers, it is relevant to note that they emphasise the relationship between knowledge and context. Feminism, in particular, has contributed to a move away from notions that rigour depends on 'detachment from the social world' and 'generalisability' (Parker, 1994). For example, specific situations may have specific characteristics that are valuable in themselves, therefore, qualitative research aims to reflect the complexity and uniqueness in situations. As Tindall (1994a) explains, researchers using qualitative methods not only accept the complex nature of human social life they gain richness from life's complexity. So that characteristically, qualitative methods;

> ...focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what real life is like.
>
> (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p10)

For this reason, qualitative research aims to get close to an informant's experience (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992); for some level of involvement in subjects' lives is necessary to be able to understand their motivations (Geertz, 1973; Van Maanen, 1988; Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). Thus, the aim of qualitative research is neither to be detached nor objective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) but to welcome subjectivity and involvement. In addition, by exploring phenomena for information, with the emphasis 'on the context and integrity of the material' (Parker, 1994, p.1) qualitative methods make explicit what otherwise may have been implicit (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1993).

In the following section I will discuss what this means in terms of my changing perceptions of qualitative methodology.

5.4. A qualitative move

In this section I will explain changes in my perceptions of qualitative methodology and how circumstance and my changing views modified my research plan.

As I have explained my initial research activities were empirically based. Thus, to develop my knowledge I began to look at the value of qualitative exploration and appropriate methods for validation, rather than quantifying results. Inspired by claims for bias-free research and 'Grounded Theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I contemplated observing teachers at work before reading relevant literature. However, being a student, I needed to undertake thorough reading of the literature. Consequently, my reading had the effect of rapidly expanding my understanding of the relevant fields; while at the same time my expanding knowledge was taking me further away from the possibility of a grounded theory model, because I became immersed in theories and models of the ways children learn and learn morally.

Thus, I was unable to test my skills at what may be termed the most 'qualitative' of qualitative research such as Glaser and Strauss' (1967) Grounded Theory. Furthermore, while going through the scrutiny of having my research proposal accepted and my ideas challenged and modified the wisdom of supervisory advice steered me away from the so-called inductivist-positivism danger of delaying reading (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1993). On the other hand it may have left me less open to new ideas.

Researchers recognise a cyclical process of decisions and philosophical review (Kelly, 1955, Janesick, 1998), and research students often describe phases within their research that have led them to new philosophical perspectives (Hanrahan, Cooper, & Burroughs-Lange, 1999, Zimmerman, 1998). For example, Zimmerman (1998) describes how what emerged during her study began to make sense and helped to clarify what methodological decisions she had to make. My experience is that four events recurred with each crisis. For example;

1. practical limitations led me to review my choice of research methods;
2. a review of methods led me to check the credibility of new methodology;
3. reselecting appropriate methodology redefined my research; and
4. redefining my research led to developments in my ideas and underpinning philosophy.

In fact, I experienced this cycle of events all through this project, e.g. prior to collecting data, during collection and analysis, and also during the process of writing. The first crisis was the disappearance of the SCAA project (1997); however this was overtaken in seriousness by a poor response to forty letters to schools requesting interviews with teachers. In effect, only two schools had teachers willing to be interviewed (e.g. a City Technology College for boys, and an Islamic school for girls).

Anxious that I would fail to find a credible sample, I decided to abandon my self-imposed limitation of selecting schools (e.g. those following the National Curriculum), and tried to find two other schools with specific religious/moral values to make sense of including the Islamic school. I tried to sign up a Christian fundamentalist school that turned out to be inaccessible to outsiders, and a Quaker school that was unable to help, as it was the subject of another study (Johnson, 2000). Finally, I used personal contacts to gain access to a Rudolf Steiner-Waldorf School. Thus, I had to radically rethink my research design, and focussed on the merits of a sample of three schools (selected for their dissimilarity). For, as Parker (1994, p.13) says;

> ...rather than apologize for the failure to study a sample, the qualitative researcher should clearly state the reason why a particular selection of informants was chosen. The results of qualitative research are always provisional, and changes in the demands of the research setting, as well as the volunteers and researchers, place a moral responsibility on the researcher to allow the readers of the report to offer different interpretations. This also opens up the research to a reflexive survey of the assumptions that have guided it.

Thus, I chose to focus on the following three schools;

- a state secondary school for boys aged 11 - 18 - following the National Curriculum and specialising in Technology,
- an independent Rudolf Steiner-Waldorf school for boys and girls aged 4 – 18 with a Steiner-Waldorf curriculum, and
- an independent Islamic school for girls 11 - 16+ following the National Curriculum and additional Islamic subjects.

The differences between the schools suggested a comparative case study would be of some academic interest. In other words, to explore a diversity of teachers' perceptions, expectations and tacit knowledge, I could rely on the strength of the data coming from close observations of teachers at work, and use data from interviews (teachers and pupils), notes about the schools, and my reflections, as comparative tools and methods of triangulation.

I began to see the serendipitous result of my final selection of suitable subjects. For example, nine teachers (three from each school) agreed to be interviewed and observed for my study; and fewer teachers meant I could spend more time studying each one. Furthermore, more time to observe each teacher implied a more qualitative (e.g. deep) approach.

Thus, I planned to;

- Conduct a pilot study to test initial interview questions for a semi-structured questionnaire (example in appendix 2)
- Conduct semi-structured interviews with participating teachers in groups (i.e. a group of three teachers in each school)
- Observe participating teachers teaching for a period of two weeks for each teacher
- Record my observations of teacher behaviour in and outside the classroom using a pre-coded schedule (example in appendix 3)
- Record the content of follow-up interviews and all conversations with participating teachers
- Record my observations and reflections of relevant details relating to moral issues in and around the schools

- Conduct semi-structured interviews with small groups of children taught by the teachers in the study (example in appendix 2)
- Code and analyse all interviews and observations qualitatively
- Discuss and describe how teachers in this study demonstrate a hidden knowledge of the ways children learn morally with reference to the literature in the fields of morality, moral development and learning.

Yet, how the plan was interpreted and implemented was relative to methodological decisions that were leading me to a deeper understanding of the scientific basis of gaining closeness to the personal lives of my subjects; and the implications of gaining closeness in qualitative research.

5.4.1. Closeness

Different methods of enquiry and exploration facilitate different degrees of closeness to the subjects' lives. For example, degrees of closeness are implicit in Gold's (1958) categories of observation; and relate to how close an observer is to a participant. In other words, a complete observer represents the most distant position, e.g. objective and uninvolved in activities under observation; an observer as participant participates for a brief period of time in activities; a participant as observer is more actively involved in the activity or group, and a complete participant (disguising their identity and intentions) represents the closest position (Gold, 1958; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Adler & Adler, 1998).

Forms of interview also imply degrees of objective distance and subjective closeness; for example, techniques range between interviews conducted with standardised/prescribed questions and anticipated answers (structured), to open-ended questioning and unguided conversation (unstructured) (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Burman, 1994a; Fontana & Frey, 1998).

Problems arising from gaining closeness described by Geertz (1983), and Miles and Huberman (1994) relate to over identification with subjects, and interpretation of data. However, at this planning stage the potential problems of gaining closeness were still theoretical, and I aimed to get close to my subjects in three ways. For example, I aimed to become;

- emotionally close to see life through the eyes of the subject;
- psychologically close to establish trust so that teachers might be less on guard about their personal motivations; and
- physically close to their day-to-day interactions to witness patterns in their behaviour.

Thus, the effect of changing my methodological thinking to the merits of gaining closeness to the subjects was that I now looked at the richness of the data coming from my observations, and the content of interviews and reflection (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000) to demonstrate rigour.

In the next section I will discuss how rigour is demonstrated qualitatively.

5.5. Demonstrating rigour

In this section I will describe how triangulation may demonstrate rigour in qualitative research.

In the early stages I planned to quantify data from interviews and observations to demonstrate rigour. However, qualitative research depends mainly on using more than one method of gathering and analysing data (triangulation) to demonstrate rigour. The trustworthiness of triangulation is dependent on the appropriateness of selected methodologies, the quality of reflection, and interpretations of the data (Tindall, 1994a; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000). Miles and Huberman (1994, p.10) describe the main strengths of qualitative data as (their terms in brackets);

- data collected in close proximity to a situation strengthens the quality (Local Groundedness);
- an interpretation of events taken from a 'long shot' may reveal more than a 'snapshot' and is less susceptible to misinterpretation (Sustained Examination);
- 'data collection times and methods can be varied as the study proceeds' (Flexibility); and,
- rich detail or descriptions that demonstrate complexity may have the convincing 'ring of truth' (Holistic).

In terms of this study, I have aimed for;

- sustained examination, by gaining and maintaining closeness to subjects and activities;
- flexibility, by being adaptable and responsive to local conditions;
- local groundedness, through identifying themes that reflect close proximity to a situation; and
- holistic descriptions, by writing case studies on each teacher (Appendix 1), and including rich detail in the thesis.

Furthermore, I focussed on a range of methods to collect data and check my interpretations;

- interviews and observations applied to the same source (teachers);
- interviews and observations of pupils;
- noting differences between the schools; and
- reflection (self-critical, and including effects of the research on the researcher and subjects).

I also followed Miles and Huberman's (1994, p.266) recommendations (abridged and noted below):

- Stay as long on site as possible.
- Spread out site visits.
- Include low status people, cranks, and people less committed to tranquillity and equilibrium in the setting.
- Think conceptually.
- If you feel you are being misled, try to understand why.

- Keep your research questions in mind.
- Do not overly depend on one method of data collection.

Furthermore, as the nature of qualitative research invites a process of revisiting relationships between the research questions and themes arising from the data, reflection is a method of close examination of data and inextricably linked to the process of qualitative research. This constant probing aims to ensure appropriateness and productivity of the selected methodologies (reflexivity - Nightingale & Cromby, 1999).

In other words, reflection helps to identify and reduce aspects of bias. As Burman (1994b) explains, values, preconceptions and a researcher's position in society cannot be isolated from their selected methods of extracting and interpreting data. For this reason, from the first thought to the final conclusion I have reflected on the relevance, research methodology and focus of this study to explore my research questions (noted in 1.5).

- What expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally influence teachers' approaches to moral guidance?

- What expressed and/or tacit models of children's learning styles influence teachers' approaches to general teaching?

- How do teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally and teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of children's learning styles relate?

In this section I have described how the methods of collecting and analysing data demonstrate rigour in qualitative research. In the next section I will give a brief account of how I collected and selected my material.

5.6. Adapting to the real world of data collection

I have described how both in practical and philosophical terms I changed my research project to a more cohesively qualitative focus to demonstrate rigour in this study. In this section I will describe how I collected the data.

The account that follows does not necessarily reflect the order in which activities took place, for a number of things were happening at the same time. For example, in the process of finalising my research proposal I was trying to focus my research, gain access to schools, sign up willing teachers, and select appropriate research methodology.

As soon as I had obtained the necessary permissions from my supervisors, the Local Education Authority, Heads of schools (who had replied to my request for access to teachers), and the Masters in Education course leader in December 1998, I interviewed four MEd students, two teachers working in a school for special educational needs, and one primary school teacher to pilot my questionnaire (pilot study). As it happens, all the volunteers for this pilot study answered my questions in great detail; giving full and rich answers with the result that the interviews lasted much longer than expected. In addition, they confirmed my original paradigmatic assumptions in more detail than I could have wished for if I had primed them. Thus, I only made minor changes to my interview questions.

With hindsight I should have repeated the pilot study, and interviewed more teachers to test my questionnaire, as in the actual study teachers were less confident, and in most cases their answers were more obscure.

5.6.1. Negotiating access and data collection

At this point in the proceedings I had negotiated access to three schools;

- School 1 - City Technology College (boys 11 - 18)
- School 2 - Rudolf Steiner-Waldorf School (co-ed 4 - 18)
- School 3 - Islamic School (girls 11 - 16+)

I visited the schools to speak to senior or representative members of staff to arrange dates for interviews.

I intended to interview teachers in groups of three in each school using a structured interview schedule (see example in appendix 2); and at a later stage interview each teacher based on what they had said in the first interview (see example in appendix 3). Finally, I planned to interview each teacher a third time after observing them interacting with children in and outside the classroom. In other words, in the group interviews I would ask all the teachers the same questions; and in follow-up interviews, questions would be based on what individual teachers had said or done (examples in Appendix 2 pp.323 - 365).

However, from here on, my plans did not go particularly smoothly; and my abilities to be both flexible and tenacious were tested to the limit. For shortly after I conducted a semi-structured group interview in school 1, one of the interviewees resigned. In school 2 only two teachers turned up for an arranged three-teacher group interview; and then one pulled out of the study. In school 3 all attempts at group interviews failed.

I focussed on developing positive relationships with the teachers who had agreed to remain in the study, and used these relationships to negotiate with others until I had three teachers participating in each school. To avoid repeating a group interview in School 1 and 2, I decided to use the same group interview questions with new recruits, and the teachers in School 3. Thus, a pattern of accessibility based on building personal relationships emerged. Even so, my aims to conduct follow-up interviews were also thwarted. For well into the study, the teachers in School 3 proved to be the most elusive and I ended up grasping at any opportunity along the way for a brief exchange.

A similar pattern of relying on my social skills and flexibility seemed to emerge while negotiating observation times. As I will explain in chapter 6 I had the most co-operation with Schools 1 and 2, and I had to be most flexible with times in School 3.

Nevertheless, as Adler and Adler (1998) point out, none of the teachers was completely happy with continued observation. All of the teachers at one time or other expressed their views that they felt the strain of being asked questions relating to morality and learning. Another reason for their discomfort may be attributed to the use of a tape recorder in interviews. Some teachers were visibly more nervous when I turned on the machine. Furthermore, from what teachers said, and what I perceived by their demeanour, I am in no doubt that my subject (morality, teaching strategies and children's learning), and aspects of my position (knowledgeable person, Ph.D student), and personality (a little unconventional), contributed to their discomfort.

5.6.2. Reducing and responding to researcher effects

In most cases it is likely that research will have an effect on the subjects of research. In other words, subjects may affect the results; the research may directly affect the subjects, or cause secondary effects (e.g. the research changes the status quo). For example, subjects may deliberately mislead researchers (Stoller & Olkes, 1987; Fontana & Frey, 1998) to distort the results.

Being aware of this potential may have reduced such inherent difficulties; for example, I recorded my suspicions, and followed my intuitions by looking for evidence of deception and secondary effects through the method of triangulation. Furthermore, recognising when teachers tried to mislead me, and in what way, is likely to have added to the quality of my analysis.

During group interviews teachers appeared to be sensitive to each other's opinions (Morgan, 1997; Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990; Fontana & Frey, 1998), and the recorded dialogue clearly shows that they influence each other in how they answer. However, after examining these texts, and crosschecking other interviews with these individuals, I found that detail and content differed between individuals. In other words, although teachers were sensitive to each other's opinions the difference between how teachers answered in groups or individually was not as marked as the difference between how different individuals responded in the different schools. Therefore, the ways teachers responded to questions (individually or in the company of colleagues) seemed to relate to the difference between the different cultures in each school (see chapter 6, section 6.4.).

To reduce researcher effects on data gathered during observations I made an effort to be natural, nondirective and as unintrusive as possible (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984; Adler & Adler, 1998; Creswell, 1998). However, there may be little doubt that my presence affected the way teachers and pupils behaved. For example, during observations I found it necessary to adapt to the teachers' levels of stress; and to be prepared to leave their classes at any time.

Sometimes changing my position in the room or a sympathetic smile at a critical moment could ease tension. However, when I could feel a growing tension I volunteered to cut short my observation. Thus, I tried to convey that I was a non-critical observer (as described by Goetz & LeCompte, 1984); and at all times I tried to put teachers at their ease; to convey the message that they were educating me; and that it was the way they approached their work in general that would lead me to new knowledge.

Thus, by being aware and responding appropriately to the situation I have tried to reduce the effects of my research on the subjects and through reflection and reflexivity I have tried to reduce the effects of deception, self-consciousness and anxiety on the results (Burman, 1994a; Nightingale & Cromby, 1999). For, as Nightingale and Cromby (1999 p.28) explain, the purpose of reflexivity is 'to explore the ways in which a researcher's involvement with a particular study influences, acts upon and informs such research.' Thus, before I describe how I recorded the data I will explain the purpose and implications of seeing myself as an instrument of the research.

5.7. Ethical implications: myself as an instrument

As an instrument of the research I have acted as a detective (Ritchie & Spencer, 1994), as well as a narrator and illustrator of others' perspectives, and their unique situations (van Maanen, 1988). To give a trustworthy and credible account, I have tried to show that these people are real. For it is what the people in this study do (teachers, children and myself) that has bearing on the study's contribution to knowledge of how teachers understand children learn morally.

Also, in the same way that the individual qualities of teachers in this study may be instrumental in children's moral learning, the quality of the instrument that I have been in recording and interpreting events has bearing on the research. Therefore, who the researcher is in research may determine the quality of the research and ethical issues; such as, the researcher's position in society, pre-existing ideas and values (Huberman & Miles, 1998). For all these reasons, I have acknowledged that my reflections, feelings, judgements and expectations have informed my methodology and conclusions (Brown & Gilligan, 1993; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000); and that this project has also been an instrument of my learning and personal development. Furthermore, my personal ethics have bearing on how this project has been conducted, and how the results are used. For example, as Parker (1994, p.5) points out, deception or exploitation of subjects, or treating subjects as objects rather than 'people like ourselves', is both a methodological and moral issue in qualitative research. In addition, Banister (1994b, p.178) states that the reasons for conducting or funding research should not harm the subjects or be misused for 'political or cultural ends', during the research process or after the results have been published. For these reasons, my research decisions have included ethics of care, empathy and trust as defined by feminist researchers such as;

- Gilligan (1982) care as a central ethic in women's moral development.
- Noddings (1984) women's natural desire to care.
- Baier (1985) trust in social relationships and institutions.
- Meyers (1994) empathy ensures a respect for difference.

To demonstrate ethical considerations I followed ethical guidelines issued by the British Educational Research Association (Bera, 1992) and Cheltenham and Gloucester College of Higher Education (CGCHE, February, 1999) on obtaining informed consent, maintaining transparency, and maintaining confidentiality and anonymity. However, it may be that no list of ethical considerations can ensure the highest ethical standards in research, but ethical research depends on the personal ethics of the researcher.

Thus, in practical terms, during the process of collecting data I kept subjects informed of the nature of the study and how I intended to use the information; and gave the participating teachers repeated opportunities to endorse their consent; and the option to withdraw from the research for six months after they had given written consent. For example, I asked teachers to read, endorse and make explanatory notes on scripts of interviews they gave; and give their own perspectives after I have given feedback following my observations (a letter that accompanied scripts appears in Appendix 5). Samples of other letters and documents appear in the appendices to this thesis, e.g.:

- a letter to schools describing the aims of the study and requesting interviews with teachers (Appendix 4)
- a consent form signed by a participating teacher (Appendix 5)
- a personal letter to a teacher asking permission to interview their pupils (Appendix 4)
- a letter to a Head Teacher requesting permission to interview pupils (Appendix 4)

While I have tried to disguise details about the schools or teachers, Walford (2005) and Banister (1994b) warn that confidentiality and anonymity are difficult to guarantee, as it is difficult to disguise all information pointing to the subjects within the reports. For as I have tried to capture real events in the way I have recorded data, and used 'thick description' (Geetz, 1973) to preserve 'the ring of truth' in my findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994), people familiar with any of the characteristics of the teachers or schools described, may recognise subjects within the study (Banister, 1994b).

In this section I have described ethical considerations in collecting data, and myself as an instrument of the research. In the next section I will describe how I adapted my methods of collecting and recording data to maintain true to the qualitative nature of this study.

5.8. Methods of recording

In the previous section I described myself as an instrument of research. In this section I will describe how this concept reflects on the methods I used to collect and record material.

While, I intended to record all interviews on a tape recorder, and all observations on pre-coded schedules, I had to adapt my methods of recording interviews to circumstances that prevailed. For example, one teacher refused to have her voice recorded, some teachers simply froze when I turned the recorder on (mainly school 3), and most teachers seemed to be happier to talk freely after I had terminated an interview and turned the recorder off. With the result that I used my tape recorder the least in school 3, and resorted to a combination of tape recordings, longhand or cryptic notes with details added as soon as I was alone after each encounter. There is little doubt that tape recorded interviews in this study offer the most insight into the way teachers express their views. For longhand records tend to be selective, record meanings, or abbreviate replies, for the simple reason that it was not always possible to get everything down.

In the early stages of observing teachers I radically changed my way of recording events during observations. For example, after three days of observing the first teacher I abandoned using a pre-coded schedule (example in appendix 2), and decided to record interactions that may or may not be relevant on first appearance. I made this decision when I realised that I was imposing preconceived ideas on my observations, by anticipating the kind of data I wanted to collect, and missing deeper potential for exploration.

From this point of view I moved further away from a quantitative mindset and reductive methods I had relied on previously, for example, Good and Brophy's (1984) Merrett and Wheldall's (1986) methodologically empirically based observation schedules. For, as Hammersley (1990) maintains, to get close to the source of data, and to discover and understand the meaning, data should be gathered without prior fixing of categories.

Banister (1994a, p.23) also suggests sources of data should include the researcher's '...reflections, personal feelings, hunches, guesses and speculations as well as anything else...'. Thus, by turning to more qualitatively qualitative methods of recording data as described by Hammersley (1990) and Banister (1994a), I was more open to what may happen, rather than being restricted to a limited list of actions. In other words, once I had abandoned the pre-coded schedules, I recorded as much as I could of what a teacher said or did, the responses or independent activities of the pupils; as well as my thoughts, questions, and feelings (see Appendix 3 pp. 369 - 371). I also included references to environments, equipment; and anything that came to my notice. I used different ink colours to emphasise points, capitals and lower case, and little sketches to record as much as possible of what I was observing. In this way I moved away from positivist traditions of gathering data in classroom observations; and I immersed myself in the richness of recording many levels of interaction in as much detail as the pace of events would allow (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Banister, 1994a; Denzin, 1989; Adler & Adler, 1998). In fact, as observations in school 3 were beset with problems relating to access and teachers' anxiety, I changed my role from non-participant observer to participant observer by offering to help in lessons, thereby gaining a greater degree of closeness and a little more time for observations.

The data I collected appears in a number of forms:

- Tape recorded interviews
- Longhand records of interviews
- Hand written notes recorded after interviews and informal conversations
- Hand written notes of questions to ask teachers after reflecting on interviews and conversations
- Pre-coded schedules
- Hand written notes taken during observations
- Hand written notes after observations took place
- Hand written notes of questions to ask teachers after reflecting on observations
- Hand written notes of my reflections during, following and after completing the data gathering
- Personal diaries that include a mixture of personal details and information concerning my research

The case studies (Appendix 1) may also be considered as data, as I used them as another level of analysis, as well as a way of preserving real life events.

As much of the strength and reliability of the data can be attributed to methods of recording interviews and observations, and the richness that the detail provides, I have tried to preserve events in the way they occurred (Marshall & Rossman, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). For example, the way I have recorded and analysed data, and the style I have written about the schools (chapter 6), individual teachers (chapter 7), case studies (Appendix 1), and my findings (chapter 8 and 9) reflect the way I gained closeness to the subjects, and the data.

5.8.1. Capturing real life in data

Transferring tape-recorded interviews to text involved decisions about style, and faithful representation. For example, 'people use incomplete sentences or ramble along with disconnected thoughts strung together with verbal pauses'; they also 'say the opposite of what is intended,' to be humorous; and communicate meaning by their body language and excitement (Krueger, 1994, p.154). Thus, much may be lost in representing what happened in a tape-recorded interview in the written word. Thus, the format I have used in the typed versions of interviews tries to keep true to the natural breaks people use in speech. For instance, I have not punctuated speech, but show pauses, natural breaks between phrases, afterthoughts, self-corrections, etc., by starting a new line.

In the following example, a pupil in school 1 explains how he prefers to learn:

> I like to hear things
> say it is like
> say it is like
> like you are reading a book
> and it's on a certain film
> I take in more to watch the film
> than to read it
> cause I understand it more

Thus, I have rejected Krueger's (1994) advice about correcting grammar; and only occasionally edited or added words in brackets to make scripts more meaningful. I have also resisted editing my own voice; thus, at times I appear as rambling and incoherent as my subjects. However, I have added stresses recommended by Krueger to show the different ways people speak during interviews (e.g. when people laughed, interrupted or spoke at the same time). For example, an interview with three teachers appears thus:

> SAM it's not
> MEL (interrupting) the skills are common but
> for example with rivers
> you just keep coming back to the same vocabulary
> BOB you just get the flow
> (LAUGHTER)
> NELL no
> BOB you just bank
> NELL no
> you come around you do
> you introduce the vocabulary then you
> look at the one river
> and an aspect of it
> for example flooding
> and you know the river
> and another aspect

> it might be hydroelectric electric power
> and other aspects
> and the same vocabulary keeps coming in

Finally, I used bold to demonstrate raised voices, e.g. Pam Strong said:

> **those sitting at the back need to listen a bit harder**
> **doing these slowly is important because**
> (a pupil says something)
> **I'm not going to ask you**
> because it tends to get a bit noisy
> **Listening is the most important thing you need to do now**

It is possible that this style may deliver more meaning to me, as I am able to recall the sounds of their voices while reading these scripts in this format. However, it may also, by its faithfulness to events, help make sense of emotional tension, banter, and thoughts in process.

During analysis I used a technique of recreating some of the atmosphere by going back to the original event. For example, I listened to the tape recordings while working with the scripts, bringing the actual experiences to life in a more vivid way that could not have been the same as if I had relied on typed scripts alone. I also reread my own handwritten notes from time to time. For example, the books I used to record my observations all convey nuances of feeling in the way I scribbled down the notes and inserted comments. Also, I wrote some reflections in my diaries when I had nothing else to hand; and in association with events in my personal life, even these obscure notes have proved to be useful in my reflections on what may have influenced my research. Thus, the technique of returning to the original data has served as an opportunity for reflection, and a method of triangulation, and capturing real life in the data.

During the process of transferring handwritten and tape-recorded data to text; and during analysis I began coding the data, noting possible themes, and writing questions to myself. Also, as I was writing up the thesis I wrote reams of notes and reflections using Stickies (computer post-it type notes), scraps of paper, serviettes etc., to capture my thoughts. At times I talked to myself until I could write down something coherent. For in reality, from initial planning to final closing words, I have been reflecting on what teachers said and did, and questioning my interpretations. Thus, my reflections also brought to life a process of reviewing how my thoughts and feelings affected my understanding and interpretations of what I had experienced gathering the data (Brown & Gilligan, 1993). Furthermore, this examination of my interpretations offered data for self-critical reflection (Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000).

One other source of data developed during writing the thesis. For example, when it came to writing descriptions of the teachers, I found that by trying to be brief the richness of the data was being lost. Thus, I made the decision to interrupt the process of writing this thesis to write case studies to provide evidence of events where brief descriptions appear in the text of this thesis. However, writing the case studies served to add more to this project than I had anticipated before writing them; as they offered another level 'of analysis to gain a fuller *contextualised* picture' (Tindall, 1994b, p.149). Thus, by trying to preserve the richness of real life, my decision to include case studies demonstrates a reflexive and multidimensional response to data (Burman, 1994b; Alvesson & Skoldberg, 2000).

Selecting pseudonyms for the teachers in the study, I found all names have meaning for me, whether it is implied by their sounds, original meaning or by some association. For example, I found I could not rename a blunt no-nonsense type Philip Foster or Penny Francis, for these names mean the opposite to me. So, the names I have selected imply what I feel about the way these people behave and express their thoughts. Thus, the name Bob Black describes a forceful personality who demonstrates brusqueness and personal conviction, as well as disillusionment with the status of teachers and trends in education; and Christine White describes a teacher with a mission to communicate and implement ethics of care, equity and benevolence.

However, using this method presented problems with my choices of names for Islamic teachers, and I went through a process of giving them Irish and then English names before turning to names from Islamic literature. Thus, during the time I worked with their data I found that I gained some emotional closeness by using more familiar sounding names that described some of their main characteristics to me, and in the final stages of writing I used names from Islamic women in history.

In this section I described how I recorded data and tried to retain the richness in the data. In the next section I will discuss the process of extracting information from the data.

5.9. Analysing data and extracting information

In this section I will briefly discuss data analysis in relation to qualitative research; why I decided not to use a computer assisted data sorting programme; and how I extracted themes from interviews, observations, reflections and case studies.

A plethora of information published over the last three decades implies that there are different methods of controlling and analysing data (Huberman & Miles, 1998). However, as 'there is no standard approach to qualitative analysis' (Bryman & Burgess 1994a, p13) there are various options when organising, coding and reducing data down to themes (Huberman & Miles, 1998).

Ritchie and Spencer (1994) describe the process of qualitative analysis as detection; where the tasks are to define, categorize, theorise, explain, explore and map phenomena that give coherence and structure to the data. These tasks are implicit in the route from coding raw data to organising processed data in themes for analysis and interpretation. As it happens, all through the process of collecting, coding, themetising and writing, I considered ways I might extract information.

I decided against using a computer-assisted programme such as Nud*ist^{TM} , to code and store my data for a number of reasons. For example;

- this is my first qualitative study working closely with the data on paper may be more personally educative;
- the small number of subjects in my study meant my data could be managed manually;
- I wished to revisit the data from different perspectives during analysis; and
- setting up Nud*ist^{TM} or another computer assisted programme for a relatively small amount of data may not be worth the time spent.

Richards and Richards (1998, pp.237-238), creators of Nud*ist^{TM} maintain the programme is designed to assist with large amounts of data; and that the software has limitations. For example;

1. the varied tools can be confusing;
2. removing constraints can result in disorientation; and
3. Nud*ist^{TM} lacks visual display.

Huberman and Miles (1998) link ways of coding to types of analysis. In other words, descriptive, interpretive, explanatory and ethnographic studies are coded in accordance with the nature of the research. For example, discourse analysis is dependent on elements of language, and descriptive and interpretive analysis draws from cultural, sociological and psychological information (Bryman & Burgess, 1994a). For this reason codes and arising themes need to be grounded in the research to remain faithful to the purpose of the research, and 'the views of those being studied' (Bryman & Burgess, 1994b, p.219).

5.9.1. Grounding coding and analysis in the research

I experienced that 'analysis is not a distinct phase' (Bryman & Burgess, 1994b, p.217). For example, some central themes or concepts 'are given at the onset of research' (Bryman & Burgess, 1994b, p.219). However, as Okely (1994) points out, central themes that arise from the data only become clear during analysis. Furthermore, some themes only became relevant during the process of writing the thesis. Thus, I began by coding the data with themes in mind that I expected to find (these themes are reflected in the case studies see Appendix 1.); and later by immersing myself in the data I moved to 'open coding' (Strauss 1987) as new themes appeared; and onto 'axial coding' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) as themes appeared across the schools, or consistently common to teachers. Thus, to code and ultimately arrive at themes to explore teachers' understanding of the ways children learn morally, I have taken into account that teachers may have common or different understandings, as well as individual ways of expressing their understanding. I have used axial coding to identify differences between individual teachers' views of morality, how children learn and learn morally in figure 5.2. (A3 foldout overleaf); and interpreted their tacit views of morality, how children learn and learn morally in figure 5.2. (A3 foldout following figure 5.1.).

Figure 5.1. TEACHERS' VIEWS OF HOW CHILDREN LEARN

Teachers		Adam	Fred	Pam	Khadija	Fatima	Aisha	Bob	Nell	Christine
WAYS OF LEARNING	imitation			young children imitate			they learn to memorise without understanding		Young children learn by copying and imitating	they copy peers, they copy adults
	doing	pupils like activity; listening, doing,	play; 'a class can do something together'	they really learn when they do something	young children like to repeat things	activities for younger children	let them try things		young children learn by practicing	practising, listening, talking, reading
	repetition	pupils like practicing what they have learned	revisit information,	all children need to repeat things	they learn by rote but should learn in other ways	explain and check what they have remembered	revise, repeat vocabulary until they know it, old style of teaching		build on what they have learned	enjoy repetitive learning when younger
	affect	they need to be interested; if they feel they know it all they get bored	stories, awe, wonder, surprise, remove obstacles, use courage	feeling at ease	need to enjoy themselves	approach in a positive way, use feeling mostly, strong stories	stories to get their interest, sometimes they are afraid of their parents	take them from their current interest, pressure them	praise, empathy, role play, enjoy learning and sharing knowledge	positive feedback, drama
	thinking	they answer questions; talking and listening to each other	Mirroring, awareness raised by developing relationship to subject	teenagers more likely to learn by thinking	they need to understand and relate to the subject, memorising not enough	you don't force someone, give them reasons	some understand quickly, ask questions	move forward from what they understand	questioning and inquiring and thinking	through discussion, getting them to formulate ideas
DIFFERENCES IN LEARNERS	gender	boys have precocious intellect	boys interested in physical activity, girls in emotion and language	boys demand straightforward control, girls dull down at adolescence	girls are more willing to learn, boys don't write so much down	gentle with girls	they have to learn different things	Boys will always try to do it at the last possible minute to the lowest possible standard	these boys aren't always motivated to learn, girls are more eager to please	girls more focused and concerned about parental approval, boys corned about peer approval
	ages	younger pupils need authority, older pupils learn from more analytical and philosophical methods	learning begins with play, developing to imagination and intellect	extremely negative about adolescents' ability to learn	older children have developed their own learning strategies	children grow out of wanting to do activities	they get more difficult as they get older	there is a major drop from primary to secondary, don't rationalise with younger ones, towards the end of year ten tend to be rationalising a bit	older ones can understand the concept in theory	copy more when they are younger, copy adults more when they are younger, copy peers more when older
	culture	no view	differences related to use of language	difference depends on parental attitude	cultural difference is dependant on cultural bias of the subject	everyone is the same, everyone is born a Muslim	no difference	culture influences the way they respond	differences due to different experiences	Gudjurati, Urdu and Punjabi students are pushed by parents, it is a gender and cultural thing
	personality	pupil's perception of ability effects ability to learn	personality influences access to learning	temperament influences attitude to subjects		Children get annoyed if you tell them too much.	some are a lost cause		some people just don't want to be in school	
VALUES	rules	rules related to 'gentlemanlike' behaviour such as not chewing gum and dressing neatly	school rules diplomatically enforced with older pupils	school rules, politeness, obedience	Islamic dress rules	The duty of a Muslim is to help another Muslim.	there are rules, you cannot have complete freedom	rules of society	school rules	Ten commandments, (but doesn't know them) some specific social and school rules
	remorse	saying sorry changes the perspective of a situation for the better	does not insist on apology							
	fairness	respect for the individual, and other cultures	concerned about being fair	says children demand fairness	angry about discrimination against her religion		treat people equally			defend the underdog, not racist, be fair
	justice	belongs to Amnesty In., feels anger against groups such as Serbs and Israelis	related to value judgments	firm attitudes on what is right	Islamic cultural rules, girls not allowed to question men	Islamic justice	your hands will be chopped off if you steal		punitive justice	ideally based on individual and personal morality
	care	interest in each other, children need to be helped not to bully others	wish to contribute to the positive quality of life for others and the environment		respect for others	I never insult them in front of others, not hurt each other's feelings, Muslims should help Muslims	do not beat your parents			Man's inhumanity is unbelievable, everyone needs food, love, a family, education, health, clean water
	other	ethics in parables, accepts that pupils have a different sense of what is right	responsibility, reverence, awe and wonder	doing well at school	self respect, the teachings of Islam, family life	the way we speak must be soft and humble, no sex before marriage	do not steal, respect	happy marriage, stable family, trustworthiness		Christian religion due to upbringing hence could equally be Muslim
MORAL LEARNING	learning by example or repetition	believes his behaviour and treatment of others is an example	pupils learn from the way adults treat each other		rules have to be repeated	bring things up again, the teacher sets the standard of behaviour	the young ones do not understand	teachers are role models, parents should be hammered	from adults example, politicians lie, they copy they adopt	they watch how you do it, and value what you are doing
	affect - feeling good or bad	explain the effects of their behaviour, enjoy discussing issues	pupils learn from adults' genuine feelings and indirectly through stories that stir feelings			love for Islamic heroes and values, makes pupils feel good		we apply external sanctions until they regard internal ones, they are not afraid enough	children like the praise, they want to do right, they have to be rewarded for telling the truth	learn from what is dear to your heart, knowing you care
	cognition - explanations, reasoning, moral dilemmas	raise awareness, they learn to make their own decisions, discuss issues	debate, real life moral dilemmas develop conscience			stories	they have complete freedom to choose to behave well	you've got to sit down occasionally and talk, they need to be challenged		through discussion, passing conversations
MORAL OBJECTIVES	obedience (doing)	cooperation, obedience (possibly more in girls)	behave prosocially	wants them to do what she wants them to do	to follow Islamic rules	follow Islamic rules	dress properly and obey rules	obey rules of society		wear school uniform
	habits (knowing how and doing)	being a gentleman and sympathetic interest in their peers	develop prosocial habits	control their actions, behave properly	to develop strong faith in Islam	pray, read Koranic verses,	don't drink or have sex before marriage, respect elders and		tell the truth, line up in the corridor	not to fight, swear or name call; be honest, tell the truth,
	rules (knowing)	his personal rules of gentlemanlike behaviour	adapt to socially constructed rules	obey rules	know the rules	learn basic rules of Islamic, know their duty	accept rules			know when rules are appropriate
	conscience (knowing why and doing)	believes that raising awareness will awaken conscience	develop social conscience	self control, self discipline	questioning seen as rebellion		recognise the difference between right and wrong		having a conscience to judge	self disciplined, make their own discussions

Figure 5.2. TEACHERS' BEHAVIOUR AS EVIDENCE OF TACIT KNOWLEDGE

Teachers		Adam	Fred	Pam	Khadija	Fatima	Aisha	Bob	Nell	Christine
WAYS OF LEARNING	imitation		demonstrates, makes noises and gestures		demonstrates conflicting examples	demonstrates how she wants them to do something	demands pupils imitate her pronunciation	demonstrates makes noises and gestures		demonstrates, gives examples
	doing	focuses on pupils being actively engaged, yet may not be explaining clearly what they should be doing	focuses on activity, explains what he wants	focuses on pupils being actively engaged	focuses on memorising	focuses on them doing what she asks them to do, and memorising	demands unquestioning activity, focuses on memorising	focuses on practical application in practical lessons, less consistent in theoretical lessons	focuses on completing exercises	allows pupils to make mistakes
	repetition		repeats exercises and builds on previous work	repetition of main lesson exercises, uses recall in algebra and geography	reinforces rote learning	repeats content of lessons	focuses on repetition in three ways	only repeats instructions for pupils in favour	no recall	
	affect	uses elements of surprise and interest in his teaching	makes learning enjoyable, eases discomfort, uses humour	smiles but focuses on bad behaviour	threatens harsh punishment and sometimes makes learning fun	makes learning enjoyable	uses praise when they comply	threatens harsh punishment, some praise for achievement	threatens harsh punishment, some praise for achievement	makes learning enjoyable and rewarding
	thinking	pupils' may have too much help and lack opportunities to show initiative	gives support not help, encourages problem solving	nags and remonstrates	focuses on cognitive aspects of learning, discourages discussion	dissuades questioning or discovery	dissuades questioning and discussion	generally didactic, does not encourage discussion	generally didactic, does not encourage discussion	encourages discussion
LEARNERS	gender	focuses on boys interests different tasks, but seems to speak to them in the same way	encourages both genders to engage in all activities, less so with older girls	treats boys negatively	strict with girls	gentle towards girls		sarcastic and harsh with boys	sarcastic and harsh with boys	encourages boys
	ages	teaches age groups in the same way	more lenient with older pupils	treats older children more leniently	treats older girls more leniently	teachers ages in the same way	treats ages in the same way	friendly, yet sarcastic banter with older boys	sarcastic with all age groups	treats all ages the same
	culture	orientated towards his own culture	orientated towards the culture of the other	orientated towards own culture	bullies one pupil mixed reactions to cultural issues, impatient with cultural traits	orientated towards her own culture	promotes own culture	promotes own culture	demonstrates harsh and punitive attitude towards pupils in own cultural group	orientated towards ethnic differences
	personality	Demonstrates less interest in girls as individuals, clashes with one girl	uses gentle humour to reduce personality trait difference				focuses on own personality type	positive towards outgoing personalities		
VALUES	rules	bends rules	obeys school rules diplomatically	insists on rules	talks about rules, does not follow through	teaches rules	highlights specific rules	highlights rules		encourages specific rules/ breaks rules
	remorse	values remorse and apology	does not insist on apology	insists on apology	shows no sympathy for pupils' remorse	values remorse	values remorse	shows no sympathy for pupils' remorse	shows no sympathy for pupils' remorse	does not demand remorse
	fairness	he thinks pupils should be treated fairly	concerned about being fair		demands fairness for herself, not for pupils	responds to demands for fairness in own gender group	responds to demands for fairness	shows no value for fairness	shows no value for fairness	shows value for fairness
	justice	very flexible on conventional justice issues	very flexible on conventional justice issues	holds firm attitudes on what is right				focuses on punitive justice	focuses on punitive justice	focuses on equal opportunity
	care	demonstrates care	demonstrates unsentimental care	demonstrates leniency for older pupils		demonstrates care		some evidence of care	some evidence of care	high focus on care
	other	against nuclear power and cars, the gentleman	social harmony	Steiner Waldorf values e.g. ritual, colour, craft	values success in subjects and position in society	demonstrates piety	mixed demonstration of glamour and piety	values tenacity	values compliance	values different cultural values
MORAL LEARNING	practise - learning by example or repetition of behaviours	treats his pupils the way he expects them to behave	focuses on social caring	focuses on obedience	presents a contradictory example	repeats behaviours	repeats examples of desired behaviour	presents contradictory example of desired behaviour	presents contradictory example of desired behaviour	demonstrates desired behaviour
	affect - feeling good or bad	tries to interest pupils	uses feeling good and feeling bad to develop conscience	focuses on punishment and remonstration, makes some pupils feel bad	uses threats, makes some pupils feel bad	demonstrates love for Islamic heroes and values, makes pupils feel good	demonstrates admiration of Islamic values	uses threats, makes pupils feel bad	uses threats, makes pupils feel bad	praises desired behaviour
	cognition - explanations, reasoning, moral dilemmas	explains, uses Socratic reasoning, moral dilemmas	uses real life moral dilemmas to develop conscience	generally does not explain, except about hand stitched books	few examples of explanations	does not allow questioning accept for clarification	does not question Islamic values, does not allow questioning	didactic moral instruction, does not allow questioning	didactic moral instruction, does not value the ethical behaviour she promotes	didactic explanations for morally orientated behaviour
MORAL OBJECTIVES	obedience (doing)	believes pupils will behave illegally	believes pupils will behave prosocially	aims for obedience	demands unquestioned obedience	aims for obedience	aims for obedience	aims for unquestioning obedience	aims for unquestioning compliance	tolerates disruptive behaviour
	habits (knowing how and doing)	expects polite behaviour	believes pupils will develop prosocial habits	aims for compliant behaviour	does not show consistency when demanding specific habits	aims for Islamic practices	aims for Islamic practices	aims for unquestioning rule obedience	aims for unquestioning rule compliance	aims for fairness and care
	rules (knowing)	aims for ecological conservation	aims for social practice		reminds pupils what is required of them	requires pupils to repeat rules	requires pupils to repeat rules	requires pupils to obey rules	requires pupils to obey rules	repeats values of fairness and care
	conscience (knowing why and doing)	aims for moral awareness believes pupils may not follow conscience	aims for social conscience	shows anger when pupils question rules or ruling	impatient with rule breakers, does not explain	does not explain or give moral reasons	uses platitudes to explain rules	aims for like-mindedness in pupils, dissuades questioning or discussion of rules	believes pupils are immoral, dissuades questioning or discussion of rules	believes pupils are suffering injustice and invites discussion

I have used these analysis sheets as visual references when exploring themes that arose from the data that appear in chapter 7 and chapter 8.

In coding the data, implicit obligations to authenticity have depended on my ability to identify relevant themes to explore three very different schools, nine different teachers, teachers' views, teachers' behaviour and a multiplicity of unique experiences. Thus, my interpretation of the teachers' views, their behaviour, and the concepts, descriptions and metaphors they use may have influenced my choice of codes and themes. For, interpretation of the many ways something can be described is a tool for coding concepts or theories and reducing data down to manageable themes.

5.6.1. Interpreting the data

The way some teachers expressed their views, and the language they used, differed greatly. Bearing in mind that my task is of interpreting meaning, and not an analysis of the language they use to express their views, I have focussed on interpreting meaning.

For example, in answer to the question 'What can you do to educate a child morally?' teachers spoke of the effect of a 'role model' in different ways, saying;
"... by being a role model..." (concept - naming the theory)
"... by setting an example yourself..." (description of the concept)
"... it is how one teacher speaks to another teacher, how a teacher talks to a secretary, how a teacher greets the groundsman, this is in the company, when the children are around, how the teacher

speaks to the child, how the teachers encourage children to speak to each other..." (vivid description of the concept).

Thus, one level of coding this data is to ascribe role model to what each teacher said. However, their actual words may be interpreted differently in relation to other things they said. For example, it may be that the first teacher is demonstrating knowledge of the principle of 'role model'; and the third teacher relates the principle to practice. Thus, another level of analysis is necessary before final coding these statements. In other words, interpreting metaphors and descriptions, as well as checking that the meaning, implied by a concept, requires close examination of the data prior to final coding. Similarly, coding the content of observations demands close examination of all the observations of that same person (Adler & Adler, 1998). In other words, decoding data depends on interpretation, and decoding language and behaviour entails interpretation with the aid of close examination, reflection and checking (triangulation).

However, it is likely that my interpretations are inextricably linked to my perceptions of the relevance of emergent themes. The following chapters will show how I interpreted the data under relevant themes. For example, to describe the three schools and nine teachers I have identified themes from those that I brought to the study (pre-conceived), and themes arising from the data (grounded).

I will explore these themes by focussing on;

- schools in chapter 6;
- individual characteristics of the teachers in chapter 7;
- teachers' views and behaviour in chapter 8; and how their views and behaviour are reflected in the literature in chapter 9.

In the following chapters I will try to demonstrate how I gained closeness to the subjects and the data; and how the qualitative methods of gaining closeness and close examination may be revealed in writing. However, before summarising this chapter a brief explanation of the method of referencing within the text follows.

5.6.2. Referencing system used in this thesis.

In this section I will describe how references to the data appear in the following chapters.

Statements by individual teachers in interviews are noted by their intials, e.g. Adam Mann (am), Pam Strong (ps), Fred Fine (ff), Khadija Ahmed (ka), Fatima Badawi (fb), Aisha Bakr (ab), Bob Black (bb), Nell Brown (nb), Christine White (cw); and observations of teachers are noted as field notes (fn) followed by the teacher's intials, e.g. observations of Adam Mann (fnam).

The schools' intials are Islamic school (is), Steiner-Waldorf (sw), and City Technology College (ctc). Group interviews with teachers and pupils are noted by school. For example, (gictc) denotes a group interview in the City Technology College and (gisw) for the group interview in the Steiner-Waldorf school.

Interviews with pupils are noted by their school, *eg;*

Steiner-Waldorf pupils (swp)

Islamic School pupils (isp), and

City Technology School pupils (ctcp).

Other data recorded and referred to in the thesis comprise of;

- diary notes made at the soonest opportunity following an interview or observation (e.g. notes after observing or interviewing Adam Mann or an experience in the Steiner-Waldorf school appear as (dnam) or (dnsw) respectively);
- reflections during analysis of the data are noted as (r); and
- *case studies in Appendix 1.* (Reference to case studies are noted by case study and page number e.g. page 6 of the first case study appears as (A1-p.6)).

Finally, cross-references within the thesis are noted by section, e.g. this section would appear as (5.9.3.).

A summary of this chapter follows.

5.7. Summary

In this chapter I have described how qualitative research facilitates a close examination of phenomena within their natural setting; and how this method of research has strengths relative to the way that the research is carried out.

I have described how through coming to a greater understanding of the philosophical implications and strengths of qualitative research, I moved towards a more qualitative approach in my own research. To demonstrate this I described my original ideas, both in my aims for the outcome of this research, and selected methodology. Furthermore, I described how circumstances, guidance in supervision, a deeper exploration of methods of qualitative research, and seeing myself as an instrument of research led me to change direction and methodological approach. In other words, my philosophical approach pervades all areas of the project through methods of data collection, coding, identifying themes, inclusion of case studies and analysis, e.g. motifs of qualitative research (reflexivity, reflection, focus on 'real life' situations and 'achieving closeness'). I also went through considerable pains to choose pseudonyms to suit the characteristics of the teachers in the way that the names I have used have meaning to me.

Thus, I have described how I tried to gain access to subjects, and how I had to adapt my methods of data collection to achieve this: also that flexibility and reflection have been recurring motifs of this project. For example, I used closeness to;

- observe how teachers are involved in their every-day tasks (Taylor, 1994);
- delve into my, the teachers' and others' meaning (Parker, 1994; Taylor, 1994); and
- show 'difference and diversity' (May, 1997, p186) among the teachers and the schools.

Furthermore, I have used qualitative methods of close examination and reflection to explore the data on more than one level; and tried to demonstrate this in the way that I have written the following chapters and the case studies.

Thus, I will present what I found the teachers in this study understand (explicitly and tacitly) about how children learn morally, by describing unique features of the schools, my impressions of the individual characteristics of the teachers, and what they said and did while interacting with pupils. In these chapters I will refer to the information I collected, supporting evidence presented in the case studies, and the fields of knowledge reviewed in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

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Chapter 6 Three different schools

> When we visited schools we were struck by
> the difference in their 'feel' or atmosphere.
> Elton Report 1989

6.0. Introduction

In the last chapter I described a process of change and reflexivity in my philosophical approach and the way I moved towards more qualitatively appropriate methods of exploration. I described some of the serendipitous events that led me to modify my research plans to explore teachers' understanding of how children learn morally; and presented an opportunity to conduct my research in three schools with a distinctly different ethos.

This chapter represents the first level of exploration of the data I collected; and the style of writing attempts to demonstrate the way I gained closeness to the subjects. For, to gain closeness to the subjects (teachers), my first level of exploration was to gain access to the schools.

Each of the schools in this study offers a curriculum that is specialized in some way, and many of the pupils travel some distance to school to receive these curricula.

School 1, a City Technology College for 500 boys aged 11 - 18, is state funded, follows National Curriculum, and specializes in Design and Technology leading to GCSEs and vocational qualifications in ITC, Business and Science.

School 2 is a Rudolf Steiner Waldorf School for 300 boys and girls aged 4 - 18 and offers a Steiner-Waldorf School curriculum, with an emphasis on art, craft, music, humanities and science for all pupils up to A level. The school is funded mainly by fees and supplemented by fundraising.

School 3 is an independent Islamic School for 100 girls aged 11 - 18 offering National Curriculum subjects up to A level as well as five Islamic subjects. The school is funded mainly by fundraising and supplemented by fees.

In the next section I will briefly give my reasons for using qualitative approaches of;

- gaining closeness,
- acknowledging self as an instrument of the research, and
- thick description to establish the 'ring of truth',

to detect the underlying ethos or social climate in each school.

6.1. Detecting ethos

While most schools publish maxims to describe their ethos there may be differences between the atmosphere within a school and that which is laid down as the ethos of a school in its prospectus.

For example, documentation or publicity may describe different things and serve different purposes. Therefore, prospectuses and advertising material may be misleading; for example, such literature may be designed to draw likeminded interest, or to demonstrate that the school meets statutory requirements (Fuller, Dooley & Ayles, 1997). Schools may also describe their aims rather than actual prevailing conditions. For this reason, I will describe the schools' publicity material before examining the ethos of each school from what I experienced by being there.

When this study was undertaken **school 3** had no such literature and no dedicated web site; **school 2** had a colourful website and two brochures (one dedicated to Steiner-Waldorf Education in general, and one about the school) filled with pictures of children engaged in a range of activities and colourful examples of written and pictorial work; and **school 1** had a website and a prospectus describing facilities, subjects and qualification options and ex-curricular activities; and listing the ways the school meets objectives laid down in the National Curriculum.

There may be economic reasons why **school 3** does not use a website or prospectus to describe its facilities and ethos; or there is an assumption that the word Islamic defines **school** 3's ethos.

School 1's website and prospectus lists aims for their pupils' development covering aspects such as, moral values; capacity for enjoyment; responsible participants in society; community awareness; self-awareness; independence and self-discipline; co-operative attitudes and to know how to behave in an acceptable manner.

School 2 uses both visual presentation and prose to illustrate or imply its ethos. For example, vividly colourful pages of photographs and a quote from Rudolf Steiner. In other words, without being specific, from the content and atmosphere of photographs of children, the school environment and implicit meaning in selected quotes from Rudolf Steiner, the ethos of the school is implied.

Clearly, measuring or comparing the ethos of schools from promotional material presents difficulties. However, a body of research towards the end of the last century investigated and suggested ways in which ethos can be assessed (Mortimer, 1988; Robinson, 1989; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimer & Ouston, 1979; SOED, 1989). Furthermore, the Elton Report demonstrated that ethos may be more important than pupil's background and the curriculum when they connected pupil behaviour and achievement to the 'feel' of a school. For the same reasons the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED, 2002) recommends using ethos indicators to assess the feelings and the impressions people have of their school. Ethos indicators (SOED, 1989; 2002) focus on;

the physical environment;
morale and satisfaction (parents, pupils and teachers); and
relationships (between teachers, pupils, pupils and teachers).

From this perspective of school ethos (how it felt to be in the schools), I will describe;

my impressions of the schools in relation to the buildings and their environments; and

the social climates that I found at the heart of each school's social structure.

Furthermore, describing the 'feel' of the schools demonstrates how methods of qualitative research such as gaining closeness, self as an instrument, and thick description are appropriate in detecting ethos.

In following sections I describe the ethos of each of the three schools (school by school in varied sequence) by describing their physical and social environments under themes that arose from my data. (Abbreviations used to indicate the sources of data in the text are explained on page 173).

6.2. Arriving at the school door

My initial visit to each of the schools took place during school hours, thus, my first impressions were of their buildings and surroundings.

6.2.1. Unapproachable

The first time I visited **School 1**, I drove past not noticing the entrance, for the gateposts and school sign are set back from the road, and the entrance appears as a driveway between suburban houses. The school building is large and fairly modern in design;

> the grounds are mainly vast areas of mown grass, and include a staff car park, two sheltered bike-stands, a large tarmac area for sports, and a tennis court.
>
> (dnctc)

On each of my visits the car park was full, with many cars parked in full view of the no parking signs on the tarmac area delineated for sports. Without trees, the large areas of grass and the style of the building look stark and intimidating.

6.2.2. Unconventional

School 2's large signs clearly indicate the entrance to school. Trees and large plants surround the car park, and traffic calming measures and signs are plentiful. There are signs to indicate designated parking for parents and school transport, numerous signs asking for careful driving, and more signs with directions to different parts of the school. Two large black boards announce in bright colours forthcoming musical events and a children's play. All the signs are non-rectangular (a characteristic motif in Steiner-Waldorf schools).

However, my first impression was of abundant growth, and I noted in my diary;

> ... many large trees and shrubs in and around the property, the visitor's car park, play areas and school buildings. A large tree and pond dominates an open area surrounded by some of the school buildings.
>
> (dnsw)

In some places large beds of brambles grow against the buildings, and hedgerows surround the sports' field. There is also evidence of active use of the green areas as the grass is worn in many places. For example, there is a paved area at one of the sports' field with three wooden benches;

> ... a large outdoor clay oven on the grass, some large tree trunks lie next to a path, hand-made wooden benches (obviously made by children) lean up against some of the outer walls that also display large wooden and plaster sculptures.
>
> (dnsw)

6.2.3. Impenetrable

School 3 is an old Victorian school building. A large school sign stands high over the gate, and the tarmac courtyard seems spotlessly clean and sterile in contrast to the dirty street and litter clinging to the surrounding black iron fencing and gates. I noted;

> The building is ominous, dark red brick, no plants; all tarmac. No evidence of where the entrance is.
>
> (dnis)

All the windows are above eye level, opaque and covered in close woven wire, giving a 'shut in' or 'keep out' feeling. The doors were locked, and nobody answered when I rang the bell and knocked. As it turned out, although I had arranged an appointment to see the Headmistress, everyone had gone on a school trip. Yet, the next time I went I found myself locked out again. On my third attempt I learned that the bell did not work, and that the procedure was to knock on a window when the front door was locked.

6.2.4. On the threshold

Thus, before entering the three schools I experienced them in different ways; **School 1** as sterile and intimidating; **School 2** as luxuriant and unconventional; and **School 3** as bleak and elusive.

6.3. Mixed receptions

In this section I will describe my impressions in relation to the way I was received on my first visit.

Having made appointments to see one of the teachers in **school 2**, and the Head Teachers in **school 1** and 3, I arrived at these school doors anxious to make a good impression as my study depended on their support.

6.3.1. Distant efficiency

Entering **School 1**, I was greeted by a friendly receptionist, her head just peeping over the large counter. She invited me to sign in, and wait on one of the low chairs facing a long wide corridor.

Sitting (now unable to see the receptionist) in the large entrance hall with walls and lino floors in shades of beige and blue grey and open to the full height of the upper floor, I felt the reception area was, 'dark with an absence of colour' (dnctc) although there was plenty of light. I made note of the displays while I waited. For example, 'a 10' model of engineering (could be aeroplane wheel and structure that holds it to the plane)' (dnctc) and large Honours Board dominates this large area.

There is also a glass cabinet with trophies, a, 'display case of items made in Kenya and 'photographs of pupils and activities at a school in Kenya' (dnctc). I noted that the photographs had 'socially oriented statements underneath, such as a photo of a child with her name, and how many children die in Kenya' (dnctc).

After waiting for some time I was told that the Headmaster was too busy to see me. His secretary took down details of my project, and a week later I received a letter in the post confirming that an appointment had been arranged for me to interview three teachers.

6.3.2. Fuzzy welcome

The entrance hall in school 2, with large doors to classrooms and reception office, contained a large wooden bench with rather lumpy faded red velvet cushions. I noted that the walls were faintly pink, with a;

- notice board covered in an array of pamphlets and notices about music teachers, second hand musical instruments, holiday cottages, houses for sale and rent, wholefoods and all sorts of organic products, including clothing;
- glass cabinet displaying children's writing and illustrations, watercolour paintings, animals modelled in coloured wax and items of knitting and embroidery; and a
- ... very large painting of St Michael and the Dragon.

(dnsw)

Once directed to the staff room by a pragmatic receptionist, I was greeted by all the teachers (±8) in the room, and offered coffee. The teacher I was due to meet arrived late, but greeted me warmly explaining that she had had to do break duty.

We spoke about my project as she poured us each a cup of coffee. Yet, within minutes the bell rang; and rushing out the door she said she would speak to some colleagues and let me know when she had set up a group interview. However, I heard nothing more until I phoned a month later to be told that she had left the country.

What followed is like one of those jokes that starts -fortunately... and follows with unfortunately... for, it took considerable negotiation before three teachers eventually agreed to be subjects of this study.

6.3.3. No one said no

Entering **School 3** I was surprised to step onto thick deep-pink carpeting. The windowless lobby contained shoe cupboards, black leather reception chairs, and a large cardboard refuse bin boldly advertising potato crisps. On the dark pink walls, 'notices, a list of school rules, and 3 documents in Arabic and English' (dnis) entitled respectively;

> The wives of Mohammed the prophet of Islam;
> The principles of being a good Muslim; and
> The five pillars of faith.
>
> (dnis)

Once I had discovered the small school office, a friendly receptionist greeted me warmly. Every space in the office seemed to be taken up with files, shelves of papers, timetables etc.

People came in and out as I sat on one of the four waiting-room chairs squeezed into this small space:

> In my first ten minutes I was introduced to a number of parents and teachers, who came in for something or just a chat. A mother came in to show us some trays of special food

> and another came in to ask for money to buy ingredients for the school lunch. All the women [I only saw women] wear full length lightweight material coats and head scarves, some wear their scarves very tightly wrapped around their faces and a few are dressed all in black. I am glad I have worn a long skirt and a long sleeved top for this visit.
>
> (dnis)

The Headmistress was welcoming, but anxious that I did not take up too much of her time. I felt her mind was on something else as I outlined my study. She warned me that I would have to meet the religious head of the school (Mufti) as he had the final word on any decision she made. However, as I will explain in the next section, when I did meet him he suddenly terminated the meeting without finding out much about my project, or giving or refusing permission.

6.3.4. Proceeding by default

I found something surreal about proceeding with my research in each school. Although I had arranged to meet designated people in authority, agreements for continuing were gained by other means. In other words, I felt I had gained access by default:

- I was not given an opportunity to explain my research plans, yet, I was permitted to interview and observe teachers in **school 1**;
- when my contact teacher suddenly left **school 2**, the next contact teacher assumed that I had already gained some

agreement; and

- while the Head in **school 3** did not have the authority to approve my study, no one told me I could not continue.

Thus, I prepared to interview teachers with unarticulated insecure feelings about the way I had gained access to these respective institutions. However, I continued with my plans to conduct group interviews and found that differences between the outcomes offered further insights into each school culture.

6.4. Prevailing climates

In this section I will describe specific characteristics of each school by showing what took place when I tried to conduct group-interviews. For example, the ways teachers behaved towards me, and each other, revealed something about the social climate, culture and ethos of each school.

6.4.1 Feeling the vibes in school 1

A group-interview with three teachers, Sam Green, Bob Black and Nell Brown (pseudonyms), took place precisely as arranged, and efficiently within the 45 minutes allocated.

I found that the content of the interview revealed competitive undertones between the participants, as well as their contempt, pessimism and despondency about teaching, children, parents, government, and their power to bring about change. For example, during the interview Bob and Nell cut in whenever Sam spoke. They bantered or mocked the subjects they discussed, and supported each other when diverting the content of Sam's statements. Here, discussing differences between the ways boys and girls learn, Nell and Bob ignore Sam's perspective while Nell takes the lead supported mockingly by Bob.

> BOB boys will always try to do it at the last possible minute
> to the lowest possible standard
> NELL girls are more eager to please
> SAM it is the way they are socialised actually
> NELL (interrupting) they are more eager to please if
> they going to get lots of rewards
> they do well then
> whereas the boys are not motivated quite in the same way
> BOB (interrupting) I don't know what by?
> NELL you know they are
> they are not motivated in the same way
> they are not for example
> there to please their teachers particularly
> they would rather please their friends
> not their teachers
> BOB (interrupting) does it matter?
>
> (gictc)

Here, their discussion follows a similar pattern when they discuss how children learn morally:

> SAM in a sense you have sort of
> standards of expectations of behaviour in the classroom

> and you ensure that those are carried through
> and the school has certain rules and regulations
> which we expect the children to adhere to...
> BOB (interrupting) by being a role model for it as well...
> NELL (interrupting) I was going to say that...
> by setting an example yourself you...
> BOB if you don't sort them out here
> life will sort them out really
> you explain it to them
> try an get them to see that...
> NELL (interrupting) point out their faults to them...
> BOB yea
> NELL (laughing) in different ways
> BOB (sarcastically) help them to see that yea
> NELL (laughing) the error of their ways
> BOB the - error - of - their - ways
> NELL misbehaviour will lead to such and such.

(gictc)

Furthermore, Bob and Nell seemed to enjoy their descriptions of the ways pupils set the moral standards in the school:

> NELL nicking pens is ok
> but so and so's hat or pencil case isn't ok
> BOB a hierarchy of what you're allowed to nick
> NELL (interrupting) and what you're not
> and something else goes beyond the pale
> BOB (interrupting) absolutely

handbags is bad
NELL (laughing) you are a real thief
if you take a handbag.

(gictc)

NELL if they could set their own layer of conscience here
they'd hang people
BOB oh - they'd hang people for doing something
NELL they would ex-e-cute!

(gictc)

However, my questions about how teachers influence children's moral learning seemed to bring out their feelings of powerlessness and disenchantment:

NELL how can we get some influence?
BOB no!
we are responsible for unemployment
we are responsible for the drug problem...
NELL road safety...
BOB we are responsible for everything...
NELL health education...
BOB moral education should be
should absolutely be in the realms of what the parents give
if the parents are up to it
the parents should be hammered
there is a lot of very saddo people out there
not bringing up kids

they have kids
any idiot can have a kid
and it takes a lot more to actually bring them up
and a lot of people out there have got children
but are not really parents
we have so much social power
stunningly so
NELL (interrupting) so parents say...
BOB so the parents say...
NELL what ever it is...
SAM just backing that up
in reflection the number of parents
who actually come to parents evening for example
I mean in relation to the numbers of staff
I mean that has always been the same...
BOB tonight year seven ...
NELL (interrupting) half my tutor group are not coming
BOB I have half a tutor group coming
it is ridiculous!

(gictc)

Thus, looking at the interview as a whole, I found that discussions began on a competitive note, where Bob and Nell set a sardonic tone. Bob and Nell enjoyed bantering, but ended on a depressed note. In fact, towards the end of the interview all three seemed united in feeling when they spoke about their contempt for parents.

6.4.2. Weighing the atmosphere in School 2

A group interview with 3 teachers was arranged to take place in the home of one of the teachers during a school holiday. On the day one of the teachers did not arrive; and while it may be debatable whether two teachers represent a group, the interview went ahead with the two class teachers named here as Dave Valiant and Fred Fine (anonyms).

As we settled down to begin this interview and agreed to a series of interviews and observation time, the atmosphere was relaxed and comfortable. We drank coffee in hand crafted mugs, and briefly discussed the spring weather and garden before I turned my tape recorder on to ask my first question. During the interview Fred and Dave spoke slowly and thoughtfully, allowing each to finish before the other spoke (consequently, I had to allow extra time to get through all my questions). All through the interview they approached each question philosophically. In this way, they explored the meaning of words, and answered each of the questions in careful contemplative tones. For example, in response to my first question about how children learn, Fred began by saying, 'I am churning this word - learn - around...' (gisw) as he proceeded to explore the meaning and application of the word learn before saying, 'They learn through having to enter into a relationship with something; having to respond in a particular situation...(gisw). Furthermore, they spoke in such a way as to draw on each other's words and description (i.e. relationship and respond). For example, following my question about how children learn their morality Fred deliberated on the meaning of words again saying;

> I suppose for me
> the moral element
> is this capacity to respond
> if you look at this word
> responsibility
> and break it into the capacity to respond
> in a particular way
> towards the world
> around them and towards themselves
> the human and the physical world
> in a way
> while you are into this word
> the good
> what does one mean by the good?
> that one is driven by a sensitivity for the overall fabric interdependence
> and the responsibility for the upkeep of this delicate fabric
> for me the key word is the capacity to respond.
>
> (gisw)

They added to each other's descriptions by exploring the meanings of the words that the other had used, and applying the same words to their answers to different questions. For example, Dave said;

> This relationship element I think is pretty important
> you know

the relationship to other people
and the relationship to the world
that is
one is trying to ...
actually with the child
especially I think
before it becomes
you know
a bit more abstract
is to build on the kind of feeling of relationship
to what is around
so that they can sense the goodness and beauty
that is out there
in the truth that is out there
in the world working there
and sometimes that can mirror back.

(gisw)

As a researcher, I felt myself being drawn into the pictures they created as they explained their views. In other words, the way they chose to explain their principles made me feel I was witnessing the way they interact with each other. Even, their pragmatic answers were given in this characteristically descriptive way. For example, Fred quite emphatically said;

... it is clear to me that the younger child ...
and I mean under seven
learn through play

> if you like
> through interacting with other children
> and the whole imaginative world is quite forceful
> and powerful really.

(gisw)

Similarly, Dave said;

> some children ...
> you feel
> need to see something
> and that just by hearing and picturing
> through just what is spoken to them is difficult
> whereas something that becomes visible
> they can hold on to.

(gisw)

Thus, I found that their style of speaking communicated an atmosphere of care and respect for each other and their pupils. For example, even when speaking about pupils' antisocial behaviour this tone was maintained:

> DAVE ...they will only see [the effects of their behaviour
> when] reflected upon
> how it might be for that [other] little person
> when you have done that.

(gisw)

Finally, when I asked how they as teachers feel they influence children's moral learning Fred described how he came to see his role as teacher inseparable from that of moral educator. He described an epiphany during his teacher training in a seminar on religious education, where he had asked himself;

> Shouldn't I be doing this all the time?
> Shouldn't I be teaching something as boring as long division
> or grammar in such a way that the sense of reverence wonder
> and awe is upheld?
>
> (gisw)

Dave responded to Fred's account saying;

> Yes
> I would think
> in that what is in yourself is the starting place
> you know
> as a teacher
> to actually engender one's feelings
> and the attitude towards the subject itself
> and that is the key it seems
> as a starting point
> and it kind of can carry
> it seems to be the whole art
> is how to teach in such a way.
>
> (gisw)

Thus, they listened carefully to what each other said, and volunteered insights into their personal moral dilemmas about teaching, and gave an impression of thinking the issues from philosophical rather than scientific or theoretical perspectives.

As this interview offered some insights into relationships between these two teachers, it is regrettable that only two teachers were present, and that after this interview Dave decided he did not want to participate further in the study.

6.4.3 Acclimatizing to conditions in school 3

As with a number of arrangements involving this school, I found that there was a tendency for carefully planned events to fall away at the last minute, while opportunities and impromptu appointments were more successful. Thus, I will try to describe the mixture of confusion, rejection, and warm hospitality that characterises most of my interactions with this school. For, an arranged group-interview at **school** 3 never happened and I failed to interview the Mufti. (As Mufti is not his name but his position, I am more comfortable referring to him as the Mufti in this thesis, and not Mufti as called by parents, staff and pupils.)

However, I learned a lot from these failures. For example, I had been told that I should not look at the Mufti, and while I tried to keep my eyes down while asking my questions, I could not stop myself from looking up to hear what he was saying. Consequently, I had just briefly introduced my study, to set my questions in context when the Mufti suddenly terminated this interview. Later, I realised that my failure to interview him may have been due to my difficulty in adapting to his cultural expectations. However, I was shocked by the experience.

Similarly, although a group interview had been arranged in advance with the Headmistress, the interview did not take place for on the day the teachers (though friendly and hospitable) were reluctant to be interviewed. However, further in to the study, one by one they all conceded to see me individually. In fact, during my first term in this school I interviewed five teachers at different times using the same questions I would have used for a group interview.

Thus, thwarted in my efforts to conduct my research in the same way that I planned collecting data in the other two schools, I tried to accept the limitations set by circumstance and cultural differences. For example, I found that the teachers tended to interpret my questions about learning and morality as questions about Islam; and tried to educate me with details about Islamic life-style rules. I recorded replies like;

> ... it (Islam) is a complete way of life
> it tells you exactly how to live
> and the way to live.
>
> (ab)

and;

> The religion gives the answers to how to live in this life as well as the hereafter.
>
> (fb)

However, I learned from the brevity rather than content of the interviews I conducted with the Headmistress and her staff; and I later learned more about their perspectives from my informal relationship with them.

As I explained in chapter 5, it was in this school that I volunteered to help in Year 7's maths lessons for a term after my agreed observations came to an end. As a result, the more I visited this school and the more I spoke to teachers, mothers, staff and pupils, the more I learned about the ethos of this school.

6.4.4 Hot and cold

My experiences of how the teachers in the three schools participated (or not) in interviews in this study, and how they treated each other (and me), and what they spoke about, communicated characteristics of the social climates of the schools.

Thus, as I began to explore their perceptions and understanding, I found my perceptions of the prevailing ethos in each school influenced by my feelings, and my anticipation of what I would experience. The internal environments of each school projected an atmosphere, and I found that what they choose to display, and the general decoration added to the ambience of each school.

6.5. Deciphering décor

I began this chapter by describing the schools from the outside; and tried to show the differences between the feel of the schools from first impression. However, their internal environments offered some surprises and added to my experiences of the schools' implicit values.

6.5.1. Alien environment

I experienced a clinical institutional feeling inside **school** 1, set off by its size and vast areas of uniform beige and blue-grey colour scheme; the floors mainly painted cement and lino, and the walls painted with hardwearing high gloss paint. The passages are wide, and brightly lit, and the classrooms either face outward to the grounds or onto a large quadrangle laid to grass with a few trees and shrubs (out of bounds to pupils). All the windows are large bringing in a lot of light. The vast walls in the long corridors, large classrooms, technology workshops, hall, canteen and training kitchen are mainly bare. In some classrooms posters advertising technological equipment hold central place, and displays of pupils' work are noticeably lacking. When work is displayed it appears to have been there for some time. Otherwise, there are the usual notices regarding safety and fire procedures. Thus, I noted distinctive details that seemed out of the ordinary, such as my surprise when I noticed that, 'The information on the walls is relevant in this class' (fncw). During analysis this observation led me to realise a theme that I had initially overlooked. For example, I found I had noted the following, 'looking around the room I notice two Star Trek calendars, a Star Trek poster and a photocopy of an alien (fncw); and in the library I noted;

> a life size alien (his/her rib cage is a CD shelf). Above the bookcases are life-size aliens kneeling and hanging over the top shelf, looking at the people coming in. They are very realistically made dolls. There are three posters (in the room) of aliens. I noticed a number of books about aliens,

> star-travel, planets, night sky etc. [on the shelves and] In the hallway there is a display, which features aliens and reading.
>
> (dnctc)

All the displays in shared areas depicted racial diversity in some way. Later I learned that Christine White (anonym) was responsible for these displays; and I observed her attending to them and drawing pupils' attention to their content:

> … she stopped to discuss a display on a large notice board with the group. It was about sickle cell anaemia. She showed concern for a piece that looked damaged [and] took it down to repair later.
>
> (fncw)

Also, Christine's classroom was distinctly different to other classrooms in the school. For example, her walls were full of posters, pupils' work, and photographs of faces from around the world:

> There are greetings in many languages displayed in different handwritings on the walls. […] There are proverbs from different cultures, for example Jamaica, Africa and Sweden. Five posters on Martin Luther King. […] Hanging from the ceiling are mobiles made in Kenya. Around the room are clay pots etc. from Kenya. The kettle, plants, [and more] posters and displays rolled up on top of a filing cabinet.
>
> (fncw)

Thus, I found that except for the cosy atmosphere in Christine's classroom, there was an overall sense of the importance of others; and the many depictions of extraterrestrial beings (more commonly displayed than pupil's work), the vast vacant areas with occasional poster of different ethnicities), an enormous engineering display and the overpowering honours board seemed to imply that others (beyond our knowledge) are esteemed.

6.5.2. Writing on the wall

Most of the walls in school 3 are painted in a dark pink gloss, and most of the floors are covered in dark pink carpeting. However, in some places the paint was 'peeling off the walls and the pink carpet was well worn' (dnis). The shared spaces and classrooms tend to be quite dark, as the windows of obscured glass are also covered in wire meshing that cut out light.

Not all classrooms had displays of work, and where there were displays, they were small, and distinctly decorated. For example, in year 8 there was a, 'decorated plaque saying 'Cleanliness is half of faith' in English and Arabic (dnis), and 'In year ten, displayed written work was decorated with frills of coloured and metallic paper' (fnfb).

I found that a central theme connected all the displays, For example, except for the human figures without eyes described overleaf, all displays were written (usually in both Arabic and English). Furthermore, whether the displays were for information, or displays of pupils' work, the message was clearly about being Islamic and female, i.e. the documents in the lobby included Islamic principles, and a list of names of the wives of Mohammed; a pupil's essay displayed on a notice board, told a story about a woman who had watched television during her life, with the result that after her death her body would not stay in her grave until she was buried with her TV; the pupils' decorated plaques of Islamic rules; and a message on the board in year 7;

> Salvation
>
> Saving one's self from Allah's punishment.
>
> (fnka)

In the IT classroom;

> One wall has a row of computers, and the opposite wall is devoted to a display of drawings the girls have constructed from computer-generated templates. Thus, they appear to have been made by the same person. All the human beings in the drawings have no eyes. The IT teacher told me, 'only God can make eyes; it is an insult to try and imitate Him.'
>
> (dnis)

6.5.3 Colourful spaces

Shared spaces and classrooms in school 2. are painted in washes of one colour (a different colour in each classroom). Muslin curtains throughout the school are either white or dyed to match the colour on the walls.

Most of the walls display pupils' watercolour paintings, drawings and decorated written work:

> Hallways and passages are dominated by very large paintings [some by pupils]. Reproductions of old masters and photographs of sculptures, but mainly items of pupils' work, [...] arts and crafts in a range of materials [are] displayed in classrooms and shared spaces.
>
> (dnsw)

However, everything is worn, and every surface and fabric could do with renewing. In my notes I made entries such as, 'Classrooms in the old building tend to be overcrowded with desks and equipment, however, all the classroom are light and airy' (dnsw), and;

> The room is relatively tidy and clean. The carpet is a bluey green. The building is old [...] has that old many painted layered look.
>
> (fnff)

Also, characteristic of this school is the use of blackboards, and the brightly coloured chalk drawings on them (2 large boards in each of the classrooms). There are large illustrated blackboards in passages, notices and colourful announcements for parents in the car park and outside some of the buildings; all on blackboards. In addition, many of the classrooms had candles, fresh flowers and plants.

Thus, the decoration and displays seemed to be based on aesthetic interest, i.e. colour, as the content or subject matter varied. For example, children's illustrations, written work, and crafts; as well as the instructions on the blackboard, and notices, all bore a common colourful trait.

6.5.4. Clear reflections

I found that how the schools displayed children's work, and chose to decorate their environments, portrayed both explicit and implicit aspects of an underlying ethos of each school. Even something about the empty spaces portrayed implicit messages within these different institutions. For example, the general décor in **school 1** seemed blank or featureless, and the displays generally unconnected to the present occupants; in **school 2** the abundant use of colour overshadowed the worn equipment and building, and flowers, children's work, art and crafts communicated the importance of the school's activity; while **school 3** communicated its purpose through décor and the content of the displayed material.

In the next section I describe my perceptions of specific social activities such as games, assemblies and concerts.

6.6. Throng songs

In this penultimate section I will describe my impressions of the different atmospheres that I experienced when teachers and pupils gathered together.

6.6.1. Much ado

I attended two social gatherings in **school 1**, an evening concert and the school's sports' day.

The evening concert was short, under an hour, poorly attended by parents; and comprised of a brief address from the Headmaster, prizes for good conduct and achievements, pop music played by the school band/orchestra, and refreshments.

I arrived 15 minutes before the event was due to start. Some of the teachers were setting up microphones and a sound system, and one teacher was putting out chairs. I stood at the side with a few parents and pupils. We were handed a 4-page programme that included a page devoted to the school name and logo, and the Headmaster's name. Inside the programme there was information about the school's twinning with a school in Kenya, and an itemised programme. The back page comprised of advertising.

As we took our seats I overheard a teacher saying to another, 'that the Head wanted his address at the beginning of the programme as he wanted to leave early' (dnctc). Thus, the evening began with an announcement that there was a change to the programme, as the Headmaster had to attend a meeting. Prizes were announced and collected, the Head left, and pupils played a few pieces of pop music on guitars and drums. I am ashamed to say I noted that, 'The concert was painful' (dnctc).

In contrast, sports' day seemed relaxed and many pupils appeared to be participating in the event; but not all, as some looked lost or reluctant to join in. Activities took place simultaneously and onlookers wandered around. There seemed to be a number of untraditional activities such as, 'mini-golf, chess, drafts, as well as athletics, tennis and cricket (dnctc):

> At the end of the day Christine said that the day had been very good, 'but in the end they were all tired and did not want to listen.'
>
> (dnctc)

6.6.2. Taming shrews

When I attended school 3's Jaalsa (school concert):

> My first shock was that girls and women were in one building and men in the other. I had expected a mixed audience that most likely would sit separately. However, the girls sat in the front on the floor and relatives sat at the back on benches and chairs. The whole mood was of casual attendance, and chaos. Microphones at the front indicated that the men were listening in. Occasionally the voice of the Mufti was heard giving instructions. I imagined a chaotic scene next door in the men's building, as we were only connected one way by the sound system (controlled by the Mufti); and it was pretty chaotic on our side with people chatting and moving around.
>
> (dnis)

The pupils seemed nervous, and spoke and sang in very small voices.

I had noticed similar reluctance and timidity in class when they were preparing for this event (dnis).

> The narrators and the girls giving presentations reminded the audience many times of the nature of Allah and Mohammed (2 long items). Songs were dedicated to religious themes, and parts of the Koran were recited (there were at least 6 items about Islamic women's roles). At the end of the session the Mufti gave a long speech, (via loudspeaker of course). One comment he made when he spoke about the school uniform being 'a motif of the faith', was for girls always to remember to 'cover that beautiful hair'. This phrase I had heard in the classrooms on some occasions.
>
> (dnis)

> It must have been more difficult for the men to enjoy the evening, as they could not see anything. The programme was heavily filled with items referring to Muslim conduct, the criticism Muslims get for their treatment of women; and that in fact, it was for the protection of women.
>
> (dnis)

In contrast to timidity and nervousness displayed at the Jaalsa, sports' day was a joyful event. School closed, the door was locked, the Apas (Islamic teachers dressed all in black - see section 7.6.3.) covered their faces, and everyone (including some relatives and friends) walked to a local primary school's playing field.

No one seemed to be in charge. Races happened, and none of the usual rules seemed to apply. Most decisions seemed to be made by excited consensus:

> ... girls cheered for their friends with great enthusiasm, and were very happy when there was a draw. They had to run in thick tracksuits or full Islamic dress, including headscarves. There were no lines to start; and the washing line held by two people (or at one time tied to pram) was placed near or far, according to how they interpreted all the shouted instructions.
>
> (dnis)

While, I was shocked by the content and style of the Jaalsa, I could not help enjoying the informality and pure enjoyment of this sports' day. For there was none of the tension and anxiety of the Jaalsa, no Mufti, and clearly everyone (teachers, pupils and family members) joined in with happy enthusiasm.

6.6.3. All's well

I did not have the opportunity to observe a sports' day in this school, as my study did not coincide with the event. However, during breaks, and before and after school, I observed pupils playing (tennis, ball games, tag etc.). Pam and Fred inserted a physical activity into their long morning lesson. For example, Pam took her class to the gym for a short gym session during the first lesson of the day (called Main Lesson), and every morning Fred's class;

> ... go to the hall to play a very fast game;
> with a strategy that changes as the game develops.

> It is fast and exciting.
>
> A bit like human chess; very fast.
>
> (fnff)

Pupils and teachers in school 2 sing together every day. The four top classes, subject teachers, and some administrative staff gathered to sing together for 15 minutes after tutor group sessions. They sang sophisticated classical pieces, and some lively songs that appeared to reflect the season. Pam and Fred's classes sang and played recorders as part of their first lesson of the day. Furthermore, it was not unusual to hear singing coming from somewhere in the buildings at any time of day, or children singing together in the playground.

Thus, how frequently they sing and play together offered some insights into the social climate. For example, I attended school assemblies and music concerts (monthly concerts given by professional musicians). One assembly a pupil played a beautiful piece on the cello that left me in awe. All his peers cheered and clapped in admiration.

I was invited by one of the teachers (not in this study) to attend a musical concert by visiting musicians and being held for the children. I was encouraged with the words;

> … 'recommend that before you die,
>
> you hear them at every opportunity.'
>
> So I went. What a concert.
>
> (dnsw)

I found that assemblies and concerts in school 2 had similar characteristics. For example, on each occasion there were fresh flowers, or large arrangements of greenery from the school grounds. Also, these events were clearly for the pupils, I felt the atmosphere in these assemblies and concerts were celebratory, with pupils chatting as they settled down for an event. For example;

> The hall has decorations of branches of spring blossoms etc. A teacher appeared on stage, all became quiet after lot of noise; then the whole gathering sang beautiful songs in parts.
>
> (fnaa)

6.6.4. Measure for measure

Clearly, the cultural events I observed were different in the different schools. However, the feel of these events pointed to the an underlying atmosphere. For example, I realised that excitement was a missing element on sports' day in school 1 (r); and while it is likely that some teachers had tried to make the school concert enjoyable, there was no evidence of genuine enjoyment, and the headmaster did not want to stay. In school 2 the singing, playing games, and flowers and music at assemblies, seemed to establish a feeling of warm-hearted togetherness. The difference between the atmospheres in the Jaalsa and sports' day in school 3 was marked by how nervous and timid the pupils were when the men were listening in and how freely they enjoyed the informality of their races on sports' day.

Thus, to summarise this chapter I will go over the main points that came to light from themes arising from the data.

6.7. View overall

To identify the differences between the schools in this study I used the general theme of 'school ethos'; and I have tried to show that even from first sight, I experienced a kind of aura that hinted at their social climates. For example, although I had arranged appointments in each school and confirmed them by telephone, what took place set a tone. The reasons for none of the appointments going to plan could be attributed to teachers and Heads being overstretched, however, later these events seemed to be characteristic of the different schools. Thus, I arrived for an appointment at **school 1** but was not seen; I was welcomed warmly and then forgotten at **school 2**; and locked out of **school 3**. Furthermore, the way I gained permission to interview teachers revealed characteristic anomalies of the schools' bureaucratic systems. For instance, although I was denied the opportunity to explain my purpose, I was informed by letter that an interview had been arranged in **school 1**; in **school 2** I was accepted on the basis of my personal connections; and in **school 3** I gained access to teachers because my subjects were women, and being a woman I was also subject to their rules; i.e. not permitted to look at the man who had the authority to permit or refuse my request.

As the researchers describe in the Elton Report (1989), I could feel the ethos of each school. For example, with little evidence of the activities or personalities of the occupants within **school** 1, the architecture, grounds and décor seemed sterile, aloof and intimidating, and bizarrely the displays focussed on others (alien - foreign, fictional and distant). In other words, the environment and systems seemed to reinforce the anonymity of its leadership, occupants and visitors. Thus, an underlying ethos of non-recognition of those present reflected in the environment may explain why during my first interview teachers appeared to be competitive while demonstrating their knowledge, while united in expressing cynical perspectives of pupil behaviour, parents, government policies etc. Correspondingly, the lack of enjoyment or togetherness on sports' day and at the school concert reflected a general feeling of cheerlessness. Thus, in terms of what the Elton Report (1989) described about feeling the ethos of a school, **school** 1 felt generally inhospitable.

In **school** 2, there was abundant evidence of the activities of the occupants, e.g., busy and colourful notices, displays, and décor; the surroundings overflowed with greenery, places to sit or play, children's art, and the sounds of music, singing and playing. Furthermore, while there seemed to be an emphasis on creativity and aesthetics, the actual fabric of the furniture and buildings was worn. Thus, the importance of the feel of the place seemed to prevail over maintenance or organization; and in terms of how it felt, it felt convivial. This feeling was confirmed by the way the first interview included polite conversation and good coffee; the way I was greeted by other members of staff, and invited to join a music concert; the fact that the teachers supported and included each other's points of view within their own answers; the time devoted to singing; the way the pupils played and sang together; and by the content and flowers in assemblies. However, there was another atmosphere, something that felt less clear, something that I can only describe as fuzzy. For example, arrangements to carry out my research were forgotten; when the group interview was arranged one teacher failed to arrive, and although the interview with the two attending teachers seemed to go well, one teacher withdrew from the study. Thus, I felt the atmosphere in the school was like a rainbow, enchanting yet ethereal.

The social climate in **school 3** could be likened to a coconut or soft-centred hard sweet, i.e. pleasant once the exterior has been negotiated. For example, the harshness and austerity of the buildings and the décor (e.g. uniform dark pink, obscured windows, restrictive decoration, listed rules etc.), clothing and specific rules for women shocked me. Moreover, I was alarmed by the reluctance of the teachers to be interviewed, the timidity of the pupils preparing and performing at the Jaalsa, the separation of the sexes, and the way the Mufti controlled the event; and his sudden termination of our discussion. However, the warmth and friendliness of the women and pupils towards each other and me, and the pure enjoyment and non-competitive atmosphere the girls and women shared on sports' day was bewitching. Furthermore, I felt drawn into, and comfortable in, the intimacy that these females shared.

This chapter represents the first level of exploration of the data in accordance with qualitative methods of close examination and gaining closeness to reflect real life in the data (p144; p165.). In it I have tried to show the ethos of each school from what I experienced, and tried to demonstrate that the qualitative method of gaining closeness to the subjects in the writing (p 157).

In the following chapter, I will explore the data on a deeper level by describing individual characteristics of the teachers within these three schools.

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Chapter 7 Nine teachers

> Teachers, 'imply values by the way they dress, the language they use and the effort they put into their work'.
>
> (SCAA, 1995, p.9)

7.0. Introduction

This is the second of two chapters examining data gathered from interviews and observations of nine teachers teaching in three different schools (3 teachers in each school).

As I have explained in the introduction to the last chapter, I aim to demonstrate a qualitative perspective of this study (e.g. gaining closeness), in the way I have chosen and ordered themes to describe specific characteristics of the schools and teachers. Thus, in the last chapter I gave a picture of the three schools, by describing;

- the physical environments;
- how I was received; and
- social interactions.

Accordingly, in this chapter I will use three broad themes to describe unique characteristics of the teachers.

7.0.1. Impressions, constants and revelations

The three broad themes, I have selected to describe the teachers in this study, are given in an order to reflect the way I gained closeness to the subjects. In other words, the themes reflect the way that I came to know more about the teachers. They describe my initial impressions; lead on to key aspects (e.g. examples of what they said and did); and finish with anomalies that came to light.

However, as I explained in chapter 5, the nature of this study and its resulting plenteous qualitative data, presented problems of validation in a thesis of this limited size. Thus, to establish the integrity of the data, and to try and give a faithful account this study of teachers views and their behaviour, I have included a case history on each teacher in Appendix 1 to establish confirmability (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998a). In other words, what appears as 'snap shots' of the teachers in this chapter, can be confirmed in the richness of qualitative description and narrative in the case histories.

As Miles and Huberman (1994, p10) explain the 'long shot' in examination reveals more than a 'snapshot', and rich detail and thick description convey a 'ring of truth'; the same may hold in the way data is summarised. My experience in writing the case histories, and the summaries that follow, is that by reducing the case histories to brief descriptions, something is lost. For this reason, the descriptions in this chapter serve as introductions to the teachers, bearing in mind that, in this form, some of the richness of the case histories is lost; and that the complexity of the teachers' personal approaches to children and teaching, may be confirmed in the appended case histories.

Thus, in this chapter I will make references to text in the case histories. Explanations of the referencing system I have used to identify the sources of data that appear in this chapters can be found on page 173.

In the nine subsections that follow, I will briefly describe the individual teachers' views and behaviour; and my perceptions of underlying motifs.

7.1. Adam Mann

Adam has taught Science and Maths to pupils aged 14 to 18 in a Rudolf Steiner Waldorf school for over 10 years; however, he describes himself as a physics teacher (A1-pp.6, 20).

7.1.1. Old-fashioned values

Adam wears old-fashioned clothing, and looks a little dishevelled (A1-p.9). He moves slowly (A1-pp.9), takes time to answer questions, and seems to be deep in thought most of the time (A1-pp.8, 9). His general manner is somewhat ceremonial, as he takes care to hold doors open for others, greet people, and speak politely (fnam).

7.1.2. Gentle manners

Adam's courteous behaviour (A1-pp.8, 12, 29) appears as a recurring theme in my field notes and reflections. I frequently noted his politeness (A1-p.8). For example, He speaks so politely to them; and quietly' (fnam). And, 'Adam always says please, for every instruction or request' (A1-p.8). Also, 'I noted him speaking kindly and politely to a teacher who interrupted his class with no regard to the prevailing atmosphere (fnam): and when he placated, 'a teacher (who was behaving aggressively and sarcastically towards pupils) by talking politely to him' (A1-p.29).

Examining Adam's behaviour in relation to his views on how people ought to behave towards each other, and the environment (A1-pp.13-15, 20-22, 25, 27, 30): I came to the conclusion that;

> his expectations of his pupils, his hopes for social change, and the way he treats everyone, can be characterised by his understanding of what it is to be a gentleman.
>
> (A1-p.6)

He told me that he believes morality is about not being concerned about yourself; and that lying or stealing is 'something not quite normal', 'a serious breakdown of morality', or 'pathological' (am). Thus, Adam says he has, 'an ideal in mind (am)' that, 'is about dignity (am)' (A1-p.7). While he used the term gentleman frequently (A1-pp.7-8) he said that he did not exclude girls by this term (A1-p.7).

I observed many examples of the way Adam intimates what he expects of pupils in regard to polite, considerate or dignified behaviour (A1-p.25). For example, to a girl calling out across the room for results of an experiment he said, 'It may be better to come over and get them (fnam)'. In fact, Adam seems to avoid the sting in the way that he prompts pupils to comply with the school rules, and demonstrate remorse. For example, to a new pupil he said;

> 'we have a little rule here at this school about chewing-gum.' The boy is surprised and looks guilty. 'Not to worry [Adam said] there is a bin over there.'
>
> (fnam)

Ultimately, Adam seems prepared to forgive any transgression if a pupil responds with an apology, or willingness to comply. Clearly, he is sympathetic and concerned about his pupils, as he tends towards leniency and tolerance (A1-pp.26-33); and seems to go out of his way to treat them respectfully and gently.

7.1.3. Surprising interests

On a deeper level of examination, there appears to be another dimension to his understanding of a gentleman, for he says it describes 'being interested in the world as opposed to just existing in your own personal sphere (am)'. 'Being interested' or 'creating interest' arises as a theme in relation to his understanding of his role as a teacher (A1-pp.9, 14-16, 20-23). For example, he says he tries to create an;

> interest in the widest sense
> in other people
> and in a specific sense
> in scientists
> and in the activity of science as a part of the human spirit.
>
> (am)

I also thought that his pupils are interested in the extra information he adds to what he is teaching, for example, the mechanics of an engine, his perspective on environmental concerns, or the way statistics can be misrepresented. They also seemed to be interested in his somewhat mystical information about hidden meanings of numbers in the Bible (A1-p.16), and the predictions of a 16th century prophetess Mother Shipton (fnam).

As he walked around checking and advising pupils when they were working independently, I noted Adam showing interest and asking pupils what they thought (fnam). 'Adam sympathises with their lack of interest and perseveres with finding another way to interest them. It seems to be working' (fnam). He encouraged, rather than directed them, into making decisions, collecting data, writing up their own notes, and drawing their experiments (fnam).

For example, when he noticed a pupil was producing a lot of work, Adam intervened, saying;

> 'I'm not going to allow you to do something you don't care about. And that no one else will care about.' She agrees to try again.
>
> (fnam)

I also observed that Adam tends to use questioning (Socratic) above didactic methods to engage their interest (A1-p.15-17). Similarly, he expects his pupils to discuss what they have observed after experiments, rather than use experiments to confirm something known. In other words, he tries to get them to discover the results of a specific experiment (A1-p.17).

In practical matters he may be doing too much of the work (A1-p.13); and I thought that he could have facilitated more pupil participation in the planning of experiments. Furthermore, at times I thought that, 'they don't seem entirely clear why they are doing things (fnam)'; and that organisation in, his lessons seems loose, if not chaotic (A1-p.11, 12). Also, my notes show that I thought he seemed to be unaware of what pupils were doing when he was enthusiastic or focussed on collecting data (A1-p.11-13).

Furthermore, Adam set different types of tasks for boys and girls; and it seemed to be to be characterised as big or heavy tasks for boys, and fine detailed work for girls (A1-pp.5, 6, 9). For example, I noted that, 'he gives boys differentiated tasks and the girls repetitive tasks' (fnam). Sometimes after he has set a task, some pupils (mainly girls) seemed to be able to persuade him to allow them to do less work (A1-p.12). Thus, I noted my concern that teachers in this school may be focussing on boys' abilities and that girls may be treated differently (A1-pp.18, 19). For example, there seems to be a general difference in the ways girls and boys behave in this school, and I noted my irritation at the girls' behaviour (A1-p.19). They seemed generally scatterbrained and silly. Adam did not seem to object to this behaviour, and only in the case of one female pupil did he express impatience and concern about her unwillingness to try something difficult (A1-p.30). Adam told me that he was despondent about this particular girl's lack of achievement and that her parents objected to her having difficult homework (A1-p.30).

Clearly, Adam's friendly support and careful negotiation in disciplinary matters focuses on boys; and this may be because more boys find themselves in disciplinary situations more often. However, all, except one girl already mentioned, appear to respect and take serious note of what he says.

7.2. Pam Strong

Pam is a class teacher[1] in a Rudolf Steiner Waldorf school, where she has taught for more than twelve years. She also has management responsibilities and teaches 14 - 16 year-olds GCSE Maths and English. She began her teaching career in Steiner-Waldorf education and took time out to do a PGCE (Post Graduate Certificate Of Education). At the time of my research she had taught her class of 13 year-olds since they were aged 6.

A few months before I began my study of Pam, a girl in her class (anonym Lisa) had died in an accident outside the school. A number of children in the class witnessed Lisa dying in the road. Pam spoke about Lisa in every interview: and every morning she began the first lesson by lighting a candle (placed next to a photograph of Lisa) and reading a verse by Rudolf Steiner (A1- pp.39-40). As Pam explained,

---

[1] The class teacher period in Steiner-Waldorf Education spans eight years from age 6-7 to age 14-15. Class teachers are expected to teach their own class the majority of the Steiner-Waldorf curriculum.

'the whole class is near to tears each morning' (ps). Thus, it is difficult to examine anything that took place in this class without considering that the tragedy may have affected Pam's and her pupils' behaviour.

7.2.1. Bright and breezy

On first impressions Pam looks sturdy, efficient, full of energy, smiling and poised for a busy day (A1-p.41). I thought she looked professional and homely at the same time; as she is relatively smartly dressed in corduroy trousers, thick jumper, and sturdy leather shoes (A1-p.34).

Pam smiles (most of the time), moves quickly (sometimes suddenly), and hums to herself as she prepares work on the board (A1-pp.41). As pupils arrive, she rushes towards them to shake their hands smiling broadly, she makes eye contact, and greets them with a firm handshake, and a bright sounding, 'Good morning!' (A1-p.41).

7.2.2. Another thing altogether

Pam appears to be jolly, positive, well prepared and organised (A1-p.41); and she demonstrates that she expects high levels of work and quiet concentration (A1-pp.36, 38). However, I noted that some children did not appear to be happy to greet her (A1-pp.42, 43); and later I noted that Pam was sarcastic (if not rude) on numerous occasions (A1-pp.37). Also, 'they [pupils] appear restless and uncooperative as work is introduced (A1-p.36).

Pam may be adding to her class' unsettled behaviour. For example, she begins before they are ready; asks unrelated questions while they are working; interrupts her own flow to discipline them (A1-p.36); and I noted that she calls them to order frequently; and nags them about their behaviour (A1-pp36-38). Furthermore, she seldom gives praise, and tends to focus on behaviour (A1-pp.36-38, 64, 66). She often brings the element of number into chastisement and says things such as, 'You're not going to be told 10 times a day to take your hood off.' ' Now for the 5th time can you stop [...].' 'I'm not going to say it three times (fnps)'. Also, babyishness appeared as an issue for both Pam and her pupils. She said, 'if you find it babyish, just keep your mouth shut'; 'You are behaving like babies'; 'You are old enough to know how to behave ' (fnps).

Pam says they are, '...an awfully chatty class, getting quiet is very difficult (ps)'; and she devotes a lot of time to getting her pupils to obey. For example, she demands that they walk behind her in single file up and down stairs, and from one activity to another. I observed her sending her class up two floors repeatedly (3 times) until they came down, one behind the other, without uttering a word (A1-pp.38 -39).

Pam explained that the girls are temperamental and testing, and the boys demand strict control (A1-pp.59-61). However, I noted that I was concerned that, 'she is unfair to some [...], because not all children get the same treatment '(dnsw):

> Pam's view of boys' needs, and how to control boys, may relate to the fact that I noted her negative comments directed mostly at the boys.
>
> (A1-p.61)

Also, I found that she treats older children differently:

> ... she puts on a jolly friendly face as she teaches her older pupils [all boys]; and answers their questions in an animated way; yet with these older pupils she refrains from making negative comments about behaviour, or their lack of attention.
>
> (A1-p.69)

Pam said she feels closer to the children she has known for a long time (A1-pp.47-48); and that older children are more considerate of a teacher's feelings (A1-p.65). She also said older children's learning is less dependent on relationships with teachers (A1-p.49).

She seemed to blame parents and pupils for poor relationships; and said pupils of parents who are not fully supportive (A1-pp.49-50) develop, 'a kind of invisible wall (ps)', preventing her from reaching these pupils. Furthermore;

> children who don't like the teacher
> are far less likely to learn
> than the ones who go in enjoying the lesson.
>
> (ps)

However, she also said, 'less co-operative behaviour in her class is a sign of dawning individual personalities' (A1-pp.49-50). She explained that her class are at an age (13 years old) where there is a slump, or backward step, in their ability to learn or enjoy learning. In Pam's words, her class is at the age when;

> somehow the individuality is sticking out
> the awkwardnesses
> the ...
> 'I'm in a bad mood I don't want to do it.'

(ps)

7.2.3. Confusing messages

I found that Pam smiles broadly immediately after a scolding. Her reason for this anomaly, she explained is that;

> I am trying to convey to the children
> Um
> That I am on top of those feelings
> and that I am happy
> for things to go in a friendly way from now on
> if they will come along and do what I ask.

(ps)

I felt Pam may be trying hard to disguise her general negativity (A1-pp.45, 61), and asked her how she feels before lessons. She replied;

> Sometimes joyful
> sometimes ...

> a little apprehensive
> as to how the day is going to go
> sometime quite curious as to how they are going to present themselves this morning.
>
> (ps)

I asked her why she smiles when she is not feeling happy:

> I do try my best always to be open and smiling
> and enthusiastic
> and ...
> I hope this depicts my inner mood
> though I can't swear to it one hundred percent
> cause sometimes I might be perhaps
> apprehensive about the content of the lesson
> and how to get going with it
> sure I haven't completely swept all those feelings aside
> in that moment of greeting the children
> in that space
> yea
> I certainly want to convey to the children that
> it is really great to see you
> what I really now [feel] is very genuine
>
> (ps)

When I asked her how they learn maths she said;

> well react to it
> I would say the opposite of learning

fail to learn
back away from it.

(ps)

Clearly, her Algebra Main lessons[2] were not going well (A1-pp.37-39, 46). Pam explained;

this class has never been easy
when it comes to teaching maths
you know I have taught maths before
and other people have said ...
you know it is an uphill struggle with this class
there is a kind of resistance.

(ps)

She also said the girls were not doing as well in Maths as previously, and that in general;

these who are turning thirteen
and particularly with these older ones
who are growing so much
are not as sharp in their thinking
as even a year ago.

(ps)

---

[2] The first lesson of the day ($1\frac{3}{4}$ hours) in Steiner Waldorf Schools; one subject is taken as a topic for two to three weeks; includes warm-up exercises; mental arithmetic, spelling, singing and playing recorders.

Thus, observing Pam teaching and interacting with her pupils I came to the conclusion that there is an underlying negative atmosphere pervading the classroom. For while;

> poor attention or lethargy may not be too unusual in a class of thirteen-year-olds [...] as a teacher with some experience of teaching privileged and underprivileged children, I expect more enthusiasm than I observed in this class.
>
> (A1-p.46)

7.3 Fred Fine

Fred has taught in state schools, and has over fifteen years of experience teaching in Rudolf Steiner Waldorf schools. He has been with his present class of 13 -14 year-olds since they started school at age 6. His other duties include shared management of the school, and teaching metal work to pupils aged 16 - 18.

7.3.1. Feeling fine

Fred appears to be calm, happy, and comfortably yet smartly dressed. He is friendly, without trying to impress (A1-p.72). Among adults, he has a reflective, philosophical, even poetic way of speaking. He also uses 'religious terminology in conversation; and laughs at himself when he does' (A1-p.71).

Unlike other teachers in this study, Fred did not express dissatisfaction with any aspect of his task or role as a teacher. Thus, he seems to be happy with his lot (A1-p.81).

7.3.2. Smooth efficiency

In the classroom Fred is relatively silent (A1-p.80), yet his pupils demonstrate that they understand what he says and what he wants them to do (A1-pp.78-80, 84). For example, he uses signals where other teachers speak, and his pupils tend to keep an eye on him, for he has a few tricks up his sleeve for those who don't (A1-p.80).
I observed him teaching and maintaining discipline by;

> Messages on the blackboard [sic];
> Pointing to items [listed] on the black board;
> Waiting expectantly;
> Eye contact;
> Body posture or action; and occasionally
> Calling a pupil by name.
>
> (A1-p.78-79)

His instructions and discipline all seem to be tinged with good humour. For example, to get their attention he begins to write on the board (A1-p.79). In the following example, they settled within the time he took to write the words on the board. Then, because someone spoke after he had written 'Good' on the board he added 'ish'.

For example;

> Quiet
>
> Listen
>
> Now!
>
> Good ish.

(fnff)

Another way he uses the blackboard to control unwanted talking is to write initials on the board and rub them out as soon as they stop (A1-p.80). Occasionally, he says things like;

> 'Hold it: we are being interrupted;' or,
>
> 'Wait, wait, I am having difficulty hearing you'.

(fnff)

Thus, he keeps the class quiet and attentive; and moving quickly from one task to another his lessons seem to run like clockwork (A1-p.78). A pupil told me;

> he is always really fast
>
> when he teaches you.

(sp)

However, this does not mean that he rushes them through work. For, he adds information (day by day) by building up a detailed picture, and regularly goes over what they have learned (A1-p9). Fred says children learn by developing a relationship to what they are learning, by responding to what they have learned, and having it mirrored back (fnff; A1-pp.81-83, 87, 96, 99-101). Analysing what he means by this, and how he teaches, I concluded that his view of how children learn can be described thus:

> 1. Information is received via a sensory stimulus;
> 2. the learner memorises or uses the new information (responds);
> 3. and experiences a consequence (e.g. inaccuracies may be highlighted, information is confirmed or praised, etc. - mirrored back). (A1-p.83)

7.3.3. Removing obstacles

Fred's view of the ways children learn, and the way he teaches, became explicit when I observed how he involves all members of the class in perfecting and correcting their understanding (A1-pp.80, 84-85). For example, I observed pupils constructing a large freehand map of the Americas from memory (A1-p.84). He organised them by calling;

> children up one at a time to make changes to what is on the board. The whole class is involved in adding rivers, mountains, climate etc., and improving the accuracy of what has been added. He encourages those without their hands up to come forward and have a go and has a stream of those with their hands up coming up to change little details during the exercise.
>
> (A1-pp.85)

He discouraged pupils from shouting out corrections or criticising inaccuracies (A1-p.85). Thus, pupils participated in improving on each other's contribution until there is a general agreement that all the details are accurate before they consult a printed map, and the process begins again. Doing this, he gives all the pupils in the class an opportunity, whether or not they are nervous, unsure, shy, eager, bright or confident, to participate in the construction of a fairly accurate representation of the geographical features of the Americas (A1-p.84-85).

When I asked him about this method he explained that while learning something, the 'image they carry' 'is not very strong with them (ff). Furthermore, he said if I tested my own knowledge (drawing a map of Britain for example) I would find areas that I knew well and areas where I was vague (fnff). Thus, he says, the accuracy of image you carry is reflected back to you.

However, Fred says children need courage to learn (A1-p.83); and that he has to remove 'obstacles' (A1-pp.72-73) to help them have the confidence to learn. Explaining;

> the intelligence is there
> you are simply removing obstacles
> or you are allowing the child to go through.
>
> (ff)

He gave an example of a new girl in his class:

> when I first worked with her
> she was not listening to what I was saying
> she couldn't take in what I was saying

I could have been talking of anything ...
what was affecting her predominantly
was the atmosphere
which was going to somehow or other
inflict damage on her.

(ff)

This was apparent when he encouraged a shy girl to change something on the board by saying; 'If you are forced by a teacher to have a guess at it ... (fnff)?'

While, Fred believes different genders tend to have different interests, I did not see any child or gender receiving extra positive or negative attention from Fred; except for encouragement of some shy and hesitant pupils (A1-p.91). Fred said that he, 'aims for both genders to experience all aspects of each subject, even though they demonstrate different interests (A1-p.89)'. Furthermore, he said that he believes teachers should try to balance female and male aspects of themselves (A1-p.90).

He said he has to be, 'diplomatic with the oldest children in the school or he[she] will 'dump the lesson' (ff). Fred explained that a good relationship enables pupils to learn, and that pupils keep rules to please him (A1-p.98). Also, punishment and enforcing rules;

just doesn't give them the freedom
to come to the conclusion themselves
and act on it.

(ff)

Observing and listening to his views a central ethic seems to inspire Fred in motivating his pupils to learn or to cooperate. For example, he explained that he experienced an epiphany in his training that inspired him to try and bring a sense of reverence, wonder and awe into teaching all his subjects (A1-p.102). I found that this ethic appears to underpin the genuine respect and feeling he has for his pupils and the subjects he teaches (A1-pp.72-74, 77, 93).

7.4. Khadija Ahmed

Khadija teaches maths in a small private Islamic secondary school for girls (aged 11 - 17). She is the named Head Teacher, however, she answers to a Mufti (male spiritual leader) who has overall control of every aspect of the school (e.g. decisions concerning administration, curriculum, staff and pupils).

7.4.1. Hanging in there

Khadija is warm and friendly, but not a softy (A1-p.104). She is frank, quick and appears confident, intelligent and knowledgeable. She is neatly and attractively dressed in traditional tunic and trousers. Unlike most of her staff and pupils, who cover up their hair completely, Khadija wears her headscarf loosely draped, and not completely covering her hair and neck (A1-p.105).

7.4.2. Swimming up stream

It is not unusual for Khadija to be rushing, or late for lessons (A1-p.103). She is often unprepared and forgets things; e.g. Islamic dates, an appointment, a lesson, or material for the lesson (A1-pp.103).

Khadija behaves impatiently when pupils are slow to respond to her instructions, or don't understand something (A1-p.110-114). For example, she told me that she is constantly frustrated by her pupils' lack of learning skills, necessary for secondary schooling, when they come up from primary education (A1-p.108). I noted that she tends to be, 'impatient with younger ones (fnka)', and frequently speaks about being organised.

She often raises her voice (shown in bold); and said things like, 'Girls you don't read your notes, **you must read your notes!** (fnka)', and;

> **Do I have to tell you again and again?**
> **You still have the habit of primary school**
> **of walking around.**
> **Homework is always given in on the next lesson.**
> **The reason I asked you to finish five minutes early**
> **is because I want you to be organised.**
>
> (fnka)

> **'Find it, how would you expect me to find it?**
> **You must be organised.'**
> She uses a loud voice for the whole class to hear.
> She's very confrontational.
>
> (fnka)

Khadija complained that the younger pupils seem to expect to learn everything by rote, and explained;

> I personally think that
> being able to understand what you are learning
> is better than learning by rote
> because memorising things is not good enough
> you must be able to understand them.
>
> (ka)

However, I did not observe Khadija explaining this to her pupils, or giving them time to understand. On the contrary, I thought she confused them by expecting them to respond quickly or by admonishing them for guessing (A1-pp.112-113). For example, she said;

> 'Do you know what a square number is?
> (she does not wait for an answer but taps the book and raises her voice even more)
> **Look here at the list of them.**
> **Why do you not look?'**
>
> (fnka)

Khadija gives instructions that she does not follow through, and says one thing and does another (A1-pp.104, 128). In addition, she expects the pupils to work hard; and keep to rules she does not seem to uphold. I noted that the younger pupils are not sure of where she stands in relation to strict Islamic rules for women, and seem alert for contradictions (A1-pp.104-128). For example, her headscarf slips off, her sleeves are loose and slip up her arm when she writes on the board, she says she dislikes housework and cooking, and says her husband 'can cook for himself' (fnka).

I also, felt that she can be 'brusque, authoritative and bullying' (A1-p.105). For example;

> She raises her voice when a pupil fails to understand or gets something wrong; and is quick to threaten extra homework or a phone call to their parents.

(A1-p.110)

Starting a lesson one day, she asked;

> ... anyone not done homework?
> Tell me now! [as hands go up she shouts]
> **Why not?**
> **Why not?**
> **Why not?**
> I have to talk it over with your parents
> I have to talk to your father.

(fnka)

Furthermore, she seemed to be consistently harsh with one pupil. I noted;

> Eisha (anonym) goes to show her work to Khadija, who is very cold with her, saying [loudly for all to hear], '**you're very far behind and I want you to do all this.**'
> No praise for what she has done.

(fnka)

Later, Eisha, who has been looking pale and depressed, has her head on the desk:

> **'You don't lie down here, it is school,'** she snaps at Eisha.
>
> [Addressing the class] **'Go to your lockers one row at a time and I will talk to Eisha about her homework.'**
>
> 'Eisha', (she looks miserable)
>
> **'Right**
>
> **you are so far behind ... '**

(fnka)

Yet, Khadija is also warm and humorous, and enjoys personal anecdotes and a joke (r). For example, she did not seem to be offended by criticism from pupils; and smiled or apologised appropriately and with good humour (A1-p.). In such a situation, I noted the following:

> [Khadija stops mid sentence and says] 'sorry I misled you' when the girls think they are still talking about the previous problem. She says 'I should say change of subject'. 'Change of subject.' This feels like a firm but warm relationship.

(fnka)

However, in general Khadija seems to be more relaxed teaching older pupils (A1-p11). She was particularly warm towards one of the oldest pupils in the school (her only A level student). In class one day Khadija told me, 'Yasmin (anonym) actually organises me, I don't organise Yasmin (fnka)'.

Clearly, Khadija loves her subject and seems to enjoy her work when her pupils make progress; on the other hand she is frustrated when pupils are slow or do not enjoy maths (fnka). She complained that she has too many pupils with special needs, and that most pupils in year 7 had a poor concept of number (A1-p.108). However, I noted that she may be adding to their difficulties for example;

> She does have confusing ways, like introducing something and then talking about something else.
>
> (fnka)

Thus, I thought that she depends on a certain level of understanding in her pupils to enjoy teaching. Furthermore, she expects them to keep up and react quickly. For example, I noted how often, 'She uses signal words (r)' such as 'right' while she teaches. She uses it as a command not as praise, for example;

> I'm saying, where does this come from?
>
> Right. Do this please.
>
> (The please is not a gentle please, but a demand.)
>
> Right, Why did you do that?
>
> Right, what is that?
>
> Right, next one, what does it say?
>
> Read this.
>
> Right, what is this?
>
> You don't need my help do you?
>
> (fnka)

Clearly, Khadija expects people to get on with things, and not show weaknesses. For example, 'she accuses some of being lazy (fnka)' and cheating (fnka); and is impatient when anyone is not prepared to work hard (r). Hearing that I was a trustee for a charity concerned with homelessness, she said, '... how do you cope with wanting to say, "just pull yourself together?"' (fnka).

7.4.3. Double standards double lives

Observing and listening to Khadija I found a number of issues that appear to be contradictory. For example, she;

- expressed anger and hurt at incidents of discrimination against Muslims (A1-pp.105-106);
- she does not seem to question the fact that she is not allowed to look at, or question men (A1-pp.121);
- is a teacher in a school that teaches girls to be subservient to men (A1-pp.103);
- expects her pupils to be organised (fnka);
- she is forgetful, and arrives late or unprepared (fnka);
- expects young children to learn quickly (A1-pp.114-115);
- she confuses Islamic dates and months (A1-p.105);
- complains about domestic duties (A1-p103-104);
- regularly talks about food (fnka).

However, on reflection I thought Khadija is giving her pupils 'permission to lead a double life' (A1-p.136). For, she puts pressure on them to demonstrate that they can do what is expected of them, while at the same time she indicates that they can go against the system in subtle ways.

Finally, I thought that an issue around her identity and value in society lies beneath many things Khadija says and does (A1-pp.105, 127). For example, it is likely that she could get a position in a school near to where she lives, yet she travels more than 70 miles a day to be a Head Teacher in this school. In addition, she thought it was important to tell me that she has non-Islamic friends (A1-p.106): and she was visibly upset when she gave me an article written by a Church of England minister, and burst out with, 'How dare they say anything against Islam. We taught you how to wash' (dnis). She also, encouraged her pupils to report incidents of racial abuse for me to hear (fnka). At times like this I thought she held me responsible, yet my heart went out to her and her pupils (r).

7.5. Fatima Badawi

Fatima teaches Islamic history and Qur'anic studies in a small private secondary school for girls, and also assists pupils with learning difficulties in maths and English classes. Although she is not a trained teacher, she has an A level in maths and attended an Islamic College for 5 years after leaving school.

7.5.1. Vision of serenity

Fatima dresses totally in black. I was reminded of the some of young nuns I have met, or old paintings of Madonnas. For example, when she lifts the cloth covering her face just enough to show eyes to chin, she ties it to the back of her head and firmly across her forehead reminiscent of a nun (A1-p.137). Even in the way she tilts her head slightly and keeps her eyes down, she appears serene (A1-p.137).

7.5.2. Veiled influences

Adults and pupils seem to be in awe of her (A1-p.144). They watch her closely when she raises or lowers her face covering. Fatima says she, 'devotes her life to being a good person and a good Muslim' (A1-p.137). She believes that gentleness and kindness will help children enjoy learning (A1-pp.137, 151-152). She feels concerned that parents put their children under too much pressure to succeed (A1-p.140). For example, she said;

> ...Asian children have a much bigger pressure to learn
> the Asian children are pushed by their parents
> [...] there is hardly any play
> they are not encouraged to play
> a five year old will be like a serious student
> and doesn't enjoy school very much

(fb)

Thus, she says she tries to;

> teach in a manner which is interesting to them
> and try to prevent them from switching off
> the Muslim religion can become very heavy and dull.

(fb)

Thus, her general approach is to;

> Be very gentle with them
> I think if you are nice to them
> and pleasant to them
> then you can tell them about moral behaviour
> I am definitely against being angry and harsh
> you can achieve so much more by being pleasant.
>
> (fb)

Yet, she may have more sympathy for girls, as although she does not teach boys, she said, 'I think boys need to be brought up more harshly than girls (fb)' then she laughed and added;

> maybe not
> not very harsh
> when you are very harsh
> they just rebel
> boys or girls.
>
> (fb)

Clearly, Fatima is gentle in her approach and her teaching technique consists mainly of testing (what they remember in detail) and praise (A1-pp.141). I also noted that when she asks a question they recite back details, or chant a tenet in unison (A1-p.141-142). For example, Fatima asks;

> 'Who is Mohammed'
> [the pupils chant] 'He is the last prophet'.
> Fatima confirms this.

> Then she asks them to open the book at the family tree of the prophet starting with Abraham.
>
> Fatima says, 'Abraham is the forefather of Muslims, Jews and Christians'.
>
> (fnfb)

From one lesson to the next, the same information is repeated, and not much is added (A1-p.141). Yet, they seem to enjoy their lessons; and her questions seem to be relatively easy to answer (A1-p.142). However, there seems to be another dimension to their enjoyment of her lessons, for example, she tells them that their good behaviour shows their love for Mohammed (A1-pp.138, 149). Also, pupils told me how they felt about being treated kindly by Fatima, and how they felt it made them behave. For example;

> she told us that we should respect other teachers
> and by doing that we're going to succeed
> and in our religion
> if we beed [sic] nice to people
> and we respect them
> then Allah will increase
> and people will be nice to him.
>
> (isp)

Another pupil said she wants to please Fatima, because:

> you can be horrible
> you can do anything
> on your report it will say ...
> it is coming

> 'we won't tell them how good or bad you were'
> and then because of that I was really good
> [...]
> I got such a good report
> which my parents are proud of me
> and I am as well.

(isp)

Fatima seems to be able to inspire her pupils to behave well in her classes and practise her model of being a good Muslim. She told me that she uses stories to inspire them. As;

> the younger girls they are still developing
> and they don't take it [Islamic moral rules] as seriously
> they take to the stories very well.

(fb)

Some pupils told me of stories Fatima had told them. For example, they excitedly gave an account of a miraculous occurrence of a little child suddenly reciting Qur'anic verses, and another of a boy who said to robbers about to murder him;

> my mom always told me to speak the truth
> that is why I am telling you
> and then the robbers become Muslims
> because Islam is a true religion.

(isp)

I was left in little doubt that Fatima was influencing their views. For example, a pupil explained why she greeted me when she saw me shopping:

> … you know that time I saw you
> I told Miss [Fatima]
> and she says
> you have to go and tell everyone that I saw you
> that people know that we have said hello to them.
>
> (isp)

Furthermore, pupils seemed genuinely concerned about my personal morality and relationship to Islam:

> Miss do you know Islam is a true religion?
>
> (isp)

> Are you going to embrace Islam?
>
> (isp)

7.5.3. Hidden strengths

Fatima told me that as a teenager she had rebelled against Islam and her parents and had wanted to go to university (A1-p.137). However, her parents had sent her to an Islamic college and explained that in her third year there she accepted her faith. Thus, now she chooses to follow Islamic rules of dress and behaviour because she believes it is 'right' (fnfb).

Also, observing her I suspected that she is enjoying the way her peers and pupils react to her (A1-p.138). For example, her pupils remain relatively silent until she has exposed her face and greeted them; and they don't seem to ask her personal questions (see section 6.7.1.); or chat as much as they do in other classes (fnfb).

Finally, on reflection I realised that I had observed that Fatima has two mannerisms. For example, I had observed how she held her head up straight when her face is covered (r); yet with her face exposed she appeared demure or even shy. Thus, I thought I caught a glimpse of a resolute woman.

7.6. Aisha Bakr

Aisha has taught Arabic and Hadith (stories and traditions relating to the Islamic prophet Mohammed) for three years in a small Islamic secondary school for girls. She prides herself in the fact that she has been teaching Arabic to adults and children for more than 10 years (A1-p.157).

7.6.1. Regal radiance

In the first days of my observations of Aisha she wore a bright purple Islamic-style loose fitting coat (unlike her colleagues who wear black or pale colours) and an embroidered headscarf over her styled hair. In fact, she presented a striking picture of a confident well-groomed woman with manicured hands, many rings and gold trimmed shoes (A1-p.157).

7.6.2. Carrying the flag

Although Aisha has no formal training in teaching, she is very confident in her ability to teach (A1-p.157); saying;

> not everybody can teach
> you must have the patience
> and not be easily frustrated or annoyed.
>
> (ab)

Aisha told me proudly that she is the only Arabic member of staff; and also that she has the advantage of speaking the language of the religious texts (A1-p.159). Emphasising the importance of her subject she said Arabic is;

> a very difficult language
> and it is a very rich language as well
> it needs a lot of work.
>
> (ab)

Her manner of speaking is abrupt, but not impolite. She speaks in short sentences with a strong Arabic accent (A1-p.159). Her pupils seem to adore her. They ask if they have been good and try to please her (A1-pp.159, 173-174). They hug her, stroke her, or hold her hands, examine her rings, peep at her shoes; and ask her personal questions (A1-p.159).

However, Aisha is firm when she wants them to work. In Aisha's words, 'if you want them to be quiet, you have to overload them' (ab). She says 'ssh' and 'be quiet' frequently; and presses them to do as she asks (A1-pp.170, 173). For example, when a pupil said;

> 'I don't want to do it.'
> [Aisha said] 'What do you mean
> you don't want to do it?
> You read it now
> she will read it after you.
> Stand up and say ...'
>
> (fnab)

Aisha praises them when they do as she asks, saying things like, 'brilliant (fnab)' and, 'Good. I am proud of you (fnab)'. In general she does not give in to their objections, even if they seem to have good reason (A1, 6. pp.170, 171, 172). For example, I recorded instances such as;

> 'Read the conquest of Mecca.'
> (She pronounces it MAKKA)
> [a pupil objects saying] 'I've read it.'
> (Aisha snaps) 'Read it again
> [angrily she says] You never do this again.
> Be quiet.'
>
> (fnab)

Explaining why she depends on repetition as a method she said;

> if you don't have the vocabulary
> it is a little bit difficult

> so I have to point out every time
> that I want them to revise
> what I gave them lesson by lesson.
>
> (ab)

For this reason, she said, 'I have been pushing them all the time to learn the vocabulary (ab)'; and 'in year 7 I have to repeat things sometimes twice sometimes three times (ab)'.

Another aspect of repetition I identified was that the content of her Arabic lessons is similar to her Hadith lessons. Thus;

> her pupils may think they are repeating an exercise, as the same themes are constantly mentioned.
>
> (A1-p.171)

Thus, even when she is teaching the Arabic language the content is about being a Muslim.

7.6.3. Seeking blessing

Aisha changed her appearance during my study (A1-p.157). She returned after a month's absence dressed plainly in black with a plain white headscarf fixed under her chin:

> she explained that she was wearing black because [a relative] had died; and that, 'clothing is not a rule'.
>
> (dnis)

However, I noted that this coincided with her pupils calling her Apa instead of Miss Aisha. She explained that;

> … the children call [me] Apa because it means more knowledgeable, and it is a mark of respect.
>
> (ab)

Yet, sometime earlier Aisha had said;

> the other ladies
> we call them Apa
> who dress in black
> these are more knowledgeable in Islamic problems.
>
> (ab)

Thus, I felt there may have been other reasons for this change, that may have been linked to the fact that I had learned earlier that the Apas disapproved of Aisha's clothing (A1-p.158). On reflection, many things she said seemed to indicate that she is still finding her relationship to her religion. For example, after saying that she would not mind if her husband took a second wife if he could afford one, she told me he had said one wife is enough. She also spoke at length about the comfort she gets from ritual ablutions and praying five times a day: and;

> I used not to practise religion
> my father said, 'you will do it
> not stop'
> when I pray for something it comes
> if I don't pray I feel afraid.
>
> (ab)

Also, it may be that her life now does not hold the same glamour and prestige of her previous career where she was admired for her beauty (A1-p.157). Thus, in her present role she finds some solace in her position and adoration from her protégées. For she said;

> a woman must be cherished
> and well looked after
> Mohammed
> may his name be hallowed and praised
> one of his wives was well educated
> his first wife had her a trade
> she can have a business
> the more education she has
> she will bring up a good child.
>
> (ab)

Thus, I felt that at some point she has chosen to immerse herself in Islamic culture; and to follow some of the rules more overtly. In other words if being a good Islamic woman is to bring up a good child, she had found this in teaching.

During observations and interviews Aisha demonstrated that she chooses Islamic ways because they make her feel good about herself. In Aisha's words;

> with all its rules and all its advantages
> and disadvantages
> and this
> if you believe in them

> you find that it is like
> not a deterrent
> it is like something that holds you
> you are not alone
> you feel that it holds you
> and you are blessed in the decisions.
>
> (ab)

I found the essence of what she says about feeling blessed is in how she tries to be Islamic: and characterised by the way she frequently corrected me by saying, 'insh'allah' (if He wills) when I said things like, 'See you tomorrow' or 'I will be seeing you next term (r)'.

During a final interview I told her I had written insh'allah in my diary alongside the time of my appointment with her. She was delighted and said;

> everything you do is insh'allah
> and then it becomes blessed
> right away.
>
> (ab)

7.7. Bob Black

Bob Black teaches Design and Technology in a secondary school (City Technology College) for boys. He has 18 years teaching experience, although he initially trained as an engineer (A1-p.194).

7.7.1 On the surface

Bob appears to be confident and in control; a somewhat dapper man who speaks loudly, and moves quickly:

> When he was leading me to a room where I could interview him, or if he was moving to another room to teach, he gave no indication that he was about to set off. Consequently, I was forced to run to catch up or keep up with him.
>
> (A1-p.192)

In interviews Bob answered my questions confidently, using the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of educational psychology and research (A1-pp.203, 215-217, 228); and while the information he gave is relevant in understanding Bob, the questions I asked (see examples A2, questionnaire; A3, Informal questions) did not call for such information. Similarly, I observed that in the classroom he added a wide range of information not necessarily for the benefit of his pupils (A1-p.209). I noted that;

> He gives them a string of unconnected facts.
>
> To show off his knowledge?
>
> Is this for my benefit?
>
> (fnbb)

He also told them about theories relating to intelligence or memory (mind-maps etc.) (fnbb). However, as his descriptions tend to be brief, and involve sarcastic jibes at pupils (A1-pp.212), they may be confusing rather than useful. He also seemed to be accusing his pupils of their lack of general knowledge. For example, he asked them questions without waiting for an answer, such as;

> Where is Bayeux?
> Is it in France?
> I hope so, it was last time I saw it.

(fnbb)

Speaking about his pupils he said;

> their general knowledge is so low
> I mean they don't know for example
> that there is such a thing such
> as the Clifton Suspension Bridge in Bristol.

(gictc)

7.7.2 On the chin

Bob makes it clear that he does not believe in a soft approach (A1-pp.195-201). Most of the time he is strict and unsympathetic (A1-pp.198-200, 206, 209, 213-215, 225 - 226, 234 - 237). He teases and plays tricks on them; and in general he speaks mockingly, impolitely, and sarcastically (A1-pp.210, 222-225. 228, 235-237). I observed him use an entire lesson to trap a class into making a mistake (A1-pp.211-212). Bob describes his method of teaching as a;

> good-natured bantering attack on them
> and that is what they get all the time
> a constant kind of light ...
> light attack on them
> although humour based.

(bb)

He believes his tough approach is right (A1-p.207-208, 235-238), and that colleagues who believe differently are 'emotionally woolly (bb)':

> I think teachers have to be more honest and say
> well we are into behaviour modification
> a lot of the time
> so let's be good at it.
>
> (bb)
>
> we survive
> that's good
> if we fall over
> we are no use to anybody.
>
> (gictc)

He justifies his approach further by saying:

> more of them [pupils] come from broken families than don't
> but I can't be treading around those sensibilities
> all the time
> if I took on every sensibility
> I would never actually speak
> so I have certain number of very basic
> straightforward rules.
>
> (bb)

His first rule is to represent what he calls 'normality (bb)' respectability, honesty, and a happy and stable home life (A1-pp.199-200, 218-219, 277-228). The second is to criticise what he calls 'stupidity' (bb). Thus, he says when pupils;

> behave stupidly

> and
> I will criticise them very hard
> or very harshly for that
> and it is not them that is necessarily stupid
> it is stupid behaviour
> and I will criticise them for stupid behaviour.
>
> (bb)

Thus, he says. 'I'm actively promoting high performance individuals (bb)' and, 'I'm actively torpedoing the people who are dragging the group down; and that must be blindingly obvious to them (bb)'.

While, I thought some of his pupils may be unfairly singled out by his tough approach (A1-pp.212 - 214, 224-226);

> when given the opportunity to speak in confidence, none of the pupils I interviewed (eight pupils selected from different year groups and who had been taught by all the teachers in the study) complained about the way he treats them.
>
> (A1-p.236)

Also, I noted some pupils admiring him and enjoying his sense of humour (A1-p.210); and occasionally he seemed to show genuine care that I found paradoxical (A1-pp. 212-213). However, in general;

> he conducts his lessons with firm discipline and little or no interaction. In other words, he instructs and expects his pupils to follow his instructions without question.
>
> (A1-p.204)

Explaining the importance of attendance to pupils he said, 'So that you can receive all the knowledge the school has to give you' (fnbb). Yet, he does not seem to check their prior knowledge as he says he does (A1-p.204).

Bob teaches 'in an animated way, using sounds and his body to demonstrate (A1-p.205)'. He focuses on delivering information. However, his pupils told me that they appreciate the way he explains what he wants them to do (A1-p.205).
For example;

> he gives us a ready made model
> that can pull apart
> and show us how to make it
> and then go through like different stages in the work.
>
> (ctcp)

Yet, I felt that he may be over emphasising the need to hurry through theory and written work (A1-pp.9, 11), and clearly (as Bob complained and I observed) the practical lessons are too short to achieve much between the time available after setting up and tidying away (fnbb).

7.7.3 Despair beneath

I found some aspects of Bob's behaviour perplexing. In interviews he was forthright in his criticism of colleagues, the media, the government, the education system, the national curriculum, parents and pupils (A1-pp.). For example, he said the secondary school system goes against the way children learn (A1-pp.206-207), e.g. lessons are too short, and The National Curriculum suppresses, 'the natural kind of learning process' (gictc). Also, in interview he spoke highly of the value of school trips in building positive relationships between pupils and teachers (A1-p.202), however, he seemed bitter when he said he did not want to socialise with pupils or go on holiday with them (A1-p.201).

He is bitter about the attitudes of the parents, their parenting skills (A1-pp.222-223), and their lack of attendance at school events (gictc). However, he seems particularly despondent about being a teacher, saying;

> it is a low-grade pointless occupation
> done by people who can't do anythink [sic] whatever
> I give up fighting it
> for eighteen years
> I tried to prove that wasn't the case
> I can do things that other people can't do
> but it doesn't make any difference.
>
> (gictc)

He told me he regretted the fact that he had chosen to be a teacher (A1-p.194) and had not continued with his first career of engineering (A1-pp.193-195); also that he did not intend to stay in teaching (A1-pp.194-195). Thus, when he said. 'I don't care any more about what people say about what I do for a living (bb)' I was not sure that I believed him.

7.8. Nell Brown

Nell Brown has taught geography to boys and girls in both primary and secondary schools for more than 12 years, In her present position, she teaches geography to boys aged 11 to 16 in a City Technology College.

7.8.1. Bored

In a group interview Nell spoke warmly about teaching younger children (younger than the children she teaches at the moment) and building positive relationships on fieldtrips (that no longer take place). She argued her points about specific teaching methodologies (which she doesn't appear to use) (A1-pp.247-253, 258-259, 277) with conviction. However, later when I asked her what she enjoyed about geography she said; 'I know what bores me, and it's rocks and the weather' (nb). Yet, in spite of her lack of enthusiasm for her subject, she said she taught geography;

> competently
> but not very inspired
> I would think
> except hurricanes
> I don't mind doing hurricanes.
>
> (nb)

After observing Nell for a while I thought that the way she dresses seems to reflect her attitude to teaching; as she, 'wears loose fitting clothing with no apparent thought to what may look neat, nice or match' (A1-p.244).

7.8.2. Bashing and boredom

In Nell's classes I observed a general pattern of behaviour where pupils;

> frequently leave their desks without clear reasons, make unnecessary noises, knock their chairs over, talk, answer back cheekily, sing phrases from pop songs, and lash out at each other. I recorded many incidents of children taking others' belongings, name calling, pinching, punching, kicking and hitting.
>
> (A1-p.240-241)

For example, in my field notes I wrote, 'most of the time boys are punching each other on the arms and shoulders' (fnnb). I saw how pupils;

> cowered while being hit from someone in the desk behind, covered their belongings by leaning over them, and looked around nervously.
>
> (A1-p.241)

I observed that Nell;

> walked around the room looking at their work and making positive comments and statements of encouragement in the first week of observations, and made fewer positive

> comments and spent more time at the front of the class in the second week.
>
> (A1-p.243)

In general her verbal interactions with children tend to be sarcastic and indifferent. For example, to a class looking very hot after break she prevented them from having a drink and said, 'If I had a tall glass of lemonade with ice tinkling in it I would drink it all myself' (fnnb).

While Nell complained that she could not engage their interest in geography (A1-pp.262-272) I thought that she may be discouraging interest by deflecting their relevant questions with answers such as, 'we will talk about it later (fnnb)', and, 'that is a naive answer and I will talk to you about it later' (fnnb). In fact, I found that when pupils ask questions she seems to react curtly. For example, while showing a video that demonstrated the labour intensive activity of collecting wood for cooking; a pupil obviously moved by this hardship suggested;

> families collect whole trees. [Nell snaps,] 'Do you mean a living tree? The tree would die then. They need to collect dead wood in order to be sustainable'.
>
> (fnnb)

Furthermore, her relevant answers seemed to, by implication, accuse them of ignorance e.g. 'Where you have a lot of people, it is better not to have robots building cars' (fnnb). and, 'Teaching wind power is better for the future as it is not going to run out' (fnnb).

Thus, I found Nell's lesson lacked opportunities to engage enthusiasm or interest (A1-pp.249-253) that seems to be summed up by Nell's explanation to me one day;

> We are doing the travels of Marco Polo
> very laboriously
> as you can see.
>
> (fnnb)

For, all her lessons seem to place an emphasis on the amount of work they have to achieve in a lesson and fail to demonstrate how interesting geography can be (A1-pp.249-253). For example, I thought Nell used the board, worksheets, textbooks, and videos to fill lessons rather than teach or build on what they had learned in the previous lesson (A1-pp.249-253). As Nell explained to a pupil;

> School is boring
> every part about it is boring
> poor Barry
> anyway
> do your work
> or I'll keep you in.
>
> (fnnb)

7.8.3. Bashing a way through trivia

Nell seems to know what could make her lessons more interesting, because she said, 'I could be much more active in my teaching and get the children much more involved' (nb). She also said, 'in my other school I was more active; I am far more didactic than I have ever been' (nb).

Yet, she blames the children, their parents, the school (A1-pp.250, 259-260, 271-274); as well as the ages, gender and cultural backgrounds of her pupils for their lack of interest in her subject (A1-pp.260-266, 276-277). For example she said;

> we are in a small space
> with not particularly well disciplined children
> these boys aren't always motivated to learn.
>
> (nb)

While there may be some truth in Nell's words, 'Girls are more eager to please (gictc)' their teachers, while boys, 'would rather please their friends (gictc)'; Nell seems to treat boys (or these boys) differently. For example, she said she misses teaching girls (A1-p.276) and that she behaves differently with older boys. Thus, I came to the conclusion that Nell, 'has little sympathy for the boys in her classes (A1-p.259)'; 'appears to support (and delivers) harsh treatment and punishment' (A1-p.270); and blames the pupils for setting the moral climate in the school (A1-pp.273). Thus, 'she resorts to direct and indirect punitive action to enforce motivation to learn' (A1-p.259). For example, Nell said;

> there are teachers that children don't get on with
> and don't like
> and don't want to do the work for at all
> and some teachers have endless confrontations
> and some classes where the children won't misbehave perhaps
> but don't learn so much either
> won't ask
> won't speak .
>
> (nb)

A pupil said, 'we didn't get on (ctcp)'; and another when asked how he felt about learning in Nell's classes asked me if I had the power to change the status quo:

> say I had a problem with a teacher
> and the teacher is too strict to me
> not strict
> but like
> doesn't make happy
> if I work hard
> could you like do things
> like make that teacher be more interested in the student?
>
> (ctcp)

I felt genuinely sad observing and reflecting on conditions in Nell's classes. Also, after observing her and listening to her views, I felt I was betraying her when I described her in my field notes as having, 'Layers of awfulness (r);' and that, 'Pupils have no love for her' (r).'For, I feel Nell is trapped and disempowered. For, while her efforts focus on controlling problem behaviour (A1-pp.241-244) and instilling obedience, she seems to lack the skills to do this.

Nell frequently made reference to ethical problems and third world debt (A1-pp.251, 266, 268, 275); also, that one day she appeared wearing a small chain as a brooch (A1-p.268), an emblem against third world debt. However, when I asked her how much she cares about these issues, she replied;

> gosh it comes very low
> in the domestic
> and the work
> and all the rest of the stuff
> no
> there is so much trivia
> that you have to bash your way through.
>
> (nb)

Finally;

> when I asked her if any ethical issues, in light of the facts and problems she uses as teaching material, inspire her, she replied, 'No; a lot of hot air; not much actually' (nb).

7.9. Christine White

Christine has 20 years teaching experience. She is the named teacher responsible for seventy-seven pupils (for whom English is a second language) in secondary technology school for boys. As one of her pupils explained;

> she comes in our lessons like
> when you got ethnic minority
> like you come from a back …
> cultural background
> you have to like
> you write in a different way
> then she can help you with that.
>
> (ctcp)

7.9.1. Good works

Giving the appearance of a calm well-groomed genteel woman, Christine is very busy (A1-pp.279-282):

- Seeing her tutor group,
- assisting designated pupils in their classes,
- teaching individuals and small groups in her classroom,
- reams of paperwork, and
- dealing with problems.

Added to a full workload she has initiated (A1-pp.279-282);

- the school's recycling activities,

- displays all around the school,
- a mentoring scheme,
- a continuing programme of guest speakers,
- a helping partnership with a school in Kenya, and
- raised funds for pupils to visit Kenya and visa versa.

She outlined a new initiative she was working on (a school council meeting), to enable students to be able to discuss school issues (A1-p.314). Furthermore, she told me that her work fills most of her free time. For, outside of school hours she prepares lessons, catches up on paperwork, visits pupils in their homes, takes them on excursions, befriends their families, and negotiates on their behalf with accommodation and legal issues (A1-pp.279).

In fact, finding time to speak to Christine proved quite difficult, as during breaks and after school many pupils come to her classroom seeking comfort or refuge; or help with their homework (A1-p.279).

7.9.2. Caring and sharing

The way Christine behaves towards pupils, cares for the environment and feels about social issues (A1-pp.279-290, 318-321) had a profound effect on me. I found that she demonstrates genuine concern (A1-pp.285, 294, 311), says comforting words in stressful situations (A1-pp.287-289), and treats miscreants and victims with equal respect (A1-pp.311, 319). Also, she skilfully avoids criticising individuals in very difficult situations (A1-pp.283-288, 312-314). Her pupils describe that they feel that she cares about them in the way that she speaks. For example;

her tone of voice is like different
when she speaks
it is like a soft ...
a comfort
like her voice is like a happy...

(ctcp)

it is just the way she like speaks
say like you do spelling mistake
she like show [sic] you the right spelling like
see the sentence like
it make sense
she will write the sentence in a different way
mean like the same thing.

(ctcp)

she would like
come in like
talk quietly in your ear
whereas teachers like shout
like through the whole classroom
just to get at you.

(ctcp)

My field notes show incidents where Christine tried to calm such a situation. For example, I observed Christine using;

> 'touch' and 'interest in the pupil' to get them [pupils] settled [while a supply teacher stood at one end of the room shouting at the top of his voice.] He [the supply teacher] comes over to shout very loudly at the boy Christine is helping.
>
> (fncw)

I observed Christine diplomatically trying to repair the atmosphere in similar incidents (A1-pp.285-288) where;

> teachers behaved inappropriately towards pupils (e.g. punishing unfairly and shouting excessively; making jokes at a pupil's expense; and generally being cynical, sarcastic and negatively discriminating).
>
> (A1-p.288)

Thus, I found that Christine seems to be able to be what she describes as 'caring and sharing' (A1-pp.288-290). She explained that her passive and calm behaviour in volatile situations in terms of building trust (A1-p.283), and told me that a visit to Dachau as a teenager affected her life (A1-p.288): and may explain her dedication to, 'people having free speech and being able to live their lives to the full in all sorts of ways' (cw).

7.9.3. Supporting difference

Christine knows a lot about ethnicity, and speaks from personal experience and her interest in different ethnicities (A1-pp.280, 230, 300-302). For example, answering my question about the differences in the ways children learn she said;

> African Caribbean girls do better than their many white counterparts
> Bangladeshi boys do the worst
> and African Caribbean boys
> I think are next up the ladder
> and I think that Asian boys outstrip their white counterparts.
>
> (cw)

and;

> lots of Asian students don't like drama
> but having said that
> there are some white students that don't like it
> the quieter ones don't like it
> the more outgoing particularly like drama
> but the Asian students are happier to read in front of the class
> their text or other people's text
> so it is this free drama situation that they don't like
> but then I have sympathy
> as I never liked it as a child either.
>
> (cw)

Her classroom is decorated with posters of people and places around the world, poems and quotes by people of different races, and lists of words in different languages (fncw; A1-p.300). Also, all the displays she has setup in the school draw attention to the theme of ethnic difference (fncw). However, I learned that;

> her colleagues are not generally supportive of her contribution to the school's ethos. None seem to give her credit for the initiatives she has introduced. In fact, some claim the credit for the school; and some make light of her values. Also, those of her colleagues I spoke to in this study, appear resentful and cynical about most aspects of their work, and pay lip service to Christine's initiatives.
>
> (A1-p.291)

I found that the issue of racial and cultural equality underpins most of her responses (A1-p.30) and I was uncomfortable when she, 'did nothing to curb the self-promoting behaviour of a school welfare officer because she was black' (dnctc). Furthermore;

> I noticed envy in some white children from the way that they hung around on the periphery; and occasionally attempted to bully or wind up her named pupils.
>
> (A1-p.230)

Also;

> her pupils seem to be aware that their ethnicity is the reason why Christine helps them, rather than the fact that English is their second language.
>
> (A1-p.320)

Thus, reflecting on my observations of the way Christine genuinely cares for those she feels are unfairly disadvantaged (A1-pp.8, 9) I felt, 'her preoccupation with racial discrimination may be emphasizing differences between pupils' ethnicity' (A1-p.320).

7.10. Summing up teachers

In this chapter I have tried to illustrate characteristics of the nine teachers in this study that arose from the data, and that best reveal their personal perspectives on morality, teaching and the ways children learn. The brevity of each section may have lost some of the richness and authenticity possible in a longer and more detailed description. For this reason, I have included and made reference to case histories on each teacher in Appendix 1. However, by selecting a minimum of three broad themes I have tried to focus on what characterises each teacher. For example, I have tried to give insights into their personal perspectives and indicate what may be underpinning their behaviour that I will discuss in the next chapter.

In other words, in this chapter I have tried to explore;

- my impressions of the teachers,
- consistencies or patterns of their behaviour, and
- factors or anomalies that came to light.

While these broad themes helped me to highlight individual characteristics of the teachers, how their different characteristics and personal views on how children learn, or learn morally and relate to their tacit knowledge and to the different ethos in each school, calls for a deeper examination of what they said and did. For as I explained in chapter 5 (pages 161 - 164), I have tried to examine differences and similarities between places, events, and what individual teachers said and did, on a number of levels horizontally and vertically (e.g. a vertical examination of an individual person or specific place, and horizontally as a way of comparing specific situations or subjects).

Furthermore, I have tried to demonstrate qualitative methods of gaining closeness in the writing. Thus, chapter 6 represents an initial level that helps to set the study in context. In this chapter I described what I found illustrated the ethos of each school. Accordingly, this chapter represents a deeper level of examination, and serves as an introduction to the teachers. To do this I have tried to identify specific characteristics that best describe the individual nature of each the nine teachers I interviewed and observed. In accordance with the methods of gaining closeness and close examination, the next chapter represents a deeper level of exploration, where I will discuss what teachers said and did from themes that arose from the data. For I will discuss my findings from these chapters (6, 7, 8) in relation to my research questions, the different ethos of each school, and how this relates to the literature in chapter 9.

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We are what we repeatedly do.
Aristotle

8.0. Introduction

In the two previous chapters I introduced the subjects in the study (three schools - chapter 6, and nine teachers - chapter 7). In this chapter I will focus on what teachers said and did while interacting with their pupils; and how this pointed to their hidden or tacit belief in how children learn, and learn morally. I will then discuss these findings in the following chapter, in relation to the literature (chapters 2 -4), my impressions of the individual teachers (chapter 7), their schools (chapter 6), and what the teachers and pupils said about learning and learning morally (interviews and case studies).

As the focus of this chapter is to examine teachers' behaviour while interacting with children, I depend on the data as well as the case studies (see Appendix 1) to substantiate my assumptions and conclusions. As Denzin and Lincoln, (1998a) maintain it is necessary to demonstrate 'trustworthiness, credibility, transferability and confirmability' in analysis and conclusions.

In other words, I have drawn on a wealth of data gathered during interviews and informal conversations, routine and serendipitous events, my diary notes and my reflections (5.5.6.) to support the qualitative 'ring of truth' (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p10) of this study; and the case studies are included to demonstrate rigour (triangulation - see 5.2.4.), for they are drawn from five sources of data, e.g.;

1. Semi-structured interviews of teachers
2. Follow-up interviews of teachers
3. Semi-structured interviews of pupils
4. Observations (field notes and diary notes), and
5. Reflection.

The referencing system I have used to identify the sources of data in this thesis is explained on page 173 in chapter 5.

In the following section I will describe the themes I selected to reveal teachers' hidden knowledge of the ways children learn morally.

8.0.1. Identifying hidden knowledge

Teachers do many things while teaching and interacting with pupils: they prepare teaching material, keep records, give information, teach skills, offer personal knowledge, talk about their personal lives, express their views and share a joke. They also, control and discipline pupils, have fun at their pupils' expense, boost their own egos, and vent their spleens. Likewise, pupils question teachers, give information, offer their personal knowledge, talk about their personal lives, say things to please, show affection and admiration, express their views, co-operate, disobey, disrupt lessons, make jokes, report injustices, protest about work or rules, and voice distress. Thus, a plethora of themes arose from the data.

Yet, due to the limits of this thesis and its focus on tacit knowledge (5.1.), I have had to narrow down a rich complexity of routine and serendipitous events to themes that best indicated a rationale for what teachers said and did. So, while many themes arising from the data offered opportunities to examine teachers' explicit and implicit beliefs in how children learn and learn morally, events connected to the process of registration offered a window into the complexity of teacher - pupil interaction. For example, the process of registration served more than one purpose:

- Teachers usually record pupils' attendance at the beginning of lessons when teachers and pupils may be meeting at the beginning of the day;
- the act of registering pupils' attendance may be carried out in many ways;
- pupils may be required (or not) to respond in specific ways; and as
- time is usually allocated to this routine (or not) serendipitous events may be observed.

Thus, I drew three themes out of registration (or beginnings of lessons) to explore deeper meanings in what took place. Two other themes were determined by my research questions (see 1.5. and 5.4.1.). Thus, I selected to examine the ways teachers imparted knowledge and taught skills, and controlled, disciplined, enforced rules, demonstrated care, and what moral values were implicit in the things they said and did. Therefore, in what follows I will discuss how teachers;

- greeted pupils prior to registration (8.1.),
- influenced pupils' responses to registration (8.2.),
- added values to the registration process (8.3.),
- communicated knowledge and skills (8.4.), and
- implied or stated their personal moral values, demonstrated care, enforced rules, controlled and disciplined pupils, (8.5.).

Under each theme I will;

- describe my reasons for exploring the theme,
- provide evidence of what I observed, and
- briefly discuss my assumptions and conclusions.

Furthermore, the order of the themes demonstrate 'gaining closeness' (5.2.1) (central to my methodology and style of presenting evidence in this study) by beginning with initial encounters between teachers and pupils in each school.

8.1. Initial encounters

How teachers reacted to the first sight of their pupils every day, demonstrated an attitude or feeling towards their pupils. Thus, examining these initial encounters may have relevance when examined in relation to their other interactions with pupils.

8.1.1. Initial encounters in School 1

Black looks

Bob Black welcomed all but the oldest pupils with stern indifference. For example, I noted that he, 'talks to some of the pupils, but does not greet them when they come in' (fnbb). He kept a stern look on his face, sometimes giving a brief nod of his head, or making a remark to an individual (A1-p.236). However, his pupils appeared to behave as if they felt under censure by the way they kept their eyes on him and quietly moved to a desk (fnbb).

No welcome, no respite

Nell Brown's usual technique was to mark the register as children entered the room. On a few occasions I observed her calling names for the register, otherwise she only spoke to ask if anyone knew why someone was missing (fnnb). In the main, she looked at them as they entered, and looked down to mark the register (fnnb). She did not greet pupils unless they greeted her first, and did not signal the beginning of a lesson with a general greeting (fnnb). As pupils arrived the atmosphere in the room was noisy. Some pupils looking nervous as they looked for a place to sit, some lashing out at others, and some trying to avoid blows or hold onto their belongings (A1-p.241). It may be that Nell's undemonstrative reaction may have communicated a lack of interest in the pupils as individuals (unless they approached her). Also, they may have felt she did not care about their safety, for her only intervention against bullying was to offer a few pupils (clearly of an ethnic minority) the option of sitting near her desk (A1-p.242).

Welcoming

Christine White smiled at pupils on first meetings, greeting them informally, sharing a few personal words and occasional touching them on the hand, arm or back (A1-pp.286, 319). Greeting them in this way, she projected warmth and friendliness; and pupils responded warmly and looked relaxed as they took their places (fncw). She also seemed to demonstrate a personal interest in each pupil.

8.1.2. Initial encounters in School 2

Silent morn

As pupils entered the room and quietly sat down, **Adam Mann**;

> looked around ticking off the names without saying anything; [then calmly asked latecomers] to report to the office.
>
> (fnam)

Adam appeared to be contemplating his pupils, and not ignoring them (r). Furthermore, when he eventually spoke it was in his thoughtful polite manner (r). Although, his behaviour in this instance did not overtly demonstrate personal interest, welcome or critical scrutiny, he did project something about his personal disposition (e.g. thoughtful, contemplative, measured) (see 7.1.1. and A1-pp.8, 3, 31). Therefore, it is difficult to know how the pupils felt at this moment. However, they matched his silence by not talking to each other (fnam).

Firmly formal

Pam Strong's first acknowledgement of a pupil arriving in the classroom appeared exaggeratedly formal (A1-p.41), and her manner of shaking his/her hand felt artificial (r). For example, she greeted each pupil in the same way; almost snapping to attention in front of a pupil, seeking eye contact and smiling broadly as she put out her hand (A1-pp.41, 43). Then, grasping the pupil's hand she gave it a big firm single shake saying for example, 'Good morning Betty' (ffps). During this time the atmosphere in the room was noisy with pupils talking to each other loudly (some shouting) (fnps), and except for an intense moment of personal attention while shaking hands she ignored them (she hummed to her self at this time) (7.1.1.).

The energy Pam seemed to put into preparing the lesson (e.g. writing on the board or doing something at her desk), and rushing to greet her pupils (A1-p.41), highlighted her busy occupation with matters other than their arrival. Even though she demonstrated a moment of personal contact, it is possible that they did not feel her greeting was sincere. Also, judging from the way some pupils tried to avoid her greeting (A1-p.42) they may have felt embarrassed.

Glad to meet you

In a relaxed friendly manner, Fred '...greet[ed] each child as they come in with a handshake and a smile, or a private word (fnff). This formality of shaking hands appeared normal, warm, well received and unexaggerated; and pupils looked relaxed as they took their places (fnff). Fred appeared to demonstrate a personal interest by the individualised and relaxed manner in the way that he greeted each pupil; and judging by their happy and easy response it is likely that each child felt his personal interest and welcomed as they arrived at school.

Note. There seemed to be a clear distinction between the ways teachers in school 2 greeted pupils over the age of 14 (r). For, outside of registration times Adam greeted individual pupils warmly (fnff); and both Fred and Pam greeted individual older pupils whom they taught in an informal way (r). Thus, it may be that the view that teachers in this school hold about pupils' ages determines how formally they greet them (e.g. shaking hands).

8.1.3. Initial encounters in School 3

Note. For reasons that will become clear, initial greetings are not discussed separately for each teacher.

No dalliances

The day began with Islamic ritual ablutions and prayers (dnis). Pupils squeezed in through the front door in groups (dnis). Some of the teachers herded them in or moved them in quickly with a push on the back (dnis). No greetings were exchanged and pupils only spoke to each other in whispers (in contrast to their more general behaviour of chatting to each other at other times) (r).

I noted that, in general, teachers did not greet pupils until after the prayer session when they responded to pupils' greetings (r). In addition, most teachers arrived late for lessons and walked in without any greeting (r). For example, I noted that I had been waiting in a classroom for 15 minutes before all the pupils arrived from prayers; followed even later by Fatima saying;

> 'There are so many of you, you may have to share'.
>
> She hands out the books.
>
> 'Who is Mohammed?'
>
> The pupils answer the question in unison.
>
> 'He is the last prophet.'
>
> (fnfb)

On one occasion **Khadija Ahmed** said 'salaam allahaikum' as she walked into the room (fnka); and even though the pupils returned her greeting in unison (fnka), I came to realise that this was not her usual practice, for in general she entered (late for the lesson) making impatient comments about the class not being ready (r). In fact, reflecting on what I had observed, I felt that lessons started in a flutter (like flocks of birds gathering for seed). **Khadija Ahmed** often greeted this with impatience while **Fatima Badawi** and **Aisha Bakr** seemed to accept this as the norm. For example, Aisha's pupils started chatting to her as she arrived:

> A girl asks 'did you get our card?'
>
> [Aisha] 'Yes I did'
>
> [a pupil] 'Did you like it?'

> [Aisha] 'Yes, I did very much thank you,
> Let me have the register first.'
>
> (fnab)

Thus, it seemed as if pupils were seeking approval, as most lessons began with pupils showing affection to their teachers; e.g. rushing up to teachers for a hug or a personal word (A1-p.159). This may also explain why pupils greeted teachers first, yet choosing moments when they would not be chastised.

In the main, **Khadija Ahmed's** first words to her pupils were disapproving (r). Furthermore, as beginning with a greeting was not her usual behaviour, when she began a lesson with remonstrations (7.4.2.) (or an Arabic greeting) she seemed to demonstrate that why they were there (to learn maths or how to be a good Muslim) had priority over a personal welcome.

Similarly, **Aisha Bakr** demonstrated that taking her personal register (discussed in section 8.2.) took priority over greetings, and from her actions it appears that **Fatima Badawi** assigned priority to her subject over greetings. Therefore, as teachers did not acknowledge individual pupils by greeting them as they arrived at school, or greet their classes (excluding Khadija's single greeting), I came to the conclusion that teachers in this school demonstrated that pupils are considered low status, and consequently they try to earn their teachers approval.

8.2. How pupils respond

How children replied to their names being called during registration, or how they replied to being greeted, may have been shaped by cultural factors or traditions within each school. However, as teachers may influence nuances in the way pupils reply, examining what they said may add to an understanding of what lies behind what teachers demanded or expected of their pupils.

8.2.1. Pupils respond in School 1

Saluting Bob Black

In Bob's class I noted, 'The register is shouted out and the boys replied, 'yes sir' (fnbb). I noted similar responses in other classes in this school. For example, in most classes, pupils replied to their names by saying 'yes' followed by a title. Thus, in classes I observed taken by female teachers pupils replied, 'yes Miss', 'yes Ms' (and 'yes Mam' or 'Mum' to get a laugh) (dnctc). However, in Bob's classes I observed his pupils answering quickly when their names were called (fnbb); also I saw no evidence of a pupil attempting to be humorous (r). Thus, it could be that Bob demanded or approved of this sign of respect for his position.

Beware to those not here

Nell Brown demonstrated no demand or expectation for a set reply (her only interest appeared to be in the whereabouts of absent pupils) (r). The implication here is that Nell did not demand that her pupils reply to anything about themselves, but demanded answers to her questions about absentees. Thus, by focussing on absentees she highlighted her displeasure in general; and with those who did not comply (attend classes).

Morning-morning

Christine White called the register saying, for example, 'Good morning Darren', with most of the pupils responded 'Morning Ms White' to which she replied with another 'Morning' (fncw).

Thus, it could be assumed that Christine demonstrated warmth, care and respect, and an expectation for the same consideration by the fact they responded respectfully, saying, 'Morning Ms White' (fncw), rather than 'yes Ms'. Furthermore, her warmth was made clear by the way she added a greeting both before calling their names and after their response.

However, from the fact that she demanded a level of formality by saying 'Good morning' and the fact that they replied saying 'Morning' (soon after informal greetings as they came in) may indicate her value for specific formal codes of behaviour.

8.2.2. Pupils respond in School 2

Silent surrender

As I have described earlier, Adam did not routinely greet pupils at registration (8.1.2.). Similarly he did not appear to demand any response. Yet, he appeared to demand specific actions (8.3.2.). However, pupils appeared to comply without resistance (e.g. entering the room quietly, remained quiet until spoken to, and latecomers setting off in the direction of the office).

You will greet me

In Pam's class some pupils replied, 'Good morning Miss Strong', as she shook them by the hand, others looked down and mumbled something (inaudible to me), and a few tried to avoid this encounter, by ignoring her or pulling away (A1-pp. 42-44; 7.2.2.). However, she persevered (not letting go of the pupil's hand and seeking eye contact) until she was satisfied with their response (fnps). When pupils managed to slip in unnoticed she insisted that 'they come back up to shake her hand' (fnps).

Clearly, Pam demanded a specific response from each of her pupils (eye contact and a formal verbal greeting), and some pupils demonstrated their discomfort with this form of attention, as well as the required response (7.2.3.). In other words, she demanded that they emulate her style of greeting, regardless of whether they felt comfortable doing so or not.

I am is good

Within routine exercises during the Main Lesson Fred (A1-p.71) called out pupils' first names and they answered saying, 'I am here' (fnff). On some of the days he sang their names, each in a different musical phrase, and they replied singing 'I am here' in the same phrase (fnff). Singing or speaking they appeared happy to respond in this way with no evidence of embarrassment (r).

It seemed as if Fred was adding fun to registration as well as developing skills in musical note recognition (r). However, saying 'I am here' referred to themselves (rather than an alternative reply i.e. Yes Mr Fine, Good Morning Mr Fine, or I am here Mr Fine). Thus, he drew attention to their situation for I am here could imply 'I am in school', 'I am paying attention' or possibly 'I am willing to work'. It could also imply 'my presence is important'. Thus, I found that Fred may have implied that their attendance was appreciated.

8.2.3. Pupils respond in School 3

Note. The register did not appear to be routinely checked in school 3 (r). In fact, it was not unusual at odd times during the day for the secretary, a teacher, or a pupil to appear at the door asking for the register (dnis). Due to this lack of routine in recording attendance in this school, and my assumption that a single school register was passed around the classes, I found that marking the register was not prioritised in the conventional sense (r). However, the fact that pupils replied eagerly and respectfully to their names being called (fnab; fnka; fnfb); and in most cases conventionally (e.g. 'yes Miss' or 'Yes Apa') (fnka; fnfb), may have been due to habits they have adopted from previous schools and now use as a way of trying to please.

Any answers will do

On the occasions that Khadija called the register I noted her impatiently rushing through the procedure (fnka). Also, she did not seem to demand formal replies and accepted pupils answering for each other (fnka). Thus, it seemed that she placed very little importance on how they, or who, replied. Yet, pupils demonstrated their willingness to please by speaking for each other. Similarly, as some did not reply but allowed others to reply for them, they demonstrated that they knew a personal response was not necessary.

With respect

I did not observe Fatima calling a register more than once. Thus, from this single experience I found no evidence of how Fatima may affect how pupils replied or what she expected from them. However, when she did call their names from the register pupils demonstrated their respect for Fatima by saying, 'Apa' (7.6.3.).

At your service

Aisha carried her own personal register and started every lesson by calling their names and they answered saying 'Labyke' (fnab). She explained, 'it means 'here am I' and 'at your service' (ab).

By demanding an Islamic, Arabic and culturally based reply, it seems likely that Aisha wished to emphasise their religious identity and affiliation. However, by carrying her own register and requiring this style of reply, Aisha may have been emphasising her important position, i.e. as teacher of esteemed subjects (A1-p.159). However, pupils demonstrated that they were willing to comply (and perhaps to please) by giving this specific reply.

8.3. Added values

In addition to what teachers expected from pupils during registration and how they greeted pupils, I found that something could be added (or omitted) during the process. For example, some teachers secreted the process of registration within other activities, some played down the importance or changed its relevance; or else used the opportunity to control, communicate an ethic, or develop/reinforce relationships. Thus, what they added or omitted may indicate their perceptions of their role in their pupils' learning.

8.3.1. Adding values in School 1

Value added snaps

Bob called the register speedily and demanded quick replies (fnbb). He also used the opportunity to use sarcasm/humour (A1-pp.210-212). In the example below he sarcastically criticised grammar (without offering a correct alternative) and emphasised that attending school is about receiving knowledge:

> 'Why didn't you register yesterday?
> That means you don't exist.'
> The boy replies [I could not hear his answer]
> and he [Bob] says,
> 'double negatives
> don't get no education
> attendance why is it important?
> So that you can receive all the knowledge the school has to give you.'
>
> (fnbb)

He also seemed to use the process to reinforce his right to authority and power (A1-p.225; 7.7.2.). For example:

> 'Where were you on Friday?' to a boy who says he was there.
> He [Bob] says, 'No you were not.'
> Later he looks at the register and says,
> 'No, it's Michael I want to question.'
> [yet] He does not apologise to the first boy.
>
> (fnbb)

Thus, when he realised he had accused the wrong pupil for non-attendance he did not apologise for his mistake. It appeared that he used registration as an opportunity to remonstrate or interrogate (A1-p.235). Consequently, I found that Bob made use of registration time to emphasise his power and position. This seemed to be confirmed by his manner of calling their names quickly and the way they answered quickly, and may also explain why after criticising a pupil's grammar he did not give a grammatical correction. For, it seems clear that he was not using the opportunity to educate but to humiliate the pupil (A1-p.236).

Value added scraps

On the surface Nell added nothing to the process of registration. However, by not asking them to speak about their attendance (and only asking why someone was absent) (8.1.3.) she emphasised negative behaviour. Furthermore, by not speaking to them as they entered the room (unless they greeted her) (8.1.3.), she may have implied a lack of interest in positive behaviour and emphasised an interest in negative or problem behaviour.

Valuing each other

Christine made it clear that she wanted her pupils to be quiet before she began, calling out loudly, 'Right, register, so no talking' (fncw); and on another occasion;

> Good morning seven T
>
> [however, after the class replied in unison she repeated her

> greeting, with a more drawn out pronunciation]
> Good - morning - seven - T
> that is a signal for you to stop talking.
>
> (fncw)

Christine also used the opportunity to warm them up and encourage civility. For example, she said, 'Kenny we are pleased to see you. Sound as though you're pleased to see us' (fncw). On one occasion when a boy complained about how boring it is to have registers taken so often, she explained the necessity in terms of practicality based on an ethic of care thus:

> If I had marked the register wrong
> and we have a fire
> people could be burnt looking for you .
>
> (fncw)

While it may be that Christine needs a relative degree of co-operation and quiet in order to concentrate on filling in the register accurately, by asking them to stop talking she implied that the register is something important. She clarified this further when she explained that the register was an important tool in fire safety.

Also, from the fact that she said 'good morning' to signal her request for quiet, she seemed to demonstrate that she believes that by treating her pupils civilly, she expects them to co-operate.

Furthermore, this may also be evident by the fact that she explained that she had given a signal and did not directly reprimand them. Thus, Christine appeared to demonstrate an ethic of care in the way she explained why she needed quiet. Also, in the example I have given above she demonstrated care for Kenny (who sounded depressed) when she used an analogy of care in terms of being pleased to see each other. Finally, she demonstrated an ethic of care when she explained that someone could be hurt.

8.3.2. Adding values in School 2

Sorry, you're late

Adam may have used the formality of registration as an indirect punishment for pupils who arrived late. Yet, in keeping with his manner, he did it politely (A1-p.28). For example, when;

> A girl arrives too late for register.
>
> Adam says, 'I'm sorry you have to go over to the Office to register'. [and called after her]
>
> But hurry, you're late!
>
> (fnam)

Also, when Adam and I met at lunchtime;

> We were in the school café when he saw a boy who had not registered in the morning. [Explaining the situation to me, Adam excused himself and] ...told him [the boy] to go to the Office and register.
>
> (dnsw)

Thus, while Adam did not require pupils to respond verbally to registration he appeared to add something to the process. For example, the consequence of being late was to report to the school office. Yet, by speaking politely to pupils (who had either avoided or missed registration by being late) he communicated his care and patience. While it is unlikely that these pupils experience more than an impatient sigh from the busy school secretary, he made it clear that being on time can be more comfortable, or less inconvenient for all concerned. Yet, by being polite he delivered this sanction without recrimination.

I'm busy - you're bad

Pam jumped up from her desk, or rushed over from the blackboard, to greet each pupil: this done she quickly returned to her desk to mark the register, continue to organise her lesson materials and/or write on the board (A1-p.41; 7.2.1.). I noted disrespectfully that, 'she bobbed about' (fnps) between tasks; and pupils chatted noisily.

Yet, from this chaotic beginning she expected instant and total silence, as soon as she was ready. The signal she gave was to stand still looking at them. For example;

> She stands in front of her desk when she is finished with the register, and waits for them to be quiet. She calls out '**some of you have been keeping us waiting.**'
>
> (fnps)

I found that Pam gave confusing messages about how she expected her pupils to behave (A1-pp.36-37; 7.2.2.). For example, she gave no indication of how she expected them to behave while she was busy (r): in fact by saying nothing about the noise they made during this time, she may have indicated that they were free to chat (or make as much noise as they wished) until she way ready. However, the way she remonstrated with them for not coming to order instantly (fnps) indicated that she found their noise and chatting irritating.

Thus, as Pam did not explain why she was irritated she simply emphasised her displeasure with them all at the beginning of the day. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that she did not smile at, or compliment, pupils who responded quickly to her signal for quiet (r). Therefore, compliant pupils as well as those slow to respond would have felt her disapproval.

You're Fine

I have described how Fred calls the register and how his pupils reply (section 8.2.2), However, the process was part of the lesson and he made no distinction between this and routine exercises within the Main Lesson. Yet, it could be argued that he added a value to registration by the way he expects them to reply. For example, he integrated his administrative activity into his general approach. Furthermore, Fred may have been trying to build positive self-esteem and self-confidence; or by immersing this administrative task into general lesson activities, he may have changed the emphasis from his task of checking their attendance to them having an opportunity to announce themselves.

8.3.3. Adding values in School 3

Help! I have lots to do

As I have explained Khadija marked the register as quickly as possible (8.2.3.). Pupils responded to her haste by answering for each other and occasionally she had to repeat a name, as too many pupils shouted out at the same time (fnka). It may be important to note here that the school day includes three religious ablutions and prayer sessions (dnis), and the time table includes all national curriculum subjects as well as Islamic subjects (6.1). Thus, in her position as head teacher, aware of time pressures, Khadija appeared to pass on the need for haste to her pupils; and they responded by trying to answer quickly.

Watch me, I am pious

I could not evaluate what Fatima may have added to registration as I only observed her calling a register once. However, each lesson began with Fatima lowering her face covering and pupils silently watching every move (A1-pp.137, 144).

Do as I say, I'm important

Aisha carried her own register (fnab). She announced a pupil's name formally and slowly, and then looking directly at the pupil in question waited for her to reply (fnab). After each pupil replied with the required answer 'Labyke' she ticked her register and called the next name (fnab). The process felt somewhat ceremonial (r). By her behaviour Aisha made it clear that taking the register was an important part of the lesson, and that their correct answers were important. The fact that they were expected to reply formally (and in Arabic) seemed to bring a sober feeling into the room (r). However, I could not be sure that pupils knew that they were saying 'at your service', or if they were simply trying to pronounce 'Labyke' correctly.

Yet, it is likely that by requiring them to reply in Arabic elevated the importance of their replies; because the emphasis was on their reply rather than their attendance. Thus, I found that taking her register in this way Aisha communicated her value of her role, both from a devout, cultural and personal perspective.

8.4. Imparting knowledge and skills

Passing on information and skills to their pupils may be a different activity for different subjects and different teachers. Thus, examining what they did and how they did it may indicate teachers' hidden knowledge of the ways children learn when examined in relation to their other interactions with their pupils.

8.4.1. Imparting knowledge and skills in School 1

I'll say this only once

To introduce practical projects (Design Technology) Bob stood at the front of the class (r). He used gestures to indicate size and shape, and actions and sounds for use of tools and details such as cutting, gluing etc (A1-p.205). However, during the sessions he regularly raised his voice to criticise an individual pupil's work, and make negative comments about an individual's or the whole class's abilities (fnbb). In fact, once his pupils were working on a project he mainly drew their attention to errors through sarcasm and chastisement (A1-p.214). Thus, I noted my surprise on a few occasions when he gently stopped a pupil, demonstrated and explained again (A1-pp.212-213).

There seemed to be a vast difference between the way he taught practical projects and theory. For example, he sat at his desk leaning forward and seemed to intentionally rush through theory deflecting, or not allowing questions, asked questions without waiting for replies (fnbb); and added facts of general (yet unrelated) knowledge (A1-p.206). He began practical lessons with actions pupils could imitate, or could imagine doing (then rebuked, humiliated and pressured them) (A1-p.206).

While there may be a number of reasons why he used different constructive and censorious methods to teach skills, it may be that he used the mistakes of some pupils to demonstrate their 'out of favour' status. For, in the case of these incidents he did not speak directly to the pupil concerned but using their error as an exemplar addressed the whole class (r). Thus, when he used his constructive demonstrative approach with individuals he may have been confirming their in-favour status (or wanted to encourage), and for this reason he addressed them quietly and privately.

Judging from the general behaviour in other classes (dnctc; fncw) I found that pupils in his classes seemed to be relatively silent (r); and that he seemed to pounce on any pupil who spoke or did not comply immediately (fnbb). Thus, it appeared that Bob expected his pupils to follow his instructions implicitly. Furthermore, even though he used different methods to impart knowledge in practical and theoretical lessons (detailed demonstrations or rushing through information), it seems that he maintained a similar expectation of his pupils overall: that is that they should grasp what he has said after one exposure. Thus, I thought that Bob was challenging his pupils to compete with him, by making it difficult for them to keep up (r). In addition, drawing conclusions from the way he added general knowledge as a rebuke for them not knowing these facts, it may be that by rushing through theory and sarcastically criticising individuals (A1-p.209) he implied that;

- to grasp information quickly is a sign of intelligence,
- a vast area of knowledge is a sign of intelligence, and that
- his command of theoretical and general knowledge is confirmation of his elevated position.

Learn, stupid!

Nell mainly used the board, textbooks, worksheets or video to communicate information about *Geography* (A1-pp.249-251). As a general rule she stood to the side of the board looking away from her class to read from the board or watch a video; and occasionally she walked around the classroom looking at pupils' work (fnnb).

While there were obvious behaviour problems in Nell's classes (7.8.2.; A1-p.252) it may be that Nell focussed on the written word and video to impart knowledge because she has difficulty in holding her pupils' interest or attention while using other methods. However, she avoided or missed opportunities to enrich or explain aspects of the information presented in written or video format (A1-p.51). Furthermore, by deflecting their questions or responding abruptly and critically to relevant questions, she may have been implying that due to general bad behaviour she was unwilling to share her knowledge. For example, when asked to explain she answered punitively, 'You don't want to listen to me, so you had better go on working quietly' (fnnb). Furthermore, she deferred discussion saying things like, 'we will talk about it later' (fnnb); 'that is a naive answer and I will talk to you about it later' (fnnb); or she gave brief answers such as, 'Where you have a lot of people, it is better not to have robots building cars' (fnnb); and, 'Teaching wind power is better for the future as it is not going to run out' (fnnb).

Nell may believe that learning geography is based on committing concepts and facts to memory (A1-p.252). This may explain why when an opportunity arose, she did not allow discussion or describe basic underlying principles such as, sustainability (A1-p.251), renewable energy, and living conditions in developing countries (A1-p.250). In other words, by not using moments that arise naturally to deepen their understanding of underlying principles or concepts, she emphasised facts, and specific abstract terms. However, another reason may be that Nell was hurt by their behaviour, and as a result she resorted to forcing a less enjoyable method of learning on her pupils.

Try, you can do it!

In both her roles (1. assisting her designated pupils for whom English is a second language in class, and 2. teaching small groups in her own classroom) (A1-p.279), Christine appeared to focus on encouraging pupils. For example, while assisting in classes she moved quietly from pupil to pupil, showing interest in their work, occasionally making a suggestion or asking what they understood (A1-pp.282-285, 293). In her classroom, she sat at the same table as her pupils, showing interest and encouraging discussion or patiently listening (A1-p.294). In other words, as they tried to work out the sounding and meaning of words, she demonstrated her support for their efforts to improve their language skills. For example, she pointed to difficult or key words (fncw), and waited patiently for them to work out the pronunciation or meaning (fncw);

or asked questions about the content of what they were reading (A1-p.294).

Also, rather than correct or simplify what they were working on she gave more examples for them to read (A1-pp.283-295). For example, she asked questions about poems, posters and lists on the walls in her classroom; and encouraged her pupils to read a range of written material (A1-p.293). Furthermore, she held back from giving answers, and demonstrated a genuine and unconditional interest in what they had to say (7.9.2.). In other words, Christine gave the impression that she believed her pupils learned through opportunities to try, make mistakes, learn from each other, practise, and come to their own conclusions.

8.4.2. Imparting knowledge and skills in School 2

Isn't this interesting?

Sitting back in his chair (r), and every so often reaching from this position to give an example on the board, Adam explained methods of working out mathematical problems as questions arose (fnam). As the class worked he added information of general interest (yet mainly his personal interests) (r). For example, he told them that people have attached mystical meanings to number and manipulated information when publicising statistics (A1-p.23).

The atmosphere in his maths lessons was peaceful, with most pupils focussed on their work (r); and Adam gave the impression that he was resting, yet on hand if anyone needed help (r). Furthermore, he seemed to demonstrate that he was enjoying the peaceful atmosphere in the room, and sharing his interest in their subject (fnam).

In contrast to the way he gave a maths lesson, to prepare pupils for a practical lesson (gathering data for an Environmental Science project) Adam stood at the head of the class and described and explained how to record data from the instruments (fnam). He did this in a factual way simply describing how the instruments worked and what to note down (A1-pp.13-14).

Similarly, when he conducted a chemistry experiment, he named pieces of equipment, the substances he was using, and what he intended to do (fnam). In all cases he did not say what he was trying to prove, or what results they should expect (r). In fact, he seemed to depend on an element of surprise (or possibly fear - see A1-p.17) to gain their interest and attention (r). Thus, following data collection and experiments he gathered them together to describe what they had observed, discuss their results, and draw their own conclusions (fnam). During these discussions he used;

> Socratic type questioning, [thus] helping his pupils to travel the distance in their own minds, to hear each other's thoughts, and to arrive at a reasoned conclusion.
>
> (A1-p16)

However, while I noted my concern that there seemed to be a lack of attention among the majority of the pupils at the start of a project, they seemed to do a substantial amount of work, and participate fully in the discussions (A1-pp.10-15). I thought that Adam may have been unaware of their lack of engagement at times, particularly when he seemed carried away by his own enthusiasm (to gather data or demonstrate an experiment) (A1-pp.11-12). For example, he did not demand total silence as he described the projects, and seemed to allow a certain loose or chaotic collection of data (A1-pp.10-12). However, he may have accepted their initial lack of engagement and intentionally remained enthusiastic until they were drawn in. Also, he did not complain when an experiment was spoiled, or when pupils did not follow his instructions; but used these incidents to introduce scientific terminology or principles of conservation (A1-p.30). What is more, he seemed to permit pupils' criticism of his technique and planning (r), and seemed amused by their perceived laziness or complaints (A1-p.12).

'Like a nutty professor being ignored by his students' (A1-p.13) I thought (somewhat irreverently) that he did not give pupils the opportunity to plan anything and sometimes did too much of the hands-on work himself (A1-p.12). Yet, the atmosphere in his lessons, and the interest the pupils demonstrated overall, seemed to show that they were eventually engaged and learning (A1-p.12). Also, he intervened when he found pupils were not interested (A1-p.10-12).

Finally, I noted my concern that Adam gave girls and boys different types of task:

> ... he offered boys physically challenging activities (eg putting up nets to catch small birds and using Bunsen burners); and he relied on the girls being fastidious (recording measurements and their observations of minute forms of life under microscopes). Yet, in the way he discussed aspects or instructed them, 'he made no noticeable differences between the genders' (fnam).
>
> (A1-pp.18-20)

Dividing their activities this way may be based on his knowledge of how boys and girls engage in practical exercises, and his belief that engaging their interest facilitates their learning. However, as he did not occasionally change this practice, and divide tasks by giving girls physical challenges and boys fine detailed work, it may be that he has a fixed view of gender interests and abilities.

Listen to me! I know what's good for you!

Preparing her older pupils for English and Maths GCSE Pam stood, or drew up a chair to sit near to pupils (r). She explained what the examiners would be looking for, and the meanings of specific terms (fnps). She sometimes threatened them with additional work when someone interrupted her explanations, and followed this with a big smile and a friendly comment (fnps). Thus, most lessons began with smiling and a brief explanation, followed by some remonstration, and then with more smiling and a jolly attitude (fnps). Furthermore, she responded enthusiastically (and somewhat animatedly) to any relevant contribution from a pupil, and concentrated her energies on those who were willing to participate (fnps).

It may be that Pam feels strict control will keep them engaged. Yet, having established control, she smiled and said something friendly (fnps). Also, by the way she responded enthusiastically to their contributions it may have appeared that she wanted them to discover new knowledge and skills for themselves. Yet, I found that she did not demonstrate that they could work independently, as she led the group with explanations and information along the way. Thus, I found that Pam may have confused learning with compliance, for she only demonstrated her approval when they used her suggestions (r).

Teaching algebra to her own class (mostly aged 13yrs) she introduced a new area of knowledge with an activity (fnps). For instance, she played battleships before explaining how to place coordinates on a grid, and demonstrated the use of a pair of weighing scales before introducing positive and negative values on a number line (fnps). She also drew colourful illustrations on the blackboard. For example, she drew a pair scales on the board above an equation using different colours for each expression and the = sign (fnps).

Clearly Pam was trying to make algebra interesting, by starting with things they knew well (battleships and balance), and using colourful illustrations. However, during these activities I observed her pupils fidgeting, yawning and stretching (fnps). Some pupils complained that the activities were babyish (and that the scales didn't work) (7.2.2.). As a result I found that Pam seemed to treat her pupils as young and unsophisticated. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that she emphasised the words 'strange' and 'new' to introduce new ideas (fnps): giving the impression that she believed that she was speaking to very young children (r). Also, she may have been aiming too low (r), for these activities seemed to take a long time (fnps), and she did not seem to indicate where they were leading (r; 7.2.2.).

Also, there seemed to be an anomaly in the way she changed her approach from deliberate and measured, to impatient haste (fnps). For example, once she had introduced a concept she seemed to work through ideas quite quickly not stopping to check their understanding (r). Furthermore, I thought that she was confusing them with too many options at once (fnps), and not making it clear when she used abstract examples (fnps). From this I thought Pam, impatient with their initial lack of interest, resorted to showing them that algebra was indeed difficult. For this reason, when she presented relatively complex equations she did not go through stages of the operation on the board in the same careful way that she introduced a new idea (r).

In other words, she began with easy examples to prepare the way for tasks she believed to be more difficult; and later (possibly as a punitive action) she raised the level of skill and quality of information too high. This seemed to be confirmed by her response when a girl said 'but I don't understand' Pam replied 'well, you must listen' (fnps).

As her introductions and explanations involved her remonstrating and complaining about their behaviour most of the time (A1-p.38), it is likely that Pam feels her pupils are uncooperative. Furthermore, by giving simple or easy preparation exercises, she seemed to imply that her pupils are less able. In addition, she may think that their individual personal knowledge was not sophisticated enough to warrant inclusion in their learning from her. For example, she asked, 'Put your hand up if you know anything about Algebra (fnps);' when they responded she did not build on their (reasonably intelligent or informative) answers; but continued with her point that Algebra was not about the answers but about how you solve problems (fnps). Therefore, it seemed that she demonstrated that she wanted them to;

- follow her instructions without question,
- enjoy her introductory activities, and
- listen attentively to and learn from her explanations.

I also found that Pam may be contributing to their lack of concentration, by changing activities unexpectedly when she was angry, and asking questions relating to previous lessons when she was being friendly (7.2.3.; A1-p.36). This confirmed my assumptions that she expected her pupils to comply at all times. Thus, when they failed, she chastised them.

Together we'll get there

Fred passed on knowledge and skills to his pupils in many ways of which talking only played a small part (A1-pp.78-80). For example, to teach skills (Forge work, playing recorders, collecting books, closing the door etc.) Fred acted out an action, demonstrated, and uttered sounds. He used signals such as facial expressions, breath intakes and posture (fnff) to guide his pupils along specific lines of cognitive discovery; or to indicate nuances and modifications to their conclusions (fnff). He also used emotive descriptions, such as saying the geographical features of North America offers easier living than South American terrains; or after discussing wind directions he called to pupils (leaving for break) to feel, 'the wind that hits your face when you leave the room today' (fnff).

Fred used techniques of adding, building on, repeating and clarifying new information, starting from a large (relatively empty) picture to arrive at a detailed and comprehensive whole. For example, he started with a large undetailed picture of the Americas describing the land area and relating it to sizes and locations of areas they knew (e.g. British Isles) and added details over a period of days (A1-p.84). Each day going over a growing sum of details, so that at the end of a Main Lesson (three weeks), together the whole class were able to recall and illustrate everything they had learned (A1-p.84). He drew on pupils' general knowledge, encouraging them to share their knowledge with the class; and he dealt with inaccuracies in their information by opening it up for class discussions (A1-pp84-86). To do this, he focussed on pupils' individual abilities to recall details and seldom corrected inaccurate knowledge. Instead, he invited suggestions until, as a group, they were able to come to more accurate knowledge. Thus, I found he seemed to empower all his pupils by not focussing on correct answers (A1-p.86).

Most notably, was the fact that Fred rarely spoke (fnff), yet he kept them working at a considerable pace (A1-p.78). Furthermore, he focussed on pupils' affect. Thus, by his methods of working quickly, maintaining concentration, yet taking time over errors and inaccuracies he created a safe environment for each pupil to gain relevant knowledge. Thus, it appeared that he saw his role in his pupils' learning as guiding them towards knowledge; and acted as a manager/facilitator of learning (rather than the source or censor) by offering;

experiences,
information from a variety of sources, and
opportunities to improve or refine their knowledge.

Finally, I noted my concern about the way he seemed to be tolerant and amused by a lack of diligence (and what I can only describe as 'affected physical weakness') shown by older girls when working with metal and fire (fnff). However, I have described that I found that in general older girls behaved, 'in an overexcited or scatterbrained way' (A1-p.19). Also, I thought at times they manipulated teachers into giving them easier tasks (A1-p.33). Yet, as I was unable to observe the same girls taught by a number of different teachers, I cannot identify the reasons for Fred's or their behaviour.

8.4.3. Imparting knowledge and skills in School 3

Look and say

On a few occasions (in year 7) Khadija began a lesson with a maths game (fnka); for the rest she began by asking her pupils where they had got to in their textbooks, or telling them to turn to a specific exercise (fnka). She seldom introduced a new process or topic; instead she stopped the class to explain a process (fnka).

She raised her voice for all to hear when a pupil failed to understand, or got something wrong (A1-p.110). She also called out while they were working to ask how they were progressing. For example, 'Right, who has worked out the meaning?' (fnka). (A lot of chatter followed this kind of question - fnka).

Khadija, tried to force or prompt the right answer by pressing for reply. For example, saying something like 'what is the opposite of' to help the pupil say the right thing (fnka). Thus, pupils may have been guessing the right answers without understanding why (A1-pp.112-113). In a number of situations, I felt that pupils may have learned enough to complete an exercise, but may not be able to repeat it in different circumstances (r). For, much of what Khadija seems to emphasise is that they remember, and not necessarily understand. Thus, she pressurises them into answers, without checking what they understand; and announced formulas or rules such as, 'Girls I want you to remember x and + makes the number bigger, ÷ and - makes the number smaller!' (fnka).

While memorising ways of solving problems in maths may be a necessary part of learning maths, it is likely to be more challenging when memorising methods that are not based on understanding underlying reasons or the logic behind the methodology. However, Khadija did not seem to give reasons for approaching a problem in a certain order; for in her explanations she described the working out of a problem in terms of 'rules' or 'the right way'. Thus, I found that while Khadija explained processes, she seemed to omit why she did things in specific ways.

It seems likely that Khadija depends on pupils working out reasons for themselves as she responded enthusiastically to students who demonstrated an understanding. This may also explain Khadija's obvious irritation and chastisement of pupils who failed to understand (fnka), and also explain why she seemed to enjoy teaching pupils with 'a natural ability' (fnka); and she responded warmly to those who were able to memorise specific methods (without necessarily understanding the reasons), and knew where to look to find answers.

Friendly persuasion

Fatima based most lessons on 'shared reading' from the school's Islamic textbooks (fnfb), to which she added rhetoric and questions about the content. For example, she interrupted their reading to add statements such as, 'Abraham is the forefather of Muslims, Jews and Christians' (fnfb). She also interrupted their reading with questions such as, 'What has that sentence told us?' (fnfb); and questions not directly related to the content of their reading: 'Why don't we celebrate his [Mohammed's] birthday?' (fnfb).

Her questions seemed to be aimed at basic levels of knowledge; and as I did not observe her teaching older girls any differently. Thus, I assumed that pupils regularly repeated the same information over the years. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that the only Islamic literature resource I saw used in this school was a series of textbooks entitled *Junior Islamic Studies*. (The preface to the series stated, 'the course is intended for use in senior primary classes and junior secondary school, depending on the level of literacy and mental development of the children' (Lemu, 1986, p7). My assessment of the vocabulary, sentence structure, and content was that it did not meet the level of literature used in the UK for children of the same age.)

My assumption that Fatima was repeating information also seemed to be confirmed by the way pupils replied in unison; either using the same phraseology I had heard used in their reading, or from Fatima's statements (fnfb). Also, as Fatima did not seem to ask pupils to describe information in their own words, and seemed to be satisfied with verbatim replies, it is clear that she expected them to learn all they had learned by rote.

However, Fatima also seemed to focus on pupils' affect by gently, yet persistently, encouraging pupils to participate in reading and answering her questions (fnfb). For example, her warmth of feeling was clear in the way she told them that the more they loved what they were learning, the more Allah grew in power (fnfb). Consequently, when she praised them warmly she not only implied that they pleased her, but Allah as well.

Finally, even though she regularly asked them if they understood; by their responses (and her satisfaction with their verbatim responses), she clearly meant 'acknowledge', and not 'understand' in its usual sense. Thus, I found that it is likely that Fatima believes her pupils learn through internalising information; and that she believes that by praising them each time and saying that they are pleasing Allah, she will persuade them.

We'll do that again

To teach Arabic and Hadith (traditional stories about Mohammed) Aisha used a number of methods consistently. I found that her subjects had the appearance of being one subject. For example, for Arabic she used, lists of vocabulary, work sheets, textbooks, tests, questioning and dictation; and for Hadith she used lists of names, work sheets, textbooks, tests, questioning and dictation (fnab). Also, each lesson consisted of shared reading, with Aisha asking them to imitate her pronunciation, and pupils copying what she wrote on the board (fnab). Furthermore, the content of her Arabic lessons often seemed to be the same themes that she brought in Hadith (r).

> I observed Aisha using repetition in three different ways in most lessons. For example, they repeat after her, they repeat the content of the lesson during the lesson and she also repeats exercises.
>
> (A1-p.169)

Her pupils sometimes complained about repeating work, that she was giving them the wrong lesson, the amount of work, and homework (fnab). However, Aisha ignored their complaints and insisted that they do as she asked. She forced the pace, tried to control their chatting by saying 'ssh' repeatedly, and deflected questions by saying for example, 'write it down' or 'do it' (fnab). She also insisted on good handwriting and grammar (English and Arabic) (fnab) even though she made mistakes speaking English. Thus, Aisha demonstrated that she did not accept her authority being questioned, or that she could have made a mistake.

Clearly, Aisha demonstrated her belief that obedience, hard work, repetition and memorising are central to learning; thus when they complied she praised them said 'brilliant' and, 'Good. I am proud of you' (fnab).

8.5. Disposition, principles and sharing

Examining how teachers discipline pupils, and what they share with their pupils may add to a picture of what they value in relation to morality and codes of conduct. For example, the content of their personal knowledge, details of their lives, their views and jokes, as well as evidence of enjoyment, anger and impatience may shed light on their hidden moral values.

8.5.1. Disposition, principles and sharing in School 1

Macho man

Bob's interactions with pupils appeared to oscillate between his stringent control tactics, and him having fun. For example, he maintained strict enforcement of school rules, school uniform and fixed punishments (ffbb; A1-pp.224-226). He also remonstrated without it being clear that someone had transgressed (A1-pp.224-

226), and on a few of these occasions he took action that seemed indefensibly physical and punitive. For example, he threw a pupil's drink out the window and shouted up close to pupils' faces (A1-p.225; ffbb). Clearly, Bob aimed for (and achieved) relatively silent and attentive classes; and judging by the way he bantered, cracked jokes, tricked them, made fun of individuals, and mockingly mimicked their phraseology, he seemed to enjoy having a captive audience (A1-pp.210 - 212, 236). I found that he talked a lot while his pupils remained silent (r). He also seemed to enjoy sharing his knowledge (fnbb; A1-p.209; 7.7.1.), and did not invite pupil participation, questions or discussion (A1-p.204).

From the way Bob treated his pupils it seemed that he valued their deference and admiration. For example, he bantered with older pupils and laughed when a pupil dared crack a joke (A1-p.210). Thus, the lighter moments seemed to result from his pupils' enjoyment of his sarcasm. For instance, when Bob asked a pupil, 'What deficiency are you suffering from today?', he laughed at the reply of, 'Sugar, Sugar' (fnbb); and he beamed when a pupil coming in late said;

> 'Ah Mr T'
> [a TV character that insinuates power]
> 'I have walked all around the site looking for you,
> and wore my fingers to the bone.'
>
> (fnbb)

However, only a few pupils in his classes seemed to receive his respect and positive attention (r; A1-p.213), even though he seemed to be generally less stringent with older pupils (A1-p.217). This may be that only a few pupils were doing something he values (doing as he asks or admiring him). The fact that he was more lenient with older pupils could be because they had selected to attend his classes (as an exam subject) or that they have more in common post puberty (e.g. masculinity, stature, humour and technical interests).

Bob's general knowledge seemed to focus on British achievements in engineering and history (fnbb), and he clearly disapproved of anyone showing human weakness (A1-p.228). It is likely that he identifies with the things he talks about, for they demonstrate his mastery of specific knowledge (accomplishments in British history and engineering), sense of duty (doing what is expected), keeping rules (civil and school), and tenacity (working hard, not giving in to illness etc.).

Sour grapes

Much of what Nell did seemed to be focussed on getting her classes to pay attention and work (A1-pp.242, 251). I found that she demonstrated little concern for pupils or interest in the ethics she taught (A1-pp.239-240, 244-246, 266-268; 7.3.3.).

It may be that Nell values a peaceful life (A1-pp.260-261, 270, 272), for she seemed to react punitively towards pupils she held responsible for any disturbance (A1-p.270). She responded to pupils who complained by referring to things that disturbed her. For example, she said she wanted a boy who had made an accusation against a teacher excluded (fnnb); and when pupils complained about noise outside the classroom she relied that she had been irritated by pupils kicking a ball against the classroom wall (fnnb).

She also spoke about the facilities and activities the school has to offer (fnnb). However, as Nell mainly emphasised her displeasure at their behaviour (A1-pp.242, 245), I found that what Nell may value is that pupils should be grateful for what they are offered, and comply with her expectations and school rules. Furthermore, she placed herself in opposition to pupils who complained (r). Her sense of humour also seemed to stress this. For example, when pupils complained of being thirsty she replied;

> If I had a tall glass of lemonade
> with ice tinkling in it
> I would drink it all myself'.
>
> (fnnb)

Fair dealing

Christine regularly initiated conversations about cultural differences and conditions in the Developing World (fncw; see chapter 7, section 7.3.2. and 7.3.3.). She spoke about her world travels (fncw), cultural nuances (fncw) and ethical choices (fncw). Her pupils asked her many questions, and she gave them details they seemed to enjoy; usually adding her ethical concerns. For example, she told them about 'her experience of getting diarrhoea from food in Nepal' (fncw), her least favourite food (frogs' legs) (fncw), and added;

> You know why I don't like frogs' legs?
> it is because they catch them in India
> and then the poor farmers have to use pesticides against the pests that the frogs would have eaten.
>
> (fncw)

When pupils made statements that could be construed as racially or culturally prejudiced she responded in non-confrontational terms such as saying, 'you may be offending someone' (fncw), or when a pupil delighted that it was the 11th hour of the 11th day in the 11th month she said 'the calendar is man made' (fncw).

She also used everyday problems to highlight injustices. For example, when a boy was upset about a bus driver refusing to take his return bus ticket, she said, 'Stagecoach is the most immoral company' (fncw). Later after sympathising and trying to solve the problem of the boy's bus ticket she spoke about her knowledge of Stagecoach buses in Kenya saying, 'They are poorly maintained and they cheat the people' (fncw).

I found that overall Christine demonstrated care for the environment (A1-p.279), materials (fncw), her pupils' feelings and their safety (7.3.2.; 7.3.3.). She spoke to pupils (and about them) in caring terms (A1-pp.287, 288, 294, 318). For example, when a boy asked her to fill in his report card she said to me 'Tom has had a spot of bother and he is on report (fncw),' and to a group sliding down the banisters she said;

> O gentlemen, O gentlemen, don't do that. It is dangerous. Kell, please don't do that, it's dangerous. I know it's fun, but please don't do that.'
>
> (fnctc)

She also demonstrated care for pupils (other than her designated pupils), and her many voluntary extracurricular initiatives seemed to have 'care' as a central theme (A1-pp.279, 308, 319). Thus, I found that Christine consistently demonstrated that 'care' motivated her initiatives and actions, and that she saw this expressed in her role, and making her pupils aware of cultural diversity and injustices.

8.5.2. Disposition, principles and sharing in School 2

Courtesy above all

With one exception (A1-pp.30), Adam maintained a courteous and polite manner speaking to teachers and pupils (A1-pp.8, 26, 29). He frequently said 'please' (A1-p.12), and on many occasions when a pupil transgressed school rules he carefully broached the subject in a roundabout way (A1-p.27). He seemed to consistently demonstrate how he expected them to behave, by the way he greeted teachers and pupils, stood back for someone, or gave instructions (A1-p.29; fnam; 7.1.2.). He occasionally described the specific behaviours he considered to be polite or impolite, and appeared irritated when pupils did not respond to his 'polite' requests (A1-pp.13, 26).

The personal knowledge that he added while teaching indicated specific moral values (7.1.3.). For example, in a maths lesson he pointed out that statistics can be used to mislead, and in science lessons he spoke about the use and misuse of technology (fnam; swp). However, he seemed complacent when pupils did not return soil samples to where they had collected them (A1-p.11). In fact, he appeared amused by their laziness in this case and others (r), and he seemed to take the following in his stride when a 15 year-old pupil in a science lesson;

> says she has 'loads of memories' when she is invited to smell ethanol. Adam asks her what the memories are about and she broke into blushes, she says 'lying in the bath and feeling very, very, sick.' Later Adam said to me. 'There we were, walking the moral tightrope.'
>
> (fnam)

I explained that Adam seemed to spend a great deal of time on negotiating between pupils and teachers as regards reparation. However, two factors came to light in examining these events. The first being that in all cases the pupil in question was male (r; A1-p.27), and, secondly, Adam placed great importance on verbal apologies (A1-pp.27, 33). From these factors, the way he behaved in general, and what he said when he explained how he wanted them to behave, it seemed that Adam was mainly concerned about the social behaviour of boys. For example, I found no evidence of him negotiating with girls; and in the case of one girl he seemed to respond relatively severely (A1-pp.30, 31). However, it may be that Adam focuses on moral or social values that tend to be transgressed mainly by boys, or that some teachers clamp down more easily on boys' behaviour, thus fewer girls seek his help.

There appeared to be an anomaly between the way he persisted on issues of everyday social conduct, and seemed to accept that pupils behaved dangerously (re health), or demonstrated a lack of concern for the environment. It may be that Adam believed his pupils would behave differently in the future in relation to their health and the environment; and that concerns about health and environment are matters of personal choice and conscience.

Clearly, Adam demonstrated that he cared for pupils by the way he negotiated and demonstrated his concern for boys who transgressed his code of conduct or school rules; and by the way he negotiated on behalf of those in conflict with other teachers. However, by the fact that he did not defend pupils when it appeared that a teacher may be in the wrong (A1-p.26, 27), he demonstrated support of a hierarchical structure of rights. Something to the effect of; when children and adults are in conflict, adults have rights that cannot be questioned.

Thus, it appears that Adam values the ethic of care (for others and the environment), yet it may be that he values a formal code of behaviour more, and that when these are in conflict his value of social conduct supersedes care.

Cross words and jolly

Much of what Pam said and did while interacting with her pupils was about their behaviour (7.2.2.; A1-p.37). However, she also spoke about colour, spiritual issues, seasonal and Christian festivals, music, and crafts (fnps).

This was apparent in the way;

- she asked her class about how they felt about the colours of their paintings displayed on the wall (A1-p.36);
- she followed a daily ritual of remembrance for a pupil who had died (see chapter 7 section 7.2.1. and A1-pp.39-40),
- explained that their Main Lesson books were hand stitched by a member of staff (fnps);
- gave details about the music and the musicians that played in the school concerts (fnps); and how often
- she talked about the school's festivities and used the time of the year as a theme of inspiration for written work (fnps).

I found that she interrupted them when they were working to talk about their paintings or a coming festive occasion (fnps). Thus, I found that Pam demonstrates pleasure talking about Steiner-

Waldorf values (6.6.3.; 6.7.3.; A1-p.34); and that possibly Pam holds these values in the way that some may hold religious beliefs (r).

I found an anomaly in the way she tolerated the same behaviour from older pupils (A1-pp.8, 69-70). For example, while she was quick to criticise, accuse and remonstrate with pupils in her own class, she seemed to tolerate distractions and lack of concentration (A1-pp.36-37, 7, 9) when teaching her older pupils (A1-pp.45, 68-70). Furthermore, she was strict about handwriting and spelling in her own class (fnps) and politely tolerant of similar errors made by older pupils (r).

Another difference she made between what she did with younger and older pupils was that she focussed on the physical behaviour of the younger ones (A1-pp.67-68). For example, Pam made no comment when older pupils lounged in their chairs, made drumming actions on their desks and looked out of the window (A1-p.69). However, it seemed that every detail about how her own class stood, sat, walked etc. concerned her (see 7.2.2. and A1-pp.67-68). In the case study on Pam I described how, 'Pam walks around on the (right) side of the staircase' (fnps) demonstrating how she wanted them to walk (A1-pp.67-68). Walking in a regimented way, turning precisely as she turned a corner, she occasionally looking back to see if they were imitating her or talking (fnps). She also demanded that they walk in line behind her when moving to another lesson. If they failed to keep in line, talked or whispered she made them repeat the exercise (sometimes as many as three times).

Thus, she challenged these younger pupils if they deviated from the school dress code, failed to do something to her satisfaction or questioned her authority (fnps). She regularly interrupted her teaching with instructions to a pupil (or pupils) to desist a particular action, to complain about their lack of attention, or warn them of the consequences of not doing as she said (fnps). She also complained when they were slow to react to a request, or when they said they did not understand (fnps). Furthermore, when they seemed to be doing as she asked, she spent a relatively long time complaining about their behaviour on previous occasions (fnps).

I also found that she focussed on the boys' behaviour, and I thought she may be afraid of the more difficult boys because, 'she lays into them strongly when they're not 100% on task' (fnps). For, it was not clear to me that the boys were especially difficult, what was obvious was that Pam disciplined or chastised them even when it was not evident that they had misbehaved.

It may be important to note that Pam is relatively short in stature and therefore may feel differently towards older pupils since they have grown taller. Therefore, it is possible that she feared losing control of these growing boys.

On the other hand, Pam may feel that her longstanding relationship with her own class somehow entitles her to be more demanding of how they behave, and for the same reasons she feels entitled to be, 'impatient, sarcastic and abrupt' (A1-p.45). Furthermore, she may feel that her own class reflects something of herself while her older pupils' behaviour is not her responsibility. Also, by the fact that she is relatively lenient with older pupils may be that she 'knows' (intuitively or from experience) that they will rebel strongly against her style of rigorous discipline (leaving her with no control at all), and therefore she is prepared to forgo her expectations. Therefore, what may underlie her actions is that Pam values obedience; and therefore values pupils who are willing to imitate her actions implicitly.

Finally, I noted my concern that Pam may be setting pupils against each other by saying the following: 'There have been so many interruptions we will have to do it later.' 'Some of you have been keeping us waiting.' 'There are at least half a dozen who are not co-operating.' 'And because Anna has been talking so much, she has missed [...]'. 'Four people have asked you to be quiet, so now continue disturbing the class' (fnps). Thus, she may depend on some pupils backing up her rules.

Fair fine fun

I have explained how Fred controls his younger pupils' behaviour with gestures, signals and writing on the board (A1-pp.78-79); and that he tends not to say much. However, in addition to his mute actions he also used humour, hints and kindly phrased words to encourage pupils to work, curb disruptive behaviour or to encourage consideration of others. Thus, I found that he used a range of non-confrontational methods of controlling and encouraging specific behaviours with his class of 14 year-olds; and his main tactic with older pupils seemed to be humour (fnff). For example, 'to a girl late for a lesson he remarked that it was nice to see her' (A1-p.98). Likewise Fred asked a pupil eating an orange (as he walked in) if he was hungry (A1-p.98). (The pupil smiled slightly shamefaced and threw the orange in the bin) (fnff).

However, in some situations Fred spoke clearly, and directly to the point, giving his reason for criticising a specific action.
For example, to a boy who was;

> sitting on his chair with his feet on the seat and his bum [sic] on the backrest Fred said, 'Roy could you please sit properly on the chair. It will help with two things. It will prolong the life of the chair, and also it will allow me to see all the way down to Martin.
>
> (fnff)

Similarly, when a boy called out a correction after a girl had made a mistake Fred said, 'Philip it is not fair to call out a correction. You have robbed her of the opportunity to see it' (fnff).

I did not observe Fred angry or impatient; in fact he seemed to be enjoying himself. He was clearly enjoying himself saying something like, 'Who needs to borrow something already?' and, 'Is there anyone who needs something from the bags before 11 o'clock? Not your lunch!' (fnff).

In general he seemed to use interesting turns of phrase and obscurity to draw their attention to their behaviour (A1-p.72). For example, praising pupils he said; 'he was pleased to see the tops of the heads of Brenda, John and Martin (fnff);' and when a pupil fell asleep in class he said, 'we may need to start our project earlier, as some members of the class are bordering on sleep' (fnff). Using language in this way it seemed that he avoided being directly accusatory or exercising his power of authority. Furthermore, he did not seem to stand in opposition to them when they were out of order, using 'we' and 'our' when he gave an instruction or imposed a sanction. For example, ' 'we need to be quick in getting ready as there's lots of work to do (fnff); 'I'm going to interrupt you and I will want you to go to your own desks. Because we're going to do something else' (fnff); and 'we will have to make up time' (fnff).

Ultimately I found that Fred seemed to be establishing a relationship of trust; and that this was apparent in the way he joked with them and not against them, did not place himself above or against them, and encouraged tolerance and consideration of each other's needs and abilities. This also seemed apparent when he wrote, 'Try faith and follow this instruction' (fnff) on the blackboard and guided his class to use the sum of their personal knowledge to learn.

I found very little evidence of other values in the things that he said, but felt his care for the environment was implicit in the way he spoke about compost with much younger children (fnff). Also, he said very little about himself except to talk about things he had learned as a child (e.g. sitting still). However, what he did and said overall implied his respect and care for his pupils, his pleasure at their learning, inclusion and trust. Thus, I found that it is likely that what underpins Fred's methods of control, and the things he did and said, was a central moral value of 'care'.

Finally, I found that Fred enjoyed his hints and guidance and that his pupils demonstrated their appreciation for the way he treated them by changing their behaviour, apologising and/or smiling. For example;

> to a child entering the class last; [Fred said] 'Would you like me to close the door?' it is a shared joke [...] the boy said, 'sorry', Fred gave a little bow, and he bowed back.
>
> (A1-p.81)

8.5.3. Disposition, principles and sharing in School 3

Lip service

I have explained that Khadija often seemed impatient and irritated by the behaviour of her younger pupils, and that she appeared more easygoing teaching older pupils (A1-pp.108-110, 118; 7.4.2.).

She seemed particularly impatient with year 7 pupils; regularly rebuking them (A1-p.108) for;

- not being ready or organised (fnka),
- cheating (fnka),
- lying or making excuses (A1-p.15),
- being untidy (fnka),
- not doing homework (A1-p.115),
- not keeping up (fnka).

She threatened to;

- inform their parents (above all father) (A1-p.5)
- take away their lockers (fnka), and
- double their homework (A1-p.110);

and she frequently;

- raised her voice (A1-p.113); and
- humiliated pupils (A1-p.110).

However, while Khadija complained and chastised her pupils she also shared jokes, enjoyed moments of class fun, reacted good-humouredly when pupils pointed out her mistakes, talked freely about programmes on television and her domestic situation, and shared her interest in food (A1-p.104).

Her treatment of pupils in Year 7 may be because Khadija needed time to develop relationships (or establish her authority). Furthermore, new pupils may need time to learn how to adapt to her expectations, style of teaching and classroom management. Thus, it may be that older pupils present fewer management problems, or that Khadija and her pupils have had time to develop more concordant working relationships. Another possibility may have been that Year 7 was relatively large (30) in relation to numbers of pupils in higher classes (4 - 18 per class). Thus, a bigger class may have presented more management problems with regard to working habits, mixed abilities, or special educational needs.

Clearly, Khadija expected more from her Year 7 pupils than they seemed to be able to perform. For example, she expected them to be ready to work from the moment she arrived in class (fnka). She also expected them to have homework ready to hand in, and to anticipate specific exercises in their textbooks (fnka). However, as I have explained, Khadija, seemed to lack the habits she demanded of her pupils, as she was consistently late for lessons, unprepared, and forgetful (A1-pp.103-104).

It may be that Khadija, expected support from her pupils in the form of compliance, responsibility and self-motivation. This may be because she simply has too much to do, and has difficulty balancing or prioritising aspects of her workload (A1-p.103), or that she expects females to support each other. Furthermore, Khadija may depend on a sense of duty and diligence in others in order to be able to fulfil her duties (teach maths and run the school); and her behaviour towards two pupils in particular seemed to indicate her values of duty or diligence in others. For example, she was particularly harsh with one pupil who appeared depressed and seemed to perform badly; while she spoke most warmly about, and to, her eldest pupil who appeared to be self-motivated (7.4.2.; A1-p.115). She also revealed that she felt inclined to say, 'pull yourself together' in certain circumstances (7.4.2.).

Khadija seemed to give contradictory messages regarding Islamic rules and principles for she appeared to be inconsistent in her projection (verbal and behavioural) of these values. For example, she chastised pupils for not following Islamic rules; and she made it plain to me that being Islamic was worthy of respect (A1-pp.104-106, 128; 7.4.3.). Yet she;

- seemed to go against some of the basic codes of behaviour (for Islamic women) promoted in the school (A1-p.105),
- did not follow the school's dress code (7.4.3.; A1-p.105),
- said Islamic women do not show their bodies but said she dreams of lying next to her own swimming pool (A1-p.105),
- never seemed to know the Islamic calendar date (A1-p.105; 7.4.3.).

Thus, I found that Khadija defends Islamic culture because she is Islamic. Furthermore, her actions towards pupils, and the fact that she attempts to do too much (e.g. teach, travel more than 70 miles a day, and run the school) may be because she values respect for elevated positions in society.

Ultimately, Khadija's positive and negative reactions to things that others say and do seemed to point to issues of identity and self-esteem (A1-pp.104, 106, 128). Thus, when pupils were slow to learn, or disorganised (in Kadija's view), she threatened and tried to force better performance.

Wifely ways

I have explained that after one week Fatima withdrew her permission for me to observe her (see 5.5.3.). However, during my observations she was gracious and considerate towards me. For example, she fetched and carried a chair for me herself, while other teachers asked pupils to do this (A1-p.144).

Fatima may have limited the content of her lessons because I was there, as she taught mainly from the school's Islamic textbooks during my observations. However, I learned from her pupils that Fatima told stories and instructed on Islamic codes of conduct (A1-pp.5, 9, 10, 12, 13). Thus, some of my evidence of what Fatima said in class came from pupils. For example, pupils described the content of some of the stories that Fatima had told them (A1-pp.153, 154), and I had seen essays from her lessons on a school display (A1-p.153).

Some of her pupils told me that she had instructed them to greet me whenever they saw me (A1-p.149).

One pupil explained that Fatima had said;

> if we beed [sic] nice to people
> and we respect them
> then Allah will increase
> and people will be nice to him.
>
> (isp)

Observing her, and listening to her pupils, I found that Fatima treated her pupils patiently and kindly (fnfd) and reminded them to be kind to each other (fnfb). She also helped them, rather than command that they do something (r), and praised them warmly (A1-p.2). On reflection I thought that, 'The way she helps and attends to her pupils seems to be more like a mother than a teacher' (A1-p.6). Furthermore, I felt that Fatima demonstrated her enjoyment of being an Islamic woman, by the way she behaved (demure and gracious), the way she moved (slow and dignified), and the soft and gentle way she spoke and sang (7.5.3.; A1-pp.142-143). Thus, some of the values implied in Fatima's behaviour were about how to be pious. This was also apparent in how she dressed, and lifted and tied her face covering in front of her pupils.

I also found that she influenced their feelings when she spoke about 'loving' Mohammed and Allah (7.5.2.) for pupils seemed overawed when they repeated what she had said (r). In addition, Fatima and her pupils repeated affectionate phraseology used in the Islamic textbooks to describe Mohammed's wives and daughters

(A1-p.144). Thus, I found that Fatima values Islamic virtue, or what she understands as goodness. She demonstrated this in the way she consistently portrayed piety, and by the way she described Islamic women in history. However, from her general behaviour she seemed to demonstrate an overall value for 'care' and kindness, as while she endeavoured to instruct her pupils in Islamic values, she did this patiently and with apparent genuine feelings of regard for her pupils and her subject.

Doing the done thing

I have described how Aisha dresses, and her apparent pride in being Arabic (7.6., 7.6.1., 7.6.2., 7.6.3.; A1-pp.157-159). She looked pleased when pupils admired her, hugged her, or when they asked her personal questions (A1-p.159); and seemed pleased to be called Apa (A1-p.158) Her pride, or confidence, seemed to underpin the authority she used to control her pupils. For example, she persisted until they obeyed her instructions, and raised her voice impatiently when they questioned her decisions (A1-pp.170-173). However, when pupils complained of unfairness she relented (A1-p.174).

Aisha regularly reiterated Islamic rules for living, and made her pupils repeat them and cited Islamic tenets (A1-pp.168-169). For example, handing out work sheets in Arabic she explained;

> It is about the people who died in the cause of Allah
> they are called martyrs
> Islam emphasise a great deal about learning

> seeking knowledge
> it is the duty of every Muslim to seek knowledge
> the Koran came at a time of ignorance
> it came in an age of ignorance
> that is why it is the duty of every Muslim to seek knowledge
> (fnab)

I felt somehow that Aisha was playing a part (A1-pp.166-167), and that she was continually telling me directly (or indirectly through what she said to her pupils) about how to be a good Muslim without revealing her own underpinning values. This may be because she was determined to present Islam (and herself) in a good light, or that she was convincing herself (through her teaching) that she is doing something worthy. I also thought that her earlier prestigious and glamorous career involving world travel (A1-p.157) may have given her considerable practice in disguising her feelings, thus during my observations she was able to keep up a controlled performance.

Thus, while Aisha overtly demonstrated her value of Islamic rules and customs, and seemed to enjoy being the one to impart this information; I found that her value of things to do with her identity, e.g. Arabic, her clothing (before and after changing her appearance), and respect for her position (teacher, beautiful woman, Apa etc.) more compelling. In fact, the only time she seemed to express a genuine belief was when she said 'insh'allah' (if Allah wills - the implication being that giving up one's personal wishes to

Allah brings blessing) (7.6.3.). Thus, I found that Aisha demonstrated her value of her circumstances; and that she believed she was 'good' and doing the 'right thing'.

8.6. Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that teachers demonstrate underlying beliefs or hidden (tacit) knowledge of the ways children learn, and learn morally. I have explained that I focussed on teachers' behaviour to identify their hidden/tacit or underlying perceptions of how children learn or learn morally; how the themes I identified arose from routine and serendipitous events during the study; and that I tried to identify teachers' hidden knowledge and understanding of how children learn morally by exploring what they said and did with the help of five key themes that arose from the data. I have tried to demonstrate the prevailing theme of gaining closeness to the subjects and close examination of the data in the way that I have ordered the themes and written this chapter.

The first three themes I selected to explore teachers' understanding of how children learn and learn morally, relate to events that occurred during the usual time of registration of attendance (for in some cases formal registration did not occur). The last two themes highlighted how I found that teachers tried to impart knowledge and moral values to their pupils.

Thus, this chapter represents the last of three chapters exploring the material I gathered to examine my research questions. In the following chapter I will draw together my findings from examinations of differences between the schools, individual characteristics of the teachers and what they said and did in relation to my research questions; and try and relate them to the literature previously summarised in chapters 2, 3, and 4.

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> Understanding - Somebody's interpretation of something, or a belief or opinion based on an interpretation of or inference from something.
>
> Microsoft ® Word (2004)

9.0. Introduction

In the last three chapters I described the different schools from the perspective of ethos (chapter 6), introduced the teachers (chapter 7), and set out what I found to be consistent in what they said and did while interacting with their pupils (chapter 8). In this chapter I will discuss the evidence I found of what these teachers may understand about children's moral learning (presented in chapters 6 - 8 and the case studies in Appendix 1), with reference to the literature chapters in this thesis (chapters 2 - 4), and my research questions below:

1. What expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally influence teachers' approaches to moral guidance?
2. What expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles influence teachers' approaches to general teaching?
3. How do teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally and teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles relate?

To summarise what I found to be most indicative of the individual teacher's understanding of how children learn morally, I will review what they said and did, in the context of my research questions and the literature. However, this summary is not to attempt to generalise. For, in the same way that specific situations in the study were valuable in themselves, so insights into how each individual teacher expressed a personal underlying knowledge of morality, and how children learn and learn morally represents the complexity of real life situations. A key to the referencing system appears on page 173 in chapter 5.

In relation to my first research question, the following section focuses on ways teachers disciplined, and gave moral guidance to their pupils.

9.1. Ways To Good

In this section I will discuss how teachers demonstrated tacit knowledge (1.4.) and understanding of morality and children's moral learning.

9.1.1. Manners Maketh Man

Adam Mann described morality in terms of behaving responsibly towards each other and the environment, however, he described in terms of behaving like a gentleman (7.1.2.; 8.3.2.). Thus, when he said his moral ideal applied to both males and females (7.1.2.), yet appeared not to intervene in girls' moral choices, (e.g. when a girl spoke of being drunk - 8.5.2.), and girls disposed of a science sample inappropriately - 7.1.3; 8.5.2.) he seemed to demonstrate more concern about boys' moral behaviour.

It is possible, that in this school, boys' behaviour invited more retribution from other teachers (see Upton, 1993 and Sadker, 1999 teachers tend to be harsh with boys 2.3.3.) and by implication girls' behaviour did not. Thus, Adam may have been trying to remedy harsh treatment by other teachers when he demonstrated 'care' and 'fairness' while disciplining or negotiating on behalf of boys (A1-p.28). For example, he negotiated reparations on their behalf with other teachers (7.1.3.) with an emphasis on apology (7.1.2.).

Adam said his pupils are at a 'self-serving' age they tend to, 'do what they think is right even if we think it is wrong (am)'; and implied that children develop morally cognitively. He explained that he points out the effects of their behaviour to raise their consciousness (A1-p.25), and while teaching he regularly drew attention to moral decisions affecting the environment. However, his behaviour seemed to demonstrate that he believed that the experience of 'care' would ultimately cause pupils to imitate his behaviour, behave like 'gentleman', and care for the environment. Furthermore, he seemed to be using the same approach with his peers (7.1.2.).

Noddings (1992) argues that 'care' is a widely held value (generally associated with women's ethics - e.g. Gilligan, 1982). Yet, while Adam demonstrated that he cared, he seemed to focus on teaching traditional values (i.e. cultural rules of when to take a hat off; who goes through the door first - 7.1.1.). In other words, it appeared that his underlying understanding of morality may be based on a code of deferent behaviour according to age or social position (i.e. a deontic approach - civil duty and obligation - 3.6.; 3.11.), and he thought moral code was equal to harmony or perfection (aretaic universal good).

I found that Adam seemed to depend more on methods of developing morality by imitation and affect rather than cognitively as he suggests. I also found that he may have been responding to pupils (especially boys) as if the were younger than they were. For example, what he said and the way he negotiated between pupils and teachers seemed to indicate that he believed that his pupils and peers operated at intermediate stages of moral development e.g. ego-centric, or fairness and reciprocity stages of moral reasoning (see Kohlberg, 1976; figure 4.1.). Furthermore, he appeared to focus on values of fairness and reciprocity, and said that he valued apology above other forms of reparation. In other words, Adam appeared to operate from values attributed to intermediate stages of moral development in everyday life; while he pointed to and thought about values attributed to higher stages of moral reasoning. Furthermore, he demonstrated that he was concerned about health and that he was socially and 'environmentally aware'

(Scott & Oulton), yet, he did not appear to expect the same of his pupils.

However, Kohlberg (1976) and Colby & Kohlberg (1977) maintain that moral development follows cognitive development. Therefore, Adam may hold a tacit understanding of the level of his pupils' moral reasoning. However, Kohlberg (1976) has also said that groups tend to act out of the prevailing moral reasoning of the group, or in accordance with life's demands.

9.1.2. Toe the line

Pam Strong treated and reacted to pupils of different ages differently. For example, she seemed to be impatient and strict with her own class, and tolerant, enthusiastic, and less demanding with older pupils (15 - 16 yrs) (7.2.2.; 7.2.3.; 8.1.2.; 8.2.2.; 8.3.1.; 8.5.2.). Her reasons for this may be, as she explained, e.g. that she found older children more considerate (7.2.2.; A, 1.2., pp.11, 22.). However, it may have been that Pam had expectations of loyalty and obedience from her class, however, because she spent relatively more time with them, she experienced her class as less cooperative, or appreciative of her efforts (7.2.2.; 7.2.3.; 8.3.2.). For example, she seemed to be offended when they did not show appreciation for some of the things that she did (7.2.2.). Furthermore, she may have felt that aretaic (universal goodness) values (3.6.) implicit in the school's aesthetic and spiritual ethos (6.7.; 7.2.; 8.5.2.) were being spoiled.

Pam demonstrated that she wanted her class to imitate behaviours she exaggerated; in her words - to practise good habits (A1-pp. 62, 66-68; 8.3.2.). She also said that children become more responsible for their behaviour as they get older because they become more conscious of their actions (e.g. cognitive development) (A1-pp.62-64). While, Pam spoke of children's feelings affecting the way they learn, she seemed to depend on mutual demonstrations of goodwill. For example, she reported that she felt unable to reach pupils whose parents did not support her (7.2.2.); and explained that her feigned jolly and smiling manner was to show goodwill (7.2.1.; 7.2.2.; 7.2.3.).

Thus, Pam seemed to demonstrate an underlying belief in stages of moral development or different ways of learning morally (e.g. imitative, repetition, and cognitive - 4.3.). However, because she threatened, punished, and punished the whole class (social pressure) (7.2.1.; 7.2.2.; 8.1.2.; 8.5.2.), she seemed to favour Behaviourist and/or Social Learning perspectives of moral learning (e.g. negative reinforcement - 2.1.1; 4.1.). Thus, in the sense that Polanyi (1958) Zigler (1999) describe tacit knowledge motivating actions, the consistent behaviours Pam presented seemed to point to a tacit belief in negative reinforcement as the way children learn morally. For example, she said she had to be a kind of 'army commander' (A1-p.60) with boys in her class; and even though she may have been more lenient with older boys, she began lessons by threatening them (7.2.2.; 8.5.2.; see Upton, 1993: Sadker, 1999 - teachers tend to be harsh with boys - 2.4.).

9.1.3. All Are Worthy

Fred Fine encouraged and demonstrated his regard for equality of worth and opportunity (7.3.3.; 8.1.2.), and seemed to treat boys and girls equally firmly or gently (8.4.2.). He controlled behaviour by constantly communicating (e.g. using signals, humour and approval - 7.3.2.; 8.1.2.); tending to be more direct and exacting with younger pupils (14 year-olds) (8.4.2.). He explained that this difference was necessary because older pupils may react negatively to direct intervention (7.3.3.). Nonetheless, all his pupils appeared to comply; in most cases they smiled or apologised when he drew attention to any unwanted behaviour (7.3.2.; 8.5.2.).

It may be that Fred subtly conveyed that specific behaviours were shameful (8.5.2.). Gilligan (1976) explains that responses of shame and guilt underpin most perspectives of moral development (4.4.). While it could be argued that inducing shame equals negative reinforcement; by demonstrating positive regard for his pupils, and encouraging them to respect each others' capabilities and rights to opportunity, I found that he demonstrated an underlying belief that children develop morally both cognitively and affectively by experiencing 'love and psychological understanding' (Gilligan, 1976, p.155). For example, he said that rules and punishment deny children, 'the freedom to come to the conclusion themselves and act on it (ff)' (7.3.3.).

Fred demonstrated and explained that he believed that implicit care, reverence, and awe facilitates learning (7.3.3.); and also spoke of, and demonstrated that he believed that all human beings are essentially perfect and good (7.3.3.). His moral values and belief in what is right seemed to reflect moral values and reasons for moral action in Kohlberg's (1979) stage 6 of moral development (i.e. self-chosen ethics based on respect for all; and people should be treated as ends in themselves figure 4.1.). Furthermore, his underpinning perspective of morality seemed to be aretaic (based on universal goodness - 3.6.); and consistent with an underlying or tacit belief that children learn morally through positive affirmation of the good in them, in others and the world.

9.1.4. Pull Together

Khadija Ahmed accused pupils of being unorganised (particularly the youngest class), yet, she was regularly late for or forgot lessons and appointments (7.4.2.; 8.1.3.; 8.5.3.). Furthermore, while she appeared to be generally unprepared, she accused pupils of laziness, lying and cheating (7.4.2.; 8.5.3.).

There may be a number of reasons why Khadija pressed pupils to be self-disciplined and well-organized without having the same expectations of her self; and why she seemed not to follow the code of conduct being enforced in the school (7.4.2.;8.5.3.). For example, Khadija may have believed that her position as Head Teacher exonerated her from the same rules; she may have been passing on demands made on her by the Mufti (6.3.3.), or education authorities; or she may have believed that her position was evidence of her success. Even so, her behaviour and remonstrations implied that 'being organised' was 'good'. This seemed to explain why she demonstrated warmth towards any pupil who seemed to be enjoying their work (7.4.2.; 7.4.3; 8.5.3.), and contempt for a pupil who regularly failed to hand in homework (7.4.2.).

Whatever her reasons, Khadija implied an obligation to comply and work hard; and so doing, she demonstrated a deontic (duty and rule orientated) perspective of morality as described by Durkheim (1925/1961) and Kant (1873/1967) (3.5.). However, I found anomalies in Khadija's perspectives of morality and the ways children learn morally, in relation to women's roles. For example, she argued that Islamic rules concerning lifestyle choices are 'right' and demonstrated an authoritarian/behaviourist perspective of moral learning, e.g. negative reinforcement (2.1.1; 4.1.); and may have been reinforcing the cultural status quo when she threatened pupils with telling father rather than mother (7.4.2.).

Yet, she also implied that some rules could be broken (e.g. she shared her dislike of domestic obligations for Islamic woman) (7.4.3.; 8.5.3.). In other words, Khadija enforced rules and an ethic of duty in relation to work/maths (7.4.2.), but on an affective or emotive level she invited rapport and solidarity by informally making light of obligations for Islamic women, and the school's moral imperatives (8.5.3.). Therefore, Khadija's view of morality, and tacit belief in how children learn morally, seemed to conflict. Yet, when I examined Khadija's expressed and implicit views in relation to her sense of identity and self worth, I found some concordance. For example, Kohlberg's (1979) description of Interpersonal Expectations at his Stage 3 of moral development identifies reasons for being good related to earning respect; and perceptions of what is right related to living up to expectations, and treating others well (see figure 4.1.). This may explain why Khadija seemed to not to apply some rules laid down for Muslims and Muslim women to herself; yet she argued that the reasons for the rules were 'good' and that society (which she expressed as Christian and bad) failed to treat Islamic people well (8.5.3.); (a view for which she had my sympathy then, and even more now). Furthermore, her behaviour indicated that she believed that by earning respect (e.g. working hard and defending their cultural identity), and covertly bending rules, Islamic women may lead more rewarding lives.

9.1.5. ***Graceful Surrender***

Fatima Badawi's demeanour had a notable effect on those in her presence (her pupils, colleagues and me included) (7.5.1.; 7.5.2.; 7.5.3.; 8.4.3.). I found myself influenced by her gestures, the way she moved and tied or lowered her face covering (7.5.2.; 8.4.3.). In class her pupils complied, practised her recommendations, and repeated Islamic tenets; and I found evidence that they applied what they had been taught outside the school situation (7.5.2.; 8.1.3.; 8.4.3.).

There may be a number of reasons for the effects she appears to have on pupils/people, for example, members of the community may look up to Fatima as a role model and tacitly pass on their feelings of admiration to children. However, I found that her behaviour indicated a deep-felt belief in what she was doing (fnfb; 7.5.2.); and her humility, demonstrations of kindness, and love for Mohammed felt genuine (7.5.2.; 8.4.3.).

It could be argued that Fatima has an underlying belief in a behaviourist perspective of moral learning (i.e. conditioned reflexes and positive reinforcement - 2.1.1.), from the way she persuaded her pupils to repeat tenets and persisted and praised them until they complied. However, her understanding of the way children learn morally also seems to be in line with affective factors in moral development and Social Learning Theories (2.1.2.; 4.1.). For example, Aronfreed (1968; 1976) and Bandura, (1986) explain that moral learning is a process of association gained from feedback, approval and internalising actions that then become meaningful.

Fatima explained that gentleness and praise may take time to change pupils' behaviour (fnfb; 7.5.2.). However, as her moral guidance appeared to have an effect on pupils' behaviour (7.5.2.; 8.4.3.), Fatima may have expected a demonstration of internalised moral constraint (e.g. conscience - 4.3.) and/or religious conviction. Thus, it may be that she used persistent persuasion, having experienced the effectiveness of it (e.g. Fatima explained that as a young person she had rejected her faith until her third year in an Islamic college - 7.5.1.).

Social Learning Theory may also explain why Fatima had changed her attitude to Islamic rules for women (7.5.1.). For example, Graham (1972) argues that social learning theories imply that moral learning can be reversed (2.1.2.; 4.5.). However, the assumption that Fatima regressed morally, is not implied here, for such an assumption is dependent on an a priori principle that morality can be assessed by a universal standard of values (Lapsey, 1992; Rachels, 1995; Campbell & Chambers Christopher, 1999; 3.1.; 4.5.). Besides, it could be argued that Fatima's behaviour changed from a self-serving morality to an underlying moral value of care (described by C. Gilligan, 1982, as underpinning women's value) and love and psychological understanding (the highest stage of moral development according to J. Gilligan's 1976 - 4.4.).

The fact that Fatima used stories and emotive tenets (e.g. loving Mohammed, loyalty, demonstrations of kindness increases the power of Allah, and non-Islamic values leading to damnation) indicated two other underlying perceptions that Fatima may hold of the ways children learn morally. For example, she appeared to depend on the ways girls seek to please and belong, and said that she believed in treating girls gently while boys may need to be treated more harshly (A1-p.156). Research appears to confirm that some teachers control boys' and girls' behaviour according to stereotypical gender-based behaviour (Davies, 1984; Upton, 1993; Sadker, 1999). In other words, Fatima may have been depending on social interactional and gender-based factors (2.3.3.; 2.4.) to enforce moral feeling in her female pupils in the way that Sadker (1999) and Keddie & Churchill (2003) maintain teachers' behaviour validates and reinforces stereotypical gender-based behaviour.

9.1.6. Blessed Servitude

Aisha Bakr had an air of confidence, and seemed to enjoy being admired (7.6.1.). However, she may have felt vulnerable, as I found evidence that some colleagues criticised (or may have disliked) her (A1-p.158.). Thus, Aisha may have been trying to demonstrate her worthiness by aligning herself with what she perceived as good (7.6.3.) when she modified her appearance (7.6.3.); described herself as a good linguist and teacher; said that she was the only Arab member of staff, and understood Islamic religious texts (7.6.2.). Furthermore, she cited examples from television as evidence of (non-Muslim) immorality (A, 1.6., pp.163, 164, 181, 188); and used the pronoun 'we' when she spoke of herself and Muslims as good, for example;

> we believe in girls having education to the highest level
> we don't drink and we don't have sex before marriage
>
> (ab)

In the main, Aisha related morality to rules governing sexual conduct (A1-pp.164, 165, 166, 181, 188, 190,), and 'right' and 'good' to obedience to Allah's rules (3.3.). Yet, like Socrates (Plato, in de Botton 1999) she argued the practicability of Allah's commandments (God points to the good) (3.3.). The reasons for obeying rules were based on desirable outcomes (see Bell, 1992; Mitchell 1993; White, 1997), e.g. social control and protection of family life (A1-pp.164, 165). Thus, her deontic view of morality appeared more in line with Kant's (1873/1967) perspective (e.g. reasoning distinguishes right from wrong) than Durkheim's (1925/1961) reasons for submitting to rules of society, as she argued that reasoning leads to knowledge that Allah's rules are good (3.4.).

Aisha indicated that that she believed that morality is freely internalised and therefore not by conditioning. For example, she said 'you have to give the children the basic rules and they develop it' (A1-p.188; ab). Her example for this being that despite her father's insistence that she follow Islamic rules (7.6.3.) she did not practise her religion until aged thirty-five (A1-p.162.); and implied that she expected something similar from her own children (A1-p.161).

Thus, while Aisha argued that morality is developed through reasoning, she did not voice credence to potential effects of repetition in moral learning (i.e. conditioning - 2.1.1.); a method on which she seemed to depend heavily (7.6.2.; 8.3.3.; 8.5.3.). Still, she did threaten to, or punish her pupils, even though she emphatically maintained that fear of retribution enforced moral standards. In fact, I found that Aisha depended mainly on assertive directives (you must; you will do it etc. - 7.6.2.; 8.5.3.) to gain pupils' compliance.

The reasons she gave, and values she implied for moral constraint and compliance seemed consistent with lower intermediate moral reasoning as described by Kohlberg (1979) and Piaget (1932), e.g. need to be good to earn respect, and doing good to receive approval or affection (figure 4.1.). This perspective also seemed to explain why she met any resistance with sharp angry commands that they obey; and then praised them when they complied (8.4.3.). Furthermore, as she only seemed to relent to complaints that she was being unfair, she may have wanted to demonstrate the fairness children expect (8.5.3.). Thus, she responded to fairness and reciprocity, which may have been her understanding of her pupils' stage of moral reasoning (e.g. Kohlberg's (1979) stage 2 of moral development and Piaget's (1967) Pre-conventional moral reasoning).

Although Aisha explained that they obeyed her directives because 'they want to please me' (ab) I considered this to be her understanding of why children obey power assertive directives. For example, she may have a tacit understanding of 'the wish to please' playing a major part in moral learning and behaviour as Aronfreed (1968; 1976) maintains. However, as I found that Aisha generally ignored pupils' complaints, and insisted that they obey, she did not seem be focussing on rapport; and by implication, she did not appear to depend on the fact that her pupils are girls (). Moreover, as she focussed on repetition (7.6.2.; 8.4.3.) she seemed to be focussing on reducing their resistance. Thus, I found that Aisha may hold a tacit Behaviourist and/or Social Learning Theorist understanding of moral development (2.1.1.; 2.1.2.; 4.1.).

9.1.7. Tough Works

Bob Black behaved in a general commanding, superior and macho manner (7.7.1.; 7.7.2.; 8.1.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.4.1.; 8.5.1.). He appeared to favour some pupils, and to treat pupils of different ages differently (8.4.1.; 8.5.1.). For example, he was more friendly and relaxed with older pupils (post GCSE level), and maintained a stern, accusatory and punitive approach with younger pupils, so much so, that I was surprised when he demonstrated care (7.7.2.; 8.1.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.4.1.; 8.5.1.).

Bob may have been trying to pre-empt problem behaviour in younger children. Yet, I found that he falsely accused pupils, made no apology when he found he was wrong, and behaved inappropriately aggressively and physically when he suspected a transgression may have, or would take place (7.7.2.; 8.3.1.; 8.5.1.). Furthermore, he may have perceived his pupils as bad; as he expressed a generally negative perception of the morality of most of his pupils, their parents and people in authority (A1-pp.195, 208, 222, 223, 230, 233; 7.7.3.).

He defended the use of reprimands, threats and punishment as a way of gaining compliance and maintained that 'parents should be hammered' into making their children behave well (A1-p.222; 7.7.2.). Thus, he seemed to depend on a behaviourist approach to moral development and behaviour modification (2.1.1.; 4.1.; 4.5.). However, I found some evidence that he may have a tacit belief in Social Learning Theory (2.1.2.; 4.5.). For example, he proudly said that he represents normality, respectability, honesty, and a happy and stable home life (7.2.2.). In addition, his general interactions involved humour (mainly sardonic) tending to draw attention to his self-proclaimed intelligence and knowledge. In other words, he demonstrated an understanding of social and affective factors in moral learning, by seeing himself as a role model. Clearly, some pupils appeared to admire him and some may have been trying to emulate him when they added to the banter (7.7.2.; 8.1.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.5.1.).

The fact that Bob demonstrated a tacit belief in affective factors and 'modelling' (Bandura, 1973), as well as negative reinforcement, may not be irreconcilable. For example, Bandura (1973) explains that people believe children learn morally from punishment and reward, while actually children learn by imitation and thinking about consequences of specific behaviour.

Furthermore, I found that Bob may have identified personally with his tacit understanding of morality and the ways children learn morally, and that there may be underlying biographical reasons for his explicit and implicit moral guidance (7.7.3.). For example, he used examples of his personal life as evidence of what is right and good (7.7.3.); he complained that the teaching profession had lost a traditional position of respect; and his general behaviour implied that he expected deference to his position in society (7.7.1.; 7.7.2.; .8.2.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.5.1.). Furthermore, he seemed to expect regimental obedience and described school rules as right (7.7.2.; 8.5.1.). This seemed to confirm a deontic and culturally orientated perception of morality (e.g. Durkheim's treaty on individual duty to obey the rules of society - 3.6.; 3.11.); and that his perception of society as hierarchical and hierarchical control implicit in the hidden curriculum of the school (Mc Neil, 1999) may tacitly justify his macho behaviour. Furthermore, he may believe it is right to reinforce stereotypical gender based behaviour of boys.

9.1.8. No Ways

Nell Brown appeared indifferent to ethical issues concerning the environment, and pupils' welfare (7.8.1.; 7.8.2.; 7.8.3.; 8.1.1.). For example, she agreed that she paid lip service to the ethical issues within her subject (7.8.3.); appeared to permit bullying and maltreatment (8.8.2.; 8.1.1.;A, 1.8., p.21.). Yet, her general attitude seemed to indicate that she valued obedience and compliance, which she described as being good (A1-p.226).

However, the level of problem behaviour in her classes indicated that she did not know how, or had given up trying, to establish control (7.8.3.; A, 1.8., pp.2-4, 9.). For example, she spoke of and demonstrated boredom teaching and interacting with pupils (7.8.1.). In addition, she seemed to demonstrate that she knew that praise may be effective in either reducing problem behaviour or improving concentration, however, as she only praised pupils at the beginning of my observations (fnnb), I found that she did not have an underlying belief in its value. In fact, her general response to problem behaviour seemed to be retaliation (8.4.1.; 8.5.1.). For example, she gave disapproving and abrupt answers to pupils' naive solutions to environmental problems, and generally addressed pupils sarcastically (7.8.2.; 8.4.1.). Nell said that the pupils were responsible for punitive and antisocial behaviour in the school (6.4.1.; 7.8.3.); that they spoiled lessons, and were ungrateful for what the school provided (7.8.3.; 8.5.1.) Furthermore, she jokingly said the school 'encouraged' children 'to be good', however, it was clear that she meant 'punished' (6.4.1.; A1-p.269). My assumption that she was retaliating may also explain why she did not intervene when pupils were being bullied or unfairly chastised.

Thus, I found no evidence of Nell trying to give moral guidance or applying her knowledge of how children learn morally that she expressed in interview, as she seemed to place herself in opposition to her pupils. For example, she spoke warmly about the natural enthusiasm of younger children and girls' willingness to please (6.4.1.; A1-p.259). Thus, it may be that Nell did not like teaching boys, or that she lacks skill in reducing stereotypical behaviour of adolescent boys. Furthermore, when I interviewed pupils about how they learn morally from Nell's interactions with them, some pupils said 'we didn't get on' and complained about teachers being unfair (7.8.3.; A1-p.255).

There may be reasons I could not identify for the way Nell responded to her pupils' behaviour. Furthermore, there may have been ways Nell gave moral guidance that I did not observe. However, the lack of intervention and moral guidance that I observed may be inhibiting or even causing regression in Nell's pupils' moral development. For example, Burt and Howard (1974) identify unsympathetic teachers and bullying as contributing factors to adverse moral development in pupils. Similarly, Piaget, (1932), Kohlberg and Kramer (1969), and Turiel (1974) have explained that social and cultural effects may contribute to regression in moral development, due to the effects of social interactions on moral reasoning within a group (4.5.).

9.1.9. Fair Play

Christine White spoke about her belief in 'caring and sharing' (A1-p.287), and seemed to demonstrate care in everything she did (7.9.2.; 8.5.1.). For example, she demonstrated that she was 'environmentally aware' (Scott & Oulton, 1998), regularly intervened in bullying situations; tried to repair the atmosphere after upsets; and demonstrated diplomacy in dealing with breaches of school rules, and insensitive or harsh treatment metered out by other teachers (6.5.1.; 7.9.2.; 8.5.1.). Thus, from her behaviour it appeared that Christine had an underlying belief in the ethic of care being the highest moral value; perspectives offered by J. Gilligan (1976), C. Gilligan (1982), and Noddings (1992) (4.3.). However, Christine frequently spoke about what she perceived as injustices and immorality; and most notably, while interacting with pupils she repeatedly drew attention to cultural difference, racial discrimination, and bias that may be implied in everyday language (7.9.; 7.9.3.; 8.2.1. 8.3.1.; 8.5.1.). This seemed to suggest that Christine believed mutual respect is somehow linked to care (e.g. caring and sharing); a perspective more in line with Piaget's final stage of moral development than C. Gilligan's (1982) description of 'care' as the underlying value in women's moral development. It may be that ethics of mutual respect and care are one and the same thing. For, from Christine's interactions, I found that 'mutual respect' seemed to underpin her moral reasoning; and that the experience of 'care' may be that which she believes underpins the way children learn morally.

Christine did not appear to hold a deontic (rule-based) perspective of morality, as although she cited some culturally orientated rules (e.g. The Ten Commandments, specific school rules, forms of politeness) underpinning morality, she seemed to permit, or even defy some rules (A, 1.9., pp.1, 26.). For example, she seemed to be particularly concerned about instances of ill treatment by one group upon another (7.9.2.; 8.5.1.; A1-pp.288-289, 306-307); and implied the importance of mutual respect when she named a bus company as 'the most immoral company' because 'they are poorly maintained and they cheat the people' (fncw) (e.g. they neither care nor share). Furthermore, the rules she appeared to flout may have been those that she believed did not reflect mutual respect (e.g. contentious rules in school 1 - A1-p.312, 315-316). Therefore, it seems more likely that Christine holds an aretaic perspective of morality based on ethics of 'mutual respect' (e.g. mutual respect is goodness). Thus, she draws attention to injustices of this nature in her moral guidance (Leman and Duveen (1999) maintain moral reasoning based on mutual respect may be the best way to develop morally - 4.3.).

Furthermore, a perspective of morality based on mutual respect and a personal motivation to ensure mutual respect may explain Christine's many initiatives, and her determination to maintain specific (caring) projects within the school (7.9.1.; 7.9.3. 8.5.1.). Thus, the difference between what may motivate Christine morally (e.g. mutual respect or injustice), and how she may believe children learn morally, is that mutual respect seemed to lie at the heart of her concerns, and 'care' appeared to underpin her interactions. This seemed to explain why she maintained an almost saint-like calmness, compassion, and positivity in the company of pupils (A1-p.290), and privately she seemed exhausted and despondent (8.1.1.; A1-p.283).

Finally, I found that Christine demonstrated a view of moral development as transitional through social interaction (affective factors - 4.5.), rather than by cognitive stages (4.2.). For it seemed that her perspective may have been as Piaget (1932) explains, that children develop 'relations of cooperation' from 'the sum of social relations' (Piaget, 1932, p.402). For example, while she may have demonstrated an understanding that children learn morally from information and moral dilemmas, her behaviour indicated that she focussed on demonstrating her deep-felt belief in mutual respect and her unconditional regard for her pupils. Clearly, her pupils demonstrated that they experienced her sympathetic regard for they responded warmly, complied, and sought her help for a range of problems (7.9.2.). However, I noted that while those under her wing may have benefited from her moral guidance and the effects of her compassion, children on the periphery may have been negatively affected for they appeared to demonstrate that they felt deprived of her affection (7.9.3.; A1-p.320).

In this section I focussed on what expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally seemed to guide teachers' approaches to moral guidance by finding evidence of moral perspectives and moral development in the literature. In the next section I will discuss what evidence in the data of teachers' expressed or implied knowledge relates to research on how children learn.

9.2. Ways to learn

In this section I will discuss my second research question regarding teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles that are reflected in research in their general teaching (1.4).

9.2.1. Appeal to Interests

I noted at times that **Adam Mann's** pupils were not paying attention; however, this may have been because he was focussing on engaging their interest, and less so on gaining their compliance (7.1.3.). For example, he staged learning experiences (e.g. using surprise), rather than pressing them with information (7.1.3.; 8.4.2.). In general, maths lessons passed quietly, with pupils occasionally asking for help with a question; and science lessons were active and relatively noisy as they included three styles of learning experience, e.g.:

- practical activities (psychomotor/willing)
- observation, surprise and judgement (affective/feeling)
- recall, discussion and evaluation (cognitive/thinking)

(A1-pp.10-12).

Thus, Adam's science lessons seemed to include different ways in line with what Bloom (1956) describes as three points of entry to learning (psychomotor, affective, cognitive); and Steiner (1909/1965) describes as capacities for learning (thinking, feeling, willing) (2.2.). Also, Adam's approach also seemed to reflect Vygotsky's (1978) account of how children learn (e.g. scaffolding - imitation, suggestions, and leading questions - 2.1.2.); as he did some of the work himself, explained as problems arose, used Socratic type questioning to guide their thinking, and added obscure information that they may have needed to think about before realising its relevance (7.1.3.).

Adam did not appear to focus on ways different children may learn, for he seemed to teach the class. Also, I found no evidence of boys in his classes receiving more attention in relation to learning, or that boys asked more questions etc. (8.4.2.). However, he set boys and girls different practical tasks (8.4.2.). In other words, his behaviour implied that he believed that specific tasks offered more appeal for boys, or girls (e.g. boys tend to enjoy physically challenging tasks; girls tend not to like getting dirty). Yet, I noted my concerns that stereotypical gender differences may be being reinforced by Adam, and/or the school ethos (see Pam 7.2.2. and Fred 7.3.3.); and that this may explain why I found that girls tended to behave in a particularly frivolous manner (A1-p.19; 7.1.3.).

9.2.2. Just listen

When **Pam Strong** introduced new information she emphasised the words 'strange' and 'new'; played battleships to illustrate coordinates on a grid; demonstrated positive and negative values on a number line with weighing scales; and used coloured chalk to denote different mathematical operations (7.2.2.; 8.4.2.). However, her pupils complained about work being too babyish or too hard, and seemed to confirm their dissatisfaction by fidgeting, yawning and stretching (7.2.2; 8.4.2.).

It may be that Pam took too long to introduce something new; or that she may not have been pitching work at a level to engage their interest; or that it may have been clear in Pam's mind why she was doing something, while her pupils failed to see the relevance.

I found that Pam's teaching technique may have added to what she described as her pupils' resistance to learning and poor concentration (7.2.3.; 8.4.2.). For example, I found that she demonstrated characteristic teacher behaviour that Kounin (1970) identified as responsible for behaviour problems and poor concentration, specifically;

- dangles - incomplete instructions ;
- flip-flops – oscillating instructions; and
- thrusts - inserting irrelevant information.

(7.2.3.; 8.4.2.; A1-p.36)

Clearly, Pam's lessons lacked 'momentum' and 'smoothness' (Kounin (1970), as she frequently interrupted lessons to reprimand and chastise (7.2.3.; 8.3.2.). However, I noted my concerns that there may have been underlying reasons for the level of negativity demonstrated by Pam and her pupils (7.2.2.;7.2.3.).

Pam implied that some parents did not support her methods, and therefore their children resisted learning. Nevertheless, Pam may have confused learning with cooperation (8.3.2.); and her underlying understanding of how children learn may be linked to how well they comply. This may explain why 'she lays into them strongly when they're not 100% on task' (8.5.2.).

Furthermore, Pam demonstrated a wide knowledge of specific ways children learn in relation to age, gender and temperament (A1-pp.55, 57-58). Much of what she said seemed to come directly from Steiner's explanations of how children learn (1909/1965), and how individual temperament affects attitudes to learning (Steiner, 1909/1980) (2.2.; 2.3.3.). However, this knowledge did not seem to be confirmed by her behaviour, but rather that she seemed to demonstrate an underlying belief in learning by imitation. For example, by exaggerating some behaviours, she implied that she believed children imitate and duplicate what they have learned (7.2.2.). She also focussed on weakening specific behaviour to reinforce desired behaviour (threats and punishment - 8.4.2.), indicating an underlying behaviourist perspective (2.1.1.).

It may be that Pam used her understanding of different ways children learn with regard to age and temperament in ways that I was unable to identify. For, I found that Pam demonstrated a tacit understanding of how children learn that conflicted with her expressed knowledge of ways children learn. For example, in general she focussed on compliance; aural reception of knowledge; and reproduction (copying from the board, and completing exercises in their books). This seemed to be confirmed when a pupil said, 'I don't understand' and Pam snapped 'well, you must listen' (8.4.2.).

9.2.3. In Touch With Brightness

I found that **Fred Fine** had what Kounin (1970) called 'withitness'; and his teaching techniques seemed to maintain 'momentum' and 'smoothness' that Kounin attributes to successful teachers (7.3.2.; 7.3.3.; 8.3.2.). For example, Fred kept learning at a fast pace as he built on pupils' prior knowledge, and checked the accuracy of their understanding (7.3.2.; 8.4.2.; 8.5.2.) Most significantly, he seemed to hold their attention without speaking, e.g. he used facial expressions, eye contact, body language, breath intakes, and sounds (7.3.2.; 7.3.3.; 8.5.2.) Consequently, when he spoke, pupils appeared to respond quickly (r).

Fred may have held an underlying belief akin to social learning theories in the way Vygotsky (1928/1994; 1978) describes processes of learning (e.g. the zone of proximal development - 2.1.3.). For example, he physically demonstrated, prompted pupils into trying, and checked their understanding (mainly by engaging the whole class in sharing their knowledge with each other - 7.3.2.; 7.3.3.; 8.4.2.). Furthermore, he confirmed his perspective of social learning in relation to language (see Vygotsky, 1928/ 1994, 1934/1962; Pinker, 1994; Chomsky, 2000 - 2.1.2.) when he demonstrated his awareness that subtle differences within language point to understanding (A1-p.91). For example, he listened with interest to their contributions, checked understanding by discussion; and when prompting a line of thought he spoke respectfully using warmth and humour (7.3.3.; 8.4.2.; 8,5,2.).

The way Fred taught his pupils seemed to hinge on his belief that, 'the intelligence is there; you are simply removing obstacles.' (A1-p.72.). So saying, he may have been expressing a view similar to Vygotsky's (1928/1994) stages of the learning that span four stages of knowledge from natural understanding to inner schemes, however, his view may have been more in line with Rogers (1994), who describes a teacher's power to expand or close down motivation to learn.

Thus, the respect Fred appeared to hold for all his pupils, seemed to underpin the way he demonstrated a teaching technique that in turn seemed to ensure equal opportunity in learning (7.3.2.; 7.3.3.; 8.4.2.). An underlying ethic of respect, may explain why he tolerated what I found to be irritating silliness and 'affected physical weakness' demonstrated by the older girls (8.4.2.). For instance, he did not insist that they behave differently.

Furthermore, he said that all pupils need courage to learn (A1-p9); and his analogy of removing obstacles to learning, indicated his underlying belief in the relationship of affect (and confidence) to learning. However, I found that research may not yet have explained the connections that Fred makes between the respect he appears to hold for his pupils, and the sense of reverence, wonder, and awe says he holds for the subjects he teaches (7.3.3.).

9.2.4. Knuckle Down

Khadija Ahmed demonstrated impatience (mainly with the younger pupils) when they were slow to respond, or failed to understand (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.). She pressed pupils to answer quickly; and admonished them for guessing (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.; 8.5.3.). Pupils demonstrated general anxiety in her lessons (A1-p.116.), some unable to answer when pressed for answers (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.).

Khadija appeared to hold a behaviourist perspective of the way children learn, e.g. she pressed them to learn by threatening and raising her voice (negative reinforcers) when they failed to work, understand, or answer correctly, and demonstrated warmth when they met her expectations (positive reinforcers, or withdrawal of negative reinforcers) (7.4.2.; 8.5.3.). Furthermore, a behaviourist perspective that relates rates of learning to intelligence (2.1.1.) may indicate that Khadija held an underlying belief in innate ability. For, it could be argued that pupils with an aptitude for mathematical thinking are less likely to be disadvantaged by distractions. This may explain why she interrupted pupils while they were working; and only explained when pupils asked for help (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.; 8.5.3.). Furthermore, an underlying belief in innate ability and memory may explain why Khadija complained that too many pupils had special educational needs; why she treated some pupils favourably; and by implication, why there is only one Maths A-level pupil in the school (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.; 8.5.3.; A1-pp.116-120).

While Khadija maintained it was important for children to understand maths, with less successful pupils she appeared to depend on a deeper more hidden understanding of learning processes, e.g. memory or rote learning (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.; 8.5.3.; A, 1.4., pp.108-109, 116-117, 124). For example, when I offered my services to help pupils who had difficulties in maths (5.8.; 6.4.3.) she insisted that they complete the same exercises that they would have done in her lessons. In other words, she did not hold an underlying belief that going through concepts of number would help them to understand what they were expected to do. Thus, while she complained that her pupils learned by rote, she may have been reinforcing their tendency to depend on rote learning by pressurising them to achieve answers (7.4.2.).

However, it could also be argued that Khadija's behaviour reflected a culturally orientated response to children in learning situations (6.4.3.; 8.1.3.; 8.2.3.; also see Fatima 7.5.2.; and Christine A1-pp.299-301 cultural attitudes to children's learning). In other words, Khadija's tacit knowledge of the ways children learn may have been overshadowed by a cultural perception (hers or mine).

9.2.5. Rote Emote

Fatima Badawi told stories containing moral messages, and taught Islamic tenets where pupils repeated her words and phrases in unison (8.4.3.; A1-pp.141-142). Thus, I found that pupils repeated the same information, using the same words and phrases, on a regular basis (8.4.3.; A1-pp.141-142)

Repetition is mainly associated with classic conditioning (a perspective of behaviourism - 2.1.1.). Therefore, by repeating information already well known, the behavioural aspect Fatima appeared to depend on, pertains to reinforcing small pieces of knowledge to achieve permanent change (see Bandura, 1974; Seligman, 1974; 1975; Kohn, 1992; 1993; Glasser, 1996; ethical objections to behaviourism - 2.1.1.). However, contrary to methods of reinforcement used by other teachers in this study (9.2.2.; 9.2.4.; 9.2.5.; 9.2.6.), Fatima seemed only to use positive reinforcers (2.1.1.) to support learning (8.4.3.; A1-pp.137, 138, 142, 152).

Thus, it could be argued that Fatima demonstrated a tacit understanding of the role of affect in learning (e.g. theories that focus on affective and social interactional aspects of learning - 2.2.; 2.4.). This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that she spoke of, and demonstrated care and concern for her pupils; and told them that what they learned led to universal love and being special (7.5.2.; 8.4.3.).

Feelings and social interaction are frequently noted as a faculty of learning, or having an effect on learning, e.g.;

- Maslow's (1954/1970) - basic needs for love and belongingness precede needs for learning (2.4.).

- Socrates's appertitive soul - human desire for feeling (Plato, in de Botton 1999);
- Bruner's (1966) iconic stage relates to a middle stage of learning where information is internalised by means of imagination;
- Steiner's (1909/1965) two positions, e.g. learning depends on thinking, feeling and willing, and feelings dominate a middle stage of learning; and
- Bloom (1956) maintains learning on an affective level (e.g. adapting and internalising values) draws on an affective learning skill (2.2.).

Thus, I found from what Fatima said and did, she implied that she held a tacit understanding of the ways children learn mainly involved affect. However, I found that Fatima may have held a deeper or tacit belief in how children learn, namely modelling (children learn without promises of rewards or threats of punishment - Bandura, 1973; 2.1.2.). For example, I have described that her deliberate manner may have influenced her pupils into wanting to imitate her (7.5.2.; 8.3.3.; 9.1.5.). It may be that Fatima is aware of her pupils learning to model their day to day behaviour on her deliberate manner, yet it may also be that through affect, on levels that are hidden from themselves, Fatima and her pupils are unconsciously colluding; and this process has an additional conditioning effect. This seemed to be confirmed by the fact that Fatima's pupils were expressing views and carrying out actions that they had learnt from her (6.7.1.; 7.5.1.; 7.5.2.;7.5.3.; 8.3.3.; 9.1.5.).

Finally, I found that Fatima asked her pupils if they understood, when it may have been more appropriate to use the word acknowledge or believe; for she was not actually explaining anything (8.4.3.; A1-pp.141-142). This may have been due to cultural interpretations of these words, as I found a similar situation occurring in Khadija's and Aisha's lessons (7.4.2.; 8.4.3.). However, it may be that with an emphasis placed on rote learning the words understand, believe and acknowledge are interchangeable.

9.2.6. Practice makes perfect

I have explained that I found that **Aisha Bakr** used repetition in three ways (7.6.2.; A, 1.6., p.9.). For example, while teaching Arabic she focussed on pronunciation, meanings of words, tests and repeating exercises (7.6.2.). While, it may be argued that repetition is necessary in learning a language; the fact that her Islamic History and Arabic lessons appeared to include similar information (7.6.2.; 8.4.3.) may have resulted in behaviourist learning because pupils were repeating relatively small amounts of information, e.g. classic conditioning (2.1.1). Furthermore, the behaviourist approach seemed to be confirmed by the way she demanded obedience (8.4.3.).

I found that Aisha's down-to-earth behavioural method of systematically repeating work seemed to be consistent with the way she ordered her lessons (8.1.3.; 8.2.3.; 8.4.3.). For example, she focussed on teaching pupils to memorise sounds, words, grammar, meanings and events through repetition and by overcoming their resistance (7.6.2.; 8.4.3.; A1-p.170-172). Therefore, although Aisha spoke knowledgeably about engaging interest and the benefits of using praise, she appeared to focus on compliance (8.4.3.). Furthermore, what I found to be a consistent underlying behaviourist perspective of learning may explain why Aisha seemed to confuse the meanings of the words understand and acknowledge or remember. For example, although she said she used a Socratic method of questioning, her questions did not call upon her pupils to think, but rather to verify (8.4.3.). Also, when her pupils told me that Aisha had explained something, it appeared that this meant that Aisha had told them exactly what she wanted them to write down in their books (A1-p.175).

9.2.7. Don't be Stupid

Bob Black demonstrated a wide knowledge of research concerning the ways children learn (7.7.1.), however, he appeared to depend on two aspects, e.g. teacher-pupil relationships and systematic method of teaching (7.7.2.).

A propos teacher-pupil relationships, he appeared to favour some pupils (7.7.2.; 8.1.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.4.1.; 8.5.1.); in Bob's words, 'actively promoting high performance individuals' and 'torpedoing the people who are dragging the group down' (7.7.2.). However, as all his pupils appeared to show the same deference to his authority, and Bob appeared to maintain a general harsh or punitive approach (7.7.2.;

8.3.1.; 8.5.1.), it may be that he held general negative expectations of some pupils' abilities to learn; ultimately tacitly labelling many pupils as 'stupid' (sic - 7.7.2.). In fact, he said that less compliant pupils were stupid (7.7.2.).

Research has shown that teachers' expectations influence how well children learn (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968); and Becker (1963), Keddie (1971), Ball (1981), Blatchford, Burke, Farquar, Plewis and Tizard (1989), and Wright (2002) have shown that pupils collude with teachers in holding negative views of themselves (2.4.). This appeared evident in the way that his pupils did not appear to object to the way he treated them; and may explain why pupils he regularly criticised appeared to admire him (7.7.2.; 8.1.1.; 8.3.1.; 8.5.1.). For Bob seemed to criticise rather than praise, and to make sarcastic remarks and humiliate pupils (8.3.1.; 8.4.1.; A1-pp.211, 212, 215).

Maslow (1954/1970) has shown that children regress to needs of safety when self-esteem is threatened; and learning needs cannot be addressed when self-esteem is fragile (2.4.); thus, by implication Bob may have been reinforcing what he believed to be stupidity, or causing pupils to describe themselves as 'thick' and 'stupid' (fnbb; A1-p.211

In general, Bob seemed to hold an underlying belief in a behaviourist view of learning. He demonstrated a systematic approach to teaching, for example, he usually demonstrated what he wanted them to do (using gestures and sounds), breaking tasks down into small steps (8.4.1.; A1-pp.205). Thus, he demonstrated an underlying belief in learning by imitation and single steps - 2.1.1.). This perspective seemed to concur with his persistent censure on those who did not comply (negative reinforcement - 2.1.1.).

A general underlying behaviourist perspective may also explain why Bob appeared to be boasting when he rushed through theory and proclaimed his general knowledge. For, intelligence and the rate of learning is implicit in behaviourist theories of learning (2.1.1.). Furthermore, because he deflected questions; trapped pupils into making a mistake; rebuked, humiliated and pressured them (A1-pp.206, 211, 212), I found that Bob may have been implying that he was intelligent (and by implication that pupils were not). In other words, he may have been challenging his pupils to compete with him, by making it difficult for them to keep up.

9.2.8. Bite The Bullet

Nell Brown admitted and demonstrated that she found her subject boring; and appeared to communicate her boredom to her pupils by her general demeanour and saying 'school is boring' (7.8.2.). She seemed to be working 'very laboriously' with potentially interesting subject matter (A1-p.253). Thus, she may have been discouraging interest by default, for while she appeared to present well planned lessons by the way she wrote the lesson objectives on the board and used worksheets or video to communicate information re Geography (A1-p.249), she seemed to miss opportunities to expand their knowledge or understanding. For example, she deflected their questions, and responded abruptly and critically to relevant questions (8.4.1.).

I found that Nell may have lost interest in teaching sometime prior to this study, or that she had given up trying to make lessons more interesting because pupils lacked natural enthusiasm. This seemed to be confirmed by the way she focussed on delivering information; and by the fact that Nell said that she thought she was more didactic than in previous years. She also spoke warmly about positive attitudes demonstrated by girls and younger children to learning.

It could be argued that Nell held an underlying belief that children learn by thinking about, or memorising details, e.g. a cognitive approach. On the other hand, she may have held a weak belief in positive reinforcement, or social interactional factors influencing learning; however, I was unable to verify this, as her general attitude seemed to become more lethargic during the period of my observations. For example, soon after I began observing her she appeared to drop her practice of walking around the class making positive comments about pupils' work. In other words, Nell appeared not to care that they learn, remember, or understand.

Thus, it may be that Nell had underlying negative expectations of her pupils' abilities to learn, or to want to learn. This may have been related to the social climate, or size of the school; the ages of her pupils; her attitude towards boys (Davies, 1984), or these boys (e.g. teachers tend to be harsh with boys - Upton, 1993; Sadker, 1999).

Clearly, she blamed her pupils for the disruptive behaviour in her classes; and her behaviour towards pupils who asked questions or spoke during lessons appeared indifferent or disparaging. Thus, I found that Nell demonstrated tacit behaviour relating to research in the field of affective or social interactional factors that attribute children's failure to learn to negative aspects of teachers' behaviour and perceptions (2.4.).

9.2.9. Good Practice

Christine White demonstrated genuine interest in what her pupils said and did; and behaved in a generally empathic and supportive way while teaching or assisting in classes (7.9.3.; 8.4.1.; 8.5.1.). For example, she waited for pupils to work out pronunciations or meaning (8.4.1.); and only prompted with questions or affirmative sounds when they appeared to be frustrated (8.4.1.; A1-p.293). Also, she usually drew up a chair to sit beside a pupil when they asked for help; therefore she seldom looked down on a pupil (8.4.1.). Her pupils confirmed that they felt her genuine interest and concern in the way that she spoke to them (7.9.3.; 8.4.1.).

Christine also gave up her spare time for her pupils to practise their language skills (8.4.1.). For example, pupils came to her class during breaks and after school; she arranged library talks; outings to local places of interest etc.; and her classroom conversations seemed to focus on broadening her pupils' general knowledge (8.5.1.). Although much of what she spoke about seemed to be about differences between cultures and ethnicities, she also engaged pupils in conversations (in and outside the classroom) on things of general interest.

I found that Christine demonstrated an underlying respect for her pupils; and that she believed they were able to learn given support and resources. For example, she seemed to talk to them as equals, or mature learners; in other words, she diplomatically avoided giving answers, invited discussion, asked questions or gave pupils more examples (usually something to read) (8.4.1.). She also demonstrated that mistakes were an inevitable part of the learning process, and that they could learn from each other as well as from each others' mistakes (8.4.1.). For example, she allowed talking in class (fncw).

Thus, I found that Christine focussed on three aspects of learning, self-esteem, practise and confidence. For example, during these interactions she may have been boosting self-esteem to encourage them to practise new skills, learn from errors, and others. Thus, positive experiences from practise boosted their confidence; and confidence boosted their self-esteem. In this way her tacit knowledge of learning processes (demonstrated by her behaviour) appeared to be the same as how she articulated her understanding of the ways children learn. In other words, her attitudes to pupils while they were learning appeared in line with her knowledge of different ways children develop language skills and depend on affective factors to learn. For example, Rogers (1994) maintains unconditional praise and appreciating of the efforts pupils make in school facilitates learning. Similarly, Canfield and Wells (1976) and Burns (1982) emphasise the importance of a sympathetic environment where pupils develop emotionally to facilitate learning. She also seemed to demonstrate a pragmatic approach similar to the way Vygotsky (1994, 1928/1994) describes social learning. For example, she pointed to written examples and pictures, provided reading material, and asked questions to guide their thoughts. While, the imitative stage of Vygotsky's (1978) zone of proximal development does not appear clearly in her method, she seems to hold a similar view of the social nature of learning in moving from not knowing to knowing by suggestions and leading questions. I also found reflections in Christine's tacit and expressed knowledge of how children learn in what Maslow (1954/1970) says about learning only being likely after emotional needs have been met. In other words, Christine may depend on social and cognitive processes interlinked in learning in the way Newham, Griffen and Cole (1989) believe learning theories can be understood.

Thus, I have tried to show how research into ways children learn is reflected in how the teachers in this study demonstrated their knowledge (tacit and expressed) of how children learn. In the following sections I will try to answer my third research question and look at how teachers' understanding of how children learn morally relates to how they understand children learn.

9.3. Learning ways to moral ways

In the two preceding sections I discussed teachers' expressed and implied perceptions of how children learn and learn morally in relation to the literature. In some cases teachers' expressed views did not reflect what appeared as a central tacit belief that motivated their actions. However, there may be a way of relating the models teachers used by identifying relationships from a philosophical perspective as indicated by Nussbaum (1989), and that I used in chapter 2 and 4 to identify philosophical perspectives of learning, and moral development.

Thus, my third and final research question illustrates the purpose of this study in looking for evidence of how teachers' expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn morally and their expressed and/or tacit models of the ways children learn and children's learning styles relate (1.4). In chapters, 7, 8, and the two previous sections of this chapter I have attempted to show that teachers answered these questions in what they said and did; and in chapter 6 I tried to show how the implicit cultural environment may impinge on teachers' own perspectives.

Thus, in the following three subsections I will briefly summarise the evidence that I found within the schools' implicit cultures, and relate teachers' expressed and tacit knowledge to their schools' cultural environments. Based on the questions I asked in figures 2.4 (p.60) and 4.3 (p.122) to identify philosophical perspectives underpinning theories of learning and moral development, I will attempt to show how their expressed and tacit models relate by asking the questions, 'what causes moral learning and what causes learning?' and, 'what underpinning values are implied?' Thus, I will show how these models relate or differ between the individual teachers in the three schools; and estimate where teachers' expressed and implied perspectives may be positioned on a philosophical continuum of perspectives in the style suggested by Nussbaum (1989, p.532).

Models of understanding in school 1

In chapter 6 I explained that I found **school** 1's implicit cultural climate somewhat inhospitable and intimidating. In chapters 7 and 8 I described harsh treatment of pupils, bullying and poor teacher pupil relationships. In this school, teachers demonstrated a tendency to be cynical about their pupils (behaviour and abilities), parents, and the educational system; and showed evidence of ennui, stress and despondency. In general, the focus on moral learning in school 1 appeared to be on obedience, deference, and school rules. Furthermore, I found implicit within the school's ethos an emphasis on a behavioural perspective of learning and moral learning, e.g. negative reinforcement in relation to completing work and compliance in the form of sanctions, disdain, threats, and chastisement. However, the teachers in this school clearly demonstrated their individual perspectives of how children learn and learn morally. For example;

- **Bob Black** used punitive actions and his power of authority to enforce pupils' compliant behaviour; and while he expressed an eclectic understanding of how children learn, he emphasised his support of a behaviourist perspective of learning. Yet, there was some indication that Bob may have held another perspective of learning and morality based on social and affective factors (e.g. he occasionally demonstrated care and spoke about affective factors in learning that he said he had abandoned). Thus, I found that Bob may have been influenced by the ethos of the school; hence, he may have adopted a strong behaviourist perspective of learning and moral learning in response to his present position.

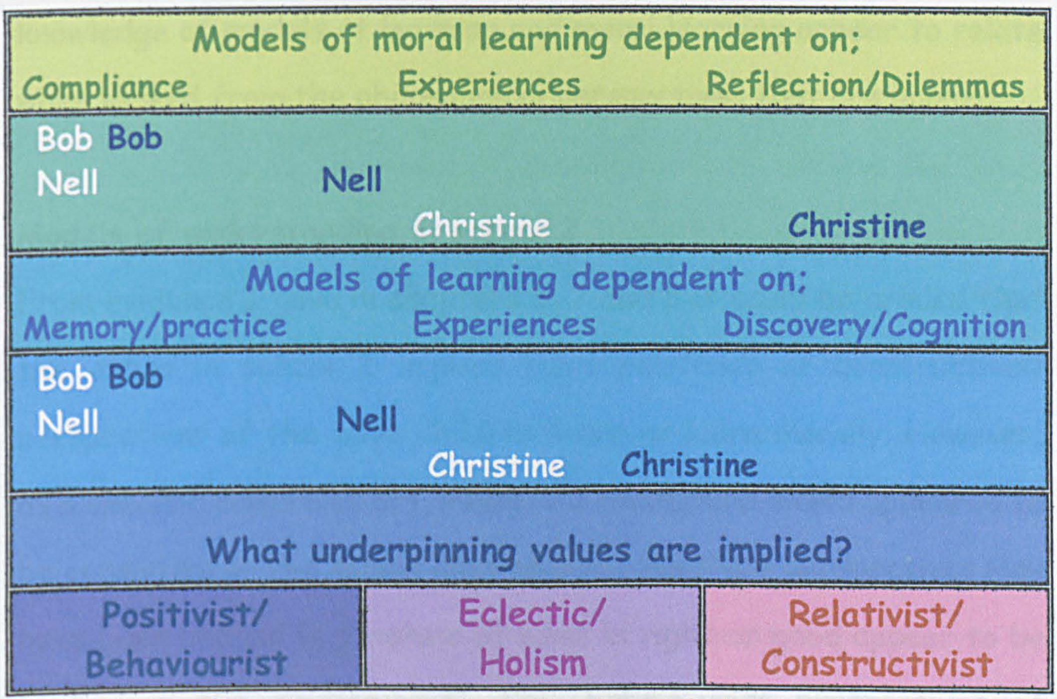
- **Nell Brown** expressed a wide knowledge of the ways children learn and learn morally, and appeared to value compliance and rules. As in general she supported negative reinforcement to facilitate children's learning and moral learning, she may have been condoning punitive actions by others to punish her pupils for not learning or not being compliant. However, it may be that the general ethos of the school led her to develop her present perspective, and that in different circumstances she may have demonstrated more enthusiasm for her subject and pupils' welfare.

- **Christine White** articulated and demonstrated her caring and sharing view of morality, and she expressed this view in her implicit understanding of how children learn. Thus, she emphasised the affective aspect of learning processes, e.g. building confidence. However, she also focussed on systematically increasing pupil's knowledge. I found that Christine appeared to stand somewhat outside of the school's general behaviourist perspectives of learning and moral learning, while retaining some value of traditional moral and educational values. However, she may have been influenced by the school's general behaviourist approach, even though she did not fully support the school's implied values and ethos. Thus, in a different setting she may have demonstrated stronger constructivist views of learning that were more in line with her views of morality.

To illustrate how the teachers in school 1 expressed or demonstrated their tacit views of how children learn and learn morally, in figure 9.1. I have indicated an approximate position along a continuum of perspectives in the way indicated by Nussbaum (1989). Teachers' expressed views are indicated in colour, and their tacit understanding is indicated in white (representing the hidden nature of their views). Thus, applying Nussbaum's (1989, p.532) question and answer technique where behaviourist and positivist perspectives appear on the extreme left of a left-right continuum, teachers expressing behaviourist or positivist perspectives appear to the left of this framework. Thus, the positions where teachers' names appear on a left-right continuum in figure 9.1. show their underlying philosophical perspectives of children's learning and moral learning by the values that may be implied.

Figure 9.1.

Teachers' models of learning and moral learning in school 1 (after Nussbaum 1989)


Models of moral learning dependent on;
Compliance
Experiences
Reflection/Dilemmas
Bob Bob
Nell
Nell
Christine
Christine
Models of learning dependent on;
Memory/practice
Experiences
Discovery/Cognition
Bob Bob
Nell
Nell
Christine
Christine
What underpinning values are implied?
Positivist/ Behaviourist
Eclectic/ Holism
Relativist/ Constructivist

Thus, figure 9.1. shows that the behaviour of the teachers in school 1 implied a more behaviourist/positivist philosophical perspective compared to their expressed views. For example, although Bob expressed a wide view of knowledge of the ways children learn, he expressed and demonstrated his behaviourist and positivist views most strongly. Furthermore, as his technique focussed on strict control and compliance, his tacit views appear in figure 9.1. to the left of his expressed views. Nell also expressed an eclectic knowledge of learning and moral learning, but she focussed mainly on negative reinforcement. Christine's views tended to be more towards eclectic and constructivist perspectives, yet in practice she appeared to demonstrate a wide range (eclectic holistic) of approaches.

Thus, in general teachers in school 1 appear to reflect the ethos of the school, with Christine's views and behaviour somewhat outside this perspective. However, individual teachers' expressed and tacit knowledge of models of learning and moral learning appear to relate when viewed from the philosophical perspectives that are implied.

Models of understanding in school 2

From evidence I gave in chapters 6, 7 and 8 it could be argued that the ethos in school 2 implied more relativist or constructivist perspectives of the ways children learn or learn morally. However, as a specific culture of art, music and the natural world appeared to be consistent in the school environment, positivist perspectives may have been implied (e.g. values of what is right or good appear to be implied in the environment). Yet, behaviourist perspectives of structured learning in small steps were not apparent, also there appeared to be less of a focus on school rules, sanctions and chastisement. Furthermore, teachers appeared to be committed to their work and expressed views of respect for the individual natures of their pupils, and dedication to spiritual purposes for educating children. Thus, in general, I found the ethos in school 2 to be convivial, where the focus was on pupils engaged in meaningful and enjoyable activity, and learning through experiences. Thus, I found the ethos of the school appeared to embrace a wide philosophical perspective, e.g. eclectic/holistic. The teachers I studied in the school expressed views generally in line with the ethos of the school. However, they appeared to have different tacit understanding of the ways children learning and learn morally. For example;

- **Adam Mann** spoke about and demonstrated that he valued a social order based on a code of conduct, e.g. caring behaviour and eco-awareness. However, he did not use his authority to enforce his social code, but demonstrated that he was prepared to negotiate; and his consistent actions implied a tacit view that children learn morally from experiences of care (affect). Similarly, he focussed on gaining their interest through staging surprising experiences in his teaching. In other words, overall he focussed on learning and learning morally through affect or feelings (this seemed to be confirmed by his value of apology as reparation, and the emphasis that he placed on interest underpinning learning).

- Clearly, **Pam Strong** did not articulate the same views of learning or learning morally that she demonstrated by her behaviour. For example, she described different stages of learning through action, affect and cognition at different ages, and described individual differences in personality. She also spoke specifically about feelings affecting the ways children learn, and explained that she smiled to show her intention to show good will. However, overall she appeared to depend on punitive approaches to enforce learning and compliance. For example, she tried to make lessons interesting; yet, when this seemed to fail she resorted to punitive actions. Thus, I found that Pam appeared to value ideas that children learn in many ways, but demonstrated a tacit belief in a behaviourist perspective. This anomaly may have been caused by her expectations of pupils and their parents to support her (demonstrations of good will); and also may have been caused by her teaching technique or by underestimating her pupils' cognitive abilities.

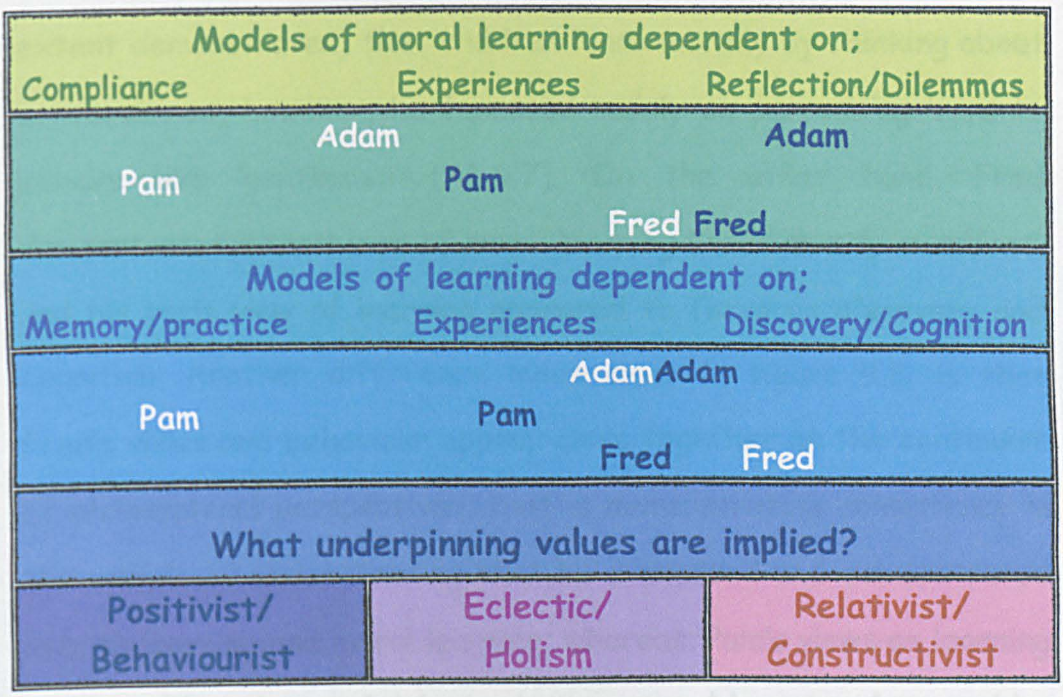
- **Fred Fine** demonstrated and articulated views of children's learning and moral learning that appeared to be based on his respect for his pupils' feelings, inherent cognitive abilities, and individual rights. For example, his teaching techniques and moral guidance seemed to depend on building positive relationships, social equality, self-affirming experiences, and opportunities to express and build on their own knowledge and experiences.

Teachers' underlying values in school 2 are shown in figure 9.2 overleaf. Their names, representing their expressed views, appear in colour on a continuum of philosophical perspectives; and my interpretations of their tacit knowledge of the ways children learn and learn morally, are represented in white.

Figure 9.2.

Teachers' models of learning and moral learning in school 2

(after Nussbaum 1989)


Models of moral learning dependent on;
Compliance
Experiences
Reflection/Dilemmas
Adam
Adam
Pam
Pam
Fred Fred
Models of learning dependent on;
Memory/practice
Experiences
Discovery/Cognition
AdamAdam
Pam
Pam
Fred
Fred
What underpinning values are implied?
Positivist/ Behaviourist
Eclectic/ Holism
Relativist/ Constructivist

Thus, teachers in school 2 appeared to express views towards the centre of a continuum of underlying philosophical values, and in general their implied tacit philosophical perspectives appear to lie towards the behaviourist/positivist side of the continuum compared to their expressed views. The figure shows that their expressed views and tacit knowledge, though somewhat different, show some similarity between their models of understanding of how children learn and learn morally. Yet, while, their expressed views appear to reflect the general ethos of the school, Pam's tacit understanding of how children learn and learn morally appeared to be mainly behaviourist, and therefore outside the school's implied ethos. Furthermore, Adam and Fred's implied tacit perspectives of how children learn appear to be somewhat different to their perspectives of how children learn morally. This appears to be more apparent in Adam's expressed and implied understanding of the ways children learn morally, e.g. he spoke about (and to a certain extent demonstrated) that children learn morally by thinking about consequences, however, he focussed mainly on persuading boys to behave like 'gentlemen' (A1-p.7). On the other hand, Fred demonstrated a tacit view of moral learning based mostly on affect, and his tacit view of learning appeared to focus on discovery and cognition. Another difference made clear in figure 9.2. is that Fred's views and behaviour appear close together on the continuum of philosophical perspectives, that is demonstrating consistency in the models of understanding that he expressed and demonstrated in both learning and moral learning; whereas, Pam's views on learning and moral learning, and Adam's views on moral learning show a wider difference between their expressed and tacit knowledge.

Models of understanding in school 3

In chapter 6 I described my initial impressions of school 3 as bleak and elusive. Yet, after gaining closeness to this exclusively female environment I found the school ethos to be strongly based on amity and religious identity. For example, the environment reflected an emphasis on religious principles and tenets above general knowledge; and pupils and teachers regularly discussed their religion and its connection to specific clothing. Thus, implicit within the school's ethos was an overall emphasis on religious education and practice. However, as pupils were expected to follow the National Curriculum, as well as Islamic subjects, there was an added atmosphere of haste and pressure. This seemed to be reflected in the ways pupils demonstrated nervousness, and teachers pressed pupils to learn. However, I found a behavioural perspective of moral learning in school 3 with most lessons repeating the same basic religious information. Even so, teachers demonstrated different interpretations of what was Islamic; and also expressed different views of how children learn, for example;

- **Khadija Ahmed** appeared to value allegiance, obligations to duty and success; generally in line with the ethos of the school. However, as Khadija also appeared to enjoy sharing her disregard for some Islamic rules, she may have confused compliance with allegiance. Thus, I found that her general punitive responses to moral issues and focus on negative reinforcement of learning may have been underpinned by her personal views. For example, she expressed the view that children learn cognitively at secondary age and when they did not seem to understand she tried to force learning; and moved from harshness to warm and friendly chatting when her pupils demonstrated that they were complying with instructions or succeeding; hence she used positive and negative reinforcement.

- **Fatima Badawi** spoke about and demonstrated that she believed that children learn and learn morally through their feelings. However, what appeared to be more consistent in her behaviour was persistent repetition. In other words, she may have been reinforcing specific behaviour by repeating the way she adjusted her face covering in the same way every lesson and centred her teaching on repeating tenets. Thus, although Fatima appeared to depend equally on affective factors and a behaviourist approach to learning and learning morally, she may have demonstrated a specific behavioural perspective of positive reinforcers and classic conditioning.

- **Aisha Bakr** emphasised that children learn by repetition; and while she articulated that children should learn cognitively (e.g. morally by understanding reasons, and she asked her pupils if they understood), she focussed specifically on compliance and repetition. In other words, her moral guidance and methods of teaching emphasised a tacit positivist/behaviourist perspective of obedience, rules and memorising facts.

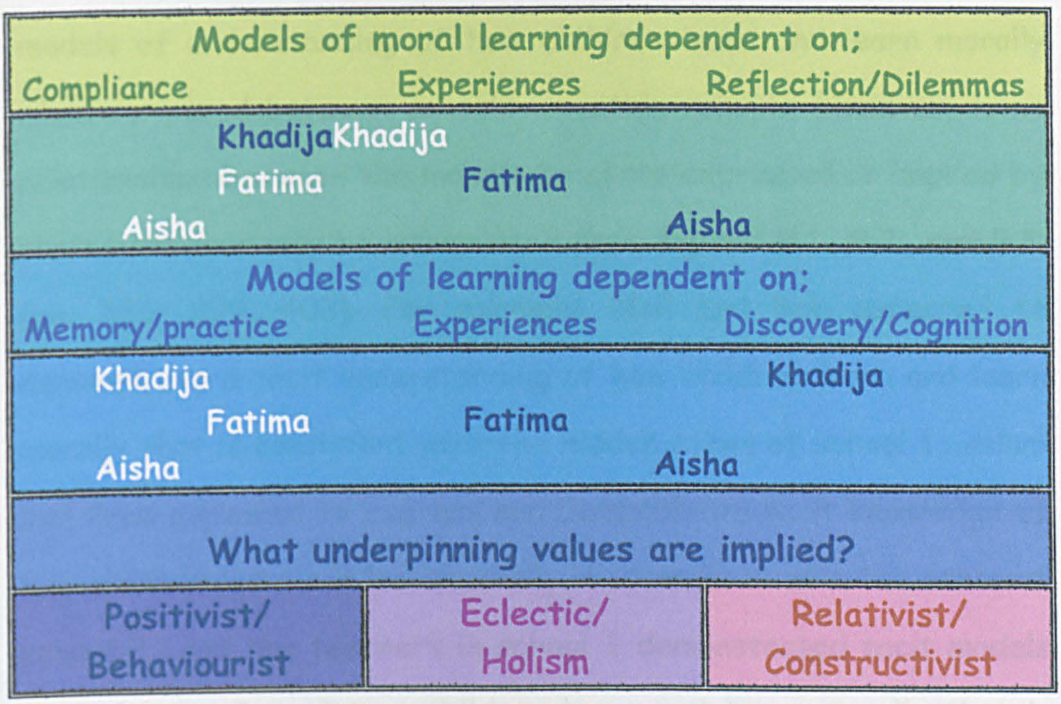
However, although the teachers in school 3 appeared to demonstrate behaviourist perspectives, Fatima and Aisha focussed mainly on repetition, and Khadija appeared to depend on negative reinforcement. However, all three teachers seemed to aim at pupils memorising information. Thus, to illustrate teachers' underlying values in school 3 their expressed views are indicated in figure 9.3.

As in figures 9.1. and 9.2. their names that appear in colour on a continuum of philosophical perspectives represent their expressed views, and names shown in white indicate my interpretations of the teachers' tacit knowledge of the ways children learn and learn morally.

Figure 9.3.

Teachers' models of learning and moral learning in school 3

(after Nussbaum 1989)


Models of moral learning dependent on;
Compliance
Experiences
Reflection/Dilemmas
Khadija
Khadija
Fatima
Fatima
Aisha
Aisha
Models of learning dependent on;
Memory/practice
Experiences
Discovery/Cognition
Khadija
Khadija
Fatima
Fatima
Aisha
Aisha
What underpinning values are implied?
Positivist/ Behaviourist
Eclectic/ Holism
Relativist/ Constructivist

Thus, figure 9.3 illustrates that in school 3 teachers' tacit perspectives of how children learn and learn morally appear to reflect underlying behaviourist perspectives, while the views they expressed of the ways children learn appear some distance to the right on the continuum. For example, Aisha and Khadija described the importance of understanding and Fatima maintained that children learn through feeling. The figure also shows that even though Fatima's and Aisha's expressed and tacit views appear to indicate different philosophical perspectives, this same difference is reflected in their views of learning and moral learning. However, Khadija's expressed and tacit views appear closely related concerning children's moral learning, and widely different in respect of learning; furthermore, her expressed views of how children learn and learn morally do not relate.

Clearly, teachers in these three schools did not express the same models of understanding of how children learn and learn morally when compared between schools or within schools. However, some relationships between the models teachers expressed or implied by their behaviour may be interpreted from figures 9.1., 9.2., and 9.3. (pp. 395, 399, 403). For example, Nell and Bob appeared to demonstrate a tacit understanding of how children learn and learn morally that is consistent with the hidden ethos of school 1.; Adam and Fred appeared to express and demonstrate tacit knowledge of how children learn and learn morally in accordance with the ethos of school 2.; and the teachers in school 3 demonstrated tacit models of understanding of how children learn and learn morally that is compliant with school 3's general purpose (i.e. to give the pupils a religious education and prepare them to be wives). However, what stands out is the individual perspectives of each of the teachers when compared within their schools and when compared across this small sample of teachers; and also how differently they appeared to imply these perspectives in the ways that they behaved.

Thus, to conclude this chapter, in the next section I will summarise the findings of this study in relation to my research questions and events in the study.

9.4. Findings in litter

In this chapter, I have explored my research questions (see p. 350) and shown that I found that the models of understanding (of how children learn in general and learn morally) that influenced the teachers' general approaches to teaching and moral guidance may be identified by their behaviour (i.e. tacit knowledge). Overall these tacit models of the teachers' understanding of how children learn and learn morally appeared to relate. While, in many cases the models of understanding that I identified from what teachers expressed did not appear to relate to models of understanding implicit in their general behaviour.

By examining different learning and moral cultures implicit in the different schools, and individual teacher's views and behaviour from the perspective of what underlying values are implied, some relationships between school ethos and teachers' expressed and tacit models of how children learn and learn morally have been illustrated (see figures 9.1., 9.2., and 9.3. on pages 395, 399 and 403 respectively). Yet, within each school, and across the schools teachers expressed and demonstrated individually different perspectives of how children learn and learn morally. In other words, each teacher demonstrated something characteristically unique when compared to the other teachers in the study; and the models of understanding of the ways children learn in general and learn morally that appear to influence individual teachers' approaches to children's general learning and moral learning may be interpreted by their similarity to models described in the literature. However, as I found that teachers' models of understanding did not clearly relate to specific models expressed in the literature, similarity to these models are interpreted by common philosophical perspectives.

Thus, I will conclude this chapter with a final look at how these unique characteristics appeared in the evidence of litter in the different schools, and what individual teachers did in relation to litter while interacting with their pupils.

Litter appeared to be much in evidence in school 1, and relatively scarce in school 2. The courtyard in school 3 was immaculate, even without weeds (p.182), while the pavement and street outside school 3 was strewn with litter, crisp packets and plastic bags clinging to the fence, and sweet wrappers and empty crisp packets appeared in the entrance and classrooms after breaks. Thus, the atmosphere in the different schools appeared to be reflected in the evidence of litter, and equally may have influenced teachers' behaviour. For example in school 1;

> When I asked Bob about how he feels about the litter he said, 'terrible. The problem is constantly brought up. We may

> have to ban the products that cause it.' [...] 'some of them try to bin it but it just blows out of the bin'.
>
> (fnbb)

This picture seems to illustrate how the ethos of the school impinges on the way moral learning may be delivered in the school. However, teachers in this study demonstrated characteristically different approaches to similar events.

For example, Bob's individual perspective of how children learn and learn morally is illustrated in the following event. One day, by way of a punishment for not standing quietly in a line outside the classroom, Bob commanded a pupil to pick up all the litter swirling around the door. The boy looked affronted and disgusted, and as Bob walked away he said in a small voice, ' alright, I'll just pick up my own', and proceeded to sort through the flying litter to find a few items (dnctc).

While, I did not observe Nell attempting to deal with litter in her classroom or outside, one noisy lesson I noted the following;

> The deputy head comes in and takes command. Nell doesn't seem to mind. The deputy tells the boys to stand quietly and put their chairs in. She is sarcastic about the staff trip, and then tells them to pick up the litter nearest them. They all respond, but the floor is still full of little bits of paper, including five pence, when they leave.
>
> (fnnb)

Characteristically, Christine not only picked up litter (emitting a sigh), but she regularly and good-naturedly picked up items that pupils dropped on the floor. She also engaged pupils in conversations about unnecessary waste and recycling; and she made much of a recycling bin in her classroom.

While litter did not appear to be a problem in school 2, Adam appeared to focus on persuading boys to dispose of waste appropriately, and he allowed girls to disregard similar instructions.

On the few occasions that Pam saw an item of litter, she deliberately walked over to it, slowly bending down to pick it up, and carrying it out in front of her, she walked over to a bin to drop it in.

I have described that I experienced being moved, and assumed his pupils felt something similar, when Fred asked (A.1.3. p. 100);

> if they had noticed a stranger picking up papers around a bench in the playground. He told the class that the bench was a memorial to a boy who had died four years previously;

and that the boy's father, 'was often there when he wanted to think about his son ...(fnff).

One day in school 3, I observed 8 girls squeezed onto the four black leather reception chairs in the entrance hall when Khadija appeared, shouted at them to pick up their litter, and rebuked them for eating in the entrance. However, in the same moment that a few girls jumped to pick up their discarded wrappers and crisp packets, Khadija turned on her heel and walked out. Only two girls walked over to the bin with their litter, the others dropped theirs on the floor and rushed to sit down (dnis).

Characteristically, Fatima slowly and quietly picked up any litter in the classroom, as pupils were getting ready to begin the lesson. She said nothing as she did this, and I noted a few pupils looking nervously as she did this (dnis).

Finally, I have described how Aisha used the opportunity of finding litter to deliver a moral lesson (A.1.6. p.141). For example, seeing crumpled pieces of foil lying on the floor, she kicked a piece saying, 'What is this?' However, pupils seemed amused and one pupil said, 'Miss Aisha is playing football.' Aisha then picked up some of the large pieces of foil and putting them in the bin she said abruptly, 'You must sit down in a clean class. Cleanliness is half Islam' (fnab).

Thus, I have tried to illustrate the qualitative nature of this study by retaining much of the situationally specific information that close examination reveals while examining real life situations, and not attempting to draw conclusions in order to generalise the findings.

In the following chapter I will summarise the thesis and critically review the methods I selected to identify expressed and tacit models of the ways children learn and learn morally that influenced the ways teachers in this study taught and gave moral guidance.

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Chapter 10 The journey

> Research is a personal venture, which quite aside from its social benefits, is worth doing for its direct contribution to one's own self.
>
> Ross Mooney (1975, p176)

10. Introduction

The aim of this exploration was to look for relationships between theories of learning and how children learn morally through the identification of the models that influence the ways teachers understand how children learn and give moral guidance (explicitly and implicitly. I gave brief summaries of research focussed on theories of learning (chapter 2), perceptions of morality (chapter 3) and theories of ways children learn to become morally responsible (chapter 4); and examined the data (methodology explained in chapter 5) by exploring arising themes in chapter 6 on schools, chapter 7 teachers characteristics, chapter 8 teachers interacting with children, and chapter 9 examining relationships between what teachers did and the literature.

However, as the project is also an academic study of a methodology that was new to me (qualitative methods of research), two explorations are linked. Thus, this chapter will discuss how this research project led me to a more qualitative understanding of qualitative methods by the real life experience of its practicability in specific types of research; and how this methodology revealed insights into my own tacit questions about teachers in relation to children's moral learning.

Therefore, in the next section I will review how my initial positivist mindset was challenged and modified when I set out to find out how teachers understand how children learn and learn morally.

10.1. Same questions new perspective

In this section I will review how this investigation led me to change and modify my philosophical perceptions of research, and how qualitative methodology moved me away from pursuing a hypothesis that teachers demonstrate a common understanding of how children learn morally.

I began my research from a background in quantitative methods of research and an underlying positivist mindset (p132). For example, I planned exploring relationships between a multi-dimensional approach to moral education and research into the ways children learn (p130); and my ideas for a multi-dimensional model of moral education based on the ways children learn, formed the basis of my research design and methodology at the start of this project.

However, serendipitous events including, a long process of submitting and resubmitting my research proposal to the research committee, poor response from local schools to interview teachers, and the wisdom of supervision, led me in the direction of qualitative research methodology. Thus, I came to explore the value of 'grounding' research by analysing data under themes arising from the data (Glazer & Strauss, 1967.) In fact the strength and originality of the project rests on the arising themes developed directly from serendipitous and unique experiences (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), for example, the way teachers responded to litter (chapter 9) and how they registered (or not) pupils' attendance (chapter 8).

Furthermore, serendipity led me to decide to focus on a relatively small sample of teachers in schools with different perspectives; and qualitative research methods opened up an opportunity for me to explore teachers' understanding of ways learning and morality that may have been hidden even from them.

Thus, the questions that I had brought to this study out of an earlier mindset took on new meaning. For example, changing my philosophical and methodological approach to the research did not change my research questions, but expanded my knowledge of the strengths of different sources of data underpinning the trustworthiness of triangulation. In practical terms, the centre of emphasis for data collection moved from the content of interviews to the substance of observation, and 'naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings' (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, p10). Furthermore, to explore teachers understanding of knowledge that may be hidden to them I depended on interpreting behaviour and looking for distinctive and consistent actions that imply hidden knowledge. For as Sharp and Green (1975) and Berlak and Berlak (1981) have shown teachers' behaviour may not confirm their stated views.

In the next section I will review how methods of triangulation in qualitative research may identify teachers' hidden or tacit knowledge of the ways children learn, and/or learn morally.

10.2. Pursuing tacit knowledge

In this section I will discuss why I depend on the concept of tacit knowledge in this study to identify teachers' hidden understanding of ways of learning.

In the previous section I explained that my initial enquiry was based on interviewing teachers to confirm a hypothesis that teachers instinctively or intuitively know that children learn morally from a multidimensional perspective of ways of learning. In other words, my aim was to clarify a multidimensional model of learning and relate it to teachers' methods of teaching and giving moral guidance. However, the outcome was predictable and potentially confirmable. For example, in a pilot study preceding this exploration I found that the teachers I interviewed confirmed my hypothesis more clearly than I could have wished. However, from the perspective of grounding the research, and examining real life situations I wanted to make explicit what may be implicit in studies that identify consistent behaviour to establish meaning or intentionality. Furthermore, research towards the end of the last century has drawn attention to the importance of identifying what teachers tacitly know and how this affects their teaching (Connelly, Clandinin & He, 1997, p666).

However, there may be many interpretations of what constitutes hidden or tacit knowledge. For example, to explore my research questions I did not focus on what teachers know but choose to conceal, or knowledge they conceal inadvertently, but the knowledge I sought to identify was that which might explain why they act in specific ways (in relation to ways children learn and learn morally). Thus, I focussed on qualitative methods of exploration and analysis that may identify tacit knowledge that Polanyi (1958), Kohlberg (1984), Ernst (1995), Reber (1995) and Zigler (1999) maintain underpins all actions.

Thus, in the next section I will review the methods that I used to pursue and identify Teachers' tacit knowledge of how children learn morally.

10.3. Real life methods

In this section I will review my chosen methodology to identify teachers' tacit knowledge.

In the last section I explained that the theory of tacit knowledge might help to identify knowledge, moral codes and/or beliefs that underpin all teachers' actions while teaching and enforcing specific moral values. Thus, to identify teachers' behaviour that appeared to be consistent in their teaching methods and general underlying attitudes, I turned to methods of triangulation and close examination of the data to demonstrate rigour and credibility. For example, I conducted interviews using set questions, observations of teachers teaching and interacting with pupils, follow-up interviews to check my interpretations of their behaviour during observations; and I also interviewed pupils.

As I was new to qualitative analysis I decided not to use a computer assisted programme to code the data. I examined the resulting material using close examination to draw out themes that arose. Thus, I used reflection to identify how my thoughts and feelings affected my identification of the themes, and reflexivity (constant probing, mulitidimensional interpretation) to focus on themes that drew out evidence across sources of data. Finally, I checked for authentic or underlying beliefs/knowledge/moral codes by looking for consistency (explicit and/or implicit) across the themes.

However, I found that in order to manage discussions under the arising themes, I had to be brief; with the result that some of the richness of real life situations could not be preserved. This led to a decision to include case studies in the appendices (Appendix 1). The case studies have not only served as evidence to support the thesis, but gave me the opportunity to demonstrate a reflexive response to the data; and also served as an additional source of data for triangulation. I also found that the case studies served as an intermediate stage between open coding of the data (an explosion of arising themes, sub-themes etc.) and axial coding (see appendix 6 for examples). Furthermore, as the case studies use themes I had brought to the study, they also serve as a method of triangulation in relation to themes arising from the data and explored in the thesis. Thus, the evidence I have presented to support my assumptions and conclusions under these themes came directly (where relevant) from five sources of data and indirectly from the same five sources in the form of case studies. In other words, evidence from different sources of data demonstrates rigour (triangulation), and reflexivity (reflection on interpretation); and the case studies support the qualitative 'ring of truth' (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p10).

In the next section I will reflect on the appropriateness of my methodological decisions, some effects of my research and identify some areas that upon reflection may have been done differently.

10.4. Reflections reflexively

In the last section, I explained my response to analysing and presenting what I found in the data and why I decided to include case studies. Thus, I was able to demonstrate my reflexive response to analysing the data. However, earlier in the research I made a number of decisions that with hindsight I should have responded to more reflexively. For example, I limited my pilot phase to testing a questionnaire. It may have helped to observe those same volunteers, for I found problems as soon as I began observing the first teacher in this study. For example, I have explained that I had designed a pre-coded questionnaire that I abandoned after three days (example in appendix 3, p369.). As it limited what I recorded, narrowed my perspective, may have caused me to miss relevant information, and approached qualitative research quantitatively. Conversely, Smithson (2000) argues that pre-coded instruments focus and direct attention to relevant details and may overcome hidden bias. My pre-coded schedule was clearly biased as it demonstrated that I had decided what I wanted to find (p369.). Thus, moving to a free recording of all and everything that occurred broadened my perspective and permitted a deeper exploration of the events. However, I may have improved the quality of the data by arranging for another observer to record some of the lessons (along side me) to check reliability.

Many of the problems I encountered added to my learning, and consequently revealed further insights into qualitative research methods. For example, I have explained that I learned that imbedded in the philosophical approach of qualitative methodology is the imperative to respect and respond to real people in real life situations. In other words, aspects of a research plan that become problems are due to the complexity of studying real people in real life situations that call on skills of flexibility and adaptability; and responsiveness to practical problems enriches the research.

I found that I came to depend on social skills and personal flexibility to gain and maintain access to the teachers in this study. For example, I have explained that I had to adapt to specific situations; and in the Islamic school I tried to adapt to its cultural ethos by wearing long sleeves, long skirt and a head scarf so as not to offend. Furthermore, from experiences like these I came to a deeper understanding of the contribution of feminist ethics to research e.g. involvement, the research should not harm the subjects; and central ethics of care, empathy and trust.

Koehn (1998) warns that simply adopting the feminist ethics of care, empathy and trust may be problematic. For example, caring too much may result in over involvement; empathy may obscure critical judgement (Geertz, 1983, Miles & Huberman, 1994); and trust may be fallible, as it is based on the assumption, or an implicit demand that good-will remain between subjects and researcher (Smithson, 2000). There is no denying that teachers were affected directly my study, for example, some teachers told me that they suffered from stress; and at times I realised I was adding to their stress. When I could I tried to alleviate some of the pressure, and although I negotiated to maintain access I did not press or force my presence on anyone.

While I tried to demonstrate that I could be trusted, some of the pupils may have trusted me too much. For example, I may have let pupils down (e.g. boys I interviewed asked me to intervene in what appeared to be unreasonably harsh treatment by one of their teachers, and a few girls were concerned that I was not included in their faith; nor wanted to be.) Furthermore, as the teachers had had an opportunity to describe their beliefs and understanding about how children learn and learn morally, they may have trusted that what they said had more significance in this study than my observations of their behaviour. For example, they may have believed that I agreed with them, and would not seek any other view. For clearly, some accounts of what I observed look stark on paper, for people may not be aware of how often they do something or how their actions may be interpreted.

Thus, I have tried to avoid obvious dangers of interpreting meaning in behaviour without reflection and triangulation to guard against inferring intentions and meaning that may not be there. However, I have endeavoured to report events as they happened; and the case studies try to demonstrate the authenticity of my accounts. For example, even though I wrote in my diary that a teacher appeared to have, 'ten layers of awfulness', I was aware that she was struggling, for I added 'with a good core' (dnctc). For I did not actually dislike any of the teachers, only some of the things they did. As it happens, I developed affection and empathy for all the subjects in the study. However, my affections for them did not prevent me from 'close examination', 'reflection' and 'thinking conceptually' (Miles & Huberman, 1994) about my interpretation of the data. In fact, my experience of being emotionally, psychologically and physically close to the subjects, and open to what I might learn by being close, is that I have gained privileged insights into teachers' inner lives, deeper understanding of the problems of moral learning and the importance of recognising that a teacher is a person with personal values imbedded in what and how they teach. In other words, had I depended on keeping an objective distance I may have been non-the-wiser.

Thus, working in close proximity to these teachers, trying to capture everything they said and did, and studying their perspectives I became close to them in many ways. Thus, in the next section I will review my chosen methodology of gaining closeness.

10.5. Truly closely deeply

In the last section I discussed some of the reflective and reflexive qualities of this project. The nature of these research methodologies led to gaining closeness to the data. In this section I will review the methodology of gaining closeness to the subjects to explore their understanding of how children learn morally.

In chapter 5 (p144) I explained that I tried to gain closeness to the teachers;

- emotionally - to see life through their eyes;
- psychologically - to establish trust; and
- physically - to witness patterns in their behaviour.

I have explained that I moved from the position of objective observer towards becoming a participant observer to maintain closeness to the subjects. The reasons for this move seemed necessary in the situation as some teachers demonstrated that they were less comfortable with being questioned and observed by someone relatively detached. Thus, I found myself moving towards greater degrees of closeness over time to gain emotional, psychological and physical closeness that I desired. For example, the formality of set questions at the first meeting, created a safe distance between subjects and myself before moving on to what may be experienced as informal chats and visits from a friendly colleague. In this way, as the teachers became used to my presence, time and familiarity presented opportunities to build trust. In most cases, only after the teachers had visibly relaxed about me being there, did they feel able to confide in me and become less disturbed by my presence in their private teaching environment.

In other words, had I maintained a certain emotional distance from my subjects by conducting follow-up interviews with structured questionnaires and maintaining a strictly non-participant stance during observations I may have increased the pressure on teachers and set them on their guard. Thus, by being personable and easygoing I achieved a greater degree of closeness to otherwise more hidden aspects of the lives and behaviour of my subjects.

Geertz (1973, Van Maanen (1988), Lofland and Lofland (1984) Bogdan and Biklan (1992) Alvesson and Skoldberg (2000) have said that some level of involvement in subjects' lives is necessary to be able to understand their motivations. My experience was that to maintain any sort of distance or detachment would have limited insights into the teachers' perspectives and underlying beliefs.

However, greater degrees of closeness may cause problems of attachment and identification with the subject, in that seeing things from the subjects' point of view may bias the researcher's perspective. For example, Miles and Huberman (1994, p263) named three archetypical biases to avoid;

1. interpreting events as more congruent than they really are;
2. overweighting data of coherent or eminent informants; and
3. going native, by being drawn into the perceptions of informants.

On the first point, I found that I may have interpreted events as more meaningful at the beginning of this project, in other words, before I became a qualitative researcher; yet, by ensuring close examination of the data and reflecting on my preconceived ideas, underlying emotions and responses to events (reflexivity), the process of analysis and reflection served to balance my position. For example, had I continued to use a pre-coded schedule that focussed on specific behaviours I may have not found deeper relationships between events.

To address Miles and Huberman's second warning, I found that by observing teachers who spoke about ideals and ethics most familiar to me opened my eyes to the nature of this research project. For example, I tended to sympathise and agree with much of what they said, yet observing them and analysing the content of all the data I had collected in relation to what they said and did, revealed aspects I may not have identified by remaining at a distance. The same principle seemed to apply to my experiences during and after interviewing teachers with vastly different ideals and perspectives to my own. For instance, as a result of this study I am no longer convinced that the Islamic perspective is wrong, for clearly the pupils and teachers appeared to benefit or suffer from similar degrees of difficulty with their own cultural perceptions as any other culture.

Finally, on Miles and Huberman's third point, I am not ashamed to admit that to some extent I fell in love with my subjects.

The danger of gaining closeness that I identified may be an ethical one. In other words, I may have inadvertently disguised my intentions by gaining closeness and trust. For example, because teachers were so busy they did not take time to consider what I was doing; and in general seemed to treat my scripts of interviews as more work (not checking them and making few comments about the content). Also, only one teacher checked my understanding of situations that I had witnessed in class (Nell). Furthermore, I may not have achieved the same degree of closeness with all the teachers. For example, I have explained that one teacher (Fatima) refused to continue to allow me to observe her, and time prevented me from finding another teacher in the Islamic school to participate in the study. Also, some teachers had shorter timetables and spent less time with pupils. Finally, as some teachers may have misled me at times, not necessarily for devious reasons, but because they may have been trying to convince me that their chosen models of how children learn or learn morally were ideal, or they were trying to demonstrate what they thought I wanted, I may have failed to gain closeness to what their interactions are really like.

Thus, in this section I have examined how I tried to incorporate the philosophical and pragmatic approach of gaining closeness in qualitative research. In the next section I will try to show how seeing myself as an instrument of the research influenced my perceptions of qualitative research.

10.6. Instrument of judgement

In the last section I reviewed the approach of gaining closeness to subjects as a method of exploring real life situations. What is implied in this methodology is that the researcher is an instrument of judgement of the importance of situations and the interpreter of events. Therefore, in this section I will review how I measured up to the task.

Van Maanen (1988) points out the roles of narrator and illustrator and Ritchie and Spencer (1994) describe the role as a detective. In other words, a qualitative researcher working alone could be likened to lawmaker and judge; or worse, as judge, jury and executioner. Thus, a number of factors may affect the quality of the instrument that the research tries to be. For example, the quality of narrator and illustrator may be dependent on the quality of the data; how the data was gathered and how appropriate the selected methodologies were in collecting that data. I have discussed collecting data and the appropriateness of the methodologies in earlier sections. Thus, what may be a central concern is the quality of the instrument of judgement as detective, narrator and illustrator, for the thesis may depend on these three skills.

As I have explained, I began this project more as a prosecutor or executioner for until I changed my philosophical perspective I was convinced of the outcome. Thus, to become the detective, by necessity (and serendipity), I became more qualitatively minded. In other words, I developed something like antennae; and used my antennae to ask open questions, and reread scripts to find evidence of teachers' underlying perceptions and beliefs. It may be that what I call antennae demonstrates the nature of subjectivity welcomed in qualitative research.

I have tried to demonstrate the nature of qualitative subjectivity in the way I have represented teachers' views, the events and my thoughts and feelings. Also, within the narrative is an atmosphere or a flavour of the events as I experienced them. For I have tried to build the narrative and illustrate my experience of getting to know the subjects, and by implication their underlying perspectives of how children learn and learn morally. Thus, if I may liken it to a musical instrument that needs regular tuning, an aspect of being an instrument tuning in to the subjects, and learning more about them, I found myself moving between worlds of experience. In other words, by taking the instrument to the research and not demanding that the subjects adapt to the researcher. For the subjects of this research represent the world, and therefore should be entitled to be studied and judged in their own terms. Therefore, values such as accountability, subjectivity and personal reflexivity became implicit in my underpinning values in the appropriateness of the methods I chose: and reflections on developments in me (myself as the instrument) are inextricably linked with the quality and analysis of my data, and the way I have represented these teachers' perspectives.

However, it may be that choosing not to analyse the data with a computer assisted programme and including case studies has made this project too long. However, as the research is as much about developing skills as it is about exploring specific questions, the thesis has tried to remain true to the philosophical and methodological approach in the narrative. It may be also that since collecting the data, long periods of illness and the time I have taken to complete this thesis, the reflective nature of qualitative research matured in my mind. However, I have tried to write this thesis to represent real life; even though the events happened some time ago and some of its relevance and freshness may have been lost.

In the last section, I looked back on the notion of self as an instrument of the research, some of the implications for the researcher, and how I met these expectations. Thus, in the next section I will briefly discuss how I experienced doing this research.

10.7. The journey

In the last section I reviewed the qualitative perspective of the researcher of being an instrument of the research. In this section I will briefly look at my experiences during this project.

After writing about my own ethical perceptions of my research I came across similar views to mine recorded by another Ph.D. student. Hanrahan (Hanrahan, Cooper & Burroughs-Lange, 1999) described her philosophical and professional development within the research process as a journey. She found her growing awareness of the interrelationship between her understanding of her subject, reflections on her personal development, chosen methodology, and ethical considerations changed her views.

Undoubtedly, my own understanding of the methodology in qualitative research has developed. Exploring the wider horizons of postmodern, cultural-inclusive and feminist critique has given me emotional licence to be a researcher as well as myself (an enquiring woman with values). In other words, I found that the moral principles at the heart of postmodern qualitative research is essentially feminist. Furthermore, there have been many times that I have felt that this research is as much about a qualitative exploration of myself morally, as it is about research and gaining knowledge. For, embarking on this study has been a journey of discovery.

In this section I looked back on the effects of this research on me the researcher from a qualitative perspective. In the following sections I will discuss how the pupils and their schools are represented in this study.

10.8. Pupils and their schools

In this section I will discuss my interpretations of the hidden ethos of the schools and how pupils may have felt attending them.

I have explained that I found different atmospheres in the schools. For example, before entering these buildings, School 1 appeared sterile and intimidating, School 2 luxuriant and unconventional, and School 3 bleak and elusive. My experiences within the schools added to a general picture of what it may be like to be a teacher or a pupil in one of these schools. Overall I found school 1 to be generally harsh and inhospitable, school 2 colourful and somewhat ethereal, and school 3 warm and friendly.

The thesis may have been improved with a section on the effects of gender balance in pupils on teachers' understanding of how children learn in the different schools. Yet, the fact that each school was unique may have resulted in rhetoric or speculation. Nevertheless, gender is apparent in the narrative, for example, in the homeliness in the all-female Islamic school, boys being physical with each other in the technology college, and older boys chewing gum, missing lessons, arriving late, older girls generally diligent but flighty in the Steiner-Waldorf school.

Clearly, the thesis has shown that there are differences and similarities between how teachers in the different schools understand how children learn and learn morally. Some of these differences may have been due to cultural differences and expectations, gender balance, class, children's backgrounds, pupil numbers, parents, and the teachers' motives for working in the schools. Pupils in the schools appeared to demonstrate something about the schools, something about gender balance, and something about their relationships with individual teachers. However, as my focus was on the teachers, the data I collected on the children almost exclusively appears in relation to observations of their interactions with teachers. Thus, except when children chose to speak to me, and when I helped with maths lessons in the Islamic school the only data I gathered when children were separated from their teachers was in the interviews.

With hindsight I may have gathered more data on pupils if I had hung around the playground, or arranged to assist in classes to establish a relationship with pupils. However, as the focus of this study, it could be argued that my methodology was appropriate and the role pupils play in my analysis of teachers' tacit knowledge is evidentiary.

However, the pupils do have a voice in the narrative. Also, they spoke about how they think they learn. While I made the decision not to specifically devote space to what pupils said, it is of some note that during interviews with pupils, the ethos of their school appeared to be confirmed. For example, pupils in the Steiner-School and the Islamic school promoted the values of their schools; the Islamic girls spoke about their faith, family, hair and clothing; Steiner-Waldorf pupils spoke about Norse myths, their interests in what they learned, and the ethical implications of using cars etc.; and pupils in the technology college answered my questions as best they could, spoke about their ethnicity and voiced grievances.

Thus, it could be argued that this thesis failed to address issues concerning the role pupils played in teachers' understanding of how children learn and learn morally in schools with different perspectives, pupil ratios, and gender balance. Yet, other more pressing issues made it impossible to fully represent the part pupils played in the broader picture of this study. However, their voice is implicit in the process of triangulation. Furthermore, what the pupils said in relation to ways that they learn may be one of the issues arising from this study that may be explored in the future.

In this section I reviewed the role pupils in their schools played in this study. In the next section I will discuss the evidence in relation to my research questions.

10.9. Touching on teachers' models

In the last section I reviewed the presence of pupils and their schools in the thesis. In this section I will review how different levels of exploration and axial analysis served to answer my research questions.

I have tried to show in the way that I have written the thesis that by exploring the data through themes that arose from the data I was able to focus on my research questions. For as much as the evidence for my assumptions is based on interpreting teachers' behaviour to arrive at meaning in their behaviour I had to explore the data on many levels to confirm these assumptions. For example, in chapter 6 I tried to set the study in context by exploring the hidden climates within the schools. Chapter 7 may appear to serve the same purpose as the case studies that support the chapter, however it also focuses on the method of gaining closeness to anomalies and surprises. Furthermore, chapter 7 represents a vertical analysis looking at uniqueness of the subjects. Chapter 7 and Chapter 8 (looking at teachers interacting with children) underpin chapter 9 where I have tried to draw together what I learned about the teachers' unique perspectives and tacit knowledge, and how their tacit knowledge related to my summaries of the supporting fields of research.

Finally, I depended on Nussbaum's method of placing philosophical perspectives on a continuum to identify relationships between the underlying or tacit perspectives that teacher may hold about the ways children learn and learn morally. Thus what remains is to suggest how this research may be seen to contribute to research in the future.

10.10. And onwards

In this chapter I have reviewed some of the main aspects of this project. I have shown that qualitataive methodology and its underpinning philosophical perspectives have guided the research and the way I developed skills as a researcher. Thus, in this section I will suggest ways in which this project may serve to initiate further research.

To begin looking ahead from the outcome of this study, it may be useful to look at areas of this research that I did not have time to examine. For example, I could have examined each teacher from the perspective of other teachers in the study, e.g. from their unique perspectives in their different schools. However, how this study may best contribute to knowledge in the future may be to examine to teachers' understanding of how children develop morally in the current climate of concerns about morality and what citizenship may mean. For example, the BBC recently announced 6 new guiding principles including representing the meaning of citizenship in Britain today (BBC Radio 4 6'oclock News Broadcast). Also at the time of writing this almost three years have passed since Citizenship became a statutory subject at Key stage 3 and 4 (Ofsted, 2003). Thus, what this study has shown may have some relevance to how teachers or schools view teachers' perspectives on how children learn to become moral citizens. Furthermore, this study may add to a discussion of how teachers' understand citizenship applies to children's moral learning. For my own interest, I would be interested in re-examining my research questions in the current climate of concern about faith schools and teachers' understanding of the way children learn the moral codes that they teach or imply in their behaviour.

In a totally different direction this study may contribute to studies of degrees of closeness to subjects in relationship to the quality of material gathered.

However, the main emphasis of this research has been to show that not enough attention is paid to teachers' tacit knowledge of how children learn. Thus, the central and most pertinent way forward from this study may be to study more teachers to broaden our knowledge of how teachers' tacit knowledge affects their pupils' learning. For this study has tried to show that what teachers tacitly understand may not be known, even to themselves.

10.11. Behold teachers

I have found study at this level a great privilege, and my gratitude to the teachers who allowed me to study them is huge. For I learned from their real lives; and in particular from their struggles, ideals and disappointments. Perhaps most importantly I learned that constructing perfect moral education programmes will not necessarily serve children's moral learning. For what this study has demonstrated is that teachers are people with personal and individual moral positions; and that their tacit understanding of how children learn may affect the way they pass on their moral perspectives.

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