Volume 2

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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Appendix 1 - Case Studies

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Preamble - Notes concerning the case studies

The following case studies serve as evidentiary support for chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 of this thesis. My reasons for presenting these case studies and sources of data are explained in chapters 1 and 5 of this thesis. Each case study focuses on one of the 9 teachers in the study. Efforts have been made to disguise the identity of the schools, and teachers' names have been changed to ensure anonymity. After an introduction the case studies go on to explore themes that reflect my initial interview questions (see Appendix 2), and research questions (see section 5.5).

Note on the absence of punctuation in teachers' speech.

A full discussion concerning how voices are presented in this study appears in section 5.8.1. of the thesis.

Briefly, I chose not to punctuate teachers' and pupils' speech. As, when people speak it tends to be in phrases and words, and not carefully composed and punctuated as written speech. Therefore, to remain true to the way people speak, I have allocated a single line to each phrase or word to represent breaths or natural breaks made in speech. However, for easy reading where brief statements are not indented they are punctuated. In addition, I have added question marks where appropriate. Where voices are raised I have used bold type, and when a word is broken up (by syllables being pronounced separately) I have hyphenated the word.

Key to references

All the information in the following case studies comes from initial data gathered during periods of approximately six weeks of observations in each school. Thus, transcripts of tape-recorded interviews, hand-recorded field notes (observations and diary notes), and my reflections on the data are indicated in brackets. However, references to these records are identified within the text and noted by the nature of the source (e.g. dairy notes, observations etc.).

The schools

The schools are indicated by initials thus;

Islamic school (is),

Steiner-Waldorf (sw), (and

City Technology College (ctc).

Interviews

Statements made during private interviews by individual teachers appear followed by their initials thus;

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)

Group interviews

Statements that teachers made during group interviews begin with gi followed by the school's initials, e.g. statements made during a group interview in the City Technology College (gictc).

Pupils were only interviewed in groups, and in their own school; therefore, interviews with pupils are indicated by the school followed by (p):

Steiner Waldorf pupils (swp);

Islamic School pupils (isp); and

City Technology College pupils (ctcp).

Field notes - Observations and diary notes

Data gathered during observations or at the soonest opportunity following an interview or observation appear as field notes (fn) and diary notes (dn). For example, diary notes made after observing or interviewing Adam Mann are noted thus (dnam), and notes following an observation or an experience in the Steiner-Waldorf school (dnsw);

Observations of teachers are indicated as field notes and their initials, for example, notes recorded during observations of Adam Mann are noted thus (fnam).

Reflections

Reflections during analysis of the data described above are also considered data in this study (see section in the thesis). Thus, reflections are also presented as data and are noted thus (r).

References to these cases studies within the thesis.

Quotes from these case studies appear in the thesis, and are indicated by appendix number and page number. For example, a reference taken from page 6 will appear thus (A1-p.6).

A full description of the kinds of data, and the referencing system used in the thesis and appendices appears in sections 5.8. and 5.9.3. respectively.

Case study 1 - Adam Mann Science Teacher in a Steiner Waldorf School

Adam teaches Science and Maths to pupils aged 14 to 18 years and calls himself a Physics teacher. He has taught in a Steiner-Waldorf school for over 10 years and has responsibilities for a mixed-age tutor group. In addition to his science and maths lessons, Adam participates in group-teaching activities and has management responsibilities in the running of the school.

A typical day starts with Adam seeing his tutor group before the whole Upper School (teachers and pupils 15 - 18 year-olds) gather for singing. He then collects the class he has for a science Main Lesson. The rest of his school day consists of some administrative duties, teaching maths and group teaching activities (such as singing). He tends to spend his breaks solving discipline issues.

All during my observation period of Adam Mann, 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.

¹ Main Lesson is the first lesson of the day (approximately one and a half hours). The same subject is taught for two to three weeks. The rest of the day is given to a weekly timetable of 45 minute lessons.

Adam says being a gentleman;

is about dignity, a philosophy of freedom... 2(am)

Adding what it means to be a gentleman is noticeable when pupils choose of their own accord to:

dress nicely

it stands out

it expresses a value

something of a gentleman

(am)

I think we have to encourage and praise the positive and draw attention to it

[for example] at the Christmas Concert one of the boys dressed so well he looked like a new pupil.

(am)

While Adam says he includes female pupils in this view, he seems to focus much of this expectation and tenacious moral guidance on males.

My experience is that he imposes the same expectations on himself, as I was particularly aware that Adam was being genuinely generous about allowing me to interview and observe him, for the reason that

² 'Philosophy of freedom' is a reference to Rudolf Steiner's key words for his reasons for spiritual development and educational principles.

he is very shy. He made every effort to consider my needs, never neglected to tell me what he was doing or going to do, and never left me running to catch up; as some of the other teachers did. I noted that;

the 'gentleman' in him kept trying to make provision for me. I spoke to him on a number of occasions about ignoring me. This seemed only to be more of a strain, and I could feel how difficult it was for him to work in those conditions. At times I would go and sit in the staff room to give him a break...

(dnsw)

I noted in my diary that he;

... was visibly worn out by my questions and appeared to get very tired while I was there.

(dnsw)

Also, when I asked questions that might challenge or irritate him, he would sigh before politely taking great care over his answers.

I think he felt obliged to be totally honest with me as;

He said he was struggling with a moral dilemma that was intensified in his mind by my presence.

(dnsw)

I gathered from the way he said this, and the silence that followed, that this was a serious issue for him. I did not feel it was part of my project to question him about this moral dilemma, as I felt he

was so open at other times that he would have shared his thoughts if he had felt it was relevant. Thus, from the start, Adam presents as a serious minded persona; and although he enjoys life, and often laughs and smiles when he speaks, he mainly projects his deepthinking, sincere nature.

He walks to school and wears sturdy shoes (or Wellingtons when it rains). He wears a hat, gloves, hand knitted scarf, and heavy coat (or raincoat as appropriate). His clothes are heavy, functional and pay no heed to fashion or tailoring, and his tie is more likely to be skew. He moves slowly from task to task, and takes his time over his healthy homemade sandwiches and a piece of fruit. Thus, he is not 'cool' or 'macho', yet his pupils do not appear to be critical of the eccentric way he dresses; and they take what he says very seriously.

How children learn

Adam describes how he thinks children learn in the classes he teaches and feels unqualified to comment on other age groups. Initially, he makes three points about his understanding of the way his pupils learn. Saying,

... they need to be interested first of all they also like activity so that they like to practise what they have learned.

(am)

He also said they need to listen to him, to each other and then to apply what they had learned (am). In this way, he describes learning as an integrated process of affective, psychomotor and cognitive

activity, with an emphasis on the affective (interest) and psychomotor (activity and practice). However, as he is describing learning in relation to science and maths and not riding a bike, the cognitive aspect is implied.

However, he did not articulate the importance he places on them observing phenomena and testing their own conclusions. (I noted he uses exercises of observation and discussion in his science lessons.)

Also, it may be that he sees listening to instructions as a prerequisite that determines the quality of their observations, yet does not articulate this. His method is to prepare them to observe what he wants them to look at, not what they should look for, or the conclusions he expects. After they have observed an experiment, he invites them to describe what they have seen and draw conclusions.

His method of preparing them to observe something in this way, and then encouraging them to describe their own understanding, appears consistent in his science lessons. Yet, the pupils move around and talk to each other during preparation of experiments. I obviously found this looseness worrying, as I recorded my own criticisms of his teaching techniques on a number of occasions.

Thus, to illustrate how Adam teaches environmental science and the techniques he uses, my field notes of two such lessons are copied below in full. They give an impression of the way Adam conducts an

environmental science lesson. They also contain issues that require further discussion, for example his teaching relating to genders.

My field notes of these two lessons typify a general pattern I observed in all these lessons taught by Adam. He usually began in the classroom before he took them outdoors to collect data in the school grounds. Once outside, he did not make much effort to keep his class in order. He tended to be focussed on the tasks, with not much participation from his pupils. They milled about chatting to each other, some paying attention and others not. Thus, I observed how Adam invited pupils to make notes of how much rain was captured the night before, and how he prompted them to describe the soil samples that they were collecting. Adam would then indicate that it was time to return to the classrooms where he organised them into conducting observations under the microscopes, testing substances and recording what they had seen. I was surprised to see how much work the pupils eventually achieved, considering the loose hold he has on them.

This concern is evident in my notes (9.30 am 22.4.99) as I began this entry with the following criticism;

The equipment and lesson may not have been planned as well as it could. There is too much chaos and lack of attention and order. Throughout the rain measuring and soil collecting exercises he good-humouredly involves those nearby. He called them (those chatting nearby) to attention regularly. They worked well. [I was surprised at this as there is so little

control.] But I feel he is directing them too much. I feel they [the pupils] could plan which samples to collect, how many etc.

He gives the boys differentiated tasks; and the girls repetitive tasks. [I am aware that the boys and girls behave differently - and that he treats them differently.] Yet, they [the whole class] are all learning mainly through doing it first.

They don't seem entirely clear why they are doing things. Yet, they are all happily working.

They must be used to being directed and then reflecting to gain understanding. [He organised them to do a range of different tasks, some indoors in two different classrooms, and some outside- they appeared more engaged than earlier] He allowed a female pupil to convince him that she did not have to take the soil sample all the way back to where they took it from. She was allowed to dump it outside the back door. [He laughed when she chose this lazy way of completing her task - earlier he had said it is important to return samples to their original location - he allows them to have different moral standards.]

Adam always says please, for every instruction or request.

(fnam)

At 9.30 on the 28.4.99 I note the lesson begins in the usual way;

The lesson begins with Adam explaining how the schedules for measuring work. He also talks about what has happened to the samples. Some have been neglected and no longer valuable. [the soil samples have dried out and some were not labelled.] He does a lot of the hands-on work himself and gives out the readings. Some of them record the readings, not many of them do the reading themselves. I think he draws the conclusions. He does less questioning now, and more prompting. Sometimes he appears like a nutty professor being ignored by his students. He is very enthusiastic, but if they are learning they are not all showing it. Adam calls their attention by saying 'ok listen a moment'. Then says, 'where is Neil?' Says, 'keep together' and talks about being polite.

He seems to be irritable as they talk while he is talking
He explains carefully - dividing the children into two groups giving the boys the Bunsen burners, and the girls fine
measuring.

Different tasks for girls and boys again.

Adam gives Neil, the boy who was elusive earlier, the heavier equipment. [Something heavy to engage Neil?]

He leaves the boys to use the Bunsen burners unsupervised! No emphasis on safety equipment here.

(fnam)

Later in the same lesson I noted that he does not always seem prepared, for the lesson;

Adam and the pupils don't know what the testing agents are. He sent some of them away to look up the testing agents, they did not come back before the bell went.

(fnam)

As the lesson ended;

He tells me he is 'looking forward to working in more of the living areas' - 'not so much mineral study'. Referring to the ground samples [except for some irritation with the lack of interest among the pupils, I thought he was enjoying the soil samples - the pupils are probably bored with studying soil samples and measuring rain fall.]

(fnam)

How Adam teaches science reflects what he says about the ways children learn, for his method did not vary much. Yet, it does not mean his method is not complex or pedagogical. For, I observed that he uses strategies to accommodate a range of ability. As Adam explains;

well I deliberately express things in an unfamiliar way for those pupils who have got an intellectual grasp of the subject beforehand

who tend to sort of know it all or knew it from a certain point of view before from general knowledge

and I express it in an unfamiliar way

in a way

in a certain way it is like holding off the intellect

definitely holding them at bay

because otherwise

if they feel they do know it all

they very quickly get bored and restless

and so that is important really

so that is, in a way, a strategy

in a way of keeping the class together with the bright ones

and the intellectually developed ones

and those who have struggled to comprehend.

that is one strategy

I think a key thing is keeping the class together

so that contribution is important.

and another strategy is doing an exercise individually

and then getting their own thoughts on paper

and then having them share that as a class

where everybody's contribution is of value, equally

and that has a value for the intellectually developed ones as

well

but I will say that this fosters a unity in the class

(am)

He says his use of language (expressing something in an unfamiliar way) and involving the pupils in sharing their own conclusions, has

social implications. I observed that he uses Socratic type questioning, helping his pupils to travel the distance in their own minds, to hear each other's thoughts and to arrive at a reasoned conclusion as a class. Thus, his belief that children need to be interested to learn is consistent in the way he tries to keep them interested during his lessons. For, he invites them to participate and he encourages sharing and learning from peers.

Another way he aims to interest them is by offering snippets of intriguing information while they work, and he enjoys staging a little drama. For instance, in a maths lesson he explained that when numbers appear in a triangular sequence in ancient texts, they communicate meaning that is buried in a story.

He gives examples;

how many fish were caught in the net after Jesus said 'throw the nets over the other side'; and how many people survived the shipwreck. Old scripts use numbers specifically to indicate something; Pythagoras said the whole secret of reality is contained in the first four triangular numbers; ancient Jewish texts hide numbers in names. Abraham adds up to 23.

(fnam)

(The class made no comment; and to my surprise no-one questioned the significance of the number 23).

The following incident reflects the kind of drama he stages in the Physics laboratory;

He involves the pupils in the experiments;

they appear nervous.

Some even moved to the back of the large laboratory.

One girl says, 'that is not a good idea.'

He says, 'that is all very well, but do you have a better idea?'

(fnam)

The experiment is very impressive, dramatic,

the pupils are very involved, though a little afraid, they are

interested. [he certainly has their attention.]

(fnam)

Thus, the way he teaches, aiming for action and interest, and the way he says children learn, appear well matched. Yet, while he expects them to listen to what is required of them, he neglects to control this. He may feel their lack of interest (when they chat and wander off) is his failure, for he does not discipline them when this happens. Yet, I observed that when it works he encourages activity and learning from peers. Also, there is depth and complexity in the way that he teaches. Yet he does not vary his general style. This may explain their attention problems, as he is predictable.

Differences in the ways children learn

As I have shown in the previous examples, Adam teaches the whole class most of the time, and makes distinctions between pupils when

he organises them into different practical tasks. As I have noted, I observed differences in the way he distinguished between activities for boys or girls. However, Adam does not seem to be aware of the different way he teaches girls and boys, or he does not articulate this.

It may mean that his tacit knowledge of the ways girls and boys learn is not as liberal as his expressed view. For, when I asked him if he found differences in the ways that girls and boys learn he said;

I think the main differences is in how the children think and some have a more developed intellect;

and children who don't have that

in teenage years

you often get more boys who have developed that more precocious intellect than girls at that age

but I don't know if that is always true

I generally notice that there are different types of children and not boy girl and certain children have an intellectual grasp of the subject

(am)

So while his initial response is to point out that he finds boys more intellectually advanced, he questions whether this is a general trend. In my observations I found conflicting evidence of the distinction he makes in his responses to, and teaching of, the genders. For example, 'he seemed to consistently give the girls and

boys different practical tasks' (fnam); and I felt the tasks were stereotyped. I noted that 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).

However, the behaviour of the different genders in his classes differs markedly. In fact, I was irritated by the girls' behaviour. For example, most of the girls behave in an overexcited or scatterbrained way. Also, they seem to protest more about the work, and I thought at times they manipulated him into giving them easy tasks. However, they seemed to work harder than the boys once they were settled. The boys manipulated him as well, but maybe as they are less vocal I recorded their manipulating behaviour less often. So, it is difficult to say whether the differences in their behaviour are a consequence of their treatment by him or whether Adam has adapted his teaching to their behaviour. Also, it may be as he says, that he is treating them individually and not according to gender; and that he differentiates tasks for practical reasons and because he knows how these children react. However, I will return to this point about gender distinction or discrimination, when I discuss Adam's interactions with pupils in the context of their moral learning.

An aspect I was not able to observe was how he differentiates his teaching style for different age groups. For, in Steiner Waldorf schools certain subjects (eg. Science and Humanities) are concentrated into longer lessons every morning over a period of three weeks; and my observation period coincided with his environmental science period with the same age group. Thus, I only have his teaching of maths to compare, and maths lessons were very quiet.

However, in interview he said he did not know enough about the different ways children learn and the ways they learn at different ages to comment. However, he described how he tries to differentiate his teaching styles for the different year groups. Thus, he focuses on practical work with the younger classes (15 to 16 year-olds) leading to more analytical approaches in the second last year of school, and a more philosophical perspective in the final year (am). There is no doubt that his science lessons with 15-year-olds were very active, and not overly analytical [cognitive] or philosophical [reflective].

About morality

Adam describes himself as 'a physics teacher' (am) and that what he teaches in physics is moral. Thus, he says he tries to;

keep alive or stimulate and interest (his pupils) 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 and I feel that is moral as I am doing it

(am)

His reasons are:

that science is part of the world
the ideal of 'The Human Being'
who is trying to understand 'The World'
that seems to me to be an aspect of morality
I mean that

so I do feel I am doing that as a moral task in my teaching of science

(am)

His implied reverence for 'The Human Being' and 'The World' that I feel from his tone of voice and the context in which he uses these phrases, reflect a motif in Adam's description of what he is trying to do as a teacher in relation to children's learning as well as their moral development. Also, I have found this motif reflected in my records of the content of his lessons. For example, when pupils from another class saw Adam's pupils catching little birds and mammals in order to ring and record their weight, they called out that it was cruel. Adam replied, 'if you understand about the environment you will be able to look after it' (fnam).

When I spoke to his pupils they reported social and environmental implications of the use of technology and all kinds of machinery in everyday use. Adam told me that his views on the uses and development of technology are taught from this perspective of;

what I carry in myself as a science teacher
is a spiritual view of 'The Human Being' and 'The Universe'
and I think that works into how I teach scientific phenomena
another aspect of that
would be a sense of what hasn't been fully explained yet
a wider aspect of that
is the mystery of life
so that is important to me
what we don't know
it is important
and what may be explained
is not satisfactory.

(am)

However, when I asked Adam what he thought a morally developed person would be like, he replied that such a person would have a view of humanity, that was without 'cultural boundaries' and 'prejudices', 'a healing individuality' 'open to healing diversity' so that the person would have 'a real sense for the equality of rights of individual people' and the 'freedom of the individual' (am). How children may develop this view, he said;

I think a vivid form of geography that is very important

a real interest

in a deep way

to understand conditions in the world

probably objectivity on history

it is always a bit of an awakener.

(am)

For example, his views are in the little things he says; and in a maths lesson on statistics he related the lesson to his concern for the environment when he said;

that a power station changes its name to avoid publicity from previously known statistics.

(fnam)

I observed him persistently and regularly, talking about technology in terms of its use or misuse.

How children learn their morality

Adam believes morality is dependent on education:

because when people who end up in positions of responsibility

of power aren't educated in a

proper sense

I don't think they will make moral decisions

so it comes back to education.

(fnam)

Adam describes his role in how children learn their morality as, '... raising consciousness' (am). As he says, 'it can be beneficial when you point out to the pupil the effects of their behaviour' (am).

He does not chastise them for making the moral choices they make, but discusses, negotiates and communicates his view with patience and humour; and through his behaviour and attitude. Furthermore, he says their self-serving views reflect their present stage of moral development. For example, he relates the idea of 'doing what is right', to their perspectives on what is right, saying;

I think children do what they think is right even if we think it is wrong

I am sure they are conscious that it is not allowed let's say
like bringing drugs to school or something of course they know it is not allowed.
but they think it is right to do it because they have a reason to do it to take an extreme example but I don't think there is any...
but I think there are no moral bounds or they are not being self-contradictory they have an aim and a wish and they go ahead and do it.

(am)

Adam says the Steiner-Waldorf curriculum is designed to raise the pupil's consciousness of moral issues, without dictating a moral code, however, he is not sure if it works as well as it could (am). He places more faith in his involvement and personal attention to moral problems making a difference; and that his unscheduled interactions with pupils create the opportunities. Thus, Adam says;

I think in that meeting the pupils individually you know

I think one naturally does it a different way

it is a very natural process simply because they are so different

if I sit down with a sixteen year old you know to talk about something

it may be moral

or it may be personal

then

it happens fairly naturally

that you relate to them in a very different way

more authoritatively with the younger ones

much more sympathetic

more dialogue

more like an adult conversation with the class twelves [18-year-olds].

(am)

Thus, he sees his moral educational role as pointing out the consequences of self-serving attitudes; and he indicates what sort of problem he sees as his moral responsibility. Yet, he does not indicate that he sees children 'doing what they want to do' even when it involves drugs, as deviant or abnormal; in fact it seems as if he believes it is endemic.

Two incidents I observed seemed to demonstrate that he may be dealing with alcohol and drug abuse on a regular basis and therefore accepts it as 'normal'. He demonstrates his concern and sadness about the moral dangers of stealing, lying and bullying, saying it is socially isolating, and 'not quite normal' (am). However, Adam believes that his pupils will learn a more socially orientated morality by becoming more aware of the social consequences.

Thus, to understand what Adam believes affects children moral learning, I have tried to identify if he demonstrates his moral standards of social equality, gentle manners, care for the environment; and if he maintains the same level moral guidance when he is not being observed. Thus, I have recorded a plethora of data about his discipline techniques, moral guidance and behaviour in this context, and I also asked his pupils how he guides and disciplines them. For example;

I observed him time and again being extremely polite to children whose behaviour may have called for stern disciplining from a different teacher.

(r)

He seems to work very hard on the relationship aspect of his dealing with social and moral issues with boys, to the extent that I feel he leaves the girls to get on with it. I do not seem to find evidence of this effort with girls.

(r)

His characteristic manner is evident when a new boy walks into class chewing gum;

Adam initiated a conversation about systems in American schools. He leads the conversation onto children being searched for weapons. He said 'not just for chewing gum'.

The boy who was chewing blushed.

(fnam)

To another new pupil chewing gum he said;

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

(fnam)

He also seems to extend himself in very complicated discipline situations. For example, when a, '...teacher reports that a boy was missing from a lesson yesterday, Adam suggests he send the boy to apologise' (fnam). Adam said; 'I am loath to convict the innocent' (fnam).

Before sending the boy to apologise Adam had said to me that he was, 'concerned that he doesn't do anything unfair' (fnam) and asked the boy why he was late;

The pupil said he realised he was late and thought it better not to disturb the lesson.

Adam talks to him about the responsibility a pupil has to attend lessons. The conversation is in quiet sincere tones. Later he stands next to the same pupil at the singing lesson. [He did this to show solidarity, a technique I observed on a number of occasions.]

After the lesson Adam told me that this pupil needs careful handling as he has had a difficult childhood.

(fnam)

Similar examples can be found all through my notes, and in some cases they are long and complicated. Thus, I conclude that Adam negotiates reparations and seldom punishes pupils for lateness and missing lessons.

The following incident demonstrates how he acts as arbitrator between pupils in his tutor group and other teachers. For example he told me he had to:

see a boy who had missed music last week. He told me this boy often gets into trouble, and he is reluctant to give him detention as it becomes ridiculous when he's having detention too often. He said he wants to talk to him to mediate between him and the teacher.

Adam said he wants the boy to know that he can come to him as a tutor, as a tutor is there to support. But the boy 'must not make it too difficult'; as Adam [says he] can't undermine the other teacher.

(fnam)

I also observed him trying to placate a teacher (who was behaving aggressively and sarcastically towards pupils) by talking politely to him. For example, he said, 'Mr Meek, there is someone here to see you' (fnam) then;

gently with an arm on his shoulder, moved the boy to the threshold out of the room [into the lobby to wait for Mr Meek] saying, 'that is where you should wait and he will come to you.'

(fnam)

Thus, Adam may accept inconsiderate behaviour from his peers in the same way that he tolerates problem behaviour with pupils. Even in the event of having a good teaching moment interrupted his behaviour seems to be genuinely polite and tolerant. For example;

His flow is disturbed by a teacher coming into the classroom and he [Adam] smiles and says, 'we have just come to a natural pause'.

(fnam)

On this occasion I was irritated by this teacher's insensitive interruption.

I noted:

He [Adam] appears to accept this interruption very graciously. The other teacher goes on to destroy the mood by making clever comments. The class becomes restless.

(fnam)

From these incidents I believe Adam maintains his gentlemanlike manner and does not participate in collegial banter in front of pupils. He also seems to remain positive and good-humoured, when things go wrong. For, even when a pupil used tap water (most likely out of laziness) instead of distilled water in an experiment, he described the results saying, 'this is what we call turbidity,' as if the experiment had relevance (fnam). However, I noted that;

He did at times speak in short impatient commands to a girl who moaned at every task she was set, but in the main, gentleness seemed to be part of most of his actions and teaching. He later confided that he needed help with that girl as her parents had insisted that she was not very able and should be excused from homework etc. and he felt frustrated, as he was sure she was bright but avoiding work.

(r)

I did not feel his shortness with this girl indicated a trend in the way that he behaves with girls as, for at times he does speak sharply or shout at boys. For example, while pupils gathered for assembly I noted the following (his sharp commands are underlined and raised voice emboldened).

'Daniel, perfect behaviour from now on please.'

He is moving closer to noisy pupils (his subtle discipline technique).

He told a young boy in strong terms that 'noisy behaviour' would mean he would 'have to stand quietly'.

He holds the last 10 pupils back [after assembly]. Told them he expected 'a hundred per cent attention.'

also that he was 'ashamed of them.'

(fnam)

Two more observations are evidence of Adam's understanding of children's moral learning, which seems to be based on good human relationships, gentle manners, careful negotiation and raising awareness.

Adam insisted on a boy handing over a ball. I thought it was risky, as the boy might have refused. Later I asked him if he was confident that the boy would listen. He said he insisted. I said he didn't shout. [My inference here is that he did not use his position of power.] 'Moral quality', Adam said, 'it was the moral quality in the boy that allowed me to just keep on saying, give me the ball, for the boy to listen.'

(fnam)

After this incident;

We are sitting waiting for pupils to come for detention at lunch-time. (During my period of observing Adam he did not give anyone detention. So I assume he manages his discipline problems without giving detention.) Adam said to me, 'these

sessions I have tried to conduct with maximum neutrality.'

Adam is eating his lunch and the children sit quietly working.

He is relaxed, leaning back in his chair, saying nothing. As he sits chewing, he is spinning his apple by its core. A pupil comes in and says, 'sorry I'm late'. Adam nods and goes on eating his sandwich and spinning his apple.

(fnam)

Thus, Adam's general behaviour communicates his deepest beliefs in how children learn morally, and that he appears to have the patience to chip away at (his perception of) their self-serving moralities to help them wake up to (his view of) social and environmental issues. He shows that he believes that 'You develop morally, when you are called on to do something' (am), this includes saying sorry. For example;

I have always found that if people say sorry to me even if I was very irritated by them.

if they apologise then...

then I always find I say, don't mention it

it can disappear quite quickly,

in quite a nice way

I like that

and I like it in myself

it is quite humorous I find

because you can be irritated with somebody and...

and yet

as soon as they say sorry

I find it is so easy to see things from their ...

to see your own...

to see your own mistakes.

(am)

Adam shows his emotions and this may indicate that another aspect of his understanding of the ways children learn morally is that - his feelings and disapproval may affect their moral learning. For, they seem to respect him, and while they do manipulate him, they do not do it to undermine him or ridicule him. Also, the atmosphere of social equity and unity in the class (that he maintains is important) appears to be consistent. Thus, my examination of Adam's behaviour demonstrates that his understanding of how children learn morally is well matched to his expressed opinions with regard to;

- showing concern;
- negotiating apologies and reparation;
- being a gentleman; and
- · drawing attention to social issues.

Also, he appears to act in accordance with his moral perspective of caring and caring for others in the way that he negotiates on behalf of pupils; behaves and instructs on gentle manners; shows enthusiasm for the content of his subjects and his anecdotes. Yet, I am left with a burning question. Is it inevitable that teachers treat genders differently?

Case study 2 - Pam Strong Class Teacher in a Steiner Waldorf School

Pam Strong initially trained in the Steiner Waldorf method and took a break from teaching in Steiner schools to do a PGCE. She returned to Steiner Waldorf education twelve years ago.

She teaches singing, recorder, maths, science and the humanities to her class of 13 year-olds, and has taught this class since they were aged 6 and 7 years old. Other teachers teach her class regular weekly lessons (45 minutes) such as foreign languages, gymnastics, crafts, music and eurythmy (movement to speech and music). Pam also teaches maths and English GCSE (boys aged 15 - 16 requiring extra support) and has management responsibilities in the running of the school. ¹

Pam values natural things, for example unprocessed and organic food and natural fabrics. She dresses smartly in country type clothes. (On an autumn day I noticed her wearing an autumn leaf broach made out of copper.) She wears wool, corduroy, silk, and probably avoids manmade fibres. For school she wears mainly

¹ The class teacher period in Steiner Waldorf Schools spans eight years from age 6-7 to age 14-15. Class teachers spend the major part of the day with their own class. The focus is on the first lesson of the day that lasts two hours where one subject is taken as a topic for two to three weeks. This lesson is referred to as Main Lesson and includes warm-up exercises; mental arithmetic, spelling, singing and playing recorders.

trousers, thick jumpers, scarves and sturdy leather shoes. She uses hankies rather than tissues.

Pam devotes a major part of her life to her work;

I reckon I work a six-day week
I give myself from Friday evening to Saturday evenings off
sort of twenty-four hours off
when I am not thinking about school
occasionally I'll do something to do with school
it might be an in-service course or something that I consider
I take on as a voluntary extra
otherwise the six days
you know
when it is not the half term holiday or school holidays
are predominately geared to school.

Although I work at a much slower pace at home outside of school there is very little time on those six days of the week when apart from eating and preparing food as part of life so there are things like eating preparing school doing something for myself which is perhaps music playing music practising music

which

you know

I am lucky on those six days may be half an hour a day it is more time because I am tired rather than time that is really used efficiently.

(ps)

In class she appears to have well organised lesson plans and can describe what she will be teaching over the months to come. She has a consistent and steady approach to following the curriculum, and takes care to build one concept upon another. Thus, she appears organised. However, on close examination of her teaching techniques the atmosphere is a little chaotic; as she tends to give instructions that confuse her pupils and she jumps from one thing to another. For example, while the children are working in their books on a written piece she will ask questions about their paintings and drawings, or previous science and maths lesson. Also, when she gets angry or impatient she abruptly stops and starts activities. Furthermore, it seems as though the class are regularly confused as to what is expected of them, but work well after they get very clear direction or discipline. Overall, they appear restless and uncooperative as work is introduced.

As an observer, I felt that the disruption should not be having such a negative affect on an experienced teacher. Basically, their initial lack of attention and the incidents of some pupils talking out of turn may not be unusual for pupils of this age group.

For example, to introduce the concept of an equation in algebra she demonstrates with a pair of hanging scales saying;

it is like a balance

a see saw

the thing about algebra is not so much the answer but how you got it.

(fnps)

But they are not all paying attention and there is some talking. She raises her voice (shown in bold text);

'What I am asking you to do is to think about how you think

I am asking Dean and everyone to keep quiet before you know each nail weighed 4 grams what did you do?'

She continues to ask them questions in the direction she wants them to think. [Then she snaps]

'And because Anna has been talking so much, she has missed what it should be.'

They are a bit disturbed by the simplicity of the sum and are very restless.

(fnps)

Thus, the lesson is lost and she tries something else; and ticks them off speaking sarcastically and angrily, 'four people have asked you to be quiet, so now continue disturbing the class' (fnps).

Turning to the group, still angry she says;

We will leave that now for the day, will you please take out your Chemistry books.

(fnps)

Working hard to take command, and to show she means business, she says;

'Right,

you need your pens

your line sheets and your eradicators

please do it on a separate page

I want you to just write the questions

and answer them for homework [a punishment].

She writes some words [to aid their spelling] on the board

(fnps)

There is some whispering;

'Class seven there have been so many interruptions we will have to do it later.'

(fnps)

Yet, when they eventually are quiet, instead of working she nags them. My notes record;

She talks for a few minutes about the need to keep quiet, then she starts up the task again

(a few whisper)

She says 'there are at least half a dozen who are not cooperating.'

She gives up saying,

'Just put your things away

I am sure that if you really want to

we can finish this

Take 3 seconds to think about it

Now, hands up now who wants to do it now

The class are more subdued and work quietly'.

(fnps)

However, these events, though typical of Pam's lessons with this class may not be a true reflection of her general teaching style, as during the first week I began interviewing teachers in this school, a child in Pam's class (Lisa) was killed in a road accident. Thus, I was aware that when I interviewed Pam and while I observed her in class, this tragedy was in the background.

I could not get her to talk about her feelings while the tape was running. However, she did say that Lisa's death had had a devastating effect on class morale and that she would continue to include Lisa in some way for her remaining years with this class. She started every morning lesson with a moment of silence and a verse. I observed her start each day in this same way:

She waits until she has complete silence, and then lights a candle with a match. Then she says a verse. The verse is for Lisa a pupil who died in May. There is a photograph, a vase of

flowers and a candle on a woven cloth on a bookcase to the side of the room.

(fnps)

Later when I spoke to her about this she said, 'the whole class is near to tears each morning,' when she says the verse.

(fnps)

She has tears in her eyes as she tells me how she came to choose this verse, and how (she tries) to deal with the grieving in the class. She says that she brought this verse in as soon as Lisa died and that she announced that she thought it would be a good thing to do, and that they could suggest something else if they wanted to. She repeated this over a few mornings and no one requested anything different, and she feels they are grateful for the leadership.

(fnps)

On another occasion she said she and the whole class were depressed. Some of the children in the class had witnessed Lisa being knocked down and her body being taken away by ambulance. From my understanding of the events around the accident, there are probably mixed feelings of guilt, anger and loss for all of them. So, I cannot separate how these feelings may have influenced Pam or her class from the atmosphere and problem behaviour in the class. Also, Pam may not be aware of how much the whole situation is affecting her teaching and the class's reactions. However, taking

into account this tragedy and how it may be affecting the people involved, Pam's teaching style and views on how children learn are evidenced in this study.

I chose the name Pam Strong to describe a teacher who is sharp and businesslike in stature and character. She is quick in her movements and demands speed and preciseness from the pupils. On first impressions she is positive and happy. She greets the children as they come into class in the morning by shaking their hands, vigorously, as she looks into their eyes. If she is sitting at her desk, marking work or writing up work on the board, she jumps up or rushes over to greet them. When I questioned her behaviour she admitted that generally they find her style of greeting confrontational, saying;

when I stretch out my hand and say good morning and they are expected to say

Good Morning Miss Strong

which is very difficult when you are 13

(we laugh)

so I am a bit torn between

appreciating their difficulty in doing that

and feeling that this is something they need to continue as good practice

um

and sort of sliding out and sort of avoiding me

is not to be encouraged

and yet not wanting to sort of impose it

as sort of strict
thou must do
in that the way
stand behind your chair
is a different request
so it is as the physical gesture implies
a reaching out to the child
and an attempt to ...
it is an attempt to reach the child
more importantly
to make eye contact

(ps)

She said that when they try to avoid eye contact she feels; as if there is something that is already going a bit wrong

so that

there are also many unwanted

and unintended feelings that can creep in

I mean if a child comes and greets me willingly

I have a very different feeling

spontaneous feeling

from the one who

for the umpteenth time

this child is trying to ignore me

(ps)

Thus, Pam says she starts each morning feeling;

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)

It could be that Pam is generally more apprehensive than joyful, or as curious as she would like to be; and that she tries to overcome the way she feels by smiling. This may explain why I felt it was odd that she puts on a wide smile and sort of bobs about enthusiastically doing her classroom tasks and talking to children. Her pupils do not seem to be as happy as her behaviour implies.

My impressions are that her enthusiasm is overdone and creates a feeling of falseness rather than the positive friendliness she wants to convey. Yet, Pam is convinced it is the right thing to do, as she explains;

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)

She is aware though that smiling in this way, and the times when she smiles is an issue. For, as she says;

Sometimes children even comment on it
and if I have just been strict a few seconds beforehand some
of them even find it unnerving
so what I am trying to do is

trying to put aside the feelings that arise in me when I have to be strict

yes

where they are doing something I don't like

or I [don't] want them to do

and I am trying to convey to the children

um

now on

that I am on top of those feelings

and that I am happy for things to go in a friendly way from

if they will come along and do what I ask

that sort of ... the other is gone.

(ps)

Yet, an older pupil says;

she is a very calm teacher
and you can talk to her about anything
and she is not there to make your life a misery
and like
give you tons of home work and things like that
she understands if you have like a problem
with like spelling or
things like that
she
she always will help you.

(swp)

However, much of my observation of Pam teaching (and data) is with her own class and less with the older pupils; and it is with her own class that I witnessed that her comments to pupils are mainly negative. Thus, my main impression is that Pam appears to be frustrated, impatient, short tempered, unfair, unapologetic, sarcastic and abrupt. The way she behaves towards her class shows she is trying to be bright and positive, but under this façade she is generally upset, depressed and stressed.

So the atmosphere in her own class feels unsettled; and the way she speaks about them appears very different to the way she behaves towards them. Added to this, her smiling enthusiastic bobbing about irritated me and her negativity alarmed me. It may

be that I am overly sensitive to what I feel is injustice than the children's behaviour portrays, for they are neither rebellious nor disobedient. It may be that subtle bonds have been created in a longstanding relationship, and that she is able to behave negatively towards them without them overtly objecting verbally or by default.

I agree with Pam when she says this class lacks enthusiasm and attention, yet, poor attention or lethargy may not be too unusual in a class of thirteen-year-olds. However, as a teacher with some experience of teaching privileged and underprivileged children, I expect more enthusiasm than I observed in this class.

Thus, it could be that Pam and her class are all depressed; and her behaviour and the way the children respond (lack of attention and lethargy) is due to a mourning process. Also, Pam has made me question whether I can trust my perceptions of the effects of teacher behaviour on pupils' behaviour, as I would expect that her general negativity would invite more of a rebellious response. Pam says it is;

an awfully chatty class
getting quiet is very difficult

(ps)

When I asked Pam to describe how they learn maths, she said they;

well react to it I would say

the opposite of learning

fail to learn

back away from it

(ps)

She says;

when it come 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)

Yet, she may see her responsibility for their resistance, as pressing her on this subject she answered;

so what do I do differently in maths?

I think what I kind of tend to do is

rather plod rather than fly

and that creates a sense of impatience in some of them and I am perhaps too conscious of their tentativeness and not zooming on

(ps)

yes if you can pitch the work at the right level and they can just get doing it

it is finding the right tasks

finding specific tasks that engage them

and then presenting them in such a way that they enter in to them.

(ps)

when they were younger
it was relatively easy
to carry the whole class as a class
now that is not the case ...

(ps)

the ones who happen to be the ones who have known me from the beginning of class one

I feel a different access to them yet for the rest

their behaviour is dependent on them feeling

is it nice

are we sitting comfortably?

are we enjoying it?

is it easy for us to relax?

(ps)

If Pam is saying she feels closer to the pupils she has known for a long time, or that longstanding pupils have more trust in her, then her behaviour and belief seems incongruent. Her efforts to be positive and friendly, and her general negativity appear as a motif in my data on Pam. This motif comes out strongly in my overall analysis of Pam's perspectives and behaviour in relation to the ways children learn in general and how they learn their morality.

How children learn

Pam says good or bad relationships between teacher and pupils predict the quality of pupils' learning, for;

children who don't like the teacher are far less likely to learn
than the ones who go in enjoying the lesson
because [if] they come with an openness
and warmth towards that person
so much more is possible
even though the actual learning is very much an inner process
in the children
so some will learn because they want to learn maths
and the proportion of the process of who teaches it
is less significant
but I find for the younger children its
it hangs on the relationship with the person at the front

(ps)

(ps)

From what she says here she believes that now that they are thirteen, their learning is less dependent on a good teacher-pupil relationship. Also, by her behaviour and from what she says about her difficulties in terms of how the children respond to her she blames something in them. For example, she places great importance on parents' support for her and Steiner Waldorf Education. In Pam's words;

... much more depends I think on the family background the stability of it

the attitude of parents

you know in terms of

you know

you're there to learn

and if a child comes to school where parents are behind things

and where they are

there is a kind of invisible wall

[...]

you know

as soon as the parents

aren't

for what ever reason

fully behind and supporting their children

and that is the biggest factor in how I manage to reach them

regardless of the subject or the activity

it comes back to relationships

but that is always crucial

(ps)

Thus, Pam sees the quality of her pupils' learning and the way the pupils feel towards her related to the way their parents support her or the school. However, Pam also believes that the children presenting more of a behavioural problem are demonstrating their developing individuality; for she says they are easier to teach and enthuse when they were younger. She explains;

that up to age eleven

creating a class mood of enthusiasm was quite ... they would tend to respond as a whole class and if one could stir up enthysiasm for anything whether it is learning this poem by heart or speaking it in this way or taking a new subject or fractions it is very much a group experience kindling enthusiasm and up to age eleven twelve the whole class was not too difficult to motivate into such a mood well as a whole class if it worked it tended to work for the whole class and then every body would launch into it um whether it was the picture certainly at the beginning now that they are older now that this more critical faculty is there it is more likely that one or other of them is sticking out of this where you might have three quarters in that sort of positive yea let's go forward we are ready for this mood somehow the individuality is sticking out

the awkwardnesses

the

I'm in a bad mood I don't want to do it

that is more prevalent

(ps)

However, from my observations I suspect how they react to her is the most important fact, for I observed problems develop in the class when the children were not; paying attention, understanding her questions, knowing what to do; or slow to respond to her requests. Also, they were sometimes out of place or talking, but not to any excess. To control these situations she used negative statements; and also spoke to them in this way when I could not see a reason or need for such comments

Thus, Pam says less co-operative behaviour in her class is a sign of dawning individual personalities; and says she responds to this phenomenon by giving them more individual attention and organising class work into individual or small group tasks. She explains that as;

it is harder to work with that whole class mood

there needs to be more individual tasks and each one finding

their own way to it

sometime in small groups

there is a lot more insecurity

there is a lot more of the need to feel

yea

I think I can manage this

before I am willing to have a go
they need either their mate to lean on
who is next door
or feeling
yea

I know I can do this or I can take it a tiny step further so that there is more than an individual path needs to be made for them

(ps)

She says that there is a need for balance in how much she differentiates because of what she says is fairness that the children demand. So;

although one is managing a group in most of teaching setting similar tasks marking according to similar equal fair procedures you know everything has got to be fair for the children they are nevertheless responding in their own unique way so the same exercise is always done in as many different ways as there are children in the class whether it is a standard painting exercise so the task as a teacher is continually looking at those individual responses and enabling the children in some way without making them artificially self conscious

the way that you don't want it
to show that you have noticed their uniqueness
they want that more and more
that to feel recognized as being unique.

(ps)

Thus, she places the task of meeting this uniqueness on affective, psychological and sociological levels, rather than on a specially designed task for their different learning styles or range of abilities, because I, 'comes back to the relationship doesn't it; if they feel recognised' (ps).

Speaking about the way she teaches she places great importance on her reasons for responding to children in different ways are based on how she perceives they differ emotionally or psychologically, she says;

a fiery child needs to be responded to in a fiery way
and a watery one in a watery way
And a sad melancholic one has got to have that part of them
met

before much else will happen every person is an individual.

(ps)

However, I saw little evidence of her responding differently to children in this way; or with individual or small group tasks. It may be that she is responding to them in the way she describes and that it is too subtle to be observed.

Differences in the ways children learn

Pam's view of the different ways children learn and how she meets their different learning needs is mainly based on a view that there are different psychological types of child and learning styles change as they get older. She describes these as;

- different temperaments respond differently;
- · learning from doing rather than to listening; and
- personalities individualise with maturity.

For example, she says some children need to do something before they understand it; and that understanding from listening is more difficult for some children. She also associates this distinction with her perspective on how children's learning styles change with their developing critical (cognitive) faculties. Added to this she says children have different temperaments that determine their approaches to learning, such as fiery, watery or phlegmatic, sad or melancholic, and sanguine. The background to these descriptions of psychological difference are in line with R. Steiner's perspective of four temperaments; and for the purpose of this case history and study they represent Pam's views. However, her views are drawn from literature by Rudolf Steiner (Steiner, 1908/1980, Steiner, 1922/1986). In Pam's words;

this unique ego comes into the world through this watery body
you know

[so] you can't really give this phlegmatic motherly watery child the task of organizing three other children who are rather fiery

that is not an impossibility

but you know

to ask that child to look after the shy little new girl and they will be greatly successful

much more so than some of their classmates

so it is finding the right kind of task to give the confidence and success

and finding where each one can play their part according to the instrument they have been born with and are growing into so that they

the body

the temperament

is quite closely related to

you know this path that you go.

(ps)

Thus, Pam places importance on children becoming more and more individually different from their peers over time. Also, the way they develop their individuality is;

a unique one

it takes time during childhood for that uniqueness to become established

in a way that the child is able to operate as an individual.

(ps)

Pam also relates her pupils' growing independent thinking with, the way they are finding out that they are unique; and the way they become less dependent on belonging to a family, their class and class teacher or with their peer group.

so classically teen-ages go around in gangs cause they haven't quite find out who they themselves are so they hang together and search for it that way young children just need other people before they have the confidence to know who they are they are mummy's and daddy's child and they are so and so's sister or brother or so and so's friend and they move through these different roles until they can say now I am so and so and can see perhaps just a tiny bit what life is about for me independent of other people it might take a lifetime for some people but usually it's once they are emerging from childhood

(ps)

She relates learning style preferences to their age. So that, practical hand-on learning experiences is preferred mainly by younger children and the process of critically analysing information

at about 21

which she describes as conceptualising here, that develops as they mature. So:

children between seven and fourteen
and that is basic for those
obviously
yeah
the amount of doing
the proportion of conceptualising
shifts a bit towards the older ones.

(ps)

However, she points out there is a slump, or backward step, in this process due to their rapid physical growth (adolescence and sexual development) of the age group she teaches. Saying:

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
so although you can feel this critical faculty awakening
and seeing it sort of fired
in little arrows at me
usually
it is a very embryonic kind of thinking
so what I was doing this morning
trying to give them a bit of challenge there
showing where they were going
was already quite a lot for them

(ps)

Pam also sees the differences in the ways boys and girls perform due the different ways they develop physically at this age. Describing one girl she says;

I am noticing that particularly the older girl is not as sharp at maths she is a bit dulled down she has always been you know very able at maths and suddenly she has got a bit dulled down and she is growing a lot stretching out it is as if the physical forces you know and it is as if she is just a big baby I mean she used to be longing to get more maths done and her mother was worrying about her doing too much a couple of years ago she used to take a book home and do page after page well that's faded into the background even if she is quite competent she doesn't stand out particularly

(ps)

However, she says she does not differentiate practical tasks for boys and girls.

However, she notes that;

there is a difference in the way boys feel at ease in the class

so it links to my first point

about you know

are they are feeling ready to learn

if you like

the pre-learning condition can be very different for boys and

girls

(ps)

the girls are

a lot of them

strong melancholics

off and on

so while they are all at a kind of testing out

they are testing out on broadly two very different stances

apart from the individual idiosyncrasies

it is very hard to try and encompass all their needs

so while the aim of the lesson is to teach this mathematical

problem

I would take a very different approach with the boys

to the girls [...]

the boys demand

a straightforward approach

and not quite army commander

but now it is 'who's in charge and can she carry the class'

(ps)

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. However, as Pam may not be aware of her negativity it is not surprising that she does not point out that she differentiates between the ways she responds to the genders. For she claims she is;

more concerned with ability
let's say in maths
or in English
it is much the focus of the task
to try to encompass a different range of abilities.

(ps)

Pam's experience in teaching ethnic minorities is restricted to Northern European and Japanese pupils transferring from other Steiner Waldorf schools. She says she finds no ethnic difference in the ways children learn, except to note that;

where English is their second language
the listening quality in them can be greater for that reason
even though the understanding is perhaps less
it is impossible to generalise.

(ps)

About morality

Pam believes morality, 'is behaviour in relation to other people' it is 'learning how to behave properly in a social way.' However, she makes an allowance for what 'properly' may be as she says, 'it is

quite judgmental to say that.' She sees morality as a necessary attribute or essential social code saying;

it is a quality that human beings have to learn in their lives it is what babies are not born with.

(ps)

How children learn morally

How moral learning takes place she relates to her perception of human life as a duality of spiritual and corporeal. She describes;

this unique ego is there waiting to take hold of the body but the morality is all that the child throughout life as a human being knows in terms of actions

how he she conducts and acts and reacts with other people.

(ps)

She explains that in the process of learning, over time children internalise responsibility for their social behaviour and in this way they develop a social conscience. Hence,

the degree to which the child is able to control their own actions

take responsibility for them
in an increasingly conscious way
and direct them from their own centre
which later becomes their own conscience
well

it is varies round this age [13 years] but the adorning conscience and what that voice is saying is right the ability to then help their bodies do it.

(ps)

Thus, it seems that to Pam morality is learned behaviour, and not something inherent in human beings, spiritual or corporeal, but an internalization process where spiritual beings are learning to control a corporeal nature. She describes how morality is learned, initially by imitation where, 'it mostly happens unconsciously.' As children get older, she says morality is learned more consciously through repeated experiences, reflection on their actions and reparation. As Pam says;

the body is our instrument through life and what this body does becomes more and more our own responsibility so when one is trying to bring the children to a point where they can actively take responsibility for what they do and the first step is to take a half step back perhaps recognize what they have done it might be that they have twisted some body's arm or knocked something to the floor the next thing is to actively with their own means do something about it so that over lots of practise lots of examples then grow to experience a way in life and do

create situations
repair them
change them
move things forwards

with regard to the world or other people

(ps)

Thus, she believes there is a process of transfer of responsibility for moral behaviour from adults to children as children grow up. For example;

the youngest ones have least of any sort of barrier so what the teacher does is going to affect them good, bad or indifferent;

(ps)

and;

helping the child to

and to

yeah to achieve

towards the greater

you could say self-control

self discipline

that is a long-term goal

and whether they are dependent on the other

so clear in these intelligent thirteen year olds

they are miles away from really being able to take

responsibility for themselves

and that is what they are shouting at me daily you be in charge you're in control it is your fault when things go wrong they panic when you don't get it right or react in some way.

(ps)

Thus, Pam expects more social awareness (e.g. consideration for their teachers) from older children and that to expect such consideration from younger children is unfair. For:

an upper school child [15 years +] there is more of a relationship of conscious teamwork you know I am doing my part come on you know or even you know sorry class eleven [17 years old] you know but I am just not all that well today you know you might say and consciously ask for a bit of support I think these children (13 years old) would at least unconsciously feel that was unfair even though some kind hearted ones would want to respond to you

it would be very much a special one off and you would be consciously making a special situation of it it is not something you would expect of them.

(ps)

Pam says her class of 13 year olds are between these two states; the good habits they learned when they were younger and socially considerate behaviour that will develop as they mature. Thus, at this age [13] she sees her role in their moral development as one of constantly and consistently reminding them; at the same time expecting more morally aware behaviour. Thus;

when they have been told clearly in whatever way how they are expected to behave then if you whether you want to a call it obedience or making an effort to develop and systain a habit remember to take their books home and bring them back again to go up the stairs properly on the right and not make a big noisy clutter because that may be more fun or because they feel like it today you know the simple things which they were actually able to do several years ago require effort to be maintained

that effort needs to be expected of them and they need to know that.

(ps)

Pam's view of the way children develop good habits is clear in the way she carries out her consistent reminders of how she wants them to conduct themselves around the school. I observed Pam being particular about a number of school rules.

For example how to walk between classrooms; and going up and down stairs;

She almost marches them from their classroom to the hall.

With a quick look to see if they are in a neat line, she turns on her heel and walks briskly ahead expecting them to follow in the same way.

(fnps)

Many times I noted her looking at them in a way that communicated 'do as I do'; and then leading them. Thus;

Pam leads and they follow her down the stairs and return without a single word being said.

(fnps)

Pam walks around on the (right) side of the staircase [in an exaggerated way] as the children are expected to do. They keep to the side in a more relaxed way.

(fnps)

She reprimands them if they don't keep up or keep to the right on the staircase, and, 'makes them do it again, because there were a few whisperings (fnps). However, I observed her laugh at herself when her technique fails. For example one day as;

Pam walks out of singing first, and they follow, some of the class run off to the toilet; and when Pam turns around she realises no one is following. She laughs and says, 'you have to turn around when you realise they are not following.'

(fnps)

Thus, her belief that the younger children learn by developing 'good habits' is clearly represented in her behaviour towards them. In the same way what she expects of older children is clear in how she treats them. For her manner is quite different with the older pupils. For example, her tolerance of the relaxed way they behave demonstrates that she expects them to take responsibility for their behaviour. As a pupil reports;

if you don't do your homework
it is your responsibility in the future how you do in the exams
it is your choice to do it
mind you if you don't do it
you will get into a bit of trouble
because that is only
because
she knows

she knows

basically she leaves it up to you she is not that strict on homework so it is up to you to get it done basically you know what you are doing and put as much effort in because it will be helpful in the future

(swp)

My observation of Pam with these pupils is that she is generally lenient, and tolerates or ignores disruption and noisy behaviour. Characteristically she puts on a jolly friendly face as she teaches her older pupils 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. Thus, her comments are restricted to the content of the lesson. As a pupil says;

she gives you advice but she still leaves you to do it but she still gives you advice and she helps you along the way.

(swp)

So while:

Some of the pupils fiddle and tap while she is talking she doesn't remark on it.

She reads the questions [from an exam paper], in an animated way. She smiles and makes eye-contact with all the pupils. Her body is bobbing around as she makes these gestures.

(fnps)

However, her friendliness is not chummy, she holds herself in the position of teacher;

she likes to be respected
and I think the one thing she likes
is that you must never ever be disrespectful to an adult
it is sort of
rules she likes to obey.

(swp)

Case study 3 - Fred Fine Class Teacher in a Steiner Waldorf School

Fred has been teaching in Steiner Waldorf School for approximately fifteen years: he taught in state schools before he trained in Steiner Waldorf methods.

Fred has taught his present class (twenty-eight boys and girls, thirteen to fourteen years old) since they started school at six years old. He has responsibilities in the running of the school, and teaches metal work to pupils 16 - 18. Other teachers come into his class to teach foreign languages, crafts, music, eurythmy (movement to speech and music) and gymnastics.¹

Fred says he is not, 'overtly Christian' but that his 'value judgements come from various particular [sic] Christian backgrounds' (ff). As a child, his social welfare was in the control of religious persons and he tends to use religious terminology in conversation; and laughs at himself when he does this. Yet, when he describes children, education, knowledge and learning he appears to have a deeply felt and reverential conception of life and all its

¹ The class teacher period in Steiner Waldorf Schools spans eight years from age 6-7 to age 14-15. Class teachers spend the major part of the day with their own class. The focus is on the first lesson of the day that lasts two hours where one subject is taken as a topic for two to three weeks. This lesson is referred to as Main Lesson and includes warm-up exercises; mental arithmetic, spelling, singing and playing recorders.

connections. Yet, Fred is not naive about the ways of the world, however, the comforts of modern life or technology seems to have little value for him. The way he dresses, his car and his personal belongings are practical and neither prestigious nor eccentric. Also, he made no special effort to impress me by his manner.

Fred admits to a great love of the work of Seamus Heaney and he uses language in a poetic, descriptive way. Also, he uses terms that communicate specific meanings in Steiner Waldorf schools. Thus, interpreting and representing his perceptions - of the ways children learn, morality and the ways children learn morally - presented me with a demanding task. Even after hours of re-interview and analysis I may have oversimplified his perspective in my analysis.

He talks about children as wise and intelligent spiritual beings; and describes education as removing obstacles so that children may reach their highest potential. For example, he says;

a child is a divine being .

to use the religious language
who happens to be in front of you
a child who is a lot more intelligent than you
the intelligence is there
you are simply removing obstacles.

(ff)

He explains that an obstacle [sic], may make a child appear to be slow or have special learning needs: and he gives a recent example

of how he has successfully been able to help a new girl in his class by accepting what ever she did as valuable. He says that something was preventing her from venturing to show her intelligence, to trust her own ability or become confident in her learning. She is now as able as other members of the class. As;

... creating [an] environment which is not threatening of allowing the child to relax a bit more in an environment that is still going to demand of her make demands of her you know ask her in whatever way to respond to something.

[For] 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 [because] what was affecting her predominately was the atmosphere which was going to somehow or other inflict damage on her.

(ff)

Fred has high expectations of his role as a teacher. He believes teachers should respect children for what and who they are and hold them in high regard: and holding this view will affect teachers' actions towards them. Thus, he says;

when the teacher stands before a group of children or works with a child

I think it matters what picture does this teacher has of what the child is

that I suppose is going into the thoughts and feelings that live there

that sort of whole area behind whatever it is teacher says maybe not consciously but there is a particular view of

when you stand in front of the child.

(ff)

However, Fred says it is not enough to think well of the child in order for them to learn, but says is important how teachers feel about the subjects they teach. He says;

I suspect that

or believe that

one of the essential ingredients is that the teacher

the adult

has the sense of reverence for the subject

and this concentrates the tone the way they speak.

(ff)

This idea came to him in his training, when the feelings of awe and wonder were emphasised as important in religious education. He says he found himself questioning;

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?

(ff)

Thus, he says he has tried to bring, 'reverence in a situation like teaching of maths' (ff) for example. How he does this, he says is, 'to appreciate the context in which mathematics arises out of human life on earth' (ff). In this way he says what he feels about the subjects;

and the tone of that lesson
once you speak about something reverently
the children have some chance [of appreciating its value]
you know you can have a picture of pulling the plough yourself
through the earth
dragging through day in and day out
in order just to produce enough food
in order just to barely survive on the earth
this is quite a burdensome burden for some
the world of mathematics has this capacity to free you.

Without this respect for knowledge, and in this case the value of mathematics, children may not learn its value, 'because they are sensitive to how the teacher feels' (ff). For:

even though you use the right words

there is something in the tone
and I am thinking even adults
conversing with each other have a sense for this
the children probably have a greater sense
because of their formative stage.

Fred says that what teachers believe affects how they act and communicate while teaching. He says, the fact that children may still not have learned something after they have been given information demonstrates that there is another element to teaching and learning that is not written in the curriculum.

you can often get a response
when that child meets an adult
where there is not just the subject being taught
but there is a tremendous amount of goodwill
warmth
love

you could even say
pouring towards the child from the person's teaching
channel
and somehow or other

don't ask me how

but this can often unlock the whole thing.

(ff)

[So] I think when you are teaching certainly when the teacher plays such a dominate role

as you know

when the teacher is the main educational aid the teacher is simply not just the manager of a programme

in which case

all that I am talking about is in the programme

subtly in there

somewhere you have an image of humanity being conveyed

by the way you do it consciously or not

but to children

they are

growing up in ...

and when you use teachers

as the main educational aid

and so much goes through the teacher.

(ff)

Thus, as Fred describes his role as a teacher as an educational aid, and what he believes he puts into his teaching, his perception of humanity is implicit; that knowledge is evidence of what human beings have contributed to the world to make it a better place. He describes his own awe and respect for the revelation of knowledge; and what he describes as 'the divine in human beings reveals what is divine about the world' (ff). Also, that in a child there is something divine that will develop to its full potential in conditions that are not restricting this process.

Thus:

it is very important for the teacher to become aware of the picture of the child what the child is and what the child is here for.

(ff)

The atmosphere in Fred's class is fast, full of activity and relatively quiet. He expects all pupils to begin immediately and work quickly. He does not allow carelessness or laziness (I found myself having to be quick to keep up). From a pupil's experience, 'he is always really fast when he teaches you' (swp).

His behaviour implies that there is much work to be done. Each day of my observations he kept up a fast pace as he had them playing recorders, a song sung in three parts, mental arithmetic, spelling and a tactical running game (outside) before proceeding onto the topic of geography all in the space of 20 minutes. Demanding quick changes between activities and working at a fast pace, his teaching techniques have them attentive and alert; everything seems to work like clockwork.

I observed a range of strategies he uses to keep them attentive, such as:

- 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.

The way he communicates using the blackboard seems to objectify his authority; for example, he uses it to teach, organise, control as well as amuse.

Thus, to speed things up he writes a countdown 5, 4, 3, 2, 1, or simply;

Go (fnff)

He often writes a list of instructions and points to item by item as they work in silence. Thus, he writes where others may use spoken instructions. For example as a helpful reminder at the beginning of a spelling session he wrote;

Try faith and follow this instruction

Two syllables, long vowel and ends created by silent E

(fnff)

and to keep order and concentration while he is giving an instruction:

Quiet

Listen

Now!

Good [followed by] ish.

(fnff)

Using the blackboard in this way he does not interrupt his flow while explaining something. Also as he directs most of the practical issues remaining silent, he is saving speech for when he is giving new information.

As he uses the blackboard in this way as well as other strategies to reinforce this behaviour, the children tend to keep an eye on him; some of which are good fun. One day he put his finger to his lips and signalled for the class to follow him out of the class leaving four children, who were looking out of the window, alone in the room.

He disciplines children talking out of turn by putting their initials on the board and then rubbing them out as soon as they are quiet; or makes statements such as, 'Hold it: we are being interrupted;' or, 'Wait, wait, I am having difficulty hearing you'. (fnff) Also, when he does pick up individuals for talking out of turn, he does so without

labouring the point, for example he slips in an aside as he continues his teaching such as, 'I'll try and get a word in between Deborah and Sean,' or 'Julia, I am doing my best to compete against you' (fnff).

Some of Fred's comments may read as sarcasm, but listening and observing the way he communicates and the way the pupils respond to him leads me to believe these comments are familial, cosy and without scorn. His pupils demonstrate that they understand what he says, and what he wants, without difficulty. So when he says to a child entering the class last; 'Would you like me to close the door?' it is a shared joke. For example, in this case when the boy said sorry Fred gave a little bow and he bowed back.

I noted that his neutral and positive statements about their work or behaviour far outweigh his negative comments; and he does not use 'ticking off type reprimands'. Also, although I looked for it, I did not observe any child receiving extra positive or negative attention. Thus, it seems that by cutting down on spoken instructions and bringing in an element of camaraderie, his pupils respond energetically and enthusiastically. Also, although I looked for evidence or a child less willing to participate in this way I found none. Thus, in all his classes pupils appear willing to work and follow his directives. From my observations I assume Fred has positive relationships with all his pupils, and appears to be fulfilled by his work. Also, in the company of children or privately to me he has not made reference to teacher status, pressure placed on teachers, or unfair criticism of teachers.

Thus, he appears happy to be a teacher. Additionally, he says that he has a good relationship with other teachers in the school as a higher purpose enables him and his colleagues to foster good working relationships, even when they disagree on practical matters. ²

How children learn

The concept of a relationship is a recurring theme in the way Fred describes children's learning. Fred says learning can be seen as developing a relationship with what is being learned; implying that he believes that learning something, is knowing it well enough to be able to act confidently from this knowledge. For example;

children learn through having to enter into a relationship with something

having to respond in a particular situation
having to apply themselves in all sorts of different
sort of ways

in a particular thing

in an environment that is conducive to this they are drawn or requested to respond

that may be a visual stimulus or what ever way it comes...

This may be more significant than in other schools, as Steiner-Waldorf Schools are run by a teacher collegiate - The College Of Teachers, who act as the employers of teachers and administration staff. Teachers are expected to take equal responsibility in the administration of the school.

(ff)

So saying he likens the process of learning (in Fred's words, developing a relationship with something) comprising of three stages.

- 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); which completes the learning process.

However, he adds that the decision to test new information in the process of learning it (respond) requires courage. In Fred's words;

if they enter into this relationship with responding and they can respond to the thing if you like

heaving their heart into their mouths

or hands

or limbs

or whatever

and then that be mirrored back to them

and they again respond into this

this [is] entering into this relationship with the world.

(ff)

Thus, his view of learning as 'developing a relationship' may not be as unusual as it first appears; but describes what someone else may

describe as 'understanding fully' or 'owning the information'. Yet, Fred's choice of language expresses his view of life, which includes his overall perception of the nature of children, the way that they learn, the nature of what they are learning and the purpose of learning.

My observations show that he works hard to engage his pupils in their learning. He checks that they understand an instruction or new information; and gives them regular opportunities to describe what they have learned in their own words or in other practical ways. Each day while he adds new information he also goes over the material of the past few days. Thus, he is constantly aware of who knows what and how much each child remembers. For example, during the period of my observation he presented information on the physical geography of the Americas; and as the children were actively engaged in discussing and drawing the maps every day, by the end of this period they each could draw them from memory to include mountains, rivers, climatic conditions and countries.

Using his technique of limiting his own verbalizations he seems to enable children to speak or try something before they are sure of being correct; also he invites the whole class to work together to come to a conclusion. For example, if one child says something and another suggests something different, he doesn't immediately help out with the answer but directs the problem to the rest of the class for them to resolve saying something like, 'We have the small dispute here...' (fnff).

When they seem to be missing the point he something like;

What has been omitted?

Donald what has been omitted?

(Donald is looking sleepy)

Listen again.

(fnff)

The blackboard is also used to involve all the children in demonstrating what they have learned. For example, he calls them one by one to draw what they remember of the Americas and then asks if there is something they would like to change. A nervous child is encouraged with; 'you are allowed to make a mistake:' another; 'If you are forced by a teacher to have a guess at it...?' (fnff). Thus, an activity of drawing a large freehand map of the Americas from memory goes on for some time, as he calls 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. He seems to manage to involve all of them as I observed him inviting those confident and eager as well as those who are unsure or reluctant to add details and modify aspects. He expects them to respect each contribution, thus when a boy calls out after a girl has made a mistake is told, 'Philip it is not fair to call out a correction. You have robbed her of the opportunity to see it (fnff).

Thus, I observed that in geography, spelling and maths their mistakes or inaccuracies are worked through until he feels they demonstrate that they understand. Within this atmosphere of everyone correcting errors along the way to arrive at overall understanding, he has high expectations for their learning: and he constantly urges them to actively engage in their own learning and each other's contribution.

During my observations children were not criticised by Fred for making a mistake, in fact he seems to encourage them to learn from mistakes. A pupil says;

in metal work
if you burn your piece of metal
it is your problem not his problem
he makes you sort of
care about it.

(swp)

Another pupil interprets this as being given responsibility for what he does, saying;

he treats you as a adult
so if you mess something up it is your fault not his
and he is not there to fix it
he is just there to give you advice
he always lets you get on with the thing you are doing
if you broke it

it is your fault
he treats you like an adult
that is the way he teaches.

(swp)

Differences in the ways children learn

Fred describes the differences in the ways children learn mainly as age related and gender based. Thus, he says the ways children learn gradually changes over time. The younger children learn through play and their imaginative abilities and social interaction while older children learn through their inclination towards analytical examination of information. In his words;

under seven [children] learn through play
if you like
through interacting with other children
and whole imaginative world is quite forceful and powerful
really
and as they progress more towards the teenage years
there is a greater role...
the intellect plays a far greater role
the intellect as we understand
of sort of
cause and effect
[the] logical element playing more of a role
and imagination or fantasy
falling [away]

(ff)

He also says boys and girls demonstrate different interests in the ways that they learn. For example, boys relate to the world in a more physical way than the girls do' (ff); and that the genders behave differently in their social interactions. For example;

a physical one

whether it is a game like basket ball

football

what ever

or some other

some preferred diversion

of something they have brought in

the girls at this age tend...

there is a whole social life that tends to be around

relationships

and where they stand in relation to each other

and who likes whom

how they fit into the whole scheme of things

and you can spend a lot of time dealing with that. (Fred

implies here that he often has to mediate between girls.)

(ff)

Thus, he says the way boys and girls interact socially has some parallels to the way that they learn or show interest in different aspects of their subjects. For example;

when you are teaching the whole class

the more subtle and emotional interplay
[between] the characters in history for example
[the girls] can be very interested in this
the relationships that existed between historical figures whereas the boys generally speaking
tend to be most interested in the boat
how fast it went
and how many sails it had.

(ff)

He said he tries to balance the distinction between what interests boys or girls and how he teaches them. Thus, he aims for both genders to experience all aspects of each subject, even though they demonstrate different interests. He says while he is, 'ensuring that the class as a whole are exposed in a balanced way to these different elements' (ff) different subjects have particular interest to different genders:

Like when we did the electric
and the magnetic work in electricity
it was something that appealed to the boy element
and when it came to them constructing their own electric
motors

the classroom was full at break time
of boys all trying to get things to work
and the girls were linked arm in arm walking around the
playground.

(ff)

He says he encourages boys to experience, 'the subtle nuances of languages and feelings' (ff), and, for example, 'girls are asked to deal with and to relate to the whole world of magnetism' (ff), so that:

that the class as a whole venture into this physical realm the movement realm the whole language realm the poetry

the singing and the whole lot.

(ff)

He adds that gender differences in the ways children learn are as important as teachers being aware of, and modifying, the influences of their own gender on the way that they teach; saying;

teachers must be aware that they are boy and girl as well
that there is in my experience
and that a male element
and a female element
you can have male teachers with a very strong female
element
and you can have obviously the opposite
and the same with children
except in seems to be more rooted in the sexes of the
children

the boys tend to have more of this male element
if you like
and I think it is important especially for us here in this
particular school
because teachers spend so many
you know they can spend eight years with one class.

(ff)

While I found no evidence of the way he balances gender based interests in the ways children learn, I also found no evidence of him treating genders differently. However, I noted him being extremely tolerant of the disorganised way some of the older girls approached metal work. I should add that I found their 'girly' behaviour irritating.

How children from different backgrounds may appear to have different ways of learning Fred says is due to language differences. For example;

when I was asked to carry out a maths programme
in a school in inner city [name of city]
a very deprived school
and they scored very very poorly in this test
I suppose
and I knew that they were well able to handle this process
but they could not get over the language barrier
and also some of the images

and the things that were mentioned were just not in their vocabulary
so they did not have an image of it
so there was a confusion there
so we never actually reached that capacity
that facility
that we were trying to reach
whether it was multiplication
or division or what ever
and I had seen them selling papers in the traffic
and well able to deal with number in this environment
but not in the environment of the classroom
and in particular in the language that was used.

(ff)

Something as essential as language acquisition
you have a different
you can call it language skills
[thus from different]socio-economic backgrounds
somehow the language is different between these back
grounds
and we must be very careful
in even something like number work that
the child isn't stuck on the language.

(ff)

It seems that Fred takes into account that children may have different understandings based on their language skills. He constantly asks his pupils what rule applies; or checks that they know what he has said. He encourages members of the class to tell each other what they understand and he goes over material in different ways uses different ways of describing something and different vocabulary. Additionally he often makes reference to something familiar to them as a point of reference when adding new information. Thus, he is checking that they are not missing something due to their language skills.

Morality

Fred says he cannot separate morality from anything he does and believes morality is, 'doing the good and knowing the good' (ff). Also, that doing the good and knowing the good is not simply obeying laws but that:

one has a responsibility
in this world to contribute in a way
that is
that one's contribution in the world
increase or add to the quality of life for others
and oneself
let us say
but you know this
that we have ...
somewhere within us
is the wish to contribute

to the positive quality of life for others and the environment

whatever...

the wish to do it

and the will to do it.

(ff)

Yet, he explains, views of what good may be presents problems. Another problem is that while many people may be convinced that they know what it is to be good, humanity has been unable to advance in moral responsibility.

In this context, Fred demonstrates his view of humanity and the world as interconnected and divine. He makes this clear when describing what he means by 'the good', saying;

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.

(ff)

How children learn their morality

The development of morality in children he says, is the capacity to know what is right from wrong' (ff) and a sense of responsibility to act morally. Thus, he says ultimately morality;

is this capacity to respond.

If you look at this word responsibility and break it down into the capacity to respond in a particular way towards the world around them

and towards themselves.

(ff)

How Fred believes child learn their morality is evident in how he deals with them. For example, he speaks politely, and appears to have endless patience in getting them to comply with school rules. Also, he encourages them to be polite and considerate of each other and the environment. Thus, he places importance on;

the whole area of the hidden curriculum

[for] you can't have a situation

where you have children gathered in any one space

where the isn't learning happening

it may not be what you planned

or wished to happen

[...]

and I think also there isn't a situation where there isn't a moral element

whether it is the relationship between the teacher and pupil.

(ff)

Fred believes children learn their morality differently at different ages, and says it is vital how adults behave in their company as younger children are very sensitive to the ways adults behave towards each other. As children mature they learn morally by feeling a sense of responsibility for conditions outside of their immediate needs which leads to them thinking about, and discussing human rights. Thus, he says;

specially when they [teachers] have to correct children though you are into very subtle things because I think it is subtle in the younger child it is incredibly important in my view how the teacher is within themselves if you like it is important all the way through but particularly for the younger child

because I think the younger child picks that up.

(ff)

I observed the following two examples of Fred's discipline of younger children while he was on break duty. Both incidents concern school rules. In interview he had told me that even if a teacher does not feel particularly strongly about a specific rule he believes all the school rules should be kept. However, he says 'teachers tend to feel strongly about different rules' (ff). The examples included here concern; 1. children are expected to travel quietly up and down the stairs keeping to the right; and 2. in dry weather children are

expected to remain outside during break time until the bell goes.

Thus, when some young;

...boys [about 9 years-old] come down the stairs very noisily; he says, 'with Brendon leading, all go upstairs so that I can't hear you and then come down so that I can't hear you'. They go up and come down, single file on the right, walking very quietly, smiling and looking proud of themselves. Fred smiles and gives them a nod of approval.

(fnff)

Also when:

four young girls come in to the entrance hall.

They ask if they can come in out of the cold.

(fnff)

I noted that:

he is obviously sympathetic and not wanting to refuse their request, so he engages them in conversation to delay granting their request, which will result in breaking a school rule. He asks them about their next lesson; what the bucket they are carrying is for [compost]; this leads to a discussion about the good uses of compost; how compost diminishes and how much is needed for a garden. Then he says, 'the bell will probably go as you get upstairs'. They are halfway up as the bell goes.

(fnff)

From my observations, I suspect that Fred does not feel

particularly strongly about these rules. However, in line with his beliefs about younger children's moral learning and school rules, he enforces the rules subtly.

He explained that enforcing school rules in the middle school age (approximately 8 - 14 years) is dependent on him having a good relationship with the children for them to want to keep the rules to please him, however, he has to be diplomatic with the oldest children in the school or he will 'dump the lesson' (ff). For example, when a boy came to his metalwork lesson eating an orange he asked him if he was hungry and on another occasion to a girl late for a lesson he remarked that it was nice to see her. He explained that if he confronted them on these things;

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

(ff)

He also explained that with his own class of 14 year-olds a glance at the clock is enough to communicate that they should not be late. However, building rapport before broaching an issue is more effective with older children. Thus, he believes that older children obey rules when their personal experiences lead them to decide to do them out of respect for a teacher. In other words each teacher will be given the same challenge before pupils keep to the rules in all situations.

Fred says young children learn by adults behaving morally in the company of and towards them and towards the end of their time at school moral behaviour is dependent on relationships based on respect.

Thus, with children in the middle school age (approximately 8 - 14 years) it is very important;

for the pupils to explore in the realm of feeling
the different polarities
to the sad happy
you know all these various emotions
the feelings within the child.

(ff)

He related seeing the school's cleaning lady trying to clean the classroom with her sick child crying by her side.

He said he was deeply moved by this sight and described the scene to the class the next day. He said that they responded by keeping the room in better order. He said he had not told the children to make them feel ashamed for the mess they leave behind every day, but because he was sharing his feelings of what he had seen, also he did not say that they should change their behaviour in any way. He felt that this 'moral lesson' was 'all the more powerful' because his emotion was genuine and that the children responded equally genuinely.

(dnsw)

I witnessed a similar 'moral lesson' when class had been outside building a map in the sand and when we returned to the classroom, [Fred] asked them 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:

He said that the man who was sitting on the bench was often there when he wanted to think about his son, the boy who died.

(fnff)

I was deeply moved by the way Fred spoke to the class and felt that because there was no discussion, the silence that followed indicated that the children were going through similar feelings.

Fred believes that feelings of moral responsibility can be developed in such real life situations; as well as through their subjects. For example, characters in history can be presented in a way that children feel how personalities have suffered or triumphed. Also, that English lessons offer opportunities for feelings to be exercised and they can be enthused for how Maths and Science give people the power to change conditions in the world. For, he says, presented in the right way;

you don't want arrogance
you know [of]

wow I can conquer the world and do what I like with it

(ff)

Thus, he explains feeling responsible for the consequences of their own, or others' actions, is part of their moral development; and how children learn their morality in school, begins with helping them to develop feelings of responsibility for all things; inanimate and living. In his words he says it is important that they develop relationships that begin with their desks and extends to the wider environment. It involves teachers' behaviour and beliefs, and children learning to respect each other.

He describes how he resolves incidents of social exclusion by helping them to understand each other's feelings or organising an activity that requires children who have fallen out, to work together; emphasising that it is very important that each child feels accepted by their peers as well as their teachers. He maintains that;

this is not something that will just look after itself
this whole base
and this relationship
teachers have to work on it
yes you have to act
and bring it to consciousness when teachers meet.

(ff)

Thus, Fred lays great importance on how adults behave towards each other in the company of children, and towards children;

the relationship between one human being and another you know the dignity of each individual

but also how you treat the environment and the responsibility towards the environment.

(ff)

the whole moral aspect is what you say in the air
it is how one teacher meets another teacher
how a teacher talks to a secretary
how the teacher greets the grounds man
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
in the whole structure of lessons throughout the day
how children in their habit life are encouraged to give out
material and collect material.

(ff)

Thus, he says when he thinks about what he should be doing to educate children morally;

I would not be doing anything different
in a sense of what would I be doing
I would still be teaching grammar
I would still be teaching long division
I would be teaching history and mechanics and forging
so what I would be doing would be no different.

(ff)

Approvided to liber the first

Case study 4 - Khadija Ahmed Head Teacher of an Islamic School for Girls

Khadija Ahmed is a Head Teacher of a small private secondary school for girls offering the National Curriculum and additional subjects on an Islamic way of life. Although Khadija is the named Head Teacher, she answers to the Mufti (male spiritual leader) who seems to have total control of all the school's affairs. The Mufti has an office in a separate building and Khadija (or the school secretary) phones him whenever a decision has to be made. Thus, she consults and reports to the Mufti on every matter to carry out her duties as head teacher and he has the final word.

Khadija appears to be under enormous pressure; as besides her administrative duties she also teaches maths up to A Level. She appears to be overwhelmed by work; and is regularly late for lessons, forgets changes to the timetable or special events; and sometimes even forgets that she has a lesson. She is usually rushing and looking distracted. (After observing her for one week she said she was uncomfortable with me being there, and I had to negotiate carefully to complete my observations, see 5.5.3.).

During the time that I came to know more about Khadija, I learned that she travels almost 80 miles a day to and from work, has full responsibility for her domestic situation (which included looking after two of her husband's nephews). Yet, she does not complain

about her workload, role as head teacher or her domestic situation. However, when speaking to her pupils she said that she finds cooking and domestic tasks boring and that she could not bear being trapped at home.

Khadija shares details of her personal life with her pupils; as do some of the other teachers that I observed in this school. Khadija usually initiates these discussions and speaks about her likes and dislikes. It is not unusual for her maths lessons to be interspersed with discussions on her home life, her boredom with housework, the school's lunch menu and whether there will be donuts for dessert.

She is usually quite direct about what she thinks is right or wrong in accordance with her beliefs, yet, sometimes when pupils bring up the subject of what the Mufti says about how women should behave, she can be evasive or abruptly changes the subject. Also, when pupils talk about some of the books they are reading, TV and clothing she can be abrupt, dictatorial or smile guiltily. Her reactions to these informal classroom discussions indicate that she is not a strict follower of some Islamic rules regarding women, and that her pupils know that she does not agree with everything they are taught. Yet to me, she often protested that Islamic women are not treated badly.

Thus, there are some questions for me about Khadija's feelings about being a 'good' Muslim in her own community; as well as how she feels about her identity as an Islamic woman in western society. For

example, she feels the girls she teaches are letting the side down when they do badly in maths, yet only talks about learning for women being useful in their role as wives. Another example of this is that she said to me that Muslims do not take their clothes off in the heat, yet on a hot day she described her dream home having a large swimming pool.

In her day-to-day behaviour she is inconsistent in her use of Arabic-Islamic greetings. She is usually unsure of the correct Islamic date and relies on the pupils to suggest it when she begins to write it on the board. Many lessons begin with some confusion over the correct Islamic date. Situations like this and other anomalies suggest that Khadija's value of things Islamic seem inconsistent with the school ethos. For example, Khadija does not wear the school dress code (loose black coat and black or white headscarf tightly tied under the chin) but dresses in long sleeve tunics, with matching trousers and elegantly draped headscarf. Thus, although her arms and legs are covered, her clothing is feminine and attractive and her hair and neck are visible beneath her scarf.

Appropriate dress for girls and women are mentioned or discussed in almost every lesson; and also regularly discussed among the staff. It is not unusual for someone to reach out and adjust the clothing of another. Overhearing conversations (among staff, pupils and in the classroom) I caught hints of unease and disapproval about different standards of covering up. Ultimately, only full cover earns

overall approval in this school. Some of the women dress head to toe in black and cover their faces in the presence of the Mufti and outside the school building; some follow the same rules of covering up but are not all in black; and the non-Islamic teachers pay lip service to the dress code. So, in this wide range of interpretation of Hijab (Arabic for modest clothing – covering most of the body), the way Khadija dresses is probably more culturally orientated than determined by the religious ethos of the school. Thus, I feel Khadija may be resisting pressure to conform to a stricter form of Hijab.

For these reasons; and many examples of her mixed messages to pupils, Khadija gives a strong impression that her identity and personal situation as an Islamic woman are painful issues for her. For example, she demonstrates deep-felt anger against Hindus and Christians. She appeared to be angry with me when she spoke about being a Muslim. She felt it important to tell me that she has non-Islamic friends and frequently made reference to herself and Islamic women being well educated.

One day when I arrived for a day's observation, she angrily demanded that I read an article written by a Christian minister - and as she handed it to me she said vehemently, 'How dare they say anything against Islam. We taught you how to wash.' In spite of these outbursts (to which I offered my regret and sympathy) Khadija is friendly and welcoming. Also, while notably irritable and harassed, she seems to be able to show general goodwill towards

her staff and her pupils (her rebukes and anger are usually short lived).

Khadija is obviously intelligent and well qualified to manage the school; yet, she has to answer to someone who may be less suited to make some of the decisions. Thus, from observing and listening to Khadija I am left with an impression of a woman with inner conflicts, and a deeper understanding of the stress she is under; and how deeply upsetting it must be for her to feel that being a Muslim and an Islamic woman is to be judged as wanting.

When choosing names for the Islamic teachers (finding names that describe the character of the person and that mean something to me - see chapter 5) I felt I needed to acknowledge her identity issues and came to naming her after the prophet Mohammed's first wife Khadija. For example, she was a trader who married Mohammed when he was one of her employees. Thus, Khadija is recognised by Muslims as having been a woman successful in her own right. I found it notable that Khadija Ahmed is the only Muslim member of staff known by her surname. The pupils call her Mrs or Miss Ahmed, while other Muslim teachers are usually called Apa (a sign of respect for religious knowledge), or by their first name with the title Miss or Mrs.

Studying Khadija has not been without problems. I have explained my difficulties in gaining and maintaining access to some of the Islamic teacher's lessons in chapters 5 and 6. Another problem I

experienced was that I found it difficult to gather evidence of the way Khadija teaches her older pupils, as these girls appeared to be more overtly affected by my presence. Lessons in these classes were unusually quiet and pupils were reluctant to speak. Yet, year 7 seemed to be quite happy for me to be there. Also, in year 7 I felt Khadija was busy enough with the demands of the subject for resulting data to be reliable. To my advantage, Khadija had expressed frustration with year 7's poor grasp of the subject with the result that I assisted her in their maths lessons for a term after my initial two weeks of observing her. (I did this as a token of my gratitude to her and the school for allowing me to study them). For these reasons much of my data on Khadija's methods of teaching tends to be taken from notes of her classes in year 7 (though not exclusively).

How Children Learn

Following the first interview, Khadija said Year 7 is difficult to teach for the reason that maths requires understanding when they are still trying to learn everything by rote. She said she thought this year 7 class;

- have been badly taught in primary school
- lack concentration and organisation
- is the worst the school has known
- has no concept of numbers over 1000
- · cannot do simple calculations; and
- has too many pupils with special educational needs.

Having unburdened herself, Khadija explained that because from an early age Islamic children are taught to learn the Qur'an and Islamic laws by rote, they think all learning is a matter of memorising the content. Yet, she believes enjoyment facilitates learning. She explains that children will enjoy learning when their work is relevant and aimed at their level of understanding. Thus, she says;

I think they always learn best when they are enjoying themselves
when they feel that they can actually understand what they are learning
and be able to enjoy the lesson
and to be able to relate to it as well
so it has to be particularly to their level
directed to their
sort of
age group
what they relate to
something that they maybe enjoy.

Khadija often starts a lesson in year 7 with a maths game. Most of the pupils join in with enthusiasm and the game is quick and noisy. Yet, every lesson some girls sit looking around, smiling but not joining in. In all her classes I noted lessons where pupils were enjoying the content, yet Khadija does not make an effort to include pupils not participating in the fun. Also, it is clear by

(ka)

Khadija's behaviour towards her pupils that she responds positively to their enjoyment of success and moments of understanding. For, she is warm towards pupils who do well and enthusiastic when they show that they understand. On the other hand, with others she is brusque, authoritative and bullying. She raises her voice when a pupil fails to understand or gets something wrong but doesn't explain the logic or reasons for ways of solving mathematical problems; and is quick to threaten extra homework or a phone call to their parents. In the case of one pupil, I was very concerned as I witnessed Khadija criticising and humiliating her almost every lesson. This pupil was noticeably different from the rest. Bigger than her peers, her clothing tighter and worn, she looked miserable and quite pale. Also, she was often in trouble for not having done the homework.

Taking into account that there may be some cultural acceptance of her behaviour towards pupils failing to do well, and that I may be oversensitive to the ways teachers treat children who are not doing well in their learning, I observed that most of the children did not seem to be overly badly affected by this harsh treatment. However, in this situation it was not possible to look for long-term effects.

Thus, except in the case of one pupil where I felt she may be causing psychological harm, when given the opportunity her pupils did not complain about her treatment of them. In fact, they said

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that she helps them learn. A pupil in Year 7 (identified as less-able by Khadija) told me;

Miss Ahmed helps me with maths

like when I have difficulty

like

what she does is

she writes something down on the back of my book.

and sometimes she tells me to do it in front of her

so as I understand

if I don't understand I just go ask her again she doesn't mind

well Miss Ahmed

when she explains to me

she never tells me the answers

she always wants me to work it out

she do will do me an example first

and then she will do another example

which she want me to do

then she finds out if I understood it.

(isp)

Another struggling pupil said;

I can't think of any [way that Miss Ahmed helps me]

I go to Miss Ahmed

she doesn't help me

she doesn't tell me the answer

yea

she makes me do it in front of her so

Application for Charles to the con-

but if I don't understand it

she like

helps me

she might say a bit

but not the answer

SO

she gives examples

so she knows what we know.

(isp)

However, I cannot be sure that these pupils felt free to speak honestly as it is likely that all the staff and pupils felt compelled to present their school, and Islam, in a good light.

Khadija's pupils clearly respect and fear her. For example, in Year 7 some try to do work they do not understand, resulting in pages of calculations that make no sense. Others stare at their work unable to do anything and not asking for help. The more sanguine pupils ask many questions, failing to understand the answers and resort to asking a pupil or looking over someone's shoulder. Thus, the class is quite unsettled most of the time.

The following is an example of when a pupil asks for help.

A pupil has come up for help.

Khadija looks at her book and loudly says,

'Do you know what a square number is?'

America I Case Shorter

[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?

You do know

don't you?'

[the obviously nervous pupil] says, 'yes, but I think...'

[and stares at her text book, blinking and searching the page then] says yes, because she has just realised that there is a list.

[Khadija looks up and says loudly]

'Girls you don't read your notes'

you must read your notes!'

[the pupil walks back to her desk]

(fnka)

Thus, my impression is that this pupil is none the wiser as to what a square number may be, but she may be able to do the exercise as she has a list of answers. Thus, from what Khadija has explained (that Islamic pupils think they can learn everything by rote) I would not be surprised if this pupil tried to memorise the list some time later. For, when I asked some Year 7 pupils how they learn I was told:

I memorise it
and then I try to learn it off by heart
if I don't know
then I just go and get some books

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which can help me on the subject
so that is how I can learn
then
if I don't understand it I go to my teacher and she explains it
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Another pupil told me;

well we just know maths
we just know it in our heads
we do it in our head
um our teacher tells us

(isp)

(isp)

From this explanation I could have felt relieved that this pupil was explaining that she understood the work, however she went on to say:

and then

I keep saying 'do it' in my head and then

I repeat it and repeat it

yea

(isp)

In all her classes I observed that Khadija presses and prompts pupils to get to the right answer. In other words, she hurries them into a response. Also, I noted that at times she asks questions that may lead a pupil to stumble on the right answer. However, later the same pupils seemed unable to repeat the process; or able to

complete the exercise but not able to apply what they have learned to a different exercise.

From my observations of Khadija teaching older pupils, she takes more time to explain a problem, and the pupils seem to be responding to the pleasure of understanding processes and methods of solving a problem. Also, she seems to be more lenient about missed homework and avoiding work. Thus, she appears to relax the rules she imposes on younger pupils. For example in Year 10;

[Khadija leaves the room to do something and]

The girls chat quietly about a number of things including television, while they work.

[they continue chatting when she returns, and Khadija asks]
Is homework today or tomorrow?

One girl says, 'tomorrow'. Khadija smiles and says, 'I can check you know. OK if you're lying, I will give you double tomorrow.' 'No No.' says another girl, 'it is today.'

They all laugh.

(fnka)

[Thus,] In Year 10 Khadija is tolerant of most problem behaviours, yet in Year 7 for the same behaviour she gets angry and punishes them.

(r)

From my observations pupils in the older classes seem to be enjoying her lessons because lessons in these classes are more

relaxed. While, in year 7 the atmosphere is tense as she seems to be constantly pressing them to complete the exercises in their textbooks; and complaining and threatening them.

Also, I noted that Khadija spends more time in older classes explaining how to work out the problems and the task of completing the exercises are set for homework. Also, during the time I observed her with Year 7, she did not prepare them for an exercise. Explanations tend to be given when someone asks for help, and then she rushes through the problem. Thus, it is not surprising that most of the pupils in year 7 have not changed their approaches to learning from trying to memorise the answers to trying to understand the problems logically first, as they don't seem to have an opportunity to think about a problem without feeling under pressure to start working. Finally, it seems as though what understanding actually means is not clear to these pupils.

Differences in the ways children learn

Khadija believes that differences in the ways children learn centre on the different benefits gained from memorising and understanding. She believes these two ways of learning can be identified as age and gender related. She says;

children do learn in different ways some of them learn by rote

I think

for them

that's the best way of learning

Appended I Charlest today

although 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
and be able to
sort of
use them and ...

(ka)

She explains that younger children learn best by repetition and older children develop independent ways of learning. In her own words;

I think [for] the younger [child]
you really have to repeat things a lot more
and you have to reiterate
and repeat your self
and repeat the facts again and again
whereas when they are older
they tend to
they tend to have developed their own learning strategy.

(ka)

Thus, she explains that as they become more confident in their ability to learn independently, over time they make a personal effort to understand the content. This may explain why Khadija teaches differently in the different year groups. However, Khadija

Approximate Control (1995)

may simply feel more comfortable in her relationships with girls who have gone through puberty.

She believes a mature approach to learning is helped by being taught by the same teacher over a longer period of time. So saying, she implies that something about closer relationships between pupils and teachers facilitates this independent learning. Thus;

I think in their own mind [sic]
and they are more confident
[they] are also able to understand the teacher
because they maybe have taught them for a couple of years
what ever
and they are able to
quickly
without repetition
you know
understand what you trying to ask them to do
or remember

Thus, although she does not express the importance of good relationships between pupils and teachers facilitating learning, she implies a tacit quality that develops in a closer relationship that aids understanding. My observations confirm that Khadija is generally more relaxed and warm towards older pupils (she clearly demonstrated her pleasure and admiration for the school's only Maths A-level pupil). Also, judging from her warmth and approval

(ka)

towards pupils across the age range my impression is that she is happier teaching older pupils; and that her warmth may be related to their age as well as ability.

Regarding differences in the ways genders learn, Khadija also uses the distinction between memorising and understanding to describe differences; and reminding me that she has had limited experience of teaching boys she believes;

boys try to understand rather than memorise
whereas girls would rather like to memorise than understand
and then the understanding to the girls comes later
but it is all generalised
I mean you can't say that about all girls or all boys
all boys are different
all girls are different

(ka)

Additionally she points out that in her experience, boys and girls tend to prepare themselves for learning differently, for example;

I think girls like to write everything down whereas boys tend to not to write so much down but... but as I said [it] depends on the child really you do get boys who write everything down as well and are meticulous and quite particular in how they set out the work in no matter what they.. they will get going to work.

(ka)

Approals to Case Stonest

However, Khadija feels that in general;

... girls are more willing to learn they are more willing to sit down and listen to you.

(ka)

As I have not observed Khadija teaching boys I have no evidence of how she behaves towards the different genders. However, she did say she is less lenient with boys.

While Khadija believes inherent difference between boys and girls determine ways they learn, she rejects the idea that cultural differences have an affect on learning styles. She says the National Curriculum is designed for a specific culture, with the result that many of her students are disadvantaged. For example, she says Muslims who choose an Islamic style of education are likely to make life choices that exclude certain activities. Saying:

the questions and the assumptions made by different exam boards

or by the QCA

who actually set the SATs exams

there are certain assumptions made about the experiences that children have

which doesn't apply to children in this school

and I think that is where they loose out

I think even in English there are assumptions made

that they will have certain knowledge about media questions

there are assumptions made that these girls will read magazines or newspapers

[that] they will read tabloids

they will read other newspapers

they will actually watch television

the news or that's ...

but that is not true for some of our girls

they don't read magazines

they don't read news papers

because its not within our culture

I think that assumption is wrong

you see

and that is where I ..

girls do not achieve as much as they would

and the same thing in science

and there are certain assumptions

geography as well

geography and course work

and the national curriculum assumes these children go out

into the countryside

do a lot of walking

do a lot of research questionnaires

and things like that

where these girls will not be allowed to question men

they will not be allowed to

well they don't have the experience of going out into the

countryside

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going for walks

or holidays whatever

this is where they lose out

(ka)

the questions which were asked [in the exams] were very culturally based

I mean the maths

for instance a pack of cards

there is an assumption that all children would know what is in a pack of cards

the king, the queen, the jack and so on

and Muslim children will not be given a pack of cards to play with

there are other assumptions made..

(ka)

Thus, Khadija explains she sees cultural differences in the ways children perform relate to practices in families; and not to different learning styles that may be attributed to different cultures. Furthermore, she says;

I think

across cultures

and across races

children who have parents who are pushing them all the time

in the home

and they have

for instance

so called middle class and lower middle class parents
who want their children to succeed
and in the same way you get that in all cultures
and you can see that
in the child themselves
their attitude to learning is different
where you have parents who are not interested
you have children who are not interested
which could be parents from many cultures who are not
interested
in their education themselves they will be not be pushing for
the child to have a positive attitude to learning
that is what I find.

(ka)

Thus, it is clear in how Khadija answers my questions, about differences in the ways children learn, that she believes children from different cultural backgrounds learn in the same way. However, she agrees that, '... a lot of people actually assume there is a difference;' because '... a lot of Asians out there [are] pushing their children to succeed' (ka).

So, while Khadija insists that differences in the ways children learn are not because of their cultural backgrounds, she confirms a preferred learning style of children receiving an Islamic based education.

For example;

in this school

because we have quite a few Islamic lessons

a lot of things are learnt by rote

some of the children will want to learn [everything] by rote

for instance science

and you can't do that

you have to understand science you can't learn by rote

because you have to be able to adapt a situation to what ever

you have learnt

and you have to analyse as well

if you learn by rote you can't do that

and there is the temptation for the girls here to learn by

rote

because they do it a lot in their Islamia [sic] lessons

but not because of the cultural differences.

(ka)

It is likely that the effect of early Islamic education on the way many Muslim children approach learning is so pronounced that subtle differences between the ways children learn are less apparent in this environment. For this reason, Khadija may be less aware of the range of learning styles children present. Thus, she believes there are no inherent reasons for cultural differences in the ways children learn, but that the way that children from different cultures are taught, and the ways they are supported by

their parents or families, determines the styles of learning they are likely to choose.

Morality

In interview, Khadija describes morality in terms of two specific values; family relationships and Hijab (covering the body). She believes Islamic laws conserve family life; and rules concerning sexuality and clothing support this. The language she uses to describe her reasons for Hijab, she expresses as self-respect and regarding the body as special. Thus;

... to me morality represents self-respect you do things because you respect yourself and respect others as well and it is important obviously this is based around the teachings in Islam it is for instance yesterday was a very hot day and we didn't and we don't go out and wear bikinis because we feel that our physical bodies are very special and we feel that we want to keep this to ourselves and not expose it I am not criticising people who do this is just a very small example that I am giving for instance when people live together without getting married we feel that its

you know you haven't made a commitment to each other and this is what our marriage vows are a commitment it is like an --when you live together you are belittling yourself do you understand what I am trying to say that is how we feel but its very important just to have morality so that we can carry on with family life continue family life coz if you make a commitment and you have children which are born within marriage and these children then have map of stability in their life which I feel is very very sort of important in this day and age.

(ka)

While, she does not question her argument for Hijab and sexual abstinence outside marriage, she is careful not to condemn others. Yet, she told me the school has a number of children from broken homes. I did not have the opportunity to ask her why she thought these marriages had failed. Also, the one question I could have asked Khadija was how she felt about men having the right to be married to more than one wife at one time, affected family life. My

reason for not asking this question is because I felt it would be too intrusive, as she has recently married.

As I have discussed earlier, I am not sure that Khadija believes that extreme measures to cover the body is an essential moral virtue, as she dresses quite lightly in contrast to her peers and pupils. Also she expresses sympathy for her pupils when they are hampered by their layers of clothing. For example, on the school's sports day she approached me to say how difficult it is for the girls to run in full Hijab. In my notes I wrote;

They have to run in thick tracksuits or the full Islamic dress including headscarves. What has this to do with morality? It is like hobbling.

(dn)

And on reflection on why Khadija said this to me I thought;

It is likely that Khadija is aware that I will be judging the situation in this way, and feels it is necessary to share her thoughts with me. Yet, by what she says indicates that she is somewhat fatalistic about the restrictions of Hijab. However, I wonder how she would feel if her interest was sport rather than maths.

(r)

I am not sure that I have met Khadija's deeper or hidden understanding of morality, rather that I have met a representative of Islamic education in a position of responsibility to promote

Approvide Existent Stock

Islamic reasons for moral laws. For, she has taken time to give reasons for specific Islamic moral rules, I have observed her giving girls impromptu instructions to do something followed by an explanation to them that it is Islamic law that they do so, and I have questioned her personal commitment to the values she promotes.

Furthermore, some anomalies in her responses to situations indicate that she is inconsistent in the moral responsibilities she preaches, and lacks the conviction she tries to portray. For example, she often gives instructions to pupils to pick up their litter, and then fails to ensure that they do so. Also, the school courtyard is remarkably litter free (see chapter 6), while an unusual amount of crisp packets and chocolate wrappers lie in the street outside the gate (examples of teachers' behaviour in relation to litter appear in chapter 9).

From my observations alone, I may have gathered from much of Khadija's behaviour that her concern centred on her identity and society's value of Muslims and Muslim women, and Islamic values. However, one day when in conversation I mentioned my support for a charity concerned with homelessness, she was warmly surprised at my interest in helping homeless people and offered to donate delicacies that the pupils had brought in for an Islamic festival. I felt that she was responding to a genuine personal motivation and not that, as a Muslim, she is obliged to be charitable. This brief serendipitous moment gave me the opportunity to see a genuine

response and gave me a little insight into her concern for others. From this experience I am left with the feeling that in different circumstances I might have learned more about Khadija's deeper and more personal understanding of morality.

How children learn morally

Khadija claims moral development amounts to learning rules and identifying with the rules. She explains that over time children identify with the principles of Islamic life - she describes this process in degrees of strength of faith.

I can see moral development in the children

I can see it girls

I mean you must have noticed as they get older their faith gets stronger

you see a big difference between Year eight and Year ten Year eight are very very laidback

they are here to enjoy themselves

(ka)

I can't see how you could develop morally without moral education

they must have had some sort of moral education because we all have some sort of education whether it is from your parents or from your school from your neighbours and so on

(ka)

Khadija makes it clear that she sees morality and the development of morality as learning a set of rules;

my definition of moral education is based around Islam and obviously you have to learn about it it is a complete way of life it tells you exactly how to live and the way to live

it

and it is based around the teachings of the prophet Mohammed

peace be upon him

now we have many lessons on how the prophet peace be upon him

lived

and how he conducted himself

and this is the moral education

the lesson are based around that

and you know

the teachings of the Qur'an also talk about moral education and we have lessons on that this is my belief.

(ka)

I think children develop morally by learning from their parents

as they get older and older

the parents obviously teach about things that are right and wrong

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or perceived to be right and wrong by them
and I mean we as Muslims we will follow Islam
we are here to reinforce that as well in the school
but I think mainly morality and the teaching of morality
should come from the home
and also they follow the footsteps of their parents
there is no doubt about it
you see it
you can tell
that life style at home of a child

when he or she comes into school

by the way they behave

and you just try to reinforce the Islamic morals here and

hopefully they...

(ka)

Thus, she sees her role in the way children learn morally she sees more as reinforcing and less as intervention. However, in the way that she initiates classroom conversations about Islamic life style choices, leads me to understand that she is not aware of how proactive she is in the Islamic moral education of her pupils. For, in my observations most lessons have some reference to Islamic rules for women. For example, when pupils in her maths lessons ask questions about life choices, she does not give a brief answer but allows relatively long conversations (which may have been for my

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benefit) that culminate in fatalistic platitudes or Islamic rules. On occasions, I think she would have spoken more freely if I had not been there, for when it seemed as though the pupils wanted to confirm a religious view that she may have thought too radical for me to hear, she told them to ask an Apa or their Mufti. Yet, having had time to reflect on how she may be affecting her pupils she admits:

I think I do it [educate morally] subconsciously
I don't teach any Islamic lessons
I suppose there are times when I talk to people
I talk to them generally
and they ask me about something or other
and I will automatically be instilling some sort of
you know my moral belief.

(ka)

Nevertheless, from what she says, is seems as though Khadija believes she is less authoritative than have I observed. For she says that she gives non-judgmental advice, in the vein of:

I wore this dress
and I will say
do you think it is right that you wore that
and why should you wear that
obviously I can't say
you can't wear something
because no child is going to listen to you telling them

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you can't do that

but I will question

I will say

you know

do you know why as Muslims we do not dress in a certain way

you know we cover our selves

we cover our arms

and we cover our legs

I sort of do it automatically

(ka)

However, I observed her advice being rule-orientated and without options. This may be because she sees it as her responsibility as Head teacher in an Islamic school or because it is a method of controlling the girls' behaviour. For, as I have explained she is quick to punish mild unruly behaviour. Also, in Year 7 she regularly confiscates so-called unsuitable personal belongings (books, rings and make-up).

Thus, Khadija says different ages are interested in different Islamic rules. For example;

they ask a question about boys for instance

and I will put across my view

or when you get to the older ones

they probably ask you about abortion

and you tend to give them a sort of moral view that is based

around Islam

Appearant Come Place.

because everything that I say to the girls here ...
because this is an Islamic school it has to be based around
Islam anyway

(ka)

year eleven will probable ask me about abortion and marriage while year seven would ask me why can't I wear this or why should I not wear this or do this different questions for different ages but you answer in the same way

obviously

and for me explanations

whereas when you are explaining to a five year old it is not going to be a similar explanation as a ten eleven or a fifteen year old

I mean I think if I explain things to my five-year-old niece a fifteen-year-old wouldn't be very interested and that is the only difference.

(ka)

Khadija says that when she gives moral guidance her opinion is based on her belief in the rightness of Islamic rules, because there are people who are..., who do things what we believe are the wrong things' (ka).

Thus:

if you have got somebody who is of the same faith you sort of like a community and you have the same morality and there is a greater understanding and you are explaining things while whereas if you are teaching someone of a different culture you are stating your own belief does that make sense because you share a belief you share the similar sort of morals then you know I could sit down and explain whereas some one with a different faith you state your belief.

Assumed a fireflast of the a

(ka)

Thus, it is likely that when she says she can explain something, or that there are explanations for everything, she means she is able to find reasons for Islamic rules. Therefore, when she speaks of understanding, or the pupils understanding these reasons it is likely that the word accepting is more appropriate. Furthermore, Khadija shows by her behaviour and in what she says, that her understanding of how children learn morally is through repeated

Hospitals of Cash Ship of the

and consistent messages of how to behave in accordance with Islamic rules; and that this will eventually instil a belief in children.

Yet, from my observations, although the majority of her pupils may fear her, they don't heed her. For example, they do as they are told, but do not feel it is their responsibility to carry out her orders when she is out of sight. Also, although her younger pupils are more fearful of the consequences of her actions and appear to obey her (the older pupils are clandestine in avoiding her commands) they probe to find out details of her personal life where she does not follow the school's ethos (rules for Islamic life). However, they may be modelling themselves on her, thus giving themselves permission to lead a double life; in other words followers of Islamic rules on the surface and secretly indulging in some of the practices that the school is set up to repudiate.

Case study 5 - Fatima Badawi Islamic Studies Teacher in an Islamic School for Girls

Fatima Badawi teaches Islamic history and Qur'anic studies in a small private secondary school for girls offering the National Curriculum and Islamic subjects. Fatima helps pupils with learning difficulties in maths and English classes. She has an A level in maths and would love to teach maths; however, she feels she needs more training.

Fatima wanted to go to university after school and describes rebelling against her parents' wishes and Islamic instruction. However, her parents sent her to an Islamic College for 5 years. She deeply resented this, yet near the end of her time at the Islamic College she says she had a change of heart and chose to become a good Muslim. Thus, she says she now devotes her life to being a good person and a good Muslim.

Fatima wears black Hijab (Arabic for modest clothing - or the practice of covering the body) from head to toe and covers her face. She does not remove this face covering but lifts it up to expose her face when she is teaching. Unlike the other teachers in full Hijab, there is no hint that she is wearing anything colourful or flamboyant underneath the black. Also. I noticed her keeping her eyes down even while speaking to me. In her company I was constantly reminded of a young nun, or bride. I feel Fatima has no

reservations regarding the Islamic laws she chooses to follow about appropriate dress and behaviour for women; in fact she is enjoying them. However, I am not sure how she would respond to the stoning of an adulterer or chopping off the hand of a thief, as I was not able to question her about it.

Her manner is gentle and dignified. She talks quietly and seems genuinely considerate of others' needs. In the classroom she straightens and tidies things, picks up pens and papers without comment. She does not rebuke or criticise her pupils, but comforts and encourages them, praises constantly and phrases her questions politely. Her pupils seem to love her; and judging from their interest in her I felt that they are in awe of her.

When she speaks of things Islamic, it is clear that she loves the things she teaches. For example, 'she talks about loving Mohammed' (fnfb); and says the more people learn about the life of Mohammed 'the more love we will have in our hearts for him' (fnfb).

I would describe Fatima's behaviour towards me as gracious. She was welcoming and considerate; she took care to see that I was comfortable in the classroom and answered my questions sincerely. However, one day she said she was nervous about me observing her saying I would not learn more than I knew already. I reassured her saying that I was learning something new every day from observing teachers teaching in this school. Yet, the following day, when I arrived to observe her lessons, I was told she was no longer happy

to participate in the study and although I continued to visit the school for another term I never saw her again.

From this experience and observations of Fatima I feel I have been privileged in meeting someone who has given up her wish to be ordinary, and has graciously given up her protest and become invisible. For this reason some of my questions may have been too uncomfortable for her, or that she was instructed to withdraw. Thus, to characterise her with a name (see chapter 5 and 6 on my reasons behind choosing names for the teachers in the study) I chose to call her Fatima after the daughter of the prophet Mohammed and his first wife Khadija. Fatima is described as modest, gentle, unselfish and obedient and much loved by Mohammed.

How children learn

Fatima believes children learn in different ways at different ages. She says, at first children learn through play followed by repetition until an explanation is sufficient. Thus, she feels before they are given written work, younger children learn best through play. This is important to Fatima as she feels children need to enjoy learning in order to learn; and says she enjoyed school.

Yet, she is concerned that as Asian children are forced into learning from an early age they may not be enjoying learning. For:

I think especially Asian children have a much bigger pressure to learn

the Asian children are pushed by their parents to write and spell big words like cockroach they think they should learn and in Asian countries 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)

Fatima believes children:

need individual attention especially the special educational needs one explanation to the whole class might not be enough and rephrasing might help writing it down using examples in mathematics I draw things and explain things using things in their experience rather than numbers I have picked it up through teaching it I need to teach in different styles Ι... if I change my style a child may pick it up more easily different children relate to different styles explain once and the brighter ones pick it up explain further or use the black board

and work individually asking them to contribute

what they have understood

(fb)

Thus, she says when teachers adapt their techniques and present work to suit their pupils' abilities, 'children should definitely enjoy school' (fb). Fatima believes school could be more enjoyable, for example;

we should have more extra curricular activities
assessment throughout the year is better than examinations
outings and trips

incentives and games

so that they enjoy coming to school

I used to have a lot of activities

I went to bridge club and I loved school

(fb)

It appears that Fatima does not vary her teaching style; she presents information, asks them to recall facts, repeating or going over information. Most of what she is teaching they are required to learn by heart, and although she asks them if they understand, there is little that requires understanding as such, simply remembering. For example when;

She asks them if they understand all the members of the family tree, what she means is do they know the members of the family tree.

(r)

For example, the way she starts a lesson is by asking questions such as;

'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)

Thus, I recorded that;

Her method is to ask questions as she introduces the people in the family tree.

Asking questions like, 'how many uncles did......... have, and how many daughters did........ have? Can you name them? How many sons did....... have? She also reminds them of the word endings for certain titles and says 'well done' when they get it right.

(fnfb)

Thus, by repetition of facts and ensuring that they remember names, relationships and dates, they learn the content of Islamic history. Her warm and gentle manner makes it a pleasant experience for them. Furthermore, she has their affection as she does not use threats to get them to work harder. For example a pupil said;

you can be horrible
you can do anything
on your report it will say
it is coming
[Fatima said] we won't tell them how good or bad you were
and then because of that
I was really good
my report at the beginning

my report

I got such a good report
which my parents are proud of me
and I am as well.

(isp)

However, my opinion is that Fatima seems to be too gentle when they lack enthusiasm. For example, after days of struggling with a group of girls half-heartedly learning a song. Fatima with:

... a look of desperation on her face

[...] she lifts her hands up and says,

'sing it

there are going to be

many people coming to hear you sing'.

(fnfb)

Later, when they sing too softly, she says, 'You had the right tune, but it was hardly there was it?' (fnfb)

Yet, Fatima's approach and lack of forcefulness may be teaching them about being an Islamic woman. For example, by her behaviour and subtle inference, she communicates a model of a passive Islamic woman. Her subject also communicates subtle messages of the position of Islamic women. For example, women's names seldom appear in Islamic history, except for the wives and daughters of Mohammed, and Fatima repeats the rhetoric of the textbooks that

describes Mohammed's wives and daughters in terms of service and loyalty to men. Thus, as I see it she is;

- earnest in her religious beliefs;
- seeing to the comfort of others;
- self-effacing in behaviour;
- subservient to men.

Observing Fatima, I found many examples to support my interpretation of her behaviour. The way she helps and attends to her pupils seems to be more like a mother than a teacher; and unlike any other teacher in this study, every time I arrived to observe her lesson she carried my chair to the back of the class for me; each time as graciously as the first. She picks up their belongings and never ticks them off. Thus, the way she follows Islamic codes for women, her manner and her love of things Islamic presents her in a way that her pupils see her as a kind of saint. Also, I observed them looking at her with admiration specially when she arrived or was preparing to leave. They seemed to follow her moves as she tied and adjusted her face covering.

This saintly quality seems to be consistent in the fact that Fatima and her pupils make no reference to her personal life, as seems common with other teachers. Generally, the behaviour in her class is co-operative and even their chatting seems subdued. It is difficult to say how much Fatima is aware of the pupils' interest in the way she conducts herself, however, by the way she behaves seems to indicate that she has some understanding of her influence of her

pupils. Yet, it is most likely that at some level she is aware that children learn by imitation and the consistent behaviour of others.

Differences in the ways children learn

Fatima maintains different children have different learning needs; cultural differences present different learning needs, and boys or girls need help in different ways. For example, she explains that a new girl from Turkey has difficulty directly related to understanding English and;

Pakistani girls find the pronunciation of the Qur'an so difficult ...

[thus] special attention is needed for the Gujarati girls
[and] if we were a mixed school we would have many more
differences ...

(fb)

Fatima does not say exactly what the difference is between the learning needs of girls and boys; however she intimates boys need to be treated firmly. In my observations of her teaching girls, as I have described Fatima is warm, friendly, and repeats the facts she wants them to learn. However, she might get more out of them by being firmer.

Morality

Fatima believes morality is about rules and following rules without question. She describes a person who follows these rules as good.

For example, when I asked Fatima what she thinks morality is, she said;

in my opinion it is generally to be a good person here we try to make the girls good people and good Muslims they might be very good when they came here

(fb)

So saying, Fatima implies that a good girl has learned to follow the rules before joining the school. As a pupil describes, to be a good Muslim:

... in our religion to wear scarves and to read our prayers is compulsory for us so that is right and also to respect our elders not to speak back to listen to what they say and not let them keep repeating themselves just being kind do you know when we go to the toilet we have to wear our scarves because we get like germs and everything and when we sit to eat yea we have to wash our hands to eat and if you sit down to eat and you haven't got your scarf on you have to put it on

yea because your hair will fall into your food yea for example if you have any dirt or something it might fall in it and we must never sit on a table and eat [meaning at a table] we must always sit down that is a sin of our prophet Mohammed peace be upon him when he yea when he used to do something like at home we never eat on a table for our family we must cover our hair yea and we must always eat from one side we mustn't like snatch just eat nicely you know when we have dinners at school our Appas tell us we have to eat with our hand and sometimes even if it is difficult I try to eat with my hand I must eat everything with my hand cause that's a sin [he has] given us hands to eat with that is why we have to eat with our hands so why eat with a spoon? he wasted time that is why it is good to eat with our hands.

(isp)

As her pupil makes clear and Fatima confirms, being good is obedience to rules. Thus she says;

when they come here
we teach them what Islam expects of them
we teach them how good and perfect the prophet was
we teach them the [Islamic] books
and [to] listen to what their teachers tell them about moral
behaviour.

(fb)

From what she says, Fatima does not separate morality from religious belief. For example, she talks about morality in terms of Islamic faith, emulating the life of the prophet Mohammed and following Islam. In other words, her understanding of morality is that it comprises of rules dictated by All'ah as practiced and communicated by Mohammed. However, from my observations of Fatima's behaviour she seems to present a dimension of morality that she does not articulate, as she clearly believes in caring for fellow human beings. For in the lessons I attended she seemed to teach and demonstrate a morality based on respect and nonaggression. However, her pupils reveal the reasons she gives them for behaving in this way, that implies that her concern for others is limited to the Islamic community and those that may convert. My reasons for coming to this conclusion, is based on the fact that she stopped all contact with me after a while; and from some of the things the pupils said.

For example, when I asked some pupils what they have learned from Fatima, I received these replies.

[Fatima] 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)

An example of this is that pupils came up to say hello when they saw me out shopping. A pupil explained;

you know that time I saw you

I told Miss

and she says

you have to go and tell everyone that I saw you that people know that we have said hello to them or even the teachers

we have to go up to them and greet them and not just walk away...

(isp)

Then she asked me, 'Are you going to embrace Islam?' (isp).

From this statement and others I realised that some of the pupils clearly felt under pressure to convert me as, when I asked them

how they knew the difference between right and wrong I received this reply;

... do you know Islam is a true religion and on the day of judgement you know the people who don't believe in God and the people are partners with God will be picked up with these people which will be put into the fire of hell and you will be like sweating in your own blood and you have to eat all that blood and and you know all of us even the Christians we will be standing on each others legs there will be no space for anyone and someone will be on my head and when it will be time for Jesus to come down from heaven again and when he is going to get married and get kids and everythink (sic) and after forty years when when er everybody is going to die one day and when we all die and Islam will blow the trumpet on the day of judgement and we are all going to go up and things are going to crack and I think and then every one is going to come back alive

and that is when we are going to stand in front of Allah yea only if you are Islam if you are pious and that then you will be able to see the prophet Islam will blow his trumpet from Allah do you know while we are talking he has got the trumpet in his mouth till God tells him to blow it he has still got it in his mouth.

(isp)

How children learn morally

In accordance with her belief that morality is following rules Fatima feels responsible for teaching her pupils all she has learned about Islam.

well I've studied and it is my responsibility to teach them to the best of my ability.

(fb)

Thus, she says she tries to teach them;

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
I teach it then
and give them the benefits of being good in this world

and because we believe in life hereafter the benefits of life hereafter.

(fb)

She believes they learn morally when a teacher is;

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)

Thus, as she explains, Fatima depends on her teacher-pupil relationships to interest her pupils in the rules; and this relates to how she understands children learn at different ages. In other words, she uses methods that interest her pupils. For example, her younger pupils enjoy stories and older pupils ask questions. Fatima explains that;

the younger girls
they are still developing
and they don't take it as seriously
they take to the stories very well

(fb)

I noted evidence around the school of the content of her stories. On display in a classroom and in the hallways I saw a number of

pupils' essays describing Islamic faith and so-called evils. In my field notes I noted my alarm at the accounts. However, the pupils tell it best. For example, here is a story told by Fatima about telling the truth recalled by a year 7 pupil:

I know this really good story there was this boy his mum going on this journey of education trip and his mother told him never to lie and these robbers came and said where is your money and he said the little pocket up here and he put his money inside and he told them I have got money and the robber said why are you telling us the truth we are going to kill you and then the robber when and called this big robber and the robber went up to him and asked him what is your name and everythink and then he said my mom always told me to speak the truth that is why I am telling you and then the robbers become Muslims

(isp)

Another pupil says a story has inspired her not to watch TV:
since a few weeks before Ramadan till today I haven't seen
TV

because Islam is a true religion

we see TV a lot
we had this story about this girl yea
when she died they couldn't lift her up
but when they lifted the TV up they could lift her up
so they buried her with her TV

(isp)

Another was inspired by the following:

I don't know if this is true

but there is this boy only four years old

and one day

um

and one day

his parents weren't like

Muslims

and one day he started to say things

what is he saying

so why don't you call a doctor

something like that

and then

I think the next door neighbour come

I don't know who come

but he said he is reading verses

and then he become Muslim

and mostly the whole world

when they hear what he talks about

they become Muslim.

(isp)

I did not have the opportunity to observe questions older pupils ask or how Fatima answers them, as during my observations in these classes Fatima was preparing them to recite and sing in Arabic. However, I witnessed her tolerant approach while she teaches them. Fatima shows by her behaviour that she realises she cannot be as direct with older pupils as she is with the younger ones. For example she explains teenagers enjoy;

being different from the normal
wanting to be different
to explore something
it may be exciting
they want to join a crowd or peer pressure
I have experienced doing it myself
not to be boring
it is exciting
having fun
I have seen it in the children here
teaching morality is very very important
if it doesn't mean anything to a teenager
it comes back to you.

(fb)

Thus, Fatima appears to be subtle in the way she approaches moral issues with this age group. For example, she says, 'if there are a lack of moral values in the houses, I won't pick on anyone, I will generalise and it gets the message home '(fb).

However, she may believe girls need subtlety as she said;

I think boys need to be brought up more harshly than girls

(she laughs)

maybe not

not very harsh

when you are very harsh

they just rebel

boys or girls.

(fb)

Yet, Fatima may not be aware that another subtlety may be affecting the ways her pupils are learning morally. For instance, she sets a striking example of what is required of them; self-effacing piety. Also, whether implicitly or explicitly, she repeats Islamic rules, and reasons for keeping to the rules, ad infinitum. Thus, Fatima appears to depend on gentle and persistent persuasion on many levels. Unfortunately as my access to Fatima was brought to a sudden halt, I could not ask her if she had been brought round to her view of morality and faith by this method.

Case study 6 - Aisha Bakr Language Teacher in an Islamic Secondary School for Girls

Aisha Bakr is not a trained teacher, however, since leaving a prestigious career involving world travel she has taught Arabic to adults and children for more than 10 years. She sees herself as a very good teacher, and an authority in her field. At the time of this study she had been teaching Arabic and Hadith (stories and traditions relating to the Islamic prophet Mohammed) in an Islamic secondary school for girls for three years.

Following my first week of observing Aisha, she was absent for a month attending a family member's funeral; and during this time her persona changed. The change in her seemed to me to be more than due to the death of a loved one. Most noticeably, her choice of clothing changed. For example, before she went away she wore gold trimmed shoes and her headscarf revealed her well- coiffured hair. Also she wore expensive and stylish clothes under a bright purple Islamic-style loose fitting coat. (Staff in this school are expected to cover their hair, arms and legs; and look plain.) Thus, when Aisha returned to school fully clothed in black and a plain white headscarf fixed under her chin she presented a very different persona. I also noted that she only wore one dress ring, rather than the many she had worn before. Yet, when I asked Aisha about the difference in her choice of clothes since her return, 'she explained that she was wearing black because [a relative] had died; and that, 'clothing is

not a rule' (dnis). This struck me as contrary to what she had said about clothing before she went away, as she had told me;

the other ladies

we call them Apa

who dress in black

these are more knowledgeable in Islamic problems.

(ab)

I had taken this to imply that she is not one of these women however, something else changed. Her pupils seemed to be calling her Apa, instead of Miss Aisha as previously. When I asked her what had changed, she said;

... the children call [me] Apa because it means more knowledgeable, and it is a mark of respect.

(fnab)

From her explanations I may have accepted that her change of dress was simply a sign of mourning and that her pupils have elected to honour her with the title of Apa. However, while she was away I learned that some of the staff disapproved of her flamboyant clothing; also by the way they spoke about her I had the impression that she is not well liked. Thus, I suspect that the death of her relative has given her an opportunity to promote herself to Apa and change her dress style; without looking as if she is responding to peer pressure.

Aisha is the only Arabic member of staff; the others are British—the majority of Pakistani extraction. Being Arabic she has the advantage of speaking the language of the religious texts (of which she seems proud and mentions quite often). She speaks English with a strong Arabic accent and her abrupt manner of speaking is likely to be related to her cultural background. Also, Aisha has what I can only describe as a regal demeanour, and this trait in addition to her way of speaking and dressing, may explain why her peers are not warm towards her.

On the other hand her pupils adore her. Each lesson they greet her warmly and ask her about her cats or some other personal detail. She answers them in her characteristic abrupt speech; yet I suspect her answers may be more detailed without an observer in the room as they seem to know a lot about her personal life. Aisha appears to enjoy their affection; they hold her hands, stroke her and huddle around her for a chat. One day on the way out to break a pupil gave her a big affectionate hug. She smiled broadly and turned to me and said;

Well, they like me very much and they can tell me anything, so sometimes they just hug me. It will pass.

(fnab)

I had an opportunity of learning a little more about Aisha as she said it would be easier for her to be interviewed at home. For example, I was able to see her taste for expensive and luxurious

fabrics and furnishings, as well as the many large gold-framed photographs¹ of herself looking extremely glamorous.

On the day that I visited to interview her, Aisha was fasting and obviously feeling a little weak. Sitting surrounded by luxury and glamorous memorabilia, she told me she is content with her life and happy to accept restrictions placed on Muslim women. What is more, everything she says about women and women's lives is in terms of marriage and children. For example, her argument for educating women is that;

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, it seems that Aisha bases her present life style on her religion, and following most of the rules; in particular the rules that govern her daily life such as prayer, ritual washing and personal

¹ During my observations I was told that in Islamic tradition drawings of people and animals are allowed as long as the eyes are removed.

conduct. For example, she says teaching rules is central to an Islamic woman's role as mother:

we teach rules and the reason for rules
nobody is forcing them
I taught them to pray
and when they feel the need
they pray
I give them the rule
they feel they are safe when they pray.

(ab)

Thus, Aisha gives some insight into what her life as an Islamic woman, mother and teacher may be like. For, she seems committed to praying 5 times and all that this entails. Describing her role as being responsible for teaching children to pray emphasises that this aspect of her life is both engaging and time consuming. For, as she says;

we pray five times a day and wash three times before prayers

that means I wash myself five times a day in this way
I have to wash head, ears, hands, nose, private parts,
legs and feet

it means each part is washed fifteen times a day.

(ab)

I suspect that what Aisha says about her need to pray indicates how she feels about her circumstances, as she says praying takes

away her feeling of loneliness. Also, she says she feels physically uncomfortable if she delays a prayer session. For example;

I don't know

how can I explain it

when I pray

I feel that somebody is with me

I feel I am completely full

I can feel my strength

when I don't pray

I feel I am alone

and I feel fear

apprehension about something that will happen

anxious or anxiety or something like that

when I pray I don't have that

and lots of people experience this

when you pray there is something holding you

you are not alone at all

something is filling you up

if you don't

you feel that you are alone in the whole world

and if you are in the path of a hurricane

and will this happen to me

and sometimes bad things happen

when you pray bad things go around you

and it is so

you see I didn't pray until I was thirty-five

I didn't practise my religion until I was thirty-five

when I pray I am all right
and I am not afraid
if I don't pray
I can't relax
and my body takes me
so you go and pray.

(ab)

Thus, it is likely that seeking something to replace the excitement of her former life she now concentrates her energy into practising her religion; consequently she has developed a dependency or a need to pray.

Yet, Aisha says she is not as strict as she could be, and cannot give up some things she says her religious leaders spurn. For example, she says she cannot part with her photographs (or I suppose remove the eyes as I have seen practised in the school) or stop watching TV. She asked me:

do you have satellite
because we have SKY
and the Jerry Springer Show
and maybe you have heard about it
he comes to England
it is so sickening what is happening
and the people who come
there is no modesty any more

they are giving in and giving in until there will be nothing left it is so bad.

(ab)

In fact she seems so disgusted, that I think by watching these programmes she may be reassuring herself that life without Islamic rules is debased. Aisha certainly seems to be very worried that trends that she sees in society devalue family life and promote sex without marriage. In her words;

everybody says they want to be happy I want to be drinking I want to do this or that but we have a responsibility to the family and the children so they don't make an example to the children so when you don't do your job as a parent most of them separated and there is no father figure in the house and they miss that and this one is divorcing it is out of the understanding it is so bad that the children are having these things happening the family ties are not there anymore and mothers want a bit of fun why not

it is all right
everything is a bit of fun
and nothing is correct now.

(ab)

Thus, she says following Islamic rules of temperance and abstinence protect women, otherwise;

what is the incentive for a man to marry?

(ab)

Furthermore, she says;

parents used to stay together because there was no sex outside marriage;

(ab)

She blames alcohol for broken homes:

I feel very strongly about people drinking

being drunk

what happens to the children when the base of society is fractured

(ab)

the society is the family

there is nothing these days to acknowledge the family

the society is deteriorated

the children is deteriorated

the family is deteriorated

and everything

[...]

it is getting out of hand nowadays.

(ab)

After interviewing and observing Aisha I am left thinking that I have met two very different women. For, Aisha appears to be pleased to live by rules that she feels are justified by what she sees as the deterioration of society. Yet, underneath this persona Aisha is in control of her life choices. Also, even in her more conservative dress code her behaviour seemed vivacious and autonomous. In other words I feel she has not lost her regal glamorous persona, but that she now chooses piety as a characteristic for which she can be admired. For example;

Asiya sometimes sits on desks [in such a way that]

I feel that under her robe and scarf is a sophisticated sexy woman.

(r)

Thus, I have come to the idea that she wears her Islamic persona like a cloak over her more genuine persona, and that she is proud of everything she is and has achieved. This impression of Aisha underpins my reasons for choosing the pseudonym Aisha Bakr to describe her. Aisha Bakr is the name of a child-bride of the prophet Mohammed. Descriptions of her dwell on her beauty and intelligence, and Mohammed is said to have called her a rosy-cheeked girl. I feel this namesake seems to express something of

the incongruity of being proud of being a beautiful and intelligent woman yet choosing restrictions of autonomy.

For reasons I cannot explain, all during this study I found myself feeling affection for her. Yet, some of the things she says she believes horrify me. For example, after packing my tape recorder away after my final interview with her, I asked her how she would feel if her husband wanted a second wife. She said she would not mind, adding that if a man falls in love with another woman, and can afford two households, he should marry her rather than have an affair. Yet, a woman falling in love with another man, she said, could not be allowed to have two husbands for the reason that children should have no doubts about their biological father. Then smugly, she added that her husband has told her that 'one wife is enough for him'; and like a queen she stood up to show me the interview was over.

How Children Learn

Aisha says children will learn by repeating what they have heard until they can recall at will. Thus, she says her teaching is based on;

repeat again
or ask them more questions
you must have the patience
and not be easily frustrated or annoyed
you must have a great deal of patience.

(ab)

Aisha says;

I try to teach Islamic history [Hadith] as story they also have English history it is told as story to get their interest otherwise they are not with you.

(ab)

However, I did not observe her teaching Hadith differently to the way she teaches Arabic. For in all the lessons I observed she seemed to be repeating and testing them on what they had learned previously. In other words, the way Aisha seems to teach these stories is to test if they can recall all the details verbatim. On no occasion while I observed a lesson did she ask pupils to describe moments in Islamic History in their own words; or to discuss the consequences or causes of the events.

Aisha claims Arabic is the most important subject of all Islamic subjects taught at the school, as it is the basis of the other Islamic subjects. She also told me that Arabic is a very difficult language. She says they need to hear it to speak it; and to remember the rules of grammar before they can use it. As, she explained to pupils in year seven;

This you have to memorise because you have to know how to speak about yourself in Arabic.

Thus, teaching Arabic she focuses on pronunciation; and less so on the written words (Hadith lessons are in English). She hands out lists of vocabulary and focuses on pupils repeating her pronunciation as they go through the list. Most of her Arabic lessons that I observed consisted of the pupils repeating in unison. For example, in year nine;

She [Aisha] says 'say after me'

They recite after her using a sing-song way of repeating

A girl in the front rocks back and forth as she recites.

(fnab)

Thus, Aisha incorporates a method that many of these pupils depend on (e.g. they are taught to rock back and forth from a very early age while memorising religious texts - fnka); and her technique does not vary as she goes from class to class. So that, even after teaching the same group for three years she still has them repeating everything after her. Moreover, 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. In other words, she has pupils go over an exercise they have done before. This is obviously a consistent feature of her teaching technique as when I asked Aisha's pupils how they learn from Aisha, I was told that;

she makes us go over it every week.

(isp)

To make sure that I had made a correct assumption of her method I asked if Aisha allows them to prepare material ahead of a lesson and I was told, 'no, she goes through it; we read it with her '(isp).

Sometimes the pupils resist going over the same work, yet they easily give in to her authority when she insists. For example, Aisha begins an exercise in Arabic in year eight by saying;

Jasmine read.

[Jasmine says] I don't want to do it.

[Aisha] What do you mean you don't want to do it?

You read it now [and pointing to the pupil next to Jasmine] she will read it after you.

Stand up and say ...

(fnab)

Confident that they will obey, she perseveres; and they quickly give up their objections and comply.

Yet, I feel the pupils are not simply protesting against repeating the exercises or against the way Aisha teaches; but they may be protesting against the repetition of information. For example, a theme or an Islamic rule may occur in Arabic lessons as well as Hadith. Also, the subject matter of Aisha's lessons forms the general information that teachers share with children in this school.

In Arabic lessons the content seemed to come from Islamic history and religious practices; and in Islamic History, she focussed on

vocabulary and pronunciation. Thus, when she handed out photocopied sheets of Arabic for translation she said;

It is about the people who died in the cause of Allah.

They are called martyrs ...

And on another occasion:

The content of the Arabic is about two men going to Mecca to do Umra.

(fnab)

Also, I noted the same information was what they presented at the Jalsa (end of term concert). Thus, it is not surprising that when most of her lessons begin they object at hearing the same thing over and over again. What follows is quite typical of an exchange between Aisha and her pupils before they settle down as do as she asks:

When Aisha gives out the work for the day they say they have done it before. She says she wants to do it again.

(fnab)

So, even with new material her pupils may think they are repeating an exercise, as the same themes are constantly mentioned; because they underpin the ethical and cultural basis of the school. Thus, when Aisha begins a Hadith lesson in year nine saying;

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)

It could be that Aisha made a mistake and is repeating an exercise, or that the pupils think they can avoid work. However, I think it is more likely that by the time that they have reached year nine, pupils object to repeating limited information²; as well as to her teaching style.

While it is clear that Aisha teaches from her conviction that children learn by repetition, her method of repeating work and checking what they have learned is consistent with her view. Aisha says she uses other methods in her teaching, namely praise, tests and questioning. My observations confirm that she praises when pupils do as they are asked; as well as when they get things right. Also, she ends her lessons affectionately and positively no matter what has taken place. For example, my notes reflect that pupils are generally anxious to know if she thinks they have been good. Yet, whether or not they have been attentive and obedient, she usually gives a warm and positive response.

² The school has a series of textbooks on Islamic subjects entitled *Junior Islamic Studies*. The preface to the series states that 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.' (p7. Lemu, 1986). From what I was able to observe in all the classes I visited, this is the only Islamic literature resource used in the school.

For example, my notes often record the following behaviour, e.g.;

When a girl answers correctly she says 'brilliant'.

(fnab)

She calls their names out in Arabic, and they answer in Arabic. She says brilliant when someone answers correctly.

(fnab)

When someone gets something right she says, 'Good. I am proud of you'.

(fnab)

All through my field notes, I have noted that Aisha insists on silence; (I have recorded her saying 'ssh' up to 20 times in a lesson) and that she starts a lesson by being strict and forceful. For example, she shows her disapproval every time a pupil speaks. When they begin to work she walks around the room looking at their work telling them to 'be quiet'. Also, in her characteristically abrupt manner, she may say something like;

What are you doing?

[and] write properly.

(fnab)

Yet, just as frequently;

she shows approval.

She says brilliant to each one (they are pleased).

She says that she is very pleased that the whole class has good handwriting.

As I have said, the pupils seek her approval. For instance, they ask if they are being good or quiet. Characteristically Aisha tries to stop them speaking but gives in anyway. The following exchange illustrates what happens.

They ask her if they are going to get a merit

She says, 'not today

Because we have a lot of work to do.'

There is an uproar (in a soft little girl way)

They say, 'you said.'

[Aisha replies], 'Oh did I say it?

Then alright

I will give you two.

Two will do.'

They are delighted; and it takes a while for her to give them each their merits.

(fnab)

Thus, almost every lesson has an affectionate note; even the pupils who have been censured at some point receive praise. Finally, I was amused at the following example;

When a girl says, 'I was quiet.' she says, 'Yes you were quiet.'

This girl was not quiet - but she was on task for the lesson - so I suppose she is not usually on task when she is not quiet.

[thus, having given them all merits Aisha says,]

'That's it see you next week.'

In addition to repetition and praise, Aisha uses tests and questioning to reinforce her educational objectives (e.g. that her pupils can remember what she has taught them). Yet, there are some things that she says that she does that I interpret differently. In my analysis I have noted that Aisha, sometimes uses words to describe activities to do with learning and teaching that can be misleading. I have also noted this with some of the pupils and staff. For example, they say understand when it would be more accurate to say remember; and explain instead of tell, say or said.

Thus, when she says she <u>explains</u> something, I feel that she means she repeats it or gives a piece of information that she expects them to remember. In the same way, her questioning does not appear to take the form she implies. For example, in an interview Aisha said she uses the Socratic method of teaching. However, my observations show that her questions are not aimed at pupils having to think through an argument (as done by Socrates), but her questions are aimed at them recalling what they have been taught.

Thus, she does not demand that they cognitively wrestle with a problem, only recall from memory; and give the required reply from what they have been taught. For example,:

She questions them and they all shout what they think the answer is. She perseveres until someone answers correctly.

Then she writes it on the board.

Using the board in this way ensures that pupils work together as a group, with the result that quicker children cannot work any faster than the group allows; and differences are settled by what she writes on the board. In fact, she deflects questions and objections by writing on the board, when she could give a verbal response. She also uses the board to control the way they work from textbooks, vocabulary lists and photocopies of questions. For example, she writes the same questions that appear in their textbooks on the board, with the result that the pupils work together; and call out the answers for her to write on the board. Only after the answers appear on the board do they copy the correct answers into their workbooks. In effect, the pupils work together as a group in all lessons (except tests) and wait for her to confirm what information should go in their books. The pupils appear to appreciate this method; and seem to experience it as Aisha being helpful. A pupil in year seven describes Aisha's method in these terms;

yea on the board
and then she makes us explain it
she likes people
and she chooses
and she gives examples.

(isp)

It is my assumption that this is a misuse of the word explain, as Aisha usually points to what she has written for the pupils to read out aloud, or she says, 'say after me' and they repeat it.

For example, another pupil seems in awe of Aisha's method saying;

ask her

for she knows
say you ask her
what does house mean
she writes it down on the board
ask her what is this letter
she writes it on the board

and she make you copy it down.

(isp)

By her manner and methods it appears that Aisha does not like being questioned or challenged; and that she uses the board as a way of reinforcing her authority. She tends not to allow discussion, questions or argument; and most interruptions are met with instructions to keep quiet. In addition as I have said before, Aisha has an abrupt manner, which seems not to curb the affection the pupils feel for her. To complicate matters, although she does not like pupils to speak out, she responds to their requests. However, if they didn't call out there would be less opportunity to respond to what pupils experience as her generosity. As this pupil explains;

She is very generous
she helps us in Arabic
she tells us poems and all that
and we got to memorise it
and she gives up papers
she had a cat poem

and then we asked if she could photocopy it
and she did
then whenever I don't know something
and I put my hands up and she tell me to put it away
she goes on the board and straight away writes it

(isp)

Thus, from her general manner and the way she teaches, I assume she sees herself as an unquestionable authority. Furthermore, her behaviour demonstrates that she expects them to accept everything she says.

Finally, the way she teaches, resisting pupil participation, and using the board, seems not to be received as discourteous, punitive or as unfair as it looks on paper, for it is clear that her pupils like her teaching methods.

Differences in the ways children learn

It may not be surprising that when I asked Aisha if she has observed differences in the ways children learn at different ages that she replied; 'no difference' (ab). For, as I have explained, Aisha appears to teach all ages in the same way. However, in interview she implies that after receiving a thorough grounding in a subject, older pupils learn independently.

Yet, from close examination of how she teaches and what she says, it appears that she believes different ways of learning have no

place in school. Furthermore, it may be that her teaching methods, and what her pupils experience as help or generosity, may be preventing different ways of learning in her classes. For example, in year ten where the pupils were obviously trying to avoid working on their own, I recorded that when she;

suggests they do an exercise,

[... a] bright girl suggests Aisha works with them on the board. I think these girls like her, but they are taking advantage of her. It seems like they are accepting that they have to do all the exercises on the book, but they are getting her to do most of the work.

(fnab)

From observing Aisha teaching older pupils, and noting in the above example how pleased they were after dissuading Aisha from her original intention, I assume these pupils have some experience of manipulating Aisha into spoon-feeding them. However, Aisha is aware that some pupils resist working on their own. As she explains that when they are reluctant to work she reverts to what she describes as 'the old style' of teaching.

When they are not in the frame of mind

I give a sheet of vocabulary

and let them do the exercise from the book.

[Some] are happy to stretch their ability

the others can't do this

and have to be taught in the old style

(ab)

In other words:

the old way

a book and give them a lesson [from the board]

[when] I lose their concentration.

So I give them vocabulary [on the board]

when they have comprehension

I let them read [aloud]

I let them stand up on their feet [metaphor]

it is like when a child starts to talk

first you protect

one day you let them walk

tumble

and fall down

to find by themselves what is needed with this approach they are more interested to do it because it is a challenge.

(ab)

However, as I have explained, all of Aisha's lessons that I observed seemed to follow her 'old style' of teaching. In other words I did not observe a lesson where Aisha had pupils learning in different ways in the same class or working independently. It may be that she feels they will learn independently in the future; or that my presence affected their behaviour. However, it is clear by what she says and how she teaches that Aisha believes that her lessons are a thorough preparation to eventually, 'just to leave them on their own to find their feet' (ab).

Thus, it is not surprising that Aisha makes no comment about differences in the ways children learn; and says she has not taught boys. Yet, she believes that her teaching style accommodates the range of mixed ability in the school, saying;

of course you know there are two or three
that are a lost-cause
but do not forget about these three
and don't hinder the others.

(ab)

Thus, it is clear that Aisha feels that some children are being carried by group work. However, the way she focuses on the group may have a levelling affect on what they achieve, and it is likely that some of the more able students could benefit from working independently. Finally, as I did not see how well her pupils fared in her tests I cannot comment on how effective her teaching methods answer different learning styles.

Morality

As I have indicated in my introduction, Aisha says she believes morality is based on rules. She maintains Islamic rules protect social life; in that they apply to respect, cleanliness, sexual relationships and the protection of property. It is clear that she applies many Islamic rules on herself; and seems to welcome Islamic rules governing women's lives. Yet, by watching television and displaying her photographs she contravenes some of the rules she

values; also by what she says it seems that members of her family have not adopted the rules she imposes on herself. For example;

my own children come and go

I expect them to obey the rules
they have complete freedom
but they have to choose to behave well
we want them to be educated as well
we want them to go to university.

(ab)

Thus, I understand that Aisha applies different standards in her private life and what she believes should be imposed on society. For example, she says rules need to be enforced, as people do not natural seek to live morally. Furthermore she agrees with enforcing rules by punishment, in as much as that if someone steals they should have their hands chopped off.

In her own words;

children who steal cars are not afraid
nobody wants to lose an arm
it works like an atomic bomb
people don't do things because it [punishment] is there
it is not only that
but the fear of angering God
because you have to be God fearing
if my conscience isn't working a hundred percent
I can't square it with God
when you grow up you learn more and more

about what stealing means

you teach the children about how God will catch up with you the deterrent is what prevents a child or adult from doing wrong.

(ab)

Observing and interviewing Aisha, I found that she refers to Islamic rules whenever she can. For example, in the same way that she reminds her pupils of Islamic rules concerning respect, cleanliness and modesty at every opportunity, without me asking for this information she told me about a number of Islamic rules and the reasons for them. However, I found little evidence of her moral values in the way she behaves towards others. Also, in the time I observed her teaching, she only used punishment as a threat. Furthermore, it seems that Aisha values particular Islamic rules that apply to the things that concern her, such as cleanliness, sexual conduct and covering up, however she does not seem upset by the fact that her own children may reject these rules. She explained this away by saying she had brought her children up well.

The following illustrates that Aisha instructs on cleanliness rather than demonstrate or offer a role model:

'What is this?'

There is some foil lying on the floor,

She kicks it.

and someone says, 'Miss Aisha is playing football.'

She picks it up; and another bit, and puts them in the bin.

[she says] You must sit down in a clean class.

Cleanliness is half Islam.

(fnab)

While it may seem that Aisha has demonstrated the importance of cleanliness, she only picked the litter up after kicking the biggest piece leaving smaller scraps of foil on the floor. Also, her pupils reacted to her kicking the litter and seemed unconcerned about her message, for they made no attempt to pick up other litter in the room.

In fact, on the occasions when Aisha picked something up from the floor I felt it was for my benefit. Thus, although she says she believes in punishment, she does not seem to punish her pupils. For example, I was shocked when a pupil made irreverent joke I noted, 'she sends the girl out, but the child doesn't leave and she makes no more reference to it' (fnab). Yet, I cannot be sure if Aisha behaves differently when she is not being observed, or if she spoke to this pupil later or followed this incident up in another way. Yet, my impression from observing her behaviour and that of her pupils, is that soon all is forgotten.

Thus, in the following section I will discuss that it is my assumption that Aisha focuses on quoting rules and that her view of the importance of punishment is not apparent in her tolerant behaviour.

How children learn morally

Aisha says that children learn their morality by having rules explained to them, as they may follow or disregard rules for a number of reasons. For example, she says fear of punishment or peer pressure may play a role in how they respond to what they have learned. For instance;

sometimes they are afraid of their parents

[or] he doesn't want to be odd in society

we have to make their brains work

not just shove down the rules

we must teach them why

I must tell them why they shouldn't pray to a cow or a bull

it has to be why

(ab)

Aisha believes relationships affect children's moral learning and behaviour for she believes children do not like to upset people they love. For example, when I asked her what makes her pupils want to do what is right, she replied, 'they want to please me' (ab). She also said that children will not go against what they have been taught;

if they came from a good family and they love their mother and father then they don't want to upset them.

(ab)

However, it is clear that Aisha believes that rules need to be repeated regularly and over a long period of time for children to automatically behave in accordance with the rules. Also, she says;

... you teach them what is right
we teach them that it is up to them
as I said before
we do the foundation
you tell them don't steal
when he knows stealing is wrong
he is not going to steal
it is coming from within one
you have the foundation
then they will be governed from within
they will have these rules

(ab)

Thus, Aisha says children learn morally when they hear the same set of rules repeatedly until they choose to follow the rules. Saying this she implies that the threat of punishment or the need for any other enforcement, is unnecessary. Yet, she indicates that they may still choose to go against what they have been taught because the rules are contrary to what they naturally choose to do. For example;

we say that is wrong and why it is forbidden by teaching them they will behave accordingly girls want to experiment they want to go to the pub we teach rules and the reason for rules nobody is forcing them ...

(ab)

Yet, her statements about not forcing children to follow Islamic rules, and her belief in harsh punishments to enforce moral behaviour remain unresolved. This may be because living in Britain she experiences Islamic rules and punishments regularly criticised or questioned; or because of her own and her children's reluctance to accept certain rules. Also, in the way that Aisha sometimes felt it necessary to add information not directly associated with my questions it seems that she wanted me to see Islamic traditions in a more tolerant light. For example, when we were talking about learning rules she said;

we do not have arranged marriages but families have to bless the arrangement.

(ab)

However, she makes it clear that if Islamic rules are not followed an individual will be seen to be doing something wrong. For example, she says a reason children may not behave in accordance with Islamic rules is that they have not learnt them effectively. Saying;

you give them the rules
and then you leave them
if they still do something wrong
it is because they didn't learn properly.

(ab)

Aisha believes parental interest is important in the way children learn their morality, saying;

a good house a good home
when parents aren't interested
children don't learn good morals
good families send their children to this school
they value good things
father and mother respect each other
what is tolerated what is not tolerated
you have to give them the basis and then they have to
develop

you give them the rules and they develop it.

(ab)

However, she indicates that not all parents of the school may be supportive saying;

this is a bad problem for all the school
it is from watching television
sex and promiscuity
you have to give the children the basic rules
and they develop it within the frame.

(ab)

Thus, she believes certain conditions need to be in place for children to learn Islamic moral rules. For example:

I preferred children in a one sex school [sic]

I don't believe the mixed school is giving them what they want

education suffers

as the boys go to see the girls and vice versa
the education then is not to think about the other
state education is failing them from the morality point of
view

(ab)

Finally, Aisha explains that the strength of her argument for keeping Islamic rules is based on her faith in the Qur'an being a true account and traditional stories of the prophet Mohammed's teaching. However, she adds contemporary issues such as specific forms of abuse to her argument.

teach them what happened in the old days

we explain why

you tell them why

we have been ordered not to drink

because before Islam the people used to drink a lot

they did not know what they were doing

abuse wives

gambling

rape

murder

God said no drink

you have to be sober all the time to know what you are doing a person does not know how to drink

there is nothing to say
one way or another
you can't tell what's right or wrong
when you are drunk the conscience does not work
you have to be sober all the time
no drugs
no sex before marriage
it is a private matter.

(ab)

Thus, while some of what Aisha says are generally accepted social and moral concerns, she uses certain words and metaphors to strengthen her moral arguments. For example, she speaks about sin to describe what she considers immoral, and a honey pot to describe sexuality. Also, I have taken the frequency with which she talks about a moral issue as an indication of her own level of concern. In particular, without prompting she has volunteered her concerns about sex before marriage. For this reason I add the following as Aisha's final words in this case study.

If I gave you two pots of honey
and everyone dipped their hands in to taste.....
nowadays they have sex
they have children
they put the cart before the horse
nobody to pay for it
the tolerance of everything is bad
we said no

in the mean time we have let them know in order to keep them from committing these sins.

(ab)

Concluding thoughts

From interviewing and observing Aisha in school it is clear that her reasons and methods associated with teaching and learning morality are based on her understanding of what is right or wrong, good or bad, moral and immoral. Moreover, how she goes about teaching children demonstrates that Aisha believes that repetition of Islamic rules will eventually cause children to accept an Islamic style of life. What is more, it is likely that she does not expect children of school age to take full responsibility for keeping Islamic rules until later in their lives.

Case study 7- Bob Black Teacher in a City Technology College for boys

Bob Black initially trained as an engineer and later qualified as a teacher. He has 18 years teaching experience and at the time of writing teaches Design and Technology in a secondary school (City Technology College) for boys.

Bob presents himself as busy, efficient, and in command. He is smartly dressed, speaks loudly and confidently, and does most things quickly. Although he treated me politely, he made no effort to make me feel welcome or comfortable. For example, 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. Suspecting that this treatment of me was intentional, I was interested and secretly amused. However, I could imagine that many people may be intimidated; and that this would please him.

I also think that something about me, or my line of work, irritated him. However, unlike any other teacher in this study he did not go back on any agreement he made with me; nor did he ask me to go away and come another time or try to cut an interview short. In fact, by his actions (rather than mine) our arranged observation

times and interviews started and ended precisely to the minute; and outside of these times he took no notice of me.

Bob answered my questions in great detail; with the result that his replies gave me a plethora of data. His forthright opinions presented me with more data than I gathered when observing and interviewing other teachers in this study. Furthermore, in reply to most of my questions, he volunteered information about how he feels about being a teacher. Thus, when I asked questions about the ways children learn; his view of morality and how children learn morally; he revealed his underlying feelings of disappointment about being a teacher. For example, while answering a question about his role in children's moral learning Bob said;

I've have been here for three years this is the fourth year

I won't be here forever.

(bb)

It appears that he had thought he had chosen a career that has kudos, and that he regrets his decision. His feelings about being a teacher began to become clear when he said;

I resent the fact that [when]

I went into something eighteen years ago

it was

at least

if you like a respectable thing to do.

(bb)

and:

I resent the fact that
what I went into by choice
not because I did not
I was a trained engineer before that
long time back
which I think is valuable to do
and can be
and should be very highly skilled.

(bb)

Thus, it seems that Bob expected to demonstrate his worth by becoming a teacher, and with hindsight he feels it may have been wiser to stay in engineering. Yet, he prides himself in having trained as an engineer as he feels it indicates that he is capable of achieving a position that reflects his skill and intelligence. Also, he is angry at those he holds responsible for his loss of esteem and position. In Bob's words;

oh

I suppose I could say

well

I have come to accept that 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 screw it

I'll take the money and take an easy life thank you it has become quite high stress mostly I think because ...

I think the reason it has become difficult

I am trying to work this out

I am trying to work out

which idiot minister in the government to write to

if they really want to raise standards

they have created the situation where

the only people under pressure at the moment to perform are the teachers

(bb)

Furthermore, he feels betrayed, as;

eighteen years of being told by the government that we were bottom of the heap

we were crap

we're responsible for all social ills

yep ok

I've given up bothering on that

I don't care any more about what people say about what I do for a living

and it's a job

which one I think I approach in a
I would like to think in a very professional way
it is calculated
it is thought through

(bb)

Yet, saying he can be professional, regardless of his disillusionment, seems to indicate that he disregards the possibility that his feelings may be influencing the way he behaves, or the effectiveness of his teaching.

However, while objecting to general criticism of teachers, he says many teachers are unprofessional, particularly those who concern themselves with children's affect. As he says;

I don't think most teachers behave as professionals

I think they are too

emotionally woolly about it

you know

it's done

they say

oh it is a shame

he can't do this

all these kinds of things.

(bb)

This statement underpins his view that an indulgent approach will give children the wrong impression of life. He seems angry when he explains that teachers encourage weakness when they sympathise

with disadvantage or misfortune. He has little time for so-called therapeutic intervention, such as counselling, drama and themes within Personal and Social Education (PSE). He clearly makes this known to his colleagues as 'I heard a comment in the staffroom that Bob Black thinks drama is a waste of time' (fnbb). He explains that he believes teachers should demonstrate tenacity and success. For example in an interview with two of his colleagues present he said;

we survive that's good if we fall over we are no use to anybody so you find the appropriate level at which you can survive and do what you can from that base if you do anything else I think you are actually being unprofessional and just destroy yourself and you are no good to anybody as to what you do personally I quite unremittingly project the fact that I am married that I have children and have a stable background and I am happy with it and if the kids don't like that then it is just tough and that is me

I am not going to pretend that I have a [sic] unhappy childhood

I am not going to pretend that my kids are damaged my kids are normal

articulate

very articulate

forceful

bright kids

fine

so I project that image

and I talk about every thing from what happens on that basis.

(gictc)

Interestingly, Bob's use of the word pretend seems to be linked to his view of unprofessional behaviour, for two months later he used the word pretend again to make the same point saying;

rather than pretend that I have a very shattered childhood or pretend that I have come from a broken home or pretend that my kids are unhappy or whatever

I don't

I am very conscious of the fact that a lot a lot of the boys in here in my tutor group and in groups

come from broken families

without question

more of them 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 one is I might as well be honest about what my back ground is and I talk and operate in that background

I think it is a better background than they enjoy

in many cases

so fair enough

but nonetheless

for me that is normality

I actually think

as a judgement I make

that that should be a form of normality

I think it works

and I don't criticise them

because they don't have that

and that life must be difficult for them on that basis

but I can't always tailor what I say according to that but nonetheless I am mindful of that

so I tend to be ...

I am resolutely me

throughout

in terms of what we talk about.

(bb)

Bob says it is not a teacher's role to commiserate with pupils. For example;

I think schools have been too long in the social worker frame trying to do that and trying to do the police frame and that we still do we can't do it we simply can't do it we have to take account of it in order to be efficient 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 a lot of them do it a lot of them do it from the heart and once the heart stops working you've got to have some backup alternative strategies and that's the head and I like ... and I've transferred into the head it doesn't mean I'm any less concerned about kids and yes of course I feel sorry for kids who turn up look they have been dressed out of the ragbag and whatever else but the bottom line is

I go to my family

and that's my life and this is my job I'd never make a priest.

(bb)

In fact he sees a teacher's role as quite the opposite.

Bob explains (emphatically, raising his voice mid speech and showing his emotions - shown in bold);

what pupils really don't like
are teachers who want to be their friend
they really don't want to know about that
no

I'm not their mate

no

I'm not in the playground with them

no

I wouldn't want to socialise with them

no

I wouldn't want to go on holiday with them ...

or be near them probably

but that doesn't mean I can't be efficient and effective

and um ...

but I'm polite

sociable.

(bb)

Bob became quite emotional and emphatic when he said the above. Yet, in an earlier group-interview he spoke warmly of the way children respond to teachers after they have experienced a field trip. He explained that these two-week residential school trips (that no longer take place) were extremely effective in building good relationships between teachers and pupils. He also said, that after a fieldtrip there was a noticeable improvement in their behaviour and willingness to learn.

However, it may be that at some point Bob has been more emotionally involved in his pupils' lives and socialized with colleagues. Furthermore, that his current view shows that he has withdrawn his goodwill towards all things relating to his profession, including distancing himself from his colleagues. he made it clear that he does not join his colleagues when they meet outside of school hours. In Bob's words:

by and large I don't socialise with teachers outside work
most teachers say
what you doing tomorrow
oh I've got to go to school
I consciously say
no I'm going to work
the people I associate with do all sorts of things
engineers
why a whole range of things
one or two people that I know
you know a couple of head teachers

who I know

that's it

that's what I do.

(bb)

Bob's disillusionment and need to demonstrate his self-worth continually appear in what he says. For example, by not excluding head teachers from those he shuns, he has not given up on teaching as a way of demonstrating his self-worth.

Bob spoke at length about his past achievements and his future plans. He said he has ideas for, 'a master's degree that I have been toying through for a few years' (bb), and that he had been involved in a technical and vocational education project where he had been promoted to director. Also, I noted that he frequently quoted educational-psychology research. However, I found little evidence in his practice of the psychology and educational theory that he quoted.

How Children Learn

Bob says;

I tend to work on the basis of using and understanding constructivism and the work of Andrew Pollard out of Bristol University and his approach to a kind of the wave form of development and that's what I tend to use

so I use

no

not all the known strategies.

(gictc)

Bob explains that;

... children learn best by taking them from their current experience making sure that that is understood and move forward.

(gictc)

... basically

you need to take them from where they are and make sure they actually understand it is not based on false assumptions

but take it forward from there.

(gictc)

Yet, I found from observing the way Bob teaches, that he conducts his lessons with firm discipline and little or no interaction. In other words, he does not find out what they understand as he instructs and expects his pupils to follow his instructions without question. Thus, I found no evidence of him trying to discover pupils' prior knowledge, current experience or assumptions. On the other hand, it may be that he knows his pupils' capabilities and understanding of

their subjects. Thus, he uses less observable methods of discovering their current understanding.

In some of the situations I observed, he gives a detailed explanation of what he expects them to do when he introduces something new. At times I observed that he explains in an animated way using sounds and his body to demonstrate. When I asked some of his pupils how he taught them, they said that he breaks down a task into stages. For example, a pupil said, 'well he took us through stages and demonstrated on the board' (ctcp); and another pupil said;

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
so he will start us off
tell us what to do
stop us
show us the next part
and we just get
he just takes us through bits and bobs
some teachers like rush it
but he
like take you through bit by bit
take your time.

(ctcp)

It may be that, in comparison to their other teachers, his pupils appreciate the way he introduces a project. However, from my observations I found he can be clear on one occasion and impatient and abrupt the next. Also, he regularly interrupts his own explanations with humour, sarcasm, reprimands and irrelevant information to demonstrate his knowledge. In other words, at times he may be confusing some of them. For example, he rushes through theoretical work that may need more time to be fully understood.

Clearly, practical lessons take time to set up and pack away, leaving little time to work. I noted that, 'the lesson is obviously too short: by the time they have got all the equipment they need' (fnbb). However, he also rushes them through theoretical and book-based work. The reason for this is probably due to his belief that his pupils should experience pressure in order to appreciate how much they need to learn.

Yet, Bob seems to be aware that his pupils may need more time to learn something, and explains that the secondary school system goes against the ways children learn. He explains:

and get totally absorbed in it
and secondary schools are totally rivetated [sic] against that
because as once they get interested it is chopped off
and at the end of 50 minutes
and they go on to something else.

(gictc)

He explains that the reason for a;

major performance drop from primary phase to secondary

[...] is because of the change in teaching style

but that does even out

because the national curriculum suppressed

to a certain extent

the natural kind of learning process they had.

(gictc)

He is obviously frustrated when he says;

here

it is chopped up

it is chopped up into just pieces

in secondary schools.

(gictc)

He frequently tells his pupils what is expected of them as well as expectations placed on his own performance. For example, he lists what they have to achieve by specific dates, and talks frequently about time pressure and the constraints put on him by the National Curriculum, inspectors etc. Thus, he seems to excuse his abrupt and tough approach with them on the pressures he faces himself; and believes placing pressure on his pupils is beneficial to their learning:

I also believe in pressuring them

because otherwise ...

fundamentally they are relaxed.

(gictc)

He blames their attitudes to learning on the secondary school system. Saying:

I think fundamentally children are inert creatures in the school situation

I don't think school is the ideal situation to teach kids at all.

(aictc)

Bob may have sound reasons for saying that the secondary school system has a negative affect on learning; or that school in general creates problems for learners. However, there may be many other reasons why Bob experiences children as inert in his classes. For example;

- there may be logistical problems in engaging enthusiasm for learning the subjects he teaches, for example large classes;
- 2. his classes may include too many pupils whose difficulties stem from dysfunctional family life;
- 3. his teaching methods and firm discipline may silence his pupils' enquiry;
- 4. his negative attitudes towards some pupils may depress pupil initiative;
- his tendency to demonstrate his general knowledge may make his pupils feel inadequate; and
- 6. his criticism of the school systems may make his pupils devalue their education

Thus, his views and behaviour may have a paralysing effect on his students. However, Bob says he has been praised for the quality of learning in his classes, adding, 'Something that I am doing is working' (bb). He attributes his so-called success to the way he treats his pupils. However, there may be some confusion between his firm discipline and the quality of learning in his classes for I observed Bob treating some of his pupils in a friendly or patient way, and others overly harshly. For example he punished one pupil for talking in class, while I had recorded that there had been a lot of talking all through the lesson:

The boys all chatting quite loudly.

Which he allows. He picks on one boy saying, 'for talking all the way through while I have been talking.'

(fnbb)

It was not clear to me why he treated pupils differently, however Bob said, '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).

Bob regularly rebukes pupils for not knowing something. He told me, '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). In class he asks them questions they seem unable to answer like, 'Where is Bayeux? Is it in France? I hope so, it was the last time I saw it' (fnbb).

Thus, my notes show entries such as;

He gives them a string of unconnected facts.

To show off his knowledge?

Is this for my benefit?

(fnbb)

However, there are moments in class when Bob cracks jokes and pupils join in with enthusiasm. For example I recorded the following:

The caretaker comes in. He [Bob] makes them stand and bow to the caretaker. [The pupils obviously enjoying the joke responded with low dignified bows.]

(fnbb)

I was happy to note his warmth towards pupil contributions to class humour. For example, when Bob asked a pupil, 'What deficiency are you suffering from today?' he replied, 'Sugar, Sugar' (fnbb). Also, he accepted the following excuse from a pupil coming in late:

Pupil says, '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)

Thus, there are lighter moments and times where the whole class appreciate his humour.

However, 'he mocks them' (fnbb). For example, speaking more to the whole class and to me, than to a boy who was despondent about his work, 'You are not a failure,' he says, 'you - are - just - extremely - slow' (fnbb).

When he gave GCSE pupils a mock test, I recorded the following:

The sheet has a question about who [in the class] is wearing trainers. Trainers are not allowed.

Bob says, 'Billy is wearing trainers, which he will be changing shortly, no doubt.'

The boy says, 'I got a note.'

'He's got a note,' Bob mimics.

(fnbb)

The same test paper began with the instruction to, 'Read through the whole paper before starting' (fnbb),' and included two pages of questions beginning with the instructions:

- 1. You must work on your own.
- 2. Do not speak to your neighbour or try to copy their work.
- 3. Work as quickly as you can.

(fnbb)

However, at the end of the paper was the instruction:

When you read this line put up your hand and wait to be told to start.

Only start when I say.

(fnbb)

None of the boys put their hand up, some are working industriously.

After a while he stops them and remonstrates with them saying none of them read the whole paper.

(fnbb)

He continued in this tone sarcastically saying, 'they did not read the whole paper because they have three bits to their brain' (fnbb). Then:

He says sarcastically,

'Ben has got 5.

You got extra haven't you?'

No reply from Ben.

(fnbb)

Thus, it is not clear whether Bob's humorous interactions with his pupils have positive effects on their learning, for he regularly humiliates a member of the class with cynical recriminations and sarcasm. For this reason, my field notes reflect an element of surprise when Bob appears to be genuinely helpful or positive. For example, I added an exclamation mark when I wrote, 'helping a boy to improve his printing, he uses a specific task orientated nononsense approach - with positive encouragement!' (fnbb); and in the next example, I used the adjective 'really':

There are times when I think he's really helpful and good to the pupils. The way he is giving instructions is clear - uses demonstration, and explains [sic].

(fnbb)

Similarly, my surprise at his kindness in the following example is implicit when I noted him patiently explaining something a second and third time. Thus:

[a pupil] is rasping the wood not the felt.

He [Bob] demonstrates once and then later when the boy is doing the same thing he demonstrates again.

When the boy says, 'does it matter what angle you do it at?'
He says, 'yes it does, and that's why I told you.'

He then says kindly, 'Hold it against yourself like this.' and he demonstrates again.

(fnbb)

In fact, as his manner seems to be excessively strict and sarcastic most of the time that I note my surprise when he shows care or compassion. For example:

Bob is very quick and sharp.

I saw him allowing a boy to store his bicycle in a storeroom.

Showing a more hidden softer side?

His manner is quick and impatient.

Strict.

Is it his belief?

Is it his behaviour?

(fnbb)

Thus, it is unclear whether Bob is consistently positive towards the pupils he cites as 'high performance'. For, bar a few incidents where I recorded his positive behaviour towards some pupils, he tends towards negativity.

In general I observed him being overly quick, abrupt and critical. For example, he tends to use negative examples to communicate what he wants them to achieve, such as;

Boys, boys, all come round here.

Stop what you were doing.

Let's talk about what is beginning to irritate me.

This, look, glue all over it. Bits and pieces just ... [he pushes the project back into the hands of its creator.]

(fnbb)

What's more, he tends to give the whole class a ticking off when one pupil does something wrong. For example, when one pupil cut into the centre of a piece of felt he addressed the whole class angrily:

You have to have some responsibility
otherwise I will have to take responsibility
and you will have to fill in a form to get a piece of felt
you should all be able to cut properly
[Bob says] leave the room [to a pupil who may have not been
paying attention]
[and to the others] how should felt be cut?

[and to the others] how should felt be cut?

[he picks up a piece of felt]

look the person who used this ... [he throws the felt onto a table]

use your brain

how many have to keep your room tidy at home?

how many do? [this comment more to himself]

how many dress yourselves?

in that case you should all be able to do the simple tasks right

go to work.

(fnbb)

It may be that Bob believes pupils will make special efforts to learn to avoid being humiliated in this way. For, except for when he takes time to explain something or give praise, he tends to make them feel ashamed

Differences in the ways children learn

Bob identifies two reasons for why children may learn in different ways. The reasons he gives are that:

- children at different ages memorise what they have learned in different ways; and
- 2. girls and boys naturally have different attitudes to learning.

For example, he says that the different ways children learn is due to, 'the way they actually structure what they memorise at different ages' (gictc). In Bob's words:

when children are younger they are generally speaking learning serially

SO

say you teach them one fact and they kind of remember it in a string

that is why they are good at remembering things
like times tables
in a string
as you get older
you can't possibly absorb all that amount of information
so you take the basic idea
so you understand the basics or the concepts
and you tack other things to it
so you have it in blocks of memory
as opposed to a serial string
serial is kind of younger
and block memory is more adult.

(gictc)

When I asked him about the difference between the ways boys and girls learn he said:

... the observable difference is that
you give a girl a task
they will go away
and work on it
whatever it is you set
I mean there was research that was done by Keble
or someone in Arizona
what was it now
it was a kind of a shock
with regard to the knowledge of teachers
girls like to have a very specific task

but then they like to run with it in their own way
boys like to be given a very precise little target to work with
quite opposites
and an observable pattern
if you discuss with a girl the kind of work that is needed
in order to be successful
they will usually actually do it
to a very high standard
boys will always try to do it at the last possible minute
to the lowest possible standard.

(gictc)

Although his answer does not directly answer my question about differences in the ways children learn, he uses the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of research. Furthermore, as his present position is in an all boys' school I was not able to observe him teaching different genders.

However, I observed him treating older children more leniently, for example regarding homework not done, and being late for a lesson. Furthermore, I was not able to identify differences in the way he teaches children of different ages or specific to the gender of his pupils except that I found that Bob is generally more amenable when teaching, assisting or offering older boys advice.

Morality

Bob says he believes morality is socially constructed and that it consists of, 'developing a sense of what's right and wrong and acting on it' (gictc). Of his own sense of morality he says;

I am very open-minded

I am not so blinkered

I don't think

in what I accept as right and wrong

I have a very strong moral personal sense of morality

in that I am the sort of person

if I say I will look after your house while you are away

yes I will do that

even if it then causes me problems

I will do that.

(bb)

Furthermore, he says morality;

needs to be based on an understanding

of the cultural background

so for example

I know that to ask a Sikh boy a direct question

they often won't seem to answer it

but in their culture the more respect you have for an

individual

the more you actually discourse

before you get at the answer.

(bb)

Yet, while he says he understands morality is culturally based, he says;

I still won't step back from my own moral code it has taken a long time to develop so and I keep it.

(gictc)

In examining how Bob understands children learn morally (see following section) he seems to adhere strictly to his own moral code, that is to keep to his own set of principles and rule based moral reasoning. For, he does not consider other points of view on moral learning as relevant or question contributing factors in specific situations, but responds according to what he believes is right.

How children learn morally

Bob says children learn morally by adults enforcing socially acceptable behaviour until they internalise a moral code for themselves. In Bob's words;

Until you gain your own moral sense your sort of moral operational sense you've got to have it externally applied.

(gictc)

Thus, he says;

we apply external sanctions until they regard internal ones

sometime their internal ones never match to requirements and are constantly clashing with the system but the system is there for the benefit of the majority and it only basically says in this place that you must not interfere with anybody else's right to learn

that's the bottom line

in this place

so that is the one that is enforced.

(gictc)

Yet, he says;

some of them will never achieve it until adulthood or indeed in adulthood and the prison is full of them.

(gictc)

Thus, he says external sanctions should continue until they have an internal moral sense, for:

as they get older then it depends on the individual some of them are still treated that way because they have actually made no progress

what-so-ever [Bob stressed each syllable].

(gictc)

During the school years Bob says children should progress to the stage where they are able to develop or accept rational arguments for socially acceptable behaviour. Thus, he says:

I think there is an age where you should be able to expect it [an internal moral sense]

I am not saying there is

I find towards the end of year ten [they] tend to be rationalising a bit.

(gictc)

In jest he implies girls progress to this stage faster than boys:

some of them you can actually rationalise

and talk too

almost the way you could

to a twelve-year-old girl.

(gictc)

About different ways that he reasons with pupils from different backgrounds he said;

Muslims have very strict moral codes
which a lot of them simply don't adhere to
I will refer back to that.

(gictc)

Yet, the way he rationalises with pupils whatever their background seems to focus on negative enforcement aspects, for he said;

I used to know West Indian grandmothers

so I can go back and say look
what did your grandmother say about this
and they know dam well that Granny will
belt them round-the-earoll [sic] for doing something.

(gictc)

For ultimately, he believes responsibility for children learning morally;

should

ab-so-lute-ly be

in the realms of what the parents give if the parents are up to it.

(gictc)

Thus, he says when parents fail to educate their children morally they should be forced to do so, that;

there is a lot of very saddo [sic] 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
and you can see that when you see what attitude comes
through the door
you try to get the kid to behave in a reasonable way

parent comes up to you and says
you can't do this
you can't make them do this.

(qictc)

Yet, he concedes that forcing parents may not be the answer for;

there are some [pupils] who come from

well

they are known and identified as families at risk extreme dysfunction.

(gictc)

Thus, he says the pupils' moral learning falls to schools and teachers, saying, 'if you don't sort them out here, life will sort them out really.' However, he doubts his ability to be significantly effective, for when I asked him how he 'sorts them out' he replied;

yea I could break his legs

no

no

I've no idea

no

I think they are so dysfunctional

the whole lot might explode anyway.

(pp)

While it is obvious he is joking about breaking their legs, I have no doubt in the truth of his feelings when he said, 'there is a few I'd like to really slap around to be quite honest' (bb).

While he explained at length the school policy on discipline and the importance of rational discussions he said that with younger pupils:

I don't actually rationalise all that much but the bottom line is there are certain things you have to do so they are told to do it.

(bb)

For example, to a boy complaining about having to stay in after school Bob says;

Excuse me

the rule is

that if you don't finish the work

you come in

it's supposed to be inconvenient.

(fnbb)

It is clear that Bob believes in force, chastisement and harsh sanctions to instil compliant behaviour. In class I observed him shout in close proximity to a pupil, grab something out of another pupil's hand and not apologise after chastising the wrong pupil' (fnbb). For example, when a boy came in after break, red faced and hot, with a drink in his hand, Bob rushed at him saying;

'Hold on,

are you drinking that?'

He grabs the bottle away and says,

'are you going to drink this in my lesson?'

'No. No you are not!'

and he [grabs the bottle out of the boy's hand and throws it out of the window]

'You can go and fetch it later.'

[Returning to his desk he said,]

'Billy tuck your shirt in' [Billy's shirt is tucked in]

'or tuck your tie in

and go and get your bottle

[raising his voice] Go and get your bottle.'

Billy mumbles something.

'Billy it is not important whether you want your bottle or not.'

He does not check that Billy has done it.

(fnbb)

Also, my observations show that he does not allow pupils to discuss or explain their reasons for any breach of school rules. For example, to a boy who complained about unfair treatment he said;

'Tough! You should learn to be responsible for your actions!'
As the boy walks away he shouts after him, "You did it, you knew it was wrong, now you will take the consequences."

(fnbb)

Even, when it is obvious that Bob is in the wrong, he makes no apology, but finds a reason for turning the attention to the pupils' behaviour. For example, calling the register he demanded;

'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.'

He does not apologise to the first boy.

(fnbb)

and:

I waited outside as the boys were lining up.

[Waiting for some time they were not standing quietly when] Bob arrived late, and said, 'You messed that one up boys.' He hit a boy playfully on the head with his key rope and ignored me.

(fnbb)

Thus, it seems that he has an underlying belief that by imposing the school's rules and his personal moral code his pupils learn morally. I found that his actions concerning litter an example of how he views children's moral learning and his role in their learning. For example, I observed him using picking up litter as a punishment or making reference to the presence of litter when remonstrating with a pupil. Yet, the area outside his classroom, where his pupils lined up for class, was strewn with litter every day I was there.

On one occasion he insisted that a rowdy pupil pick up five items of litter. The pupil objected for a while, and then said, 'Alright I will just pick up my own.' The pupil in question had to kick through swirling litter, thick as autumn leaves, to identify his own wrappers and crisp packet. Yet, as Bob and the class began moving into the classroom he threw them all down.

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.' Earlier he said to me 'some of them try to bin it but it just blows out of the bin.

(fnbb)

So, focussing on sanctions and the rules he expects the pupils to obey, he doesn't ensure consistent application of the rules. Also, he demonstrates that his own behaviour is beyond question. In other words, he expects pupils to learn morally from being told what to do, and not from following his example. On the other hand he expects his pupils to learn from the examples he gives of his home life and the things that he says he does.

Bob says his home life represents what he calls normality, and that he challenges pupils to question the social behaviour in their own homes that he describes as involuntary counselling. Yet, I did not record a cohesive or clear example of how he says he counsels pupils. For although he refers to his personal life (e.g. sending his son back to school after he broke his arm), I did not record examples that were as he describes in the examples he gave me. Furthermore, my observations confirm that in most cases the way he speaks to pupils seems to be;

- generally unsympathetic regarding their personal lives,
- blunt.
- in line with his perceptions of his own family life, and
- his belief in endurance.

For example, when a pupil explained why he had missed a day of school Bob said:

Half the staff are coming in with headaches that's why they are so short tempered (the pupils don't respond) that's a joke, that's a joke my son broke his arm it still hurt he went to school.

(fnbb)

Bob says that given sympathy children will believe unhappiness is the norm. Also, by projecting what he calls normality, he believes he is helping his pupils. In the following example he explains how he projects this image; and how he uses his home life as an example. The extract is long; but to shorten it will take away from the atmosphere and energy that Bob puts into expressing his views. Also, this account shows that he takes the opportunity to legitimise his approach, by saying he uses a recognised counselling model. Thus:

I use sort of involuntary counselling model
in that I will
if I think what they are saying isn't right
or think their point of view is insupportable
I consistently get them to challenge it for themselves
constantly getting them to look at it
and the consequence

```
ultimately leading round to sort of
well
that can't be right can it
or a constant one is say
do you want to live under
[...]
where you know you have to fight
for everything
wouldn't you prefer to live on the dole
I quess
wouldn't you prefer
and if they say no
say why not
and when push comes to shove
say
well
I couldn't stand living like that
and that's they way it was
I would want to go away and live on an island
away from this world
because I don't want to know about that
I prefer this
anyway
an example would be
for example with the PSE programme
was dealing with disappointment
that's what it was for two weeks before Christmas
```

and I was

I stopped after a fairly light

but nonetheless

fairly packed attack on commercialism at Christmas

but what about an alternative

you can't tell me how Christmas should be

this is how I think Christmas should be

and I gave

you know

almost the scenario

snow

log fire

which we do have

candlelight

which we do have

all those kinds of things

bang

and we then got into talking about presents

and parents being under pressure

because they haven't money and whatever

and how they should respond to this problem

and all these kinds of things

which in themselves are very kind of moral issues

and they are frankly quite immoral

a lot of kids in their responses

and I will never let it lie there

[...]

I showed them well I was going to show them but of course the idiots wouldn't work [long pause] and there is this little clip in Babe a film Babe about where a girl is given a doll house that has been made by her grandfather who's Pa [...] and he has built this dolls' house a great deal of time and effort and of course she opens it and being frankly an American brat says this isn't what I want this isn't how it is on television I hate this kind of thing and we were raising that so what are you going to do if you get a present and right so I will pick one of the kids pretty at random so I said what would you really like at Christmas and he wanted a yo-yo [...] this yo-yo of course costs forty-six quid

so I said well

OK

let's imagine that it is Christmas morning

because I know his mother

he has a single mother

unmarried single mother

50

and they struggle for money

I know that

so I said let's imagine that it is Christmas morning

and you know that what is in this package is a yo-yo

and you rip the wrapper off

and you are really keyed up

and you can see him go yea yea

and you rip the wrapper off and there it is

a two pound ninety nine standard yo-yo from Toys R Us

what's your reaction

I didn't have to say

because he reacted

[****] I don't want this

and we were talking about

well

how do you think that would make your mother feel

that she has probably gone to the trouble to make this

you know

time to get this and whatever

and we then talked about

which would you rather have

should it be where you are given gifts where people have thought about it or should you just go round the shelves

and go

oh yea give them one of them

what it is it doesn't matter

it cost twenty quid

there you go

and it is about that kind of

commercial immorality of Christmas

and what Christmas might be

and the kind of relationship to it and so on

and when we talk in PSE sessions or whatever

and I will sometimes say to them

don't you ever actually sit around and talk to each other

and they say

no we don't

so I say to them

we do

we kind of sit around and my kids can try out

you know

they can find out what words and things are acceptable or

not

because they talk to us all the time

there is no criticism at the table

yes we tell them what they shouldn't say to their granny

and it is that kind of view of

ok this is what family life could be

I don't know what my children would say about family life

they don't seem to be hell bent in getting out of the house

they seem to be happy

they seem to be well adjusted

and they do all kinds of things

so don't know

so yea

I tend to raise it where it comes up

if not on a straight moral issue

sometimes like PSE

it was

it was straightforward

hang on a minute

you are a grasping avaricious little member of

you're one of the fractious little damaged children

here's an alternative

but I won't back off from these issues

and where as you know

they put all the

if I don't think that is correct

fine

I won't back away from all these issues

I'll think it frivolous

but I will challenge that

challenge that

and if they have a good argument

that's fine

if they haven't

then I generally get them to shred it for themselves

involuntary counselling

I used the same thing

when I was an advisor trying to check other people.

(bb)

It is possible that his pupils do not make a connection between Bob's examples of his moral teaching, and their own moral learning. For, when I asked some of his pupils if they could think of an example of how they learn morally from Bob, they seemed unable to give any examples.

Yet, it is clear that Bob believes that what he says to his pupils, will affect their moral learning: and that how they feel or the way he behaves towards them is less important. For, ultimately he seems to believe that the way they learn is by adopting subservient behaviour and receiving knowledge. This view appears to be consistent in most of his interactions with his pupils; and appears to be what lies behind most of the things he says and does, as he goes about his formal and informal education of his pupils. For example, it is apparent in the way he takes the register, disciplines and teaches. I noted that when all but the oldest pupils (post GCSE) enter the classroom, he stared at them sternly and that they kept their eyes on him as they took their places, e.g. 'he talks to some of the pupils

but does not greet them when they come in. They answer, 'yes sir' when he calls their name '(fnbb).

Also, his tacit belief in the irrelevance of the effects of his own behaviour is implicit in another of my field notes on registration.

He [Bob] calls the register

'Why didn't you register yesterday?

That means you don't exist.'

The boy replies and he 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)

Concluding Thoughts

I cannot be sure that Bob was not putting on a tough act the whole time I observed him interacting with pupils. For my field notes reflect that his pupils seem to be fond of him. Also, 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.

Also, when two pupils burst into the room (towards the end of the first interview with Bob and his colleagues), Bob reprimanded them loudly and harshly for disturbing him. Yet, later I noted that;

... the two miscreants who had thrown themselves in the door came to apologise to me. They were so relaxed and pleasant that I felt they could not have felt threatened or upset by Rob's harsh tone.

(r)

Thus, it may be that his pupils admire his macho behaviour and demonstrations of power within the male domain of an all boys' school.

Clearly, Bob appears to maintain strict control of any behaviour he sees as unacceptable, and judging from conversations overheard in the staffroom some of his colleagues envy his break duty skills. Speaking about his discipline technique Bob told me;

... the view I have always taken anyway

is they don't have to like me

but all people who have been through a transaction analysis training

I know what my little bag of bad bits are

and I don't think they reflect and intrude at all into education

but it is um

the end of five years

when they are successful

and they see that they were successful without too much aggravation then they'll like me fine that's the image I will take.

(bb)

Case study 8 - Nell Brown Geography Teacher in a City Technology College

Nell Brown has taught geography for more than 12 years, and has experience of teaching boys and girls in both primary and secondary schools. In her present position, in a secondary school (City Technology College) for boys, she teaches geography to 11 to 16 year-olds.

Nell appears to be pragmatic and matter-of-fact about her work as she goes about her teaching duties showing little sign of enthusiasm or stress. However, while she does not seem to be as disgruntled about teaching as her colleagues, her attitude to her work may have changed to one of resigned acceptance, for in interview I saw a glimmer of interest and enthusiasm when she spoke about her subject, the ways children learn, and how in the past she has been able to form better relationships with her pupils. Furthermore, she explained that when she had had the time and opportunity to form positive relationships she felt had had positive results in pupils' academic performance. However, she said she was uninspired by her subject, and bored with teaching. For example, when I asked her about her interest in geography she replied;

I don't know

(Nell laughs)

I know what bores me

and its rocks and the weather

(nb)

She also said:

there is so much trivia

that you have to bash your way through

isn't it

which dominates stuff

(nb)

Yet, when I asked how she thought she taught a subject that didn't really interest her much, she said;

competently

but not very inspired I would think

except hurricanes

I don't mind doing hurricanes

they are quite excited about that

depressions and anticyclones

and such

(nb)

Yet, in contrast to other teachers in this study, Nell gave little or no indication of how she feels about being a teacher. Accordingly, she seemed to show little interest in why I wanted to observe her teaching, or why I asked specific questions; and appeared to be unconcerned about my being in her class. Only one occasion did she ask me to stay out of an anticipated difficult class.

Pupils tend to behave badly in all of her lessons. They 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. One lesson I noted, 'most of the time boys are punching each other on the arms and shoulders' (nb). I also noted that pupils tried to move out of the way, cowered while being hit from someone in the desk behind, covered their belongings by leaning over them, and looked around nervously. I was unable to distinguish between bullies and victims in this class. For, except for the few pupils sitting at the front of the room, it seemed that most of the pupils were bullying and being bullied.

One lesson a pupil, I identified in my notes as 'the nervous boy' (fnnb), snatched at other pupils' belongings as he returned to his desk and announced;

In my old school

there were guys more gayer than me

Yeah,

Yeah they were more gayer than me.

(fnnb)

On one occasion I could not restrain myself from interfering and;

I asked a boy to stop punching his partner (who was really close to losing it) as it was interfering with my studies. Nell did not seem to notice

(fnnb)

Undoubtedly, some pupils were hurting others, and many pupils were clearly afraid, upset and intimidated by unconcealed bullying. I noted that Nell offered some protection to some children (clearly determined by their ethnicity), by seating them at the front of the class, yet she seemed to ignore the rest. Thus, while observing Nell my data consists of many detailed records of pupils' behaviour and how Nell does or does not respond.

For example:

Two pupils, not working, are fooling about - walking around the room. This is not unusual. Nell was going to leave the room [to get something] but she changes her mind to discipline them. Later, they run around and one throws a book across the room. They threaten each other, hit each other, knock chairs over etc.

(fnnb)

Nell's responses to disruptive behaviour seem to focus on noise and trying to get them to work above other problem behaviours. For example, she tries to get pupils to return items, 'Just give him back his colours so that he can finish his drawing' (fnnb); and threatens to keep individuals in to complete their work, 'I think you two are going to have to stay in my horrible hot classroom a bit longer as you are not working' (fnnb).

Nell says shush frequently or things like, 'Basil we can't think with that noise' (fnnb). and, 'Jimmy, I am sick of that song' (fnnb). Thus, I noted examples such as;

She has to say shush a lot, and at one time she walks up to a group of boys and uses a hand in a downward gesture to quieten them down.

(fnnb)

Nell uses the words 'right' and shush' as signals to get their attention, for instance;

'Right boys, may I have your attention please?' Shush, shush, shush, about 7 times. 'Now! Remember ... ' (The pupils still start to talk again while she is talking and she needs many more shushs to quieten them down.) 'Who is ready for the next sheet?'

(fnnb)

Focussing on what Nell says in class (separated from her behaviour and discipline statements), she frequently makes positive comments about children's work. My data shows that she 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. Thus, it is possible that she deliberately increased her positive comments for my visit and reverted to her usual behaviour as time went on.

For this reason I felt Nell seems to be doing what she is asked to do, and nothing extra. Furthermore, her general attitude towards anything to do with school seems to be reflected in the way she dresses. For example, it appears that she has no interest in what she wears to school. In my field notes I noted that Nell wears loose fitting clothing with no apparent thought to what may look neat, nice or match. Thus, I found it ironic when one day she began to speak about what she thought was an ideal pupil in relation to how they dress for school.

To illustrate her point she drew a caricature of a boy on the board adding arrows pointing to descriptions such as 'tidy hair' and 'neat tie'. The following scene occurred when she added the words 'clean shirt' to her sketch:

... a boy from the back shouts, 'that's insulting, that is.

That's insulting'. [In my notes I added] The other day I noticed the same boy with a very dirty shirt [as if the shirt has been washed without soap].

(fnnb)

Later I noted that;

The boy with the dirty shirt has put his jacket back on, [and judging by his reaction and the furtive looks from other pupils] there seems to be an issue about his clothing.

(fnnb)

Following his outburst, Nell appeared to be unconcerned about the boy's feelings. I also, noted that her behaviour in this case was not unusual, as Nell is usually sarcastic and cynical about most things concerning her pupils.

Her banter with pupils tends to be sarcastic bordering on sadism. For example, on a very hot day when some of the pupils were obviously over heated from playing in the sun, Nell was ignoring a boy who had been asking if he could go out for a drink of water. She stopped him from trying to leave the room and I noted that he had given up asking for water and was;

red in the face and slumped over his desk.

[at the same time]

two other boys are saying, 'Miss, have you got a drink?'
and Nell answers, 'If I had a tall glass of lemonade with ice
tinkling in it, I would drink it all myself'.

(fnnb)

During impromptu conversations, and while I observed her interactions with pupils, Nell demonstrated a lack of interest in most aspects of her profession. However, I noted that in contrast to her general behaviour she complemented pupils as they worked and spoke proudly about the school's Information Technology equipment and the school's programme of extra curricular activities.

As her positivity struck me as out of character, it is possible that she was playing to an audience (me). Also, when she spoke about

what the school offers in the way of information technology and extracurricular activities, she was making a point about what she perceives is a lack of gratitude in the ways most pupils respond to these facilities.

As a final point, as I have explained in chapter 5 I have sought pseudonyms that I felt characterised the teachers. Brown conjures up for me a picture of boredom; and the name Nell (like nil or nothing) I chose to describe someone who doesn't care, or who has given up caring. For, Nell's classes lack that certain something and as she said to a pupil who complained about a lesson:

School is boring
every part about it is boring
poor Barry
anyway
do your work
or I'll keep you in.

(fnnb)

How children learn

Nell identifies three elements to the ways children learn; enjoyment, prior knowledge and understanding how they are progressing. Thus, she says they need to build on previous experience to understand what they are learning. Yet, she says, 'I think they learn best when they are enjoying what they are doing' (gictc). However, she stresses that geography consists of facts; and to learn these facts requires a vocabulary that describes

specific geographic conditions. Thus, she says their potential to understand geographic conditions relates to their prior knowledge of specific geographic terms. Therefore, she says children need to be aware of how they are progressing - accumulating knowledge - adding new facts that relate to the facts they have learned previously. For, she says;

I've got a large group of facts and skills to teach and I think they learn best when the progress is made very clear from one stage to the next so master one skill and then move on and they have to be a little bit like data they have to be secure you can't sort out what is not there.

(gictc)

So, 'with rivers you just keep coming back to the same vocabulary' (gictc). In other words;

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
so you are looking at the aspects for the same thing
so you are building layer upon layer upon layer
until at the end of it hopefully
fingers crossed
they actually have a good deal of knowledge
that is proper

(gictc)

Thus, Nell says learning is a process of adding or building upon basic facts, and emphasises a layering effect to learning. Based on this notion she says she ensures that, 'progress is made clear day to day' (nb). She explains how she uses what she has taught her pupils about flooding to introduce a country from the perspective of rivers. She says having learned about rivers and flooding:

... introduces a country
when you look at flooding in one river
and that introduces this country
when later on
when they meet the country first of all
from the river point of view.

(gictc)

While one pupil confirmed that he could remember learning how a river comes about none could relate to Nell's description of learning about rivers in relation to learning about new countries. In fact, I found that Nell spends very little time explaining or checking their

understanding, and I noted that she regularly misses opportunities to respond to occasions when pupils show interest. When I questioned her about this she replied;

I could be much more active in my teaching and get the children much more involved but we are in a small space with not particularly well disciplined children these boys aren't always motivated to learn and when you give them free rein sometimes they go over the top It's too hard it is too unusual here you do something unusual here and they go ballistic if they had more ... they would settle down to it but they could be far more active and have been in the past in my other school I was more active I am far more didactic than I have ever been.

(nb)

Nell's explanations and descriptions are minimal and she depends on textbooks and videos to deliver the facts that she expects her pupils to learn. The majority of her lessons consist of pupils following exercises in their textbooks or working from worksheets. In the time that I spent observing Nell, I did not observe her develop an argument or invite conversations. Thus, she said things

like, '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). Similarly, she responded to their questions and statements with comments 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).

Nell's lessons don't vary much in style or planning. For example, she focuses each lesson on a list of instructions; and my field notes entries usually begin with; 'The work is on the board and they work from text books as usual' (fnnb), or, 'The Learning objective is written on the board. Nell is consistent with this' (fnnb). As they arrive she points to the board or reads the learning object e.g., 'In this lesson we will learn about the types of energy used in Japan, and draw diagrams to show this' (fnnb). With the expectation that they will settle down and follow her instructions from the board thus:

Pages 74-75.

Use the glossary and write the meanings of the following:

Hydroelectricity, geothermal, nuclear power, solar power.

Make a copy of diagram A on squared paper.

Make a copy of diagram B using a template.

Use diagram and map G and describe where Japan gets energy resources.

Homework - complete worksheet.

(fnnb)

Also, I observed a general trend in that Nell introduces the content of a lesson before her pupils have sat down; with the result that not all the class hear what she is saying. So with lessons starting this way, with pupils walking into the class, talking among themselves, Nell reads from the board and consequently some pupils ask each other what they should be doing; general noise and disruptive behaviour ensues. It seems as though Nell accepts this standard of behaviour and the fact that they ignore her when she speaks to them. Thus, when she is asked to explain something she may ignore them or answer sarcastically. For example, "You don't want to listen to me, so you had better go on working quietly' (fnnb).

Her generally negative responses to pupils may explain why she misses opportunities to teach or expand on something that pupils may find interesting. For example, one day showing a video;

about cooking and collecting wood. A pupil suggests 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'. She makes signs to some pupils to turn around and pay attention to the video.

(fnnb)

Thus, her response to this pupil's suggestion silences him and any other questions, for her attention is on keeping the class quiet while watching the video rather than on the subject of gathering fuel or the concept of sustainable fuel sources. Also, in this instance neither the video nor Nell explained the concept of

sustainability; and judging by the response in the class, I believe the concept meant little to the majority of the pupils.

While, it is clear that there is a general lack of understanding of even simple geographical phenomena (and Nell bemoans the fact), I observed that she misses most opportunities to expand their knowledge.

One occasion, when a pupil put his hand up and (pointing at the boy next to him) said;

'He is frightening me'.

[Nell replies sarcastically],

'You will be alright next week'.

[and shows no interest when he says]

'Miss, he keeps saying there is a fireball in the world'.

(fnnb)

Thus, from observing the way Nell teaches, I find that she believes children learn by building one fact upon another, and that she believes her duty is to introduce facts systematically and to keep strict discipline. This may explain her reasons for ignoring their questions, suggestions and connections to their personal experiences. So, even while she recognises that learning systematically may be boring, she seems unable to engage them differently. Thus, I suspect that Nell actually does believe that enjoyment while learning is not directly related to the content, but to additional elements. For example, she frequently uses videos in

her lessons, without engaging them in relevant discussions of the content.

Thus, all through my observations her lessons lacked moments that teachers so often talk about; for example those moments when something unforeseen sparks off a good lesson of interest and discovery. Thus, I recorded my feelings relating to these matters in my field notes. For it was particularly in Nell's classes that I had to remind myself that I was a researcher, and therefore I needed to stifle my impulse to teach or get excited about a subject.

For example, one day I felt a familiar inner struggle in Nell's classroom as I noted;

Written on the Blackboard is -

The Travels of Marco Polo.

In this lesson we will learn about the life of the explorer Marco Polo.

1. Venice was a busy trading centre in Italy.

(fnnb)

Thus, stifling my impulse to show enthusiasm, I focussed on what was going on in the class, making notes such as, 'There is a special needs class assistant in the class', and, 'They both [special needs assistant and Nell] go around the class helping individual children' (fnnb); when Nell approached me and said, 'This is the bottom of year 7. We are doing the travels of Marco Polo very laboriously, as you can see' (fnnb).

As, Nell had spoken in interviews about rivers with some enthusiasm, I asked some of her pupils if they remembered learning about rivers. Yet, as with my other questions to them when I asked how they thought they learned from each of the three teachers I observed in this school, they were reluctant to say how they learned in Nell's classes. In fact, each time I asked pupils about Nell's teaching, they seemed to want to talk about unfair teachers.

For example, one pupil said;

I mean like
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)

However, trying to be helpful one pupil answered my question saying;

I remember her saying things like
how it could start right high on top of a mountain
and things like that
and it streams into like a lake
into a river that is all I know

a river just gets bigger and bigger and it finds its way right to the ocean.

(ctcp)

Another pupil said he had not learned anything new saying;

I can remember her telling me

but I like knew bits before

I knew it from like science

like once she told me

it weren't nothing new

it was like recapping

like

remembering.

(ctcp)

While a third replied, 'we didn't get on' (ctcp).

Interestingly, Nell had used the same phraseology saying:

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

and that is not right either.

(nb)

Thus, Nell and one of her students suggest that 'getting on' affects learning. Nell described how forming good relationships may need to be facilitated outside of school hours. For instance;

when you take them away on field trips

for example

you again

differ

or you vary

Saturday night with them

treat them all to a coke in the bar and

...that you'd love one...

and they struggling up a mountain

you laughing

because you are puffing

you know

a different relationship again

and that comes back into class

if you do go away like that

and you relax with groups

that

not as strong as that

but some of groups come in

and they want to work

and they want to rest and they want to have a nice time and they are sitting and they want to have a nice time they are not coming in with a negative attitude and you get better lessons they like it you like it it is easier children come and they don't what to be there all they want to do is mess around or talk about each other's parents [insultingly] and fool about different lesson different thing you have to be different.

(nb)

Nell also said, 'you are able to behave differently with the older ones' (nb). Thus, it seems that Nell believes something needs to be different in order to foster good relationships. She explains that she experiences a difference when either the children are older or behave well, or when the environment in which teachers and pupils meet is different. For example, she suggests that by meeting pupils outside school, both she and her pupils could be different, i.e. removed from the school situation. She said that on occasions pupils approached her in a friendly manner.

In Nell's words:

I go to the supermarket
and invariably I meet them
and they usually see me
see my children
and ask after them
even the most obnoxious child in school is incredibly pleasant
when bumped into.

(gictc)

Clearly, Nell finds it difficult to foster good relationships in the classroom.

Differences in the ways children learn

Nell identifies three reasons for differences in the ways children learn, citing changes in their approaches to learning relating to age, gender and cultural experience. For example, she says children of different ages approach learning differently. For example she says younger children learn by, 'copying, imitating, practising' (gictc), and:

the younger ones really do need to have a more practical hold on it

the older ones can understand the concept in theory
that they [younger children] couldn't possible experience or
see

for example

things like anticyclones and depressions

that they would find very difficult.

(gictc)

In regard to differences in the ways each gender responds to learning, Nell says there are differences between the ways girls and boys learn in relation to what motivates them to learn. An example she suggests; 'Girls are more eager to please' (gictc) their teachers, while boys, 'would rather please their friends' (gictc). Yet, she says;

they [both boys and girls] are more eager to please if they going to get lots of rewards they do well then .

(gictc)

While, I was unable to observe Nell teaching girls, she seems to have more affection for them; for she says she misses them and clearly she has little sympathy for the boys in her classes. Yet, in her ruminations she clearly states that all children respond well to rewards. Thus, it may be that, as Nell seems unable to include an element of reward or the motivation to learn in her subject matter, she is overwhelmed by behaviour problems in her classes. Consequently, she resorts to direct and indirect punitive action to enforce motivation to learn.

Central to this anomaly, is that Nell claims children learn best when they are enjoying themselves but she cannot seem to find a way to ensure that her pupils enjoy learning in her classes. Also, she seems

to think that in secondary education children require added rewards to be motivated. In other words, rewards other than discovery or pleasure derived from learning.

In interview she agreed with her colleagues that the absence of enjoyment in learning in secondary education may relate to changes in the ways they are taught when she said that children in primary school can be excited about learning. She made this plain when she described how:

in primary school they were so excited about Egyptians they were really really really excited about it and they learnt all sorts of extra things and found out more

I don't get that kind of enthusiasm across the board here.

(gictc)

Thus, it appears that Nell believes that the motivational aspect of learning in primary school relates to the subject; and that when they move into secondary education general pleasure in learning something new is no longer possible. She blames the present system; i.e. a different style of curriculum delivery in secondary education for their lack of interest in learning.

Finally, on this issue of enjoying learning, Nell added that most of the pupils in the school are not motivated to learn unless they see that 'it leads to a job' (gictc). However, from observing pupils in class and questioning them, it is not clear that this is the case. It is

more likely that pupils use this argument as a protest when they don't relate to, or enjoy a subject.

Nell complains that many pupils are discouraged from learning when their cultural background or cultural experience has not included what she calls dependency points. She gives two examples to support her point. First, she relates how learning about something may have positive results if it relates to an experience, and secondly she explains how a lack of previous knowledge due to cultural differences or social deprivation may have negative effects on interest in learning. Thus, she says when;

they are interested in the world around them

interested in questioning

and inquiring

and thinking about what goes on

you know

[for example] the child who comes to me and says,

'Did you see about that volcano last night?

Brill [sic] wasn't it?

just like you said.'

that...

the child whose mum and dad came to the parents evening after I had been doing coasts

he had spent the whole holiday lecturing them on how this beach was formed

I've given them information

but it is not only...

have taken on board and learnt for exams
they have really got proud of it
and they are telling everyone else
so they have really taken hold of that
that sort of thing
where they really understand
and enjoy the knowledge
enjoy sharing the knowledge as well.
one of the things the boys find difficult
is their lack of wider experience
of reference
to social backgrounds
that out of teaching coasts and coastal land forms
and I discovered three of the boys in the group had never
seen the sea

[...]

I expected to see the beach to be within common experience but it wasn't

so the learning style meant that they were learning that which should have been practical with some dependency points

remember how

and all that sort of thing about the beach

and it was a completely abstract concept

you see

(gictc)

Thus, Nell makes it clear how when pupils lack experience in their personal lives, they cannot progress in their learning. Thus;

I think it affects their learning

because they

they haven't got that experience-base that you expect them

to have

so you end up

well in fact

tanners

yesterday we discussed medieval surnames

tanners

who makes leather?

the leather is used for things like saddles

what's a saddle?

what was the point of the lesson?

it wasn't for children who didn't know what a saddle was.

(gictc)

In a later interview she said;

I don't think many of them have got much recognition of it

much understanding

they live in a very small world

a few streets long and a few streets wide

and the thought of somebody living somewhere else and living

a different life is hard enough

some children will never understand the significance of it

whereas it is not part of the national curriculum particularly

only the concept which is sustainable development sort of I deviate when we do this sort of thing so you have to make sure you are focusing in on your job so you have to be careful you can get side tracked and not teaching that sort of thing and that is just within the context of studying a country and don't sort of hang on to that too much it crops up and we deal with it and we move on

(nb)

Thus, Nell describes different ways children learn according to age, gender and cultural background. She gives examples of why she believes age, gender and culture are preconditions to the quality of learning. In interview she described her experiences of enthusiasm for learning in primary school children and girls. However, for boys and cultural experiences, her examples are generally negative. She seems to identify problems when asked about the different ways children learn, focussing on:

a lack of prior knowledge, interest in her subject; and an interest in learning;

as problems.

boys;

(r)

However, she also presents a picture of lassitude when questioned about how she adapts to her pupils' needs. For example, she suggests more money for education and specialist provision for difficult pupils, may improve general interest and enthusiasm for learning in her classes. In Nell's words;

there are some people who don't want to be in school and continuously go from lesson

to lesson

to lesson

sabotaging lessons

and there are a number of boys that do that

they are tiresome

and they are not fair

and they are not fair on other students

actually they need special provision

and they are not getting special provision

and that's

they're not doing them a particular service

and they not doing other students a service

so yes

I wish they could be somewhere appropriate

so they couldn't stop other children from learning.

(nb)

Morality

Unlike other teachers in this study, Nell says very little about morality or what she understands about morality. For example, in a

group interview she said, 'it has got to be knowing right from wrong I would think (gictc), and she found it easier to talk about morality in terms of good behaviour in school. She avoided my questions about her personal understanding of morality and preferred to make fun of the so-called moral code among the pupils. Thus, she spoke of morality in terms of, 'knowing right from wrong', and 'being good' (gictc; nb). Also I found that when she speaks about children being good she seems to assume that being good is understood universally and simply needs to be taught. Thus, Nell presents a view of morality that is based on obedience, rules and subservience rather than an inner, self-motivated activity such as conscience. However, listening to her colleagues discussing their views she added comments like, 'and building a conscience within you' and 'so that you judge for yourself I would say; and having a conscience to judge' (gictc). Yet, examining what she means by conscience, I found she was describing behaviour that may be described as obedient, compliant or self-controlled.

Thus, as Nell was less forthcoming about her personal understanding of morality I looked at moral issues in the context of her lessons and how she behaves towards pupils, to explore her underlying beliefs. I noted that Nell frequently makes reference to ethical problems concerning trade and exploitation of people in the third world, and I noticed that she wore a silver chain brooch. (I learned from another teacher in the school that the brooch advertises a campaign calling for the cancellation of third world debt.)

My reasons for thinking that Nell is not genuinely concerned about these ethical issues are based on a number of facts that came to light during my observations of her and other teachers in the school. Furthermore, it is likely that she may have emphasised these issues in her classes for my benefit. For I found that some events in her classes, and what she later revealed to me, seemed to describe her underlying moral perspective. However, before presenting my evidence for my supposition some background information is required here.

One of Nell's colleagues (see the following case study on Christine White) has been solely responsible for involving the school in a helping partnership with a school in Kenya; and for some of the pupils visiting Kenya, and bringing pupils from Kenya to visit this CTC. Many of the staff make reference to the project, and it is held up as an example of positive race relations, and the school's benevolent involvement with people in less fortunate conditions. In effect, I heard proud comments about the school's contact with Kenya in the staff room, in informal conversations and at a school evening for parents. Also, examples of simple Kenyan household wares, made from recycled materials, are prominently displayed in the school entrance.

However, when Nell brought some of these Kenyan articles into class she seemed to have nothing to say about them; and her pupils seemed unimpressed. In fact some laughed at the naivety of the items. Nell seemed to be embarrassed by their behaviour, yet later

she admitted that she has little personal interest in the Kenyan project, third world debt and any of the ethical issues she has to teach, saying:

it comes very low in the domestic and the work and all the rest of the stuff.

(nb)

Furthermore, 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).

Thus, from by her general behaviour towards pupils and her admissions about her lack of concern for others, it appears that Nell has a rule-based concept of morality. In other words, her understanding of morality does not seem to focus on care for others. Thus, when she talks about 'being good' and 'knowing right from wrong' she focuses on obedience and respect for authority and property. Furthermore, her view of how children develop morally (see the following section) appears to be consistent with my assumptions of Nell's underlying view of morality.

How children learn morally

Nell says children develop moral judgement some time towards the later part of childhood. She says they learn to make these judgements by others setting an example; and from instruction. She suggests that instruction consists of learning what the

consequences are for certain actions. Thus, learning about the possible consequences of their behaviour takes time, and it is likely that little children will be less likely to anticipate negative consequences resulting from their behaviour. For this reason;

... with little children you don't expect them to judge do you? [Yet] as they get older you expect them to make their own decisions and [know] all about the consequences.

(gictc)

Thus, she says children learn morally when adults, 'point out their faults to them; the error of their ways' (gictc). As well as making it clear to them that, 'misbehaviour will lead to such and such' (gictc). It is likely that Nell sees her role in children's moral learning limited to how they behave in school and not to bigger issues in life. For, she talks about moral learning in terms of children learning to be good; and by this she seems to mean learning to;

- · obey schools rules,
- · do as they are told without question; and
- not cause disruption in class.

For example, (laughing as she speaks) she said;

I encourage bottom-year-seven pupils at the moment

I encourage them to - be - good

You encourage them

To - be - good [loudly emphasising each word].

(gictc)

While she jokingly uses the word encourage, she implies threats and punishment. Thus, she believes that bottom-year-seven will learn to behave well in class when they have learned to fear the consequences of disruptive behaviour. In my observations of her classes she threatens pupils with punishments by stating the school behaviour policy, and the procedures she is entitled to apply. Also, she spoke sarcastically when pupils protested their innocence and on three occasions she stood by as pupils were threatened and verbally abused by other teachers. On two of these occasions she did not enlighten teachers that they were disciplining an innocent pupil. For example, I observed a teacher shouting loudly in the face of a boy as he cowered against the wall, when both Nell and I knew that the wrong child was being severely chastised. The reason she gave him later was, 'Well it was you last time' (fnnb). However, there may be a reason why she does not interfere, as I saw this kind of unreasonable and unfair chastisement of pupils in other situations with different teachers involved. For example, it may be that teachers feel obliged to support each other in disciplining situations.

Yet, from her own behaviour she appears to support (and deliver) harsh treatment and punishment. It may be that she believes that witnessing discipline and chastisement serves as examples of consequences pupils can expect for any unacceptable behaviour in school: and that emphasising unpleasant consequences takes priority over actual guilt. Furthermore, it is likely that she has not equated

her own behaviour with her views on moral learning - especially with regard to setting an example.

On numerous occasions Nell said she believed children learn from positive examples. In the company of her colleagues she said that children learn morally, 'By setting example yourself' (gictc); and in a final interview, when I asked her what teachers can do to help children to learn to tell the truth she replied, 'By example I should think' (nb). Yet, in other interviews and informal conversations she seemed incapable of describing examples of positive teacher behaviour in this context. For instance, explaining how she deals with pupils who lie to her, she describes how she confronts them. Thus, what she describes (and from my observations of the example she sets) is mainly of power-assertiveness. In other words, adults have the right to chastise pupils when they are suspected of lying, or any other misdemeanour: and her actions show that she believes teachers have a position of indisputable authority, regardless of the situation.

Similarly, Nell's stated views and her behaviour in dealing with the problems of lying differ, as she says it may be unreasonable to expect them to tell the truth in a culture where leading individuals lie or blatantly avoid the truth. In fact, on numerous occasions when I questioned her about what teachers can do to set positive examples for children she blamed politicians. For example;

I suppose they see so much lying in society politicians

they lie all the time don't they?

and if they don't they twist their words
a good liar gets on very well in our society
it is virtually impossible I would think
so to get children to tell the truth
they have to be rewarded to tell the truth
and to own up
and those very sort of old fashioned things
plus to start at a very young age.

(nb)

Similarly, she blamed the design of the school for pupils' problem behaviour, saying:

I wish I could get the children to line up on the corridor and walk in quietly
when I have a class lined up nobody else can move so that's a fault
simply the mechanism
to have class walk in quietly is denied
by a layout in the school
simple thing like that
if I have a class lining up it is mayhem
it blocks the corridor
you can't do that
so you have got to send them straight in
which means you have got all the corridor movement
it is tedious really.

(nb)

Thus, Nell blames a range of external issues; the conditions in school, a lack of positive examples in society, and parents:

they [pupils] don't get guidance

from some of their parents

I think very limited

and I think with some of the children

I think we are amazingly important

trying to turn them into the sort of adults we'd like them to

be

but I don't know how successful we are with all of them

some of them

the odds are stacked against us

to such an extent

unless we have one-to-one with them

I don't think we can make a difference.

(gictc)

Furthermore, from observing Nell's treatment of children in her classes and the fact that she did not seem to concerned about overly harsh treatment given by other teachers, she seems to accept a general punitive approach. In fact she blamed the pupils for the standard of moral behaviour in the school. For example;

if they could set their own layer of conscience here they'd hang people

[...]

they would ex - e - cute.

(gictc)

In interview Nell was highly amused when she and her colleagues bantered about the pupils' antisocial behaviour and described a hidden moral code set by the pupils. For example, bantering with colleagues she said pupils consider stealing handbags as unpardonable, while stealing from each other, lying to adults and hurting each other is considered okay. Later when I questioned her about this so-called 'pupils' moral code' she was less cynical:

they wouldn't want anyone to know that they had done anything wrong so they wouldn't want to do it themselves they want to do right they have got a strong moral code within them which hasn't been taught in school it comes from their home

I would think no they just don't do wrong very very very well behaved continuously and sometimes they are yobs.

(nb)

Thus, while she says some pupils are well behaved, she may justify a general punitive approach; as occasionally some pupils may behave in the way she describes as being yobs. How the pupils feel about the ways they are treated were made clear in the way they had

difficulty in answering any of my questions and identifying how they learn morally from most of teachers in this school.

In my reflections on what they said when given the opportunity to speak about their experiences of learning, I noted;

- 1. The boys have so many grievances that it is difficult to get appropriate answers from them.
- 2. Every question reminds them of a grievance.
- 3. One boy expects to be told what is right and wrong, and doesn't like the reprimands before knowing the rules.
- 4. The children have no voice to disagree with the rules.

(r)

Concluding Thoughts

Nell's behaviour clearly contradicts her statements about how children learn morally; and she contradicts her own views when she intimates that children learn about ethical problems in geographic studies through her facilitation of their empathic responses in her lessons. For example, in interview she talked about devoting time to role-play to facilitate empathy, yet her lessons consisted of information (text books, lists on the board, brief descriptions and videos), essays and worksheets. During the showing of a video explaining the causes of third world debt, she said to me;

That is edging on the immoral isn't it? They paid advisors to come from Europe. But Kenya is still paying for it [as if the thought has just occurred to her or pleased that she is teaching something is of interest to me. Directing her next

comment to the class she said] It is not like shopping at Marks & Spencers where you can get a refund.

(fnnb)

However, after this she did not engage the pupils in discussion, nor did she explain what she meant by her comments, and the lesson ended before the video came to an end. I was left wondering how many of her pupils understood this lesson. Furthermore, if they are able to feel the empathy they are expected to feel being taught this way. Nell admits to being unconcerned about the moral or ethical issues she introduces into their lessons, and these ethical issues in the geography curriculum may come into what she thinks is trivia.

Thus, Nell may not believe in the positive effects of experiencing empathy in moral learning, as she seems to lack the empathy she expects of others. For example, she cites positive adult behaviour as influential in moral learning, her pupils are confronted regularly by a lack of empathy, reprimands, sarcasm and power-assertiveness. Thus, it may be that Nell depends on children having more skills in forming good relationships with adults for her to have good relationships with her pupils.

As, she implied that she has had good teaching relationships when she spoke about missing teaching girls; and the social benefits of fieldtrips and meeting pupils outside school, I had to keep reminding myself that her apparently uncaring, casual attitude may

be a sign of stress; and that she may be overwhelmed by problem behaviour in this school. Furthermore, if she ever thought that she could make a difference to her pupils' moral learning through positive examples; she has since given up. So that now her tacit or underpinning belief is that children learn morally from learning to fear consequences of adults' anger and their powers to punish. Furthermore, she may believe that persons other than herself and her colleagues are responsible for setting positive examples for moral learning (for example parents, government and leading figures). Also, as she described morality as 'learning to be good', she may simply expect more compliant behaviour from pupils, and more support from their parents.

Ignoring my perceptions of Nell's hidden beliefs in how children learn and learn morally, in interview she appears to be well informed of theories of learning and moral learning or development. Yet, observing the way she interacts with children, I wondered if prior to this investigation she had given any thought to the ways children learn at school. For, it may be that she has not reflected on the ways she may be influencing the ways that they learn (by her attitudes and behaviour); and for this reason the things that she says differ from the things she does.

Finally, it may be that there is an estrangement between teachers and pupils in this school; and that the teachers on the whole are not reflecting on their own behaviour in relation to their pupils' behaviour and moral learning. This being so, the pupils may not feel

that their teachers have a role in their moral learning: and for this reason when I asked pupils how they thought they learned morally from Nell they seemed unable to answer my questions.

One pupil said he could not identify any way that he learned about right or wrong from any of the teachers in the school:

... because

you know yourself what is right from wrong so they can't teach you you know inside like.

(ctcp)

Case study 9 - Christine White Special Support Teacher in a City Technology College

Christine has been a teacher for approximately 20 years. In her present position she is the named teacher responsible for seventy-seven pupils for whom English is a second language in secondary technology school for boys.

Christine has teaching responsibilities as well as total responsibility for the assessments of her pupils' specific educational needs, and reports to the Local Educational Authority (LEA). Thus, her days include assisting in classes (covering a wide range of subjects), teaching individuals and small groups in her classroom, seeing her tutor group, facilitating library sessions, break duties, and an enormous amount of administration.

Added to this Christine extends her responsibilities in a number of ways. For example, she arranges and cares for all the displays in shared areas, and organises recycling in the school. She has set up a mentoring scheme, a continuing programme of guest speakers (referred to as Library Talks), and a helping partnership with a school in Kenya. During lunch hours and breaks (when she is not on break-duty), a number of pupils (not necessarily assigned to her) seek refuge in her classroom, and after school some pupils come for help with their homework. She visits pupils (recently arrived in the UK) in their homes and takes them on cultural excursions - in some

cases these excursions include whole families. She also told me that she has befriended pupils' families (not permitted in her job description) and helped them with accommodation, furniture and equipment; and personally raised funds for pupils to visit Kenya and vice versa.

From our first meeting Christine graciously accepted the encumbrance of me following her around. I noted, 'Christine always opens the door for me, or holds it as I go through (fncw). I soon realised that she was overworked and that my presence adding to her burden. However, the only time she asked me to make a break in my observations, was when she was preparing for an inspection by OFSTED (Office For Standards In Education).

On first appearances Christine is gentle and ladylike; she is well groomed and smartly dressed. Yet, she is tenacious, hard working and resilient. She told me she had challenged an immigration rule on behalf of a pupil's family, and that when she taught Aboriginal children in Australia she told the Head Master that:

"...it was ridiculous teaching them how to make Quiche Lorraine, when they lived in houses without air-conditioning". Meaning they would never have an opportunity to make pastry in that temperature. The Head Master told her she could have more time with them to develop a more appropriate curriculum. So, [she said that] she taught them about life; and has fond memories of sitting in the playground, eating termites.

(dnctc)

When, I asked Christine how much work she does beyond the hours stipulated in her job description, she laughed saying;

Hours

Hours

and hours

I don't have a social life at the moment.

(cw)

However, her only regret is the amount of administration expected of her, saying;

I don't think I ever regret spending the time with the children

the regret is paperwork

I feel half the time never gets read

that's the regret of my time

I do it because I think the students benefit

and I get to know the students better

and usually it is quite fun anyway

so I have got to like doing it.

(cw)

Although, she spoke enthusiastically about how she enjoys seeing her pupils benefit from her efforts, Christine feels she is being exploited by the senior management of the school. One day, after I had turned off my tape recorder she confided a list of grievances: and spoke at length about the way her initiatives were appropriated for other purposes.

Later I noted some of her grievances in my diary:

- The Kenyan twinning project appears in the teachers' handbooks, yet she is shocked to see it is not in the school development plan.
- She has funded trips to Kenya, and the school benefits from it.
- A promise had been made to sponsor two students' travel (one Kenyan student and one CTC), but there is no money to pay for the supervising adult
- Things that she has set up in the school have been good things, but the way they are slightly changed devalues the original purpose.
- She is very upset that the Head has hijacked her library talks for industry related talks because of the coming OFSTED inspections.
- She has taken years to write a programme for ethnic minority students. It has appeared in print with no reference to her as the author; also she is worried about not getting her large file returned.
- She believes that children's work should be displayed at all time, but it only seems to be appear for an inspection.

(dnctc)

Although she disguises it well, Christine may be depressed; for she sighed regularly during interviews; especially when my open

questions gave her an opportunity to complain. Yet, she simply sighed and answered, carefully avoiding a direct complaint.

I found that in everything she says and does, Christine appears to have extraordinary humility and integrity. She seems to be able to be consistently calm, respectful and polite, positive and hardworking; even in very difficult circumstances. For example, when she is assisting in classes I found her to be adept at judging just the right level for her contribution to the teaching: meaning that she is more proactive when she sees gaps in the other teacher's contribution, without seeming to imply that the other teacher is being negligent. This means that she seldom addresses the whole class in the presence of another teacher. However, when the subject matter seems to be racially or culturally biased, she will add a sentence that seems to make the content more relevant to a range of ethnic origins. Yet, she does not appear to criticise or usurp the authority of the other teacher in the room. Characteristically, Christine sighed when I asked her about assisting, and replied, 'they have so many new teachers, but she cannot partner teach with them, 'as you have got to trust each other (fncw).

Before she described her assisting behaviour from the point of building trust, I had begun to question her feelings about her colleagues. For, at times I thought she colluded with outrageous, self-serving, cynical teachers by not intervening in some way. I had also found it painful to observe Christine trying to improve

conditions in lessons where teachers gave lessons that were pedantic, boring and confusing. For, in many of these lessons pupils talked among themselves, caused disruption and made inappropriate comments about the content: while Christine moved around the class trying to divert their energies into something useful. (At times she simply brought them a book to read). Thus, later I thought that she has found a way to help these pupils to accept the status quo.

Also, it may be that Christine feels that in time she will be able to make a difference to her colleagues, as well as to the learning conditions for the children. However, in the present climate pupils may be confused by the disparity between the ways adults treat them in this school. As one pupil tried to explain:

the best teacher for helping you to learn is the teacher you can get on with like ... they can have like ... they can joke good personalities makes jokes they can joke with you and keep it like ... they don't have to shout to get to you whereas like other teachers like naming no names that they can that like ... to shout to get things across to you

like miss White if like say you was doing something wrong she wouldn't shout at you 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 yea [agreement from another pupil] and when somebody is like shouting people like start to get like noisy yea [agreement from another pupil] back to them like they don't want to like listen to her somebody bees like nice they don't want to disrespect her like when miss White says something someone don't want to like ... try and tell her that they not going to do it.

(ctcp)

In the following record of a lesson, Christine maintained a calm approach at all times, even though the atmosphere in the room was

charged with anger and distress for the entire duration. In this case there was a supply teacher in the room, but I witnessed similar situations in classes with permanent staff. As Christine and I entered the class in question I noted that;

The supply teacher is very short tempered and angryeven aggressive. He is shouting quite a lot. [No! he was
shouting all the time.] Christine is doing her best to calm the
situation. She uses 'touch' and 'interest in the pupil' to get
them settled. [The supply teacher stood at one end of the
room shouting at the top of his voice while 9 pupils sat on the
other side muttering comments, as they received a thorough
dressing down.] He [the supply teacher] comes over to shout
very loudly at the boy Christine is helping. It is very strange
that he is intervening in something that she is managing. The
boys are very nervous, they laugh and argue. The supply
teacher gets more and more upset. He has now sent for the
Head.

(fncw)

[At this point,] two boys walk in and Christine asks them if they have, 'come in with the letter', (This is about a letter that has come from another teacher requesting that some other boys come to do something in her class), she says 'are you two going?' [Implying that they may be wise to leave, she asks] 'You want to go?' The boys are now going. Things are moving very fast. [As the Deputy Head enters, she looks around in annoyance] Christine tells the Deputy Head that

Kieran was the problem. But it ends up with her shouting at the wrong boy, saying he had been rude. She bends down, her face close to the 'wrong boy' as she shouts. Then, she calms down and talks to the other boys about their work. [They do not reply.]

I am shocked at the situation, and when the D. Head has gone Christine asks the boy who was falsely accused, how his mother is. He replies, 'she has to have more tests.' He looks worried. Christine says, 'when you know more, please tell me.' 'Why?' he says, 'You don't know my mum.' 'Yes I do.' 'How?, Oh yes.' 'And I have spoken to her on the phone.' [Christine adds]

[A boy walks in, and smiles when he sees Christine.] The supply teacher comes over and aggressively tells him to take his bag off, and shouts now very loudly in his face. The boy is shaken. I think Christine is shocked too. Christine keeps on being her cool, reserved self.

(fncw)

When I tried to get Christine to comment on this lesson and situations like this, she avoided answering. Yet, it is clear that she is disturbed by the incidents of unjust treatment that she witnesses in this school. In fact, except for the one occasion when she poured out her frustrations, she avoided criticising anyone. Instead she spoke about the way she chooses to solve problems, and described her approach as 'caring and sharing (cw)...

Thus, it is clear that in most lessons where Christine assists another teacher, she is engaged in a harm reduction exercise. For, I have observed her trying to improve the atmosphere in many lessons 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). However, I was unable to find out if she was doing anything else to improve the situation.

Nevertheless, she may be trying to set an example of good teacher behaviour for her colleagues by being 'caring and sharing' in all her school relationships. For, Christine frequently uses the phrase 'caring and sharing'. She referred to herself as 'a caring and sharing (cw). kind of person, and told me she had recently employed a mentor who was 'a caring and sharing (cw). man (implying that there is something unusual in this). Also, she describes the charities she supports, her initiatives within the school, and the ethos of mentoring schemes as 'caring and sharing'. For example, Christine implies that there are some people who care and some that don't. She believes events in her life confirm her caring nature. For example, she described how a visit to Dachau affected her life:

I really was quite young and that was really ...

and being the age I am now

It was not long after the war really

but that was just

I couldn't believe ...

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my parents took me when I was fifteen and my sister was thirteen it must have been very powerful it was seeing the photographs of piles of spectacles and and the fact that there were no birds there were no birds there were no ... and it was all very eerily calm and around the town of Dachau or the village they had bunting sort of flags out saying this is us but what happened there had nothing to do with us and it was ... it was ... T don't know it has kind of lived with me.

She also said that she cannot remember not caring for others:

my old headmistress would say

that I would support kids I felt were the underdog

the ones who were not necessarily ever

going to make it academically

but would be socially disadvantaged

I have always been interested in that

I suppose

but why

I don't know.

(cw)

Thus, she says she feels driven to work for;

people having free speech and being able to live their lives to the full in all sorts of ways.

(cw)

Clearly, Christine is dedicated to the added factors of giving, caring and sharing that she brings to her job. In this way she incorporates her personal missions (race relations, human rights and environmental issues) in her work. These issues are reflected in many of her actions. For example, as she moves around the school premises, she repairs or removes spoiled displays, picks up litter, greets children by name, shows interest in what they say, laughs at their jokes, intervenes rather shouts when they fight, and conserves materials.

Observing and interviewing Christine I was struck by how determined she is to devote her life to doing what she thinks is right and good: for in different times she may have been described as a ministering angel or a saint. Unlike other teachers that I spoke to in this school, Christine appears personally fulfilled by the extra effort she adds to her work. Thus, when I sought an appropriate pseudonym to describe her, I decided on the name Christine White, for it conjures up images of selflessness for me.

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However, Christine may be single-minded and self-absorbed in her mission to be, and do good. For, 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 (see previous case study). Yet, Christine seems determined to persevere and says;

I give a lot of myself
but I don't know why
cause that's just me
that's the way I think I have always been.

(cw)

How Children Learn

Christine identifies a number of ways children learn. She says that in general children learn from watching others, thus;

... a lot of them learn by example they learn by example when they watch their peers so they copy peers they copy adults.

(cw)

However:

Within a classroom they would learn by practising something

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so to learn something particular in English it's through being instructed and then practising it and then positive feedback from the teacher through discussion you resort to ways of learning things through discussion through reading other people's experiences.

(cw)

Christine pointed out that children may need to abandon a specific learning strategy (unlearn). For, until they have replaced an inappropriate strategy with an appropriate one, their attempts at learning something will continue to fail. In other words, 'you try to undo what they have learnt (cw). Citing an example of how children are taught to read in the rural areas of the Caribbean:

they don't know the sound of the letters
so when they read a word they don't understand
or they feel they haven't ever read before
they will say the letter name
and then from that
they guess what the word is
so they don't do it phonetically at all
and that causes them big problems.

(cw)

Much of Christine's teaching involves improving reading skills, yet she does not restrict their reading to specific reading schemes.

Observing her working, I saw her asking questions about poems, posters and lists on the walls in her classroom, as well as asking her pupils to read forms and preambles to work sheets. Each time she directed their attention to reading something, she seemed to show genuine interest in what they said. Similarly, while assisting in lessons she regularly pointed to words in their books, and asked them what they thought of the content.

Christine seems to be able to create an environment where reading can be enjoyable. Pupils seek her out to practise their reading. As two pupils described;

[1st pupil] we used to come here at lunch times and she used to help us read ...

[2nd pupil] basically we find a book or we bring a book in and we show it to miss and ask her if we practise reading and she will say yea ...

[1st pupil] she will say yes and basically we start reading like a group ...

(ctcp)

Thus, it is clear that encouragement and building confidence are her main strategies in teaching reading. This is evident in her genuine interest, rather than making expressive verbal responses of encouragement. For Christine tends to be economical in her

verbalisations. I noted too that she holds back from prompting when pupils hesitate over a word. Thus, they may feel her encouragement by the fact that she is genuinely listening.

One pupil said;

her tone of voice is like different when she speaks it is like a soft ... a comfort like her voice is like a happy...

another said

it is just the way she like speaks
say like you do spelling mistake
she like show 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)

Differences In The Ways Children Learn

Christine cites different ways children seem to learn at different ages. For example, she says younger children learn by imitating and repeating, and older children learn by discussing and formulating ideas. However she added that very young children imitate adults, while later they imitate their peers.

In Christine's words;

they copy more when they are younger
they copy adults more when they are younger
and as they get older they copy their peer group more.

(cw)

For this reason when she is with younger children her teaching involves more opportunities to practise skills, because she says they love learning by repetition. So;

you practise

I would think the younger they are the more you practise so they learn ...

I mean nursery rhymes are repetitive things when they are younger rather than when they are older they do love things repeating.

(cw)

For the same reason, she focuses on discussions with older children, as they enjoy expressing their own ideas. Thus, Christine believes in:

[...] more discussion work
more conversations
as they grow older
and drama
perhaps would help
more drama
I think drama is important

but

it is not seen as an important part within in this establishment

by everybody

but I do think you teach them a lot by giving them drama getting them to formulate their ideas.

(cw)

However, Christine says she has observed differences in levels of confidence in her pupils; especially when it comes to expressing their ideas. For example, she told me that in a free expression situation such as drama, Asian pupils are more reserved; and that after Year Nine most pupils seem to become self-conscious. Also that:

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

as I never liked it as a child either [Christine laughs]

so I don't know whether I was well taught

but then I have sympathy

drama

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but I do feel that we ought to do it as part of the English thing

we do drama

yes I think it is on

partly cultural I think

and also how much confidence the child has

the child is a confident child

they like drama

and if they're not

they perhaps tend to like it less

yes I don't know whether it is an age thing

I think younger children

you can get them to do almost anything

you ask the older

they get the more self-conscious they become

and less that they want to be involved perhaps with it

Year Eights will still do it

I think Nines are beginning to change a bit

and it is very much peer pressure I think

has a lot to do with it

but I would say that Year Nine

T think some of them

different ages for some of them

but they are not all growing up at the same rate really

I think it hits some of them earlier than others

so I think about Year Nine.

(cw)

However, Christine claims motivation is a prime cause of the differences in the ways children learn. These differences are due to influences such as peer pressure, parental expectations, cultural traditions, and inherent gender-based interests. For example, boys and girls have different tastes in literature, '[boys] like reading factual books-boys are not so keen on fiction' (cw). Also, girls are;

more worried about parental acceptance of what they do and they learn from parents

and I would think perhaps for boys

it is more peers

but then I've got no basis for saying this

except that what I ...

the boys seem to be more bothered about peer pressure

I think

than the girls are

and the girls are more

um

work focussed

some of them

and I think that shows in the GCSE results

where girls are outstripping boys in every single subject

now whether it is the independence of women

the fact that we have got careers makes a difference

I don't know

but boys I think

it is more peer pressure.

(cw)

In addition, she notices differences in attitudes to learning of boys or girls of different cultures, which she suspects are due to the differences in parental involvement in the specific cultures. For example:

Asian students are made to learn ...

here at the moment

particularly the Gudgurati Urdu speakers

and the Punjabi to a certain extent

Bangladeshi students less so

because the parents make them learn

they are made to go to the mosque

because all those students are actually Muslims

and they are made to go to the mosques

and they are made to learn by their parents

so they ...

there is a big emphasis on learning

[...]

[However] because they have come from a totally different culture into England

African Caribbean students I think

although for the parents education is very important

and that they

many of them

tend to see that the learning side is to do with the school

the school are the experts

and therefore they take a step back

it is very much a matriarchal society

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so therefore the men [African Caribbean] are less involved with education

although we are trying to make them more so and therefore some of the boys

I don't know whether they rebel

I don't think they see actually

education as important

as perhaps girls would do

in the same culture [African Caribbean]

and I think exam results show that

but it is a very much matriarchal

and

Grandma is really important

and as the families are becoming less

they are more

they are becoming more nuclear

less extended

they have not got the same support

I don't think.

(cw)

Thus, Christine says gender and culture differences may explain why;

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
I think it is a gender
it is a gender and cultural thing

However, Christine believes this status quo may change; particularly when cultural differences become less diverse. In the meanwhile, attitudes and lifestyles within different cultural backgrounds seem to explain why:

African Caribbean boys are less interested in reading than some of the Asian boys and that is perhaps

I don't know due to going out more to the social side of life and girls in the Asian household tend to be more at home and therefore perhaps they read more

um

yes perhaps the stronger parental guidance for most of them not for every single one and

I think interesting to see what happens with the next generation coming through because some of these are only second generation some are first generation but some are second and I think as you get the third generation

fourth generation things may alter.

(cw)

Furthermore, differences in motivation, attitudes and genderbased differences in learning may be entirely due to cultural and traditional differences. For, she says;

Caribbean students don't have a lower reading age than their counterparts

but those coming straight from the Caribbean

have low reading ages

like some of our students that are special needs students and some of the students coming from the Caribbean wouldn't be special needs students if they were ...

they were taught to read properly.

(cw)

Finally, although Christine felt she could not comment on a range of different learning styles, she implied that using different methods (a range of different activities) will ensure that a range of learning styles are met. So that, by changing the activity she aims to hold their attention for the whole lesson. Therefore, she tries to, 'do five different things within each lesson' (cw). Listing different ways she teaches reading Christine said she uses methods such as:

listening to the teacher,

listening to each other in pairs,

listening to each other in groups,

read their own work,

read their friend's work,

read somebody else's writing,

reading newspapers and so on,

they feedback,

there is lots of discussion,

[and practising] personal writing from different styles.

(cw)

Thus, her approach to teaching seems to be based primarily on ensuring that children feel good about themselves and their abilities. In fact, in everything she does, she appears to be trying to raise their self-esteem. For example, she takes a deep interest in the personal lives of her pupils, as well as many other children in the school. This is evident in the questions she asks them, and the way they respond to her. I noted that generally pupils respond well to her requests, take note of her advice, and show disappointment when lessons come to an end. Thus, it may be that when Christine shows interest in these pupils they feel willing to learn. Also, they feel rewarded for trying, as clearly her interest in what they do and her personal regard for them, is experienced as genuine.

Morality

Christine initially described morality in terms of rules that are common to all cultures. For example, before a scheduled interview;

Christine began to speak about what she felt was necessary for an ordered life; and she said that the Ten Commandments

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were what she upheld. She said that all cultures are similar and they all have the same kind of rules.

(dnctc)

Later she explained:

if you look at it from religious points of view although every religion is different the fundamentals are the same so you don't

lie

steal

um

kill

do all the other things the Koran or Bible or any other religious book would say there is a common thread throughout the whole issue.

(cw)

She explains why she believes rules are necessary, saying;

I think there is a set of rules

In order that you can live with other people

I don't think it matters where in the world you are

Whether you are living in a desert or a rain forest

there has to be rules.

(cw)

Christine explained her reasons for thinking rules are necessary, because she believes that expecting people to be morally self-motivated may be wishful thinking. Thus, she says morality needs to be based on:

Personal rules

national rules

or group rules

otherwise I don't think it works

it would be nice if everybody had their own separate morality within

that binds people to do the right thing.

(cw)

It is clear that Christine does not consider the possible problem of different interpretations of right and wrong being fundamentally different in different cultures. Furthermore, her strong belief in common values across cultures is linked to her belief in equality across cultures and what is right (or wrong). She also believes she has a strong conviction of what she believes is right; and she said morality is, 'what you see as right and wrong - what you perceive is right and wrong (cw).; and includes any form of discrimination against individuals and different ethnic groups as fundamentally wrong.

Christine told me that she has a strong sense of what is right and wrong, and expects people to recognise it in her. She said when she;

was given a questionnaire by the LEA [on a similar theme], she found it strange having to fill in a questionnaire, knowing

that she had worked for them for many years. However, she was interested to learn that the result of the questionnaire was that she had a strong sense of right and wrong: and that she might be reluctant to change, as she supported traditional practices.

She was not sure that that was right.

(dnctc)

Christine believes religion is strongly linked to morality; and describes her relationship to her religion as a need to have a religion and a belief in an after-life; but not necessarily a specific religion, saying;

I was brought up to go to church

but having said that

I think if I had been brought up to be a Muslim

I would be a Muslim

I think you tend to go where you are sent

but I do have big questions

but I do like to think you go somewhere after you die

I suppose I do have a belief in ...

I do have a need for a religion

(cw)

Yet, she dislikes many aspects of religion, for example;

when people go out and try and change people

convert Muslims

or Yanimarmi in the rain forest

I think it worries me when people try and convert people because I don't think any one is more right than any other so suppose having said that I can't be a Christian.

(cw)

I suggested to Christine that she appears to follow a central Christian ethic. She asked, 'And which one is it?' (our conversation follows with my words in Italics):

Love one another

Oh is it?

yes

yes I suppose that would be really it wouldn't it?

(cw)

Thus, I thought that before meeting me, Christine may not have given such details much thought, as she appears not to know much about religious scriptures. For example, during our conversations she revealed that she knows very little about The Bible or her church's doctrine. Also, she claimed that different cultures (and religions) construct social rules that are identical to those described in the Ten Commandments.

Thus, it is my assumption that Christine may not be expressing her tacit beliefs concerning morality; and that she upholds a central value of care above the importance of following rules. As I will show in the next section, Christine's behaviour is not rule based. For, she

questions unfair rules, and purposefully goes against many. Similarly, she reluctantly imposes rules on her pupils.

Thus, it may be that Christine's behaviour demonstrates that she holds a tacit belief that an underpinning feeling of compassion and care motivates all moral actions. Furthermore, her behaviour and her insistence that all cultures share the same values, demonstrates her care and concern for people of different cultural backgrounds to her own.

How Children Learn Morally

Christine says children learn morally from emulating the moral behaviour of others, and by having a code of moral behaviour instilled in them from an early age. On the other hand, she says the process of moral learning begins with learning a moral code of practice (rules) and over time learning to make moral judgements. In other words, she believes a developmental change takes place in moral learning; beginning with learning to obey rules and progressing to learning to make moral judgements.

Using the term 'shades of grey' (the inference here is that right and wrong are seen as white or black) to describe moral dilemmas resulting from problems with rules, she says that in real life situations children become aware that the difference between right and wrong may become less clear. In Christine's words;

I think the older you get the more shades of grey you perhaps see I think you change as you get experience you see what happens in life around you.

(cw)

Later, Christine developed an argument to contradict her early view - namely, that a shared code of practice is an essential basis to moral learning. For, while she reflected on her personal experiences of children coming from a wide range of cultural backgrounds; strict and permissive upbringings, and a diversity of moral learning, she modified her view on the necessity of starting from an initial code of practice:

I suppose if you were brought up with a code of practice a code and you follow that code and it works and for some if you don't have a code perhaps instilled in you and ... you have to learn a lot as you go along what you feel is right and wrong

(cw)

Thus, she came to imply that moral learning may simply be a process of learning to make moral judgements, based on feeling what is right or wrong. Furthermore, this newly developed argument confirms what I judged to be her tacit view. For, she said that in almost every case she tries to have a;

discussion with the child

getting them to make their own decisions about things to see that ...

what's morally

I suppose it is what you feel is morally right

isn't it really?

I think I have got quite a strict

sort of ...

quite a sound view of what I think is right and wrong and I think I would try more than that way

by talking to them

I guess

so that would be the main way.

(cw)

In fact, unlike other teachers in this school, who seemed to consistently react harshly to minor infringements of school rules by giving out punishments, Christine;

- · explains her reasons,
- asks for pupils' cooperation, and/or
- warns them of potential consequences.

For example, amused by their antics she called out to a group of boys sliding down the banisters:

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)

Similarly, I noted how Christine persisted rather than threaten a child with punitive consequences for not doing his homework:

Christine met a boy outside her door and began to talk to him about his homework. He tried to avoid eye-contact and she moved into his line of gaze over and over until he began to keep eye-contact with her. (I am impressed with this technique.) She held on to his arm and moved her head from side to side to get his attention. The quality of the talk was calm, persistent and consistent. She affirmed her point of what he had to do, over and over. He even wanted her help in the end; with other problems he has with homework. [After the incident] she then made notes about the conversation and said to me, 'You have to be consistent, and not let anything slide, otherwise it is all lost!'

(fnctc)

As Christine says;

rather than saying

this is wrong

because I say it is wrong ...

because ...

I think they have to take it on board

to understand it

to do what you want them to do

they have to feel it somehow

rather than just be told that it is wrong

and by example.

(cw)

However, the school has many rules that pupils are expected to obey without question; and although Christine says she believes rules are necessary, I frequently noted her allowing pupils to break a rule. In Christine's words;

there is a whole list of school rules some of which I find sensible and some are off the wall like doing your top button up I know if you can have them all tidy it is a good idea but I don't think it is the be all and end all they are supposed to they are supposed to allow other students to work the code of conduct it starts off by saying being kind and caring to others courteous and disciplined working hard at college and at home wearing the school uniform and respecting other people's property and looking after the college and I quess all of those ... but being caring and kind to others has got to be to me the most important thing.

(cw)

It is clear from my observations and conversations with teachers and pupils in this school, that the rules present many problems. In fact, it may be that these problems they are meant to address are exacerbated by the rules. For example, a lot of lesson time seems to be taken up with teachers trying to enforce the rules, disciplining children for disobeying rules, and pupils protesting at the unfairness of the rules. One pupil told me that he was willing to obey the rules, and resented being punished before he knew them.

When I asked Christine about pupils' objections to the rules, she explained that the school is trying to respond to these problems by discussing them with pupils:

we have PSE [personal and social education] lessons

and they

in groups

talk about the rules that they saw that you have to have in a classroom

so they have discussed it

I think we did it in birth-month groups

because we wanted to do it in some different way to friendship groups or groups I decided on

so they sat in groups of about five and discussed it

then they reported that

then we all discussed it then we came up with a list of the kind of things they are supposed to come out with

kind of things they are supposed to come out

so it is really discussing it with them and then they do their own list

there is also going to be

which

I am running

a school council meeting
we are only just beginning
where again the whole college will decide on how they want to
see the college
so that will be tutor-groups discussing it
then it will be year groups discussing it
and then a group of students within a year
then different year groups discussing it in the school council

so then again it will be students talking to each other and I guess in some schools it is just school rules and there is no question about it and I think

and I mini

if I can

meeting

I will try and discuss something with them.

(cw)

However, while Christine sounds optimistic about the outcome of these discussions, my experience of how things are done in this school is that it will all come to nothing. For example, I observed a lesson where the Deputy Head entered and commandeered a discussion about school rules. Up until this moment Christine and the English teacher answered pupils' questions honestly, however the Deputy Head manipulated their questions and answers to emphasise her position of power. She deflected reasonable questions and a serious complaint, and brought in irrelevant issues to deflate pupils' arguments. She also boasted that she had

instituted the most contentious rule (eg. pupils are obliged to walk in one direction only around the school passages). To add insult to injury, she set them extra homework - to make suggestions for improvements.

My notes during this lesson read like a tirade against the injustice of the situation. I wrote furiously about how I felt that the teachers in the room (including Christine) had as much power to change the system as the pupils - none. I noted that there are 'some things that Christine does not question (r) ', namely adult behaviour. For, there was no indication in her body language that she had reservations about what was going on, as she stood silently listening when the Deputy Head was in the room. Furthermore, I felt I was observing a manipulative behaviour management strategy that may have been entitled - deflect dissention by occupying teachers and pupils in conversations about school rules. For, it is highly unlikely that any of the rules discussed in this lesson will be reviewed, and therefore I judged this practice to be wholly dishonest.

However, my frustrations with Christine's passivity in such situations may reflect my own lack of wisdom, for in situations when other staff members were absent Christine's attitude to unreasonable rules became clear. As Christine explains she has difficulty supporting some school rules such as;

they are all supposed to go through the building in a clockwise direction

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and I find that's difficult when you want a child to do something quickly

they are supposed to go the other way

but you know jolly well that it is much quicker if they go straight up the corridor

I do find that difficult.

(cw)

Furthermore, she agreed with me that she may be;

undermining it [the school rule on one-way system]

yes with individuals I suppose

sometimes I am

I mean I can see the sense of it

at very busy periods

when they have all

if you send them in two directions then they will do ...

even more problems in the corridors

[...]

but when it is not busy

yes I suppose I do turn a blind eye

I mean if it is for individual students that I am sending them the wrong way.

(cw)

and explained;

sometimes I send them the way they are supposed to go and sometimes they go out of the building and run all the way around (she laughs)

so I suppose we are flouting the rules
but if it is a group of students
I make them go right the way round
because I haven't had an individual conversation about it
so there isn't a good reason

I know one thing

is that they go from my room up to the library because it is only a few yards

and my tutor group

when they want to go the length of one classroom the wrong way to the science room I won't let them

they all have to go the whole way

if it is an individual student

then I find it more difficult

but if it is for Christopher to get one book from the library

I do it quietly and don't advertise it

(cw)

Christine gave many examples of situations where she does not implement standard punishments and rules. She justified her rule breaking behaviour by saying, 'I do think you have got to be flexible on occasions and that rules are there to be broken things should never be black or white' (cw). For example, she said she always listens to excuses and makes allowances for children who are having a bad time at home, or with other members of staff. I witnessed many such situations, and also observed how much she values children making an apology. However, she may be alone in her

acceptance of apologies for I observed an occasion when a child, encouraged to apologise by Christine, was subjected to a harsh dressing down. In a following conversation Christine agreed that apologies may not work with all teachers, and said;

because you are setting them up sometimes
to getting another mouthful
which is not what I want to do
but you can't always get a teacher to say look this is
this child is going to say sorry
and you know it has taken a lot for them to say sorry
so please do kindly accept their apology
because for some children saying sorry is difficult
because it may not be within the culture of the home
and to admit that they have done something wrong
I don't think that they should get another mouthful really.

(cw)

Thus, it became clear to me that Christine has an underlying belief in children learning morally from:

- being treated fairly;
- · warm encouragement to care for others; and
- permission to break inappropriate rules.

What is less clear is how she thinks children will learn in conditions where adults are self-serving, treat pupils unfairly, punish unreasonably, and insist on humiliating rules.

Concluding thoughts

Christine seems to have confidence that her own behaviour is effective in overcoming the negative effects of the behaviour of other adults, and that her personal interventions make a significant difference in pupils' lives. Furthermore, by choosing not to criticise her colleagues and remaining passive when they behave badly towards pupils she may be giving her pupils an example of how to survive unjust situations.

Thus, my overall impressions of how Christine behaves, is that her approach has a positive effect on her pupils' moral learning. For, the children in this school appear happy to do as she asks, and enjoy her attention. For example, I noted times when pupils begged to join her, turned up at her door with problems, and told her of their successes. Furthermore, in situations when seeking permission to break a rule they would accept her final word either way.

Clearly, the majority of the pupils in the school respect and love her, and she seems to have an extraordinary command without resorting to punishments and shouting. In fact, my field notes contain many examples of Christine calming volatile situations, and persuading children to ignore bullying and focus on their schoolwork. Interestingly, the pupils I interviewed did not feel they were betraying her when they included in their praises of the ways she treats them what they felt were her weaknesses. For example, a pupil told me that in PSE pupils talked while she was talking and that some pupils take advantage of her kindness.

Sometimes, I felt that Christine is blind when something compromises her views of racial and cultural equality. For example when some pupils happily reported that it was, 'the 11th hour of the 11th day and the 11th month. Christine says that the calendar is man made (fncw), and I noted that she, 'did nothing to curb the self-promoting behaviour of a school welfare officer because she was black' (dnctc).

Furthermore, her preoccupation with racial discrimination may be emphasising differences between pupils' ethnicity. For, 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. Clearly, 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. One pupil seemed to be saying he had an affliction when he explained Christine's role, saying;

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)

My diary notes, field notes and reflections record the many times that I noted how much the little things she does show her genuine belief in the ethic of care; and what she perceives is morally right. This is clearly evidenced in the way she picks up litter, cares for the environment and the way she responds to all the children in the school. 'Christine knows most of the names of the boys in the school (r). and remembers details about their lives: and while she gives some pupils extra attention she does not seem to withhold her good feelings towards pupils who challenge her patience. Thus, I was deeply moved by observing Christine at work.

Finally, as I have explained in chapter 5 of this thesis, observing these teachers closely affected me in different way, Thus, it may not be surprising that when, 'I noticed Christine wearing the chain against Third World Debt [a little brooch of a few links of silver chain] and I felt inspired to wear one myself' (dnctc).

I recall the moment when I wrote, 'I feel extremely privileged to speak to this woman (dnctc), and that 'my emotions are stirred by Christine's personality' (fncw). Also, that I felt, 'humbled that I was witness to a very special person of a quality that you don't meet every day' (r). So much so, that since meeting her I think more about recycling, and buying local produce and 'Fairtrade' items.

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THE INTERVIEW

Thank you for agreeing to be interviewed. The working title of this study is: TEACHER'S KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING OF MORAL EDUCATION.

CONFIDENTIALITY

I will be taping this interview with the aim of using the content in my thesis. At all times confidentiality will be maintained. When I type the transcript I will change any names and any other identifying information in the script to ensure that anything you may say will remain anonymous. At the end of this interview I will be asking you to sign that you are happy with the content of the interview and that you agree to my using the information as part of my study.

INTRODUCTION

Teachers are involved in more than teaching children skills and information. I am interested in how teachers perceive they influence children's lives morally. In other words, how through their teaching, and between lessons, teachers offer children moral guidance. I am specifically interested in how this relates to teaching strategies, learning styles and how teachers perceive children learn best. All the questions in the interview are aimed at discovering teachers' knowledge, understanding and experience of moral education in the classroom and school environment.

Please state your name so that I can identify your voice on the tape. Could you also mention the ages of children you have taught or are now teaching.

THE QUESTIONS

The questions that follow are designed to help you focus on your own knowledge and understanding of moral education and the ways in which children learn. Take your time to think about the questions and answer them as you feel best. You are under no obligation to answer any of the questions on the other hand everything you may wish to say on this subject will be of interest.

I would like to begin by asking you some questions about your perceptions of how children learn and the different ways in which they may learn. This question may make you think of your teaching strategies, but questions about teaching will come later in the interview. I will be asking you 5 questions about the ways children learn before I ask you about your teaching strategies.

- 1. a. How do you perceive children learn best and b. what do you know or understand about learning styles or the ways children learn?
- 2. What differences, if any, do you note about the ways children learn at different ages?
- 3. Have you observed specific ways of learning in a very young child, a child in their middle school years and a teenager.

You may also have observed differences in the learning styles adopted by boys and girls or children of different cultural backgrounds.

- 4. In your experience, what have you found to be the main differences, if any, in the learning styles of boys or girls.
- 5. In your experience, have you found differences, if any, in the learning styles of children of different cultural backgrounds.
- 6. What teaching strategies do you use to meet the different ways children learn, for example; children of different ages, gender and cultural backgrounds?

In the second part of the interview I will be asking you to think about moral education. I will be asking you about your understanding of morality and your perceptions of moral education, moral development and any differences in the ways in which you may educate a child morally.

- 7. Please begin by commenting on what you think morality may be and your perceptions of moral development and moral education. In other words 'what is a. morality, b. moral development and c. moral education?'
- 8. In your knowledge and understanding of moral development and moral education what would you expect you would be doing when you were educating a child morally? In other words; 'what can you do to educate a child morally?'

You may also have observed differences in your approach when giving moral guidance inside and outside the classroom to children of different ages, or boys and girls, or of children of different cultural backgrounds.

- 9. What have you found to be the main differences in your approach to moral education when teaching different age groups; for example, a very young children, a child in their middle school years and a teenager.
- 10. Please comment on any differences in your approach when considering the learning behaviour or moral behaviour of boys or girls?
- 11. Please comment on any differences in your approach when teaching children from different cultural backgrounds?

Finally, would you like to comment on the following?

12. What in your experience causes children to choose to do what they perceive is right and what causes children to act in opposition to what they perceive is right?

Thank you

The interview is over. I am most grateful to you for giving up your time to help me with this study.

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The interview

I am interested in how pupils learn and what teachers do to help them learn.

- 1. Do you know how you learn?
- 2. Remember something you have learned and tell me how you learnt it.
- 3. Remember something a teacher taught you and tell me how the teacher helped you learn it.
- 4. How does Mr ----- help you learn something?
- 5. How does Mrs -----help you learn something?
- 6. How does Ms ----- help you learn something?
- 7. What does Mr ----- do to help you when you don't understand something?
- 8. What does Mrs ----- do to help you when you don't understand something?
- 9. What does Ms ----- do to help you when you don't understand something?
- I am also interested in how pupils learn the difference between right and wrong.
- 10. How do you know when something is right or good?
- 11. How do you know when something is wrong?
- 12. How did you learn something that you now know is right or good.
- 13. Is there something right or good that you have learnt that you like to do most of the time?
- 14. Do you remember how you learnt it.
- 15. Has Mr ----- helped you to learn something you think is right or good and how did he teach you?
- 16. Has Mrs ----- helped you to learn something you think is right or good and how did she teach you?
- 17. Has Ms ----- helped you to learn something you think is right or good and how did she teach you?

First follow up interview with Bob Black

Is there anything that you thought about after the last interview? to be honest no

I sort of went into overload after that
there were some things that you said that struck me
that I found interesting

what I am looking at is the models that teachers use for teaching knowing how children learn

and how that relates to the models they have of moral development so when you were speaking in the first interview you said how you felt children learnt was first of all in a linear way when they are younger

you also spoke about going from internal to external for their conscience

you also spoke about presenting yourself as being a happy man having had a happy childhood and you have happy children yes

You presented that picture

yes

stable families

How do you present that to the different age groups?
the way it come off in the kind of
social response

kind of conversation when they talk about various things so rather than pretend that I have a very shattered childhood or pretend that I have come from a broken home or pretend that my kids are unhappy

or what ever

I don't

I am very conscious of the fact that a lot

a lot of the boys in here

in my tutor group

and in groups

come from broken families

without question

more of them 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

one is I might as well be honest about what my back ground is

and I talk and operate in that background

I think it is a better background than they enjoy in many cases

so fair enough

but nonetheless

for me that is normality

I actually think as a judgement I make

that that should be a form of normality

I think it works

and I don't criticise them because they don't have that

and that life must be difficult for them on that basis

but I can't always tailor what I say according to that

but nonetheless I am mindful of that

so I tend to be

I am resolutely me

throughout in terms of what we talk about the other basic rule I use is what is it called the Louis Tice Institute Pacific Institute about the way your potential is either limited or expanded and I am very conscious of the role teachers have in that and what they say as authority figures and I will say to people for example who 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 so I try not to get into this you know pigeon holing and what ever yes they have been stupid no I don't what to see it again if you don't do it again you won't be criticised so in terms of how I come across they say oh you know they say things like oh we've done such and such have you ever done that so I say yea sure

I did that with no point in justifying the fact we function as a family and we are a functional as a family and I work in an area that appears to have a great number of extremely dysfunctional families but there are more parents that come in from year seven now some more in year eight they are what I'd term auite normal they just kind of functional they function at different levels but some of them don't they are dysfunctional and how do you use this model of yourself and the way you live your life? how do you use that to... I use in most model questioning I use sort of involuntary counselling model in that I will if I think what they are saying isn't right or think their point of view is insupportable I consistently get them to challenge it for themselves constantly getting them to look at it and the consequence ultimately leading round to sort of

well

that can't be right can it or a constant one is say

do you want to live under [...] where you know you have to fight for everything wouldn't you prefer to live on the dole I quess wouldn't you prefer and if they say no say why not and when push comes to shove Say well I couldn't stand living like that and that's they way it was I would want to go away and live on an island away from this world because I don't want to know about that I prefer this anyway an example would be for example with the PSE programme was dealing with disappointment that's what it was for two weeks before Christmas and I was I stopped after a fairly light but nonetheless fairly packed attack on commercialism at Christmas but what about an alternative you can't tell me how Christmas should be this is how I think Christmas should be and I gave you know almost the scenario snow log fire which we do have candlelight which we do have

all those kinds of things bang and we then got into talking about presents and parents being under pressure because they haven't money and whatever and how they should respond to this problem and all these kinds of things which in themselves are very kind of moral issues and they are frankly quite immoral a lot of kids in their responses and I will never let it lie there ſ...1 I showed them well I was going to show them but of course the idiots wouldn't work [long pause] and there is this little clip in Babe a film Babe about where a girl is given a doll house that has been made by her grandfather who's Pa [...] and he has built this dolls' house a great deal of time and effort and of course she opens it and being frankly an American brat says this isn't what I want this isn't how it is on television I hate this kind of thing and we were raising that so what are you going to do if you get a present and right so I will pick one of the kids pretty at random so I said what would you really like at Christmas and he wanted a yo-yo [...] this yo-yo of course costs forty-six guid

so I said well OK let's imagine that it is Christmas morning because I know his mother he has a single mother unmarried single mother and they struggle for money I know that so I said let's imagine that it is Christmas morning and you know that what is in this package is a yo-yo and you rip the wrapper off and you are really keyed up and you can see him go yea yea and you rip the wrapper off and there it is a two pound ninety nine standard yo-yo from Toys R Us what's your reaction I didn't have to say because he reacted [****] I don't want this and we were talking about well how do you think that would make your mother feel that she has probably gone to the trouble to make this you know time to get this and whatever and we then talked about which would you rather have should it be where you are given gifts where people have thought about it or should you just go round the shelves and go oh yea give them one of them what it is it doesn't matter it cost twenty quid there you go and it is about that kind of commercial immorality of Christmas

and what Christmas might be and the kind of relationship to it and so on and when we talk in PSE sessions or whatever and I will sometimes say to them don't you ever actually sit around and talk to each other and they say no we don't so I say to them we do we kind of sit around and my kids can try out you know they can find out what words and things are acceptable or not because they talk to us all the time there is no criticism at the table ves we tell them what they shouldn't say to their granny and it is that kind of view of ok this is what family life could be I don't know what my children would say about family life they don't seem to be hell bent in getting out of the house they seem to be happy they seem to be well adjusted and they do all kinds of things so don't know so yea I tend to raise it where it comes up if not on a straight moral issue sometimes like PSE it was it was straightforward hang on a minute you are a grasping avaricious little member of you're one of the fractious little damaged children here's an alternative but I won't back off from these issues and where as you know they put all the if I don't think that is correct fine

I won't back away from all these issues I'll think it frivolous but I will challenge that challenge that and if they have a good argument that's fine if they haven't then I generally get them to shred it for themselves involuntary counselling I used the same thing when I was an advisor trying to check other people. what you described to me was you gave the student the opportunity to feel what it would feel like yea meta-perspectives what is your relationship like now particularly with that boy? oh well that boy and I have had our ups and downs in my tutor group and he came with a sort of a charge sheet if you like when he arrived from primary school it was about quite a bit thicker than most peoples I suppose and he comes across as aggressive a whole range of the usual kind of attributes doesn't communicate well if you suggest any thing he reacts badly and so on and so on all down the line aggression what ever he is just dodging the issue

so when he came in

the first thing I wanted him to understand

was that he wasn't going to do that with me

under any circumstances

he may have met people that may have let him get away with it

and I tend to fit in with the same view as most of the staff

a lot of the staff use which is

if you have got a grievance

that's OK but 'you talk to me on a reasonable personal level

or else I won't listen to you

and that's a thing that has been consistent by the more senior

staff in the college

they most of all

for that individual

he has been calming down massively

he hasn't been anything like the problem

even when he reacts badly now

I will still keep at him

he is not going to step outside

you know

what is just reasonable

it is my judgment of what I consider reasonable code of behaviour

and what your hopes for his morality in the future?

no

if I want to be strictly honest

I don't give a monkey's really

I mean if you

this is a job

he will go out of here

my job is to try to give him at least

I'd like to think he went out and turned into a reasonable person that's as far as it goes

if I never see him again it won't be

it won't bother me

if someone else come in who is an equal problem into this place

I long ago

oh

having had a

what eighteen years of being told by the government that we were bottom of the heap

we were crap

we're responsible for all social ills

yep ok

I've given up bothering on that

I don't care any more about what people say about what I do for a living

and it's a job

which one I think I approach in a

I would like to think in a very professional way

it is calculated

it is thought through

it's done

to be effective

I don't get hooked

I cannot afford to get hooked into all their person problems

I make allowances for them

I understand them and I tailor according to that

but I can't get hooked into them

a number of teachers who bury themselves in the problems and then become inefficient

that is not effective

set back

and I've learned I can be far more affective in changing and modifying that kind of attitude to behaviour

by being more detached

so I am

and that's for now and how do you feel that affects them in the future?

well they

the only evidence I can go on is the fact that I've have been here for three years

this is the forth year

I won't be here forever

SO

I don't have any real long-term investment

so you know in

staying in this community

because I move in and out of it

I think if I can bring a degree of consistent challenge to the

some of

some of shall we say

the less sociable attitudes they have

that will pass on and on

but as to that individual boy

of course I would like life to be wonderful for him

I can't actually influence it

but within here he will have stability and consistency

and he will also have someone who is taking an interest in what happens to him

the actually care as to what happens to him

is frankly his family's responsibility

I think schools have been too long in the social worker frame

trying to do that and tying to do the police frame

and that we still do

we can't do it

we simply can't do it

we have to take account of it in order to be efficient

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

a lot of them do it

a lot of them do it from the heart

and once the heart stops working

you've got to have some backup alternative strategies

and that's the head

and I like

and I've transferred into the head

it doesn't mean I'm any less concerned about kids

and yes of course I feel sorry for kids who turn up look they have been dressed out of the ragbag and what ever else but the bottom line is

I go to my family and that's my life and this is my job

I'd never make a priest

what effect do you think a teacher does have on a child's life given that the family life is something that you can do very little about

can a teacher make a difference

I think teachers can actually make or destroy

what children do

then

bearing in mind that we only see them for a very small amount of time

a lot of children are anchored in the stability that they get from the school

the consistency that they get from the school not all of them

I honestly think that the children who have really good sort of stable family situations aren't that much affected by what the teachers do they tend to listen to what the teachers do and if the teachers are saying things they think are right

they should still be challenged to think for them selves

yea they will still have an effect but the main effect they can have is on the

on what the kids transfer if you like their family loyalties or their kind of family relationship element they transfer that on to members of staff and I'm sure that is true I've seen it when I have been observing classes and I have had it happen to me they sometimes forget and they call me dad and what ever and I think they do have a big the main thing teachers can do is suppress children and a lot of teachers are into suppression they are not into changing or challenging they are into suppression we all do sometimes from expedience give me examples of what a teacher does to suppress? and the teacher who doesn't have we got time ok with out going the greatest or a masters degree that I have been toying through for a few years all right basically' because a teacher's an authority figure in children's eyes once that is established what they say carries a higher perceived weight

and it is to do with the self-image that the child carries the teacher can have a strong impact on self-image that the child has if therefore you create a self-image that the child can't work with can't learn or what ever they will become that image they can't help but become that image equally you can create in individuals the image that they are high performance individuals in which case they can function so you can create suppress but most teachers are into destruction suppression and when we ran this sort of notion as a project we sat round one of our big discussions and we thought well Christ what can we actually say when we go into the classroom what can we actually say because every thing has an impact and I do believe that I actually believe that's true so I am very careful about what I say on the other side I have actually tried as an experiment with the notion of taking a complete group which frankly according to prediction will not get above a D or an E

in GCSE

now I've told them all consistently for a year and a bit that they will

that the whole group is expected to get a C minimum and that is proving difficult because

I can't tactful

about the fact that their performance is appalling

but non-the-less I'm trying to convince them that they will get there

and there are elements that's working they are coming in to do extra time

and they are working longer on their course work

they are making better strides when they learn from design

and they are a lot lot better behaved

and it is a big group

by relative terms for a workshop group

Twenty-eight

it is almost double size it should be

but they should all

about ninety five percent of them

should break through

though on the other side I have tried hard

(I did not listen here as my question shows)

and what is the age group

oh they are

the year eleven

so they are 15 16

it is almost a bit late

but the Pacific institute's programme's designed for teen ages up and it is really about taking responsibility for your actions and it's about not having your potential limited by what other people say

and your own self-image

it is the same programme that

sort of sports people use

how much do you think affects how you feel about the things? that have been said about the teaching profession

oh the way I work with the children it hasn't

in terms of my attitude to it almost entirely

if I could get within

two or three thousand current salary to go and do something

I don't know

planting trees I would leave instantly

without question

and what would be the main reason that you would leave?

oh I suppose I could say well

I have come to accept that it is a low-grade pointless occupation done by people who can't do anythink what ever

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

screw it

I'll take the money and take an easy life thank you

it has become quite high stress

mostly I think because

I think the reason it has become difficult

I am trying to work this out

I am trying to work out which idiot minister in the government to write to

if they really want to raise standards

they have created the situation where

the only people under pressure at the moment to perform are the teachers

there is no under the kids to perform

there is no pressure on the parents

the only pressure in entirely the teachers to perform

to produce

in some cases miracles

with nothing the easy way to do that to change that round would be perhaps to say

unless people achieve a minimum point score in GCSE

which is a number they can take and keep with them they can never be paid more than the minimum wage

after that

you add on for each GCSE over four or five that will be passed at the end

parents will get

or the pupils will get a bonus of a hundred quid at the end so a really bright kid will plough out up to say a maximum of twelve so a really bright kid will out maybe

five hundred six hundred pound bonus

which he can use obviously and the parents benefit and every thing else

so now the pressure is well and truly put back on the kids and parents

then what you do is

you check

are teachers able to provide the situations and the work and what ever else

to drive

you know that these kids need to achieve what they need you know but that is very different to saying you must achieve this whether they want it or not

so instead being basically expected to be you know

what tin pot entertainers

and take people through hoop you know that they don't want to go through anyway

and successfully do it

because teachers are exceptionally successful at playing the system jumping people through hoops that they don't even realise they are going through

getting them through things they don't want to do you know the sausage factory system

they have given us objectives

every body knows that if you manage by objectives

you get the objectives

but that is all you get

and that is all we getting

and I think tied in this is a lesson some where

I resent the fact that I went into something eighteen years ago was

at least if you like a respectable thing to do I don't most teachers behave as professionals I think they are too emotionally woolly about it you know they say oh it is a shame he can't do this all these kinds of things so why do I Yea I resent the fact that what I went into by choice not because I did not I was a trained engineer before that long time back which I think is valuable to do and can be and should be very highly skilled I don't think teachers are trained in enough techniques and enough analysis techniques T sociometry isn't used even taught I use it but it isn't taught for years people don't use sort of psychological Behavioural Change methods I try to I talk to all sorts of people about it but so yea so given the option I should walk away

if I could

nearly the same money or a lot less hassle I would walk away without question

and why

well OK I accept that the government has told us for eighteen years that we clearly are bottom of the heap

we don't count

why not accept that

I have stopped arguing with them

except that deep down I would like to get hold of the person who promulgated that and punch their teeth out

I'll never get the opportunity I guess

(as I begin to ask my next question he laughs to himself)

do you feel that this strong feeling that you have about the way teachers are treated is colouring your teaching all day long?

no

and when it is not colouring your teaching

how do you feel about your teaching?

well I don't talk about it as a job

it is a job

it is a job I think I do well

but it is a job

and if they stopped paying me and said could you just come in for four weeks to finish

no

not a hope in hell

it 's a job

I am paid to do it

I think you should be good at it

I think it should be a lot more professional in the way it is thought about and organised delivered

you said something

by and large I don't socialise with teachers out side work

most teachers say

what you doing tomorrow

oh I've got to go to school

I consciously say

no I'm going to work

the people I associate with do all sorts of things

engineers

why a whole range of things

one or two people that I know

you know a couple of head teachers who I know

that's it

that's what I do

as a teacher and a person in this school with these children how much of an effect do you think that have on the children that you see?

in their moral development

well I can only talk about my tutor group because I see them more regularly

we have taken a first step forward

may be

today

we have been doing this thing called -Check-worth competition chocolate bars

right from the start of term

it is based on

I ask them the meaning of a particular word

fairly common word

sometimes it is one that I know is done in other lessons and what ever

if they can tell me what it is and put it into a sentence they get a chocolate bar

they also have to ask me one

so for every one there has to be a counter one

and

I get chocolate points too

so does the learning support -----and what ever

at the end of it

whoever has the most points

the other side looses have to by chocolates for Christmas for them now the chocolates really aren't the issue

the issue is

and what I was saying to them yesterday

and I will repeat it this morning

the issue is now

can you stop being a group of individuals

and can you actually now forget about selfishness

and organise yourselves to collect and buy something like a prize for this

and I am trying to force them um

through this game to take one step away from individualism and actually become part of the group

and start to think about themselves

and very much I am turning

we just missed having best attendance

the best things to stop the attendance slipping are the group to look at

so why are these kids aren't coming in

and I do mostly ----sort of

a sort of a semi

what is 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

all though humour based

and do you feel that you are affective in that area?

well it has certainly changed

they have gone from being the group that most people complained about

the group most people actually praise

I don't get any particular wiz out of it

except from the fact that yea OK

something that I am doing is working

and I then look at it and think so what else do I do now

which members of the group do I need to torpedo

so that they are less effective in the group

and allow the people I need to be more effective in the group to come forward

I'm actively promoting high performance individuals

in the sense of people

you know

being

you know trying to fit in

I'm actively torpedoing the people who are dragging the group down and that must be blindingly obvious to them

if it isn't

I would be surprised

I never say it but it must be obvious

So that there will be an internal presentation today or tomorrow or the day after

and that will be on people who got picked on a variety of criteria but it's people who've got a hundred percent attendance

but sort of entering sort of report scores who most kind of good things about

they won't know who it is but I will pick three people and it won't necessarily be three very obvious people

the three people who have basically have

turned up

kept their heads down

got on with it

and all those kind of things

and it is a desirable prize so they get it

are you aware of any other difference in their moral behaviour that isn't related to schoolwork?

yea there is a few I'd like to really slap around

to be quite honest

you know

there are some who come from

well they are known and identified as families at risk extreme dysfunction

and they come through the door and I am still not prepared to have some you know I have to pick my words carefully

little boy

who has been smoking since the age of nine

whose mother agrees that he can because he only smokes ten a day nup that's not acceptable

and I won't take the line that it is acceptable it is wrong and he constantly gets

he is a major truant

he turns up and says

oh I was ill

no you truanting

don't dress it up be honest about it

I don't think they should hide behind these little smoke screens wrong phrase

(I giggle)

but they shouldn't hide behind a smoke screen

and after you have known the child for a while

do you think there is something that you as a teacher can do to effect a change?

yea I could break his legs

no

no I've no idea

no I think they are so dysfunctional

the whole lot might explode anyway

whether

how long we keep him here is a miracle

he didn't used to attend his other school

above forty percent at the time

here it is higher

it is eighty five percent

but I mean

can I affect him

I don't know

does he have any good relationships in the school do you know?

don't think so

don't think so

I mean no I don't think he does and I am not surprised

frankly

and while I will make allowances on a calculating basis

if he doesn't start to respond there are other people who actually warrant

an equal amount of time

and on the eighty twenty rule he is not going to get he is not going to get eighty percent of the time

he can't

that's it

how do you think the boys here generally feel about you? do you think they like you?

I've no idea

they come up and speak to me

and they come in to sit down to just chat

all age groups

the view I have always taken anyway is they don't have to like me but all people who have been through a transaction analysis training

I know what my little bag of bad bits are

and I don't think they reflect and intrude at all into education

but it is um

the end of five years when they are successful

and they see that they were successful without too much aggravation

then they'll like me

fine that's the image I will take

I know from research ideas that

what pupils really don't like are teachers who want to be their friend

they really don't want to know about that

no I'm not their mate

no I'm not in the playground with them

no I'm wouldn't want to socialise with them

no I wouldn't want to go on holiday with them

or be near them probably

but that doesn't mean I can't be efficient and effective

and um

but I'm polite

sociable

but from their behaviour

you don't do you

do you think they tend to look up to you

well I don't tend to Behavioural problems with them you see

I tend to come down to the department

And it's

we have an attitude that in here is the Alamo

and when I came here three years ago

after I had been here two days I said to the then head of department

so it's nice to see a place where the kids control the college

because this place is out of control

what the hell are you doing

and we decided that the first step that the Alamo would be that when they come through that door there would be certain behaviours and codes of behaviour that they will not

go against

irrespective of what they are doing anywhere else and they don't so if I get a kid that really cranks things up and he gets put out of the room

another member of staff will take him down

just like they wind someone up I take them down

so if

we have this process

and we sort of talk through why are you behaving this way and what ever

so we don't export our problems

we actually take the view that in here he is going to be quite and be calm and they are get on

end of story

beyond that then we will look at what other relationship develops if that's the problem

and by and large if that's what we expect then that's what they do no all staff do

I have got to say we have got at the moment we have extremely weak staff in this department now

and I spend most of my time trying to solve those problems and the joke is

in terms of relationship

well I walk into a room through to hell in a handcart and the kids just stop and just talk to me and perfectly normal

and they say pity you had to come back in again and you talk completely honest

and so what's going on

and they tell you know

this has been going on and this has been happening

and they doing that

and then they complain saying well this teacher not doing this

and what ever

and I get that as a senior member of staff

I don't think I should be the one that judges

do I think it is working reasonably well

yes if I didn't think it was working reasonably well

I'm still going to hit it head on

the reason why I am asking you is because you are presenting yourself as a happy person with a stable family life

and that your values come with that package

and we were talking about you having an effect on pupils lives particularly those from dysfunctional families so what I am trying

to find out is do you feel these children look up to you and therefore might model you in the future

they might I don't know

I think the main effect I have

possibly

in a place like this

is on what I call the kids who come from an equally stable background

who don't normally see their teachers responding that way

I am confirming

if you like

their normal morality and stability

I guess every body does that in their own way

I am very open-minded

I am not so blinkered

I don't think

in what I accept as right and wrong

I have a very strong moral personal sense of morality

in that I am the sort of person

if I say I will look after your house while you are away

yes I will do that even if it then causes me problems I will do that

but

do I affect them

no

I think one way of telling would be to

is how they respond to you and how they do speak to you out of school

they are always unswervingly polite

Appendix 2 Examples from interviews

and they do turn up to talk to me

but that often happens in workshops

I don't know why

everywhere I have ever been

these kind of departments

if the doors are open

the place fills up with kids who just want to come in and sit and chat and I don't know why

I think it is because maybe we have a different attitude

I also will never allow a child to have one kind of relationship if you like

on one to one or very small group and be difficult in the classroom if they are I will point out that they are not doing the same thing you cannot be a pain in the neck in the classroom and expect me to

it doesn't work like that and I am quite open about that so they don't tend to do it

be nice and friendly and social a few minutes later

the other day at the end of our interview two boys bumped on the door and you went and spoke to them

when they popped their heads in to apologise to me

they both looked very good humoured and very polite and so on and

I understood then from

although I heard you speaking to them

and that you were very stern that they didn't feel squashed or afraid of you

no I gave them

I told them

I have always said this

what is the right thing to do so from dozens of conversations like that I guess previously they said I said well we should apologise so wacher gonner do ii is this take responsibility for actions if they don't take responsibility for actions then I will and they don't want me to take responsibility for their actions SO they did yea but they will do that more often now I mean people often notice round here they look like the muppets on tour but they will open doors for you and you know fundamentally they're basically all pretty reasonable they just look wet round the edges would you be open to me following you around some classes to look

feel free

yea

I have been observed out of existence (he is pleased)

I am going to have a problem

at your interactions with the children?

yea we tend now not to send people into watch my classes because I'm definitely into

this is my room and this is how it is going to be and then it goes from there kind of free

Appendix 2 Examples from interviews

yea by all means if you want to do that um year seven and classes are a little below anyway year ten and eleven eleven are currently running through an interesting relationship that's the one I've tried to convince are high performance an interesting group that might be interesting to watch but that isn't like the it is like I don't know if you have seen many The way workshops operate It is like It is almost like a club it has to be because there is twenty-eight of them all making different things at different times at different speeds and I can literally just drop in and talk that is all I can do but you would feel happy if I observed you? I don't know if you we would need to ask permission formally when tomorrow yes Tomorrow no no not tomorrow in the new term?

yea

bearing in mind we have got OFSTED are coming in this year

that will be a real treat

come in when OFSTED are here that will be fun

see what the OFSTED inspector makes of that

what I will be looking for is the way you present yourself

and the way the children respond

Yea I'll agree to that provided you give me feedback

T would

I think all teachers should get feedback about what they look like and do

because I am only interested in being efficient in the sense of effective

because if it is not effective

fine I'll do something else

I long ago gave up thinking there are instinctive responses that solve every thing

and they don't

if what I am trying to do doesn't work

fine tell me I will sit in the corner and sulk

but you know

I don't sulk

It is not my nature

you speak out of quite a lot of knowledge

you quote from studies and so on at the same time you say it is not given in training

what opportunities did you have?

it was absolutely useless the training

so how have you gained this knowledge?

it started off

T think

nineteen eighty-six I went into project in north Yorkshire

TVI north Yorkshire we were exceptionally fortunate

that we very quickly got a new director for the project

can you tell me what tviTVI is?

tviTVI technical and vocational educational initiative

I went as a support teacher for it and eventually became the director of it

and we knew that the end of the five-year project it would crash into the wall and sink and either we able to get off or we'd go down with it

and they got in a team of eight people

plus the directors

and they picked very carefully who they wanted

I don't know how they did it

I think they were lucky

lucky in a sense

anyway at the end there were these group of people who were into a whole range of things

and we got on extremely well together

we didn't well to begin with there were two teams

and the two teams hated each other to begin with

eventually once we got passed that

we had our particularly director was a very very good bloke and he said

look

Appendix 2 Examples from interviews

we starting a training

he was a very highly skilled industrial consultant

or had been

and we started doing all sorts of consultancy training in all sorts of stuff

so we knew we needed to have counselling training

we knew we had to be trained to confront

we had confrontation training

that was a great three days

we went away for a residential training for three days on confrontation skills

and we became extremely good at confrontation skills we must have been a night mare to be with

and we did transactional analysis and we did all these little various little and we had it all and at one point we sat down with a massive sheet of paper and write down all these elements together and I was going to do as a masters degree

all this stuff how you transfer all of this into standard teaching work

and I went to Bristol University and I want to do a research based masters I have got a lot of information so they aid well give the synopsis of what the final report would say so I said well how am I supposed to do that if it is a research degree

I don't know and we had so screw it I'll just use it

so I kind of missed the point where

I also trained as an industrial trainer for NVQ

so I'm just very acquisitive in terms of knowledge

and I just use it and I sift it and bung it

and the one that made it different was Pacific Institute

I was a licensed user of their training material

Appendix 2 Examples from interviews

and of course I got it and I just acquire it and used it and tried it can you tell me more about pacific institute pacific institute right is an organisation started by a guy called Louie Tice he's an American if you ever seen his training stuff you have to get beyond the very obvious American presentation and the fact that with in the pacific institute people are almost like touching the hem you know oh great Louie what ever so basically though basically what he did he was doing a psychology degree and did a few things with his students and then a few the parents got to know about it and he never did finish his degree and basically he is very capable of explaining like masters level of psychology in terms that any one can understand and to do the same stuff with six formers and what ever because his understanding is so sort of intense so I've watched all that stuff went through all that tried it all out

understood it used it
and now David Henry
the Olympic athlete
has a sports psychology division
you can hire him
I think he is about two thousand pounds a day
and he will do this in industry
and he is just doing pacific institute
that's all it is

and it is about your own self-image and the relationship between your creative subconscious and your subconscious and your conscious mind

and how you create and control imagery within that and how that affects your own behaviour

Note - my tape ran out here

Appendix 3 - Examples of field notes

Appendix 3 - Examples of field notes

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3.	Notes written freely during observation	371
4.	Notes including thoughts and feelings	373

Moral education schedule - The schedule was designed to note the number of times the teacher addressed items.

Moral	Education Schedule			
MORAL GUIDANCE		LEARNING/TEA	LEARNING/TEACHING STYLE	
Positive social	3.	Interest		
Negative social	5	Personal Experi	ence	
Reason	1.5	Analytical		
Affective	5.	Affective		
Example		Practical		
Training		Global		
Rules		Debate	<u> </u>	
- Debate		Philosophical		
Punishment	5	Experiential		
		Fact listing	1_	
		Punishment		

Moral education schedule - Accompanying notes

Teacher

Time C.30

Date

Speaks very positify to late students.
Treats them as equals, pupils quite shy.
I. Introduced the totorial writer talking about the war.

Nespujor we have a little rule at this about chewing gom' _ 'Not to we there is a sin over there.'

Assembly chaling to a pupil.

Decorations, beauties of blessons +

Teacher appeared on slage all giret ofter
of overse, Beauty 57 seng in parts. pu

pluged the delson

- 3. perfect behavierr from now on p moving closer to versy pupils, Subtle discip
- 4. Told a young losy in strong terms that roisy behaviour would mean would have to stand guietly.
- 5. Held 4 class 10 perpels back. Told them he expected 100% alti also he was ashamed of them.

Field notes noting everything that happens

9.30 centured 4.5

The girls are obviously trying to avoid work last terms the goes talking in the politicat of terms. He goes to get them paper and tells them how to start their project.

felt no concernee leaving minute.
We forms to expire and after they had had much practice publicg
the little mice and boinds bench in
their environment.

He points something 327 to a quel but when he rofices she is concentrating an samething he does not insist she looks.

Interesting. The girls want to just get some thing done. One girl starts churing and exclusioned work. It says says '9 am not going to allow you to do something you don't care about

Field notes noting everything that happens cont.

and that no one alse will co about. She agrees to try aga He then goes over to talk to dege who are doing soil testing. Do go feel sorry for hun not that we are drying him enst? asks or girls and small laugh She says no. Trying to focus a often really sympatheres with the lack of interest and pursu with finding another were interest them. It seems ! be working the talks to a got about payouts not. feeling very sorry for the leali Cleas.

Field notes including thoughts and feelings

clean sho bey from the back shows That's usulting that is. That's insolting The other day I notured the same boy with a very disty shirt. It looked disty shirt. It looked You don't go earling in class do you, it is against the school rules: The boy is very up boy, he is nea e duty shuft has not h always done up

Field notes including thoughts and feelings

When clean shir bey from the back shows That's usulting that is. That's insolling The other day I noticed the same boy with a very disty shirt. It looked disty shirt. It looked dist. you don't go earling in class do you, it is against the school rules. She a boy. There is no sanction on the boy, he is near to tears The beg with the duty shift has not his issue about his always done up

Appendix 4 Examples of letters

Appendix 2 - Examples of letters

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3.	To a Head requesting to interview with pupils	375

Letter to schools requesting interviews

10 October 1998

Dear

Teachers' knowledge and understanding of moral education.

I am a full-time PhD student, an experienced teacher and I have been a part-time lecturer and researcher at Cheltenham and Gloucester College and the University of Plymouth since 1994. My subject area includes Management of Behaviour, Children's Learning Styles and Affective Factors in Learning.

I am writing to schools in the district of to request interviews with teachers on the subject of moral education. Recent initiatives, such as Education for Citizenship and the new QCA cross- curricular values education project to be implemented in the year 2000 remind us of the importance being placed on moral education in schools. The QCA project and others are likely to bring moral education back as a central issue in all aspects of school life as we move into the next millennium.

I am principally interested in interviewing and listening to experienced teachers, of all subjects, describe their knowledge and understanding of moral education and the ways children learn. The teachers need not have a special interest, training or responsibility in moral education as I am not focusing on RE or any specific curriculum subject area.

I would like to visit your school as soon as it can be arranged to meet teachers and arrange interviews with those who may be willing to help me with my research. I hope my visit will stimulate debate as well as allow me to explore teacher's knowledge, experience and successes.

Please respond to the above address or EMail me at TLovemore@Chelt.ac.uk and I will phone to make an appointment.

Yours sincerely,

Tessa Lovemore MEd.

First Supervisor Professor Mary Fuller Reader in Education Second Supervisor Dr Mike Littledyke Research Director

Letter to teacher requesting to interview pupils

December 12, 1999



PhD study on moral education

Thank you for allowing me to observe you in class. I have learnt so much and feel I have been privileged in having an inside view of your teaching.

My supervisors have advised me to interview a group of the pupils who attend the lessons of all the teachers I have observed teaching. I need your agreement on this before I can proceed.

The pupils could be invited to volunteer to be interviewed or if you are in agreement, you could suggest the names of pupils who could be asked if they want to participate. I am most interested in speaking to a small group (3 -5) of pupils from a wide age range who have been taught by you, and and

I enclose the questionnaire that I will use for the interview.

Yours sincerely

10339

Tessa Lovemore

Research Student

I will come to school sometime this week and hope you can give me a reply.

Letter to Head Teacher requesting to interview pupils

	to the second of the design of the second of the second of the
Dear Mr	
PhD study on moral education	
FIID study on moral education	
I am writing to thank you for granting me access to teachers at progressing well and helpful in allowing me to observe them in class. I have learnt a lot from the been privileged in having an inside view of Central.	nave been more than
I would like to interview a group of the pupils who attend lessons of observed in class. The pupils could volunteer to be interviewed. I would agreement, that I ask to suggest the names of pupils in year could be asked if they want to participate.	suggest, if you are in
I enclose the questionnaire that I will use for the interview.	
Yours sincerely	
Tessa Lovemore	
Research Student	

Appendix 5 - Evidence of consent

Appendix 5 - Examples of consent

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Example of a signed consent form

Agreement

I understand that my name and any other identifying information will not be used in any publication as a result of this interview.

I agree to the comments I have made during this interview being used for the purposes of the research as outlined by the researcher and described in the introduction to the questionnaire.

I understand I may change my mind within the next 6 months and withdraw my consent.

Researcher

Signed.....

Date 7.7.99

Example of verification of consent

Dear

Please read through this type script of my interview with you. For purposes of the analysis my words are in upper case and yours are in lower case. Also I have not used punctuation for the speech, but used lines to show breathing and natural breaks.

Please do not feel you have to correct what you have said, but if you feel that a point you made is not clearly expressed feel free to write on the document. You may also write on the back of the page.

If something appears wrong make any changes you feel to correct it.

I will be happy for you to make any comments you like on these pages even if it just to point out my mistakes.

Once you have read it through and made any changes and comments please will you sign it.

I am most grateful to you for your help in this research.

Tessa Lovemore