The Implementation
of the National Curriculum
in Wales

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PREFACE

*Welsh is not just a question of different words for different things. A language makes you think and feel in a special way. It makes you what you are*

(Beagan, 1992)

“This is your new teacher’, said my mother. ‘Look at her, take your cap out of your mouth, shake hands with her, she’s going to teach you everything’. She extended her hand to me, and a weak smile crossed her face’. ‘Oh yes’, she said, ‘we’ll teach him everything he needs to know, we’ll teach him how to behave’.

The door opened, and I could see children closely packed together on benches. There were two open spaces in the room, and two people on their feet, one in each space. The school-teacher took me to one of them, I only understood the words ‘new boy’ from all that was said. I could read Welsh pretty well by then, and I was placed in a class of children who were learning to read English. My reading book was one of the SPCK* books. I hate those letters to this day because of the cruelty associated with them and with trying to learn to read English.

As soon as I opened my mouth to speak in Welsh, the whole class laughed and a heavy wooden block hanging from a rope was put around my neck - the Welsh Not. I had seen something similar hanging from dogs’ necks to prevent them from chasing sheep. At midday, the teacher questioned the class and everyone’s finger pointed to me. A weak smile crossed her face when she saw the block hanging from my neck. She approached me with a birch in her hand reciting an English rhyme. After that, the Welsh Not was around my neck daily. The teacher had to be told when anyone heard a child speaking Welsh, then the Welsh Not block was placed upon the neck of the ‘offender’. It was to stay there until the wearer heard another child daring to speak Welsh, then it was duly removed and placed around his neck. At the end of the day whoever was unlucky enough to be wearing it was birched across the hand. Every day it was around my neck as if it sought me from every direction. This is a comfort to me today - I never tried to get rid of the Welsh Not by transferring it to another.

My school-days which should have been full of the wonders of living and learning were the most bitter days of my life. I hated school, books and even knowledge itself.

To school, I owe nothing but my story” (Owen M Edwards, 1933).

* SPCK: Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
ABSTRACT

The 1988 Education Reform Act offered remarkable curricular and institutional potential to Wales. It established a separate Curriculum Council for Wales to advise the Secretary of State and this resulted in the development of a distinctly Welsh curriculum for schools. Separate Orders were developed in history, geography, art and music in addition to the Welsh First and Second language Order and a Welsh dimension to the remaining subjects. In 1995 the Curriculum Cymreig (Welsh Curriculum) was given statutory status in every subject.

This research focuses on the relationship between policy and practice in Wales in particular the extent to which implementation in the classroom reflects, or contrasts with the original policy. The first chapter traces the development of the Welsh Dimension from 1944 to 1988. The second chapter explores how the Education Reform Act relates to Wales and the third chapter follows the development of the Curriculum Cymreig (Welsh Curriculum) from the 1988 Act to 1st June, 1996. The fourth chapter explores implementation in the classroom through the study of a selection of the Inspectorate’s reports and surveys alongside research into the effect of change on schools. The fifth chapter is an outline of the nature of the research, the selection of research process, the choice of participants and an evaluation of the methods used. It was decided that the optimum research process was the interview of key educational decision makers of major educational agencies in Wales, a report of which is outlined in chapter six.

The conclusion of this research, as outlined in chapter seven, is that despite its historically disadvantaged start, the development of the distinctiveness of the Welsh curriculum is remarkable. However, although its profile appears to be rising, it is surprising that no reference is made to it in either the Bright Future series or in the Parents’ Charter. Furthermore, its status and its development is hindered by loose monitoring and assessment strategies at every key stage and freedom of choice of both subjects and examination boards at Key Stage 4.
GLOSSARY

Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru (ACAC)
Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales

Athrawon Bro
Welsh Area Advisory Teachers

Burdd yr Iaith Gymraeg
Welsh Language Board

Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg
Welsh Language Society

Menter Cwm Gwendraeth
Gwendraeth Welsh language after-school project

Menter Taf Ely
Taff Ely Welsh language after-school project

Mudiad Meithrin Cymru
Welsh Nursery Movement

Urdd Gobaith Cymru
Welsh League of Youth

Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg (PDAG)
Welsh Education Development Committee

Swyddfa Prif Arolygydd Ei Mawrhydi
Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector (OHMCI)
ABBREVIATIONS

AT  Attainment Target
CATS  Consortium for Assessment and Testing in Schools
CATS CYMRU  Consortium for Assessment and Testing in Schools (Wales)
CCW  Curriculum Council for Wales
DES  Department of Education and Science
DfEE  Department for Education and Employment
ERA  Education Reform Act (1988)
GCSE  General Certificate of Education
GEST  Grants for Education Support and Training
INSET  In-service Education and Training
IT  Information technology
HMCII  Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools
HMI  Her Majesty’s Inspectors
KS1  Key Stage 1 (5-7 year olds)
KS2  Key Stage 2 (7-11-year olds)
KS3  Key Stage 3 (11-14 year olds)
KS4  Key Stage 4 (14-16 year olds)
LEA  Local Education Authority
LMS  Local Management of Schools
NCC  National Curriculum Council
NFER  National Foundation for Educational Research
NSS  Non-Statutory Standard Assessment Tasks
OHMCI  Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (Wales)
OFSTED  Office for Standards in Education (England)
PoS  Programme of Study
SCAA  Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority
SCDC  Schools Curriculum Development Council
SEAC  Schools Examinations and Assessment Council
SoA  Statement of Attainment
TA  Teacher Assessment
TGAT  Task Group on Assessment and Testing
Y1  Year 1 in the National Curriculum (5-6 year olds)
Y2  Year 2 in the National Curriculum (6-7 year olds)
Y3  Year 3 in the National Curriculum (7-8 year olds)
Y4  Year 4 in the National Curriculum (8-9 year olds)
Y5  Year 5 in the National Curriculum (9-10 year olds)
Y6  Year 6 in the National Curriculum (10-11 year olds)
INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to seek a better understanding of the relationship between policy and practice in Wales in the context of the National Curriculum and focussing mainly on the primary sector.

Phillips (1996) claims that from a sociological perspective, Wales is faced with a remarkably interesting situation and that education policy research in the principality is in its infancy.

Illuminative and perceptive as existing research is, there is nevertheless a tendency to avoid the Welsh agenda..and for policy to be described very much in an 'England and Wales' rather than an 'England or Wales' context (Phillips, 1996, p.32).

He maintains that this is surprising given the curricular and institutional distinctiveness of the Welsh educational policy and he challenges researchers by stating:

It seems to me that policy sociologists have the potential to produce a Welsh version of Ball (1990), a Jones (1989) or a Chitty (1989) in England, or a McPherson and Raab (1988) in Scotland or even a O'Buachalla (1988) in Ireland (ibid, p.38).

This research attempts to evaluate how the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales fits on the five levels of decision-making which were identified by Lawton (1978) and quoted by Chitty (1989): national; regional (local education authority); institutional (school); departmental; and individual (teacher in the classroom). Firstly, the investigation involved a literature review. Secondly, in order to provide a 'detailed and intriguing picture of the educational machine in action' (adapted from Kogan 1971), one-to-one interviews were conducted with seven key players in the field of education in Wales. Interviewees comprised the Minister of State for Education in Wales and key representatives of the main educational agencies to include:

- Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales;
- Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (Wales);
- Welsh Language Board;
- Curriculum Council of Wales;
- Welsh Language Education Development Committee.
In Scotland, McPherson and Raab's research combined empirical data generated through interviews with policy-makers themselves and stressed themes which have 'particular resonance for Wales' (Phillips, 1996). In England, Kogan (1971), Chitty (1989) and Ball (1990) utilised data generated from interview material to analyse the macro policy-making framework. In this research, interviews presented the opportunity to meet key personnel, to gain insight into their interpretations of how policies are formulated in Wales and to identify the key decision-makers. Furthermore, it was possible to gauge how they perceived the implementation of their policies at classroom level and to discuss their strategies for supporting and monitoring the progress of the Curriculum Cymreig. (Welsh Curriculum).

The Minister of State in the Welsh Office takes responsibility for education in Wales under the overall charge of the Secretary of State for Wales. 'A raft of educational quangos in England is replicated in Wales' (G. E. Jones, 1995). There are Higher and Further Education Funding Councils in Wales and, in 1994, the Curriculum Council of Wales gave way to the Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru: (Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales). The development of separate National Curriculum Orders in Wales was significant because it marked the first step towards Welsh independence.

Policy cannot be said to be unconditionally 'delivered': a distinction has to be drawn between implementation and the formulation of policy. In the process, the role of teachers themselves in the implementation and creation of policy itself is crucial (Phillips, 1996, p.31). This is an area of study which remains relatively neglected and is an issue of importance for a full appreciation of the education policy of Wales. Consideration is given to:

How policies may reflect, or contrast with (in varying degrees), the original policy and may then themselves be interpreted and once again adapted, adopted, contested or resisted before producing practices and discourse within that site (Penney and Evans, 1994, p.36).

This research investigates the nature of the policy-making processes in Wales. In doing so, it evaluates the effect of the size of the country and its close proximity to England with its central government and parallel agencies.
The DES had little formal control over the curriculum following the 1944 Education Act, and no curriculum content was legally specified (Lawton, 1980). Although Whitehall has maintained control over education policy in Wales, the Welsh Office has been administratively responsible for schools in Wales since 1971. However, Jeremy (1993) takes the view that:

Wales has in essence been treated in identical fashion to England in the recent legislation and orders on school inspections, league tables, initial training and opting out.

The DFE in London will not tolerate a comprehensive curriculum and assessment model from its own. What is needed in Wales is the same measure of autonomy in policy development accorded to Scotland (Jeremy, 1993).

On the other hand, Sir Wyn Roberts, the former Minister for Education in Wales, made an observation in the House of Commons that there was no point in making separate educational arrangements for Wales just for the sake of it. Some would agree that there is no point in making similar arrangements between Wales and England for the sake of dogma. On the other hand, Jeremy claims that:

At present, Westminster provides negligible oversight of government education policies in Wales. Welsh question sessions in the House are infrequent. The Committee for Welsh Affairs, composed of all Welsh MPs and a small number of English Conservative MPs, is a talking shop which rarely discusses education (Jeremy, 1993).

G. E. Jones (1995), agrees that the degree of independence allowed to educational institutions in Wales prompts a whole range of questions about the nature of the government of Wales as a whole. Some would like much more independence because they believe that:

The major policy initiatives have not been formulated with the needs of Wales in mind; the most that has been allowed is adaptation at the margin (G. E. Jones, 1995).

Jeremy takes the stance that Wales cannot continue with the anachronistic grip of Whitehall on education policy-making. He believes that in the era of Maastricht and subsidiarity, such centralised control is against the whole spirit of modern European thinking (Jeremy, 1993).
The Welsh Inspectorate believes that to achieve the targets set in the Welsh Office policy series, *A Bright Future* (1995d), that all agencies involved in education will need to support schools and work in harmony.

Most of all, schools will require continued support and encouragement from central government, LEAs, parents and the wider community. The challenges faced by teachers need to be recognised and their work valued (OHMCI, 1996b).

When the *Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseu Cymru* (*ACAC: Curriculum and Assessment Council for Wales*) was established on 1 April 1994, it had advisory responsibilities for the curriculum in Wales, for assessment arrangements in Key Stage 1 (KS1), Key Stage 2 (KS2) and Key Stage 3 (KS3), and commissioning responsibilities for Welsh and bilingual classroom materials. Its responsibilities for examination standards at GCSE and A level were confined initially, to Welsh First language, Welsh Second language and Welsh literature. The Secretary of State later agreed that the responsibilities for all assessment, and examination standards should transfer from SCAA to ACAC on 21 April 1995. In welcoming the announcement, the Chairman of the Authority, Rudi Plaut said:

>This is a landmark for Welsh education. We shall continue to work closely with our colleagues at SCAA to ensure common standards. However, for the first time Wales now has an Authority which is responsible for all curriculum, assessment and examination matters in Wales (ACAC, June 1995)

Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p.247) claim that implementation has to involve a process of interaction between the implementors, who may have different values, perspectives, and priorities from one another and from those advocating the policy. CCW had a different staff structure from the National Curriculum Council. This included a number of field officers whose role was to spend time in schools developing teacher support activities.

The Council’s relationship with teachers in the Principality is a close one and operates on a much more personal level than is possible for England. This enables us to build close relationships with all the schools in Wales and also, we hope, makes the teachers feel more involved in what will be required of them under legislation. We see this teacher support programme as being a very important part of our work (Rogers, 1991).
In view of its chequered history, the development of the Welsh language and the *Curriculum Cymreig* to statutory status is remarkable. For instance, when the Act of Union was passed at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was declared that Justices of the Peace would:

Proclaim and keep all courts in the English tongue...all oaths shall be given in the English tongue;...no person or persons that use the Welsh speech or language shall have any office within this realm (Williams, 1950, p.38).

The effect of this declaration was negative and destructive to the Welsh language. English was from then on associated with persons of influence and power and overnight it became a language the ambitious would have to learn (Williams, 1950). By the beginning of the nineteenth century the majority of the population believed that the main purpose of education was to equip children with adequate knowledge of English whereas the monoglot Welshman was treated with contempt and:

Regarded as a barbaric mountain-dweller, and an Englishman, Scotsman, or Irish man is chosen before him for any post of responsibility! ... English is the language of all the most valuable books under the heavens - and one of the main languages of travel throughout the earth (Eta Delta, 1847, p.310).

The historian, Gruffydd Rhisiart (1851), maintained that the Welsh language ought ‘to retire and disappear to make way for a single Welsh nation, great and peaceful, one in language and one in speech’. He claimed that ‘it would be an unspeakable advantage to both Welshmen and Englishmen if the Welsh language were to cease to exist and the Welsh nation made as one with the English nation’.

To instruct children in a language which they do not understand is a defect in the present education in Wales. I know that several are ready to argue that it is better to educate children in the English language. If so, the sooner we renounce the ancient and sweet-sounding tongue, the better, because, according to this view, it is much more of an obstacle than of an advantage. Doubtless, we ought to do one of two things, either to renounce Welsh completely, or else to teach and to cherish it with more eagerness than we have done hitherto (Eta Delta, 1847).
Although there had not been a statutory curriculum in England and Wales until 1988, there had been strong central controls, exerted either through the system of inspection and testing in the nineteenth century, or by the regulations of the Board of Education in the twentieth century (Maw, 1993, p.55). The Welsh Department of the Board of Education's first appointed Chief Inspector of Schools in Wales was Owen Morgan Edwards. He was known to comment to a headteacher during a school inspection in Wales, 'I am very glad to see that you teach French here. I presume that there are a number of French chapels in the vicinity' (G. A.Jones, 1958, p.81). He believed that a child should have his education through his mother tongue and that education should derive from the local community and from 'the spirit of the culture and traditions of his country'. This ideal was contrary to his own bitter experience in Ysgol y Llan, (the local village school) Llanuwchlyn, as outlined in his autobiography Clych Atgof (Bells of Memory, Edwards, 1933).

Chief Inspector, OM Edwards was a severe critic of an education aimed at 'getting on in the world', and he described his fear of a Wales 'full of clerks and teachers, who have lost contact with their locality, language and culture' (Webster, 1991, p.34). He considered that all schools in Wales should be 'community' schools, with the task of enriching the economic, social, cultural and linguistic life of the neighbourhood and of the Welsh nation. He wished to imbue young and old with the 'little' tradition of the locality and the 'great' tradition of Wales (G. E. Jones, 1990). He criticised the narrow academic and alienating concerns of the Welsh Board of Education. OM Edwards stressed that because the curricula of the schools was determined by the board's examinations that 'it was difficult to give bias towards the prevalent industry of the neighbourhood' (R. G. Jones, 1962).

In 1939, his son, Sir Ifan ab Owen Edwards, (the founder of Urdd Gobaith Cymru: Welsh League of Youth in 1922) founded the first independent Welsh primary school in Aberystwyth on these ideals. A short description of his philosophy of Welsh education formed the basis for teaching and learning at this school (detailed in chapter 1). 'Little was it realised at the time that this would also become the foundation stone of over fifty similar schools which were founded a little while later' (Isaac, 1943).
This research outlines the development of the *Curriculum Cymreig* (*Welsh Curriculum*) and the establishment of Welsh-medium education in the context of a growing status for the Welsh language. Chapter 1 focuses on the period from the end of the Second World War to 1988 when there was a steady deterioration in the relationships between central and local government on the one hand, and a rising profile for 'Welshness' on the other.

The second chapter concentrates on how the 1988 Education Reform Act increased the status of the Welsh language and offered opportunity to develop a dimension in other subjects. From September 1989, Welsh First language was to be taught and assessed as a core subject at all key stages in all Welsh-medium schools. The Act also decreed that Welsh Second language was to be taught and assessed by Teacher Assessment at every key stage in every other state maintained school in Wales. It, therefore, became necessary for primary schools to decide on the language category of their school. The consequent development of the National Curriculum, gave schools an opportunity 'to create for the first time ever, a state school curriculum unique to Wales in content and context'. Apart from the Welsh Order, the statutory Orders for history, geography, art and music differ from those in England. Locally agreed religious education syllabuses present schools in Wales with opportunities 'to celebrate those features which give Wales its own distinctive social and cultural identity' (G. E. Jones, 1990). The Curriculum Council for Wales (CCW: later to become the Curriculum and Assessment Authority or Wales) stated that:

*(The National Curriculum) should not only give to pupils an appreciation of the Welsh heritage, but also an awareness of the opportunities which the future has to offer Wales in the rapidly changing world of the last decade of the twentieth century (CCW, 1992a).*

Chapter 3 analyses the way in which the Act was interpreted, the establishment of the various Welsh educational agencies and their roles the development of an increasingly distinct National Curriculum in Wales. The Curriculum Council for Wales declared that:
The National Curriculum is intended as a framework for the education of pupils from 5-16. It is not a description of how individual school should organise the delivery of their curriculum although implementation of it will entail schools addressing broadly the same issues (CCW, 1989, p.1).

Hogwood and Gunn (1984, p.242) claim that in moving towards agreed objectives it is not possible to specify, in complete detail and perfect sequence, the tasks to be performed by each participant. The difficulties of achieving a condition of 'perfect implementation' are inevitable because of the 'room for discretion and improvisation in even the most carefully planned programme'. They maintain that managerial problems occur in actually ensuring that tasks are performed correctly and on time in taking appropriate remedial action if they are not (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p.244).

The Curriculum Council for Wales acknowledges that schools operate the Curriculum Cymreig (Welsh Curriculum) within their own different settings. It states that schools will need to establish clear aims and policies to ensure that pupils are helped to explore the concepts of Wales and Welshness from their own particular standpoints (CCW, 1989, p.26). It also acknowledges that:

There is no easily achieved final blueprint, as every school situation is unique. Each school community, and the curriculum which it provides, is characterised by Welshness, albeit in differing ways, and in different geographical and cultural settings (CCW, 1993a, p.5).

Phillips (1996) suggests that it is perhaps the variety within the concept of 'Welshness' - 'whether from Aberdare or Aberaeron, Carmarthen or Cathays, Harlech or Hengoed' which gives the Curriculum Cymreig its own distinctiveness. However, he believes that:

Painful as it may be for cultural restorationalists, this may cause rejection of some aspects of the notions of 'Welshness' identified in the Curriculum Cymreig by some of those charged with implementing it (Phillips, 1996, p.36).
Since 1988, teachers have been at the receiving end of an influx of changes. Furthermore, from September, 1995 a ‘slimmed-down’ version of the National Curriculum was introduced. This gave statutory status to the *Curriculum Cymreig* for the first time. Statutory testing of core subjects, reporting to parents and the publication of school and county league tables are established in all key stages. The Education (Schools) Act, of 1992 has placed on HMCI the duty to keep the system of inspecting schools under review. The front page of the OHMCI *Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance* (1994a), reinforces that:

> Schools in Wales are required to provide a curriculum which reflects the languages, culture and heritage of Wales. This includes the teaching of Welsh, either as first or as a second language and/or using the language as a medium of instruction in other areas of the curriculum (OHMCI, 1994a).

This high profile statement suggests that the five year cycle of school inspections places considerable emphasis on Welsh aspects which is debatable. Furthermore, the decision to limit statutory testing to core subjects created a hierarchy of subjects. Welsh Second language was identified as a foundation subject and as such would be assessed by Teacher Assessment in the same way as all other foundation subjects. It follows that parents and governors become the custodians of the extent to which the *Curriculum Cymreig* is taught in their schools and of the standards reached by pupils.

This research explores the extent of delivery and the level of improvement of the *Curriculum Cymreig* on an institutional, departmental and individual level, by investigating identifiable gaps between policy makers and practitioners. It examines recent OHMCI reports and surveys and attempts to identify the key to effective delivery of the National Curriculum in Wales by practitioners in the classroom.

It Hudson (1989, p.397) argues that getting at the truth of policy implementation is problematic and in doing so we must understand the practitioner, the ‘street level bureaucrat’. He studied the ‘actors’ who do the ‘actual’ work of the agency and ways in which their activities affect the way
the public bureaucracy fulfils its public responsibility. Lipsky (1980) - an American by origin whose theories may not always cross the Atlantic successfully - puts forward a useful theory concerning the street level bureaucrat's 'enormous power and considerable autonomy from their employing agency'. Barrett and Fudge (1981) agree and argue that on many occasions 'lower level actors' take decisions which effectively limit hierarchical influence, preempt top decision-making, or alter 'policies'. Lipsky (1980) claims that the street level bureaucrat's performance is notoriously difficult to define and measure, and much of it occurs in places inaccessible to supervisors. On the other hand, Hudson maintains that:

It is not that street level bureaucrats are simply malicious and cunning functionaries interested only in their own comfort.

Rather, it is that in looking at the dilemmas in their working day, we can see just how problematic a role they are asked to play in the policy making system (Hudson, 1989, p.397).

Evidence showed that teachers are confronted with the demanding tasks of teaching and assessing the *Curriculum Cymreig* when they are not yet familiar with statutory requirements. Many are Welsh learners and others have a limited knowledge of Welsh. Generally, they are suffering from innovation overload with little time to reflect and come to terms with what the changes mean to them in their daily classroom practices (Elfed-Owens, 1992). The era of change, accountability and central control has also marked the diminishing role of the LEA and the availability of its Advisory staff to offer school support.

This is the focus of the fourth chapter. It considers Fullan (1991)'s view that if we are to comprehend the big picture, we must combine the aggregate knowledge of these individual situations with an understanding of organisational and institutional factors that influence the process of change as (the policy-makers) and the schools interact (Fullan, 1991). The chapter considers progress in delivering the National Curriculum in Wales through linking the findings of recent OHMCI primary school reports and surveys to research on the management of change at classroom level.
Chapter 5 outlines the methodology of the research and the report in the sixth chapter is based on evidence collected from the interviews. The main focus of the seven interviews was an investigation into how policy is formulated in Wales and on identifying factors which play a significant part in the way policy is interpreted at classroom level by teachers. The conclusions drawn from the work are outlined in Chapter 7.
CHAPTER 1

WORKING TOWARDS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN WALES 1944 - 1987

From 'the idealism and the optimism' (Maclure, 1988, p.150) to the beginning of the 'end of the secret garden' (Lawton, 1980, p.132).

This chapter follows the development of two strands through the years between the major education acts of 1944 and 1988. It looks at the development of 'Welshness' and a growing status for the Welsh language. To a lesser extent it also follows the tightening grip of centralism and accountability from post war years through to the introduction of a national core curriculum.

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT DATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England / Wales</th>
<th>Specific to Wales</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butler's Education Act</td>
<td>1944</td>
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<tr>
<td>End of the Second World War</td>
<td>1944</td>
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<tr>
<td>General election, first overall majority for a Labour government</td>
<td>1945</td>
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<tr>
<td>Secondary School Examinations Council</td>
<td>1946</td>
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<tr>
<td>School leaving age 15</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCE 'O' level (16+) established</td>
<td>1948</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.2% Gross National Product</td>
<td>1950</td>
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<tr>
<td>General election: labour re-elected</td>
<td>1951</td>
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<tr>
<td>General election: Conservatives win</td>
<td>1952</td>
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<td>1953</td>
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<td>147 grammar, 24 technical, 12 modern schools in existence</td>
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<td>1st designated Welsh state Primary School, opened in Llanelli</td>
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<td>Cyd Bwyllgor Addysg, Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC)</td>
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<td>Minister for Welsh Affairs appointed</td>
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<td>Lessonbooks Project, WJEC</td>
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<td>British Broadcasting Council for Wales established</td>
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<td>First broadcast of a Welsh television programme</td>
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<td>Date</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>Cardiff declared the capital of Wales</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>1st Welsh Secondary School opens in Flintshire - <em>Ysgol Glan Clwyd</em>,</td>
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<td>1958</td>
<td>Commercial television by TWW (Television Wales and the West) starts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>transmissions in Wales</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>General election: conservatives re-elected</td>
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<td>1960</td>
<td>35% grammar schools, 53% modern schools, 12% comprehensive schools</td>
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<td>1961</td>
<td>Welsh Books Council set up.</td>
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<td>1962</td>
<td><em>Tynged yr Iaith</em> (Fate of the Welsh Language) broadcast by Saunders</td>
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<td>Lewis</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg</em> (Welsh Language Society) founded</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td>BBC Wales established.</td>
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<td>James Griffiths appointed first Secretary of State for Wales,</td>
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<td>1964</td>
<td><em>Pwyllgor Cymru y Cyngor Ysgolion</em> (Schools Council: Wales)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Certificate School Examination (CSE)</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>Gittins Report</td>
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<td>1966</td>
<td>General election: Labour elected</td>
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<td>Cledwyn Hughes becomes Secretary of State for Wales</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gwynfor Evans, Plaid Cymru, wins parliamentary seat in Carmarthen</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>Welsh Language Act passed</td>
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<td>1968</td>
<td>Welsh Arts Council established</td>
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<td>Harlech Television (HTV) takes over from TWW</td>
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<td>George Thomas becomes Secretary of State for Wales</td>
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1970 Education Department located in the Welsh Office

1971 *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin* (Welsh-Nursery Movement) founded

UK enters European Economic Community

1972 Sports Council for Wales established

Kilbrandon Report on the constitution

1973 Assessment/Performance Unit of the DES established

General elections in February & October; both won by Labour

1974 Referendum confirms UK membership of the EEC

1975 Local government reorganised

Callaghan's Great Education Debate

1976 Callaghan's Great Education Debate

1977 BBC Radio Wales and Radio Cymru first listed as separate services

1978 97% Comprehensive schools

Conservatives win general election

1979 Devolution referendum.

Nicholas Edwards becomes Secretary of State for Wales

Establishment of Parliamentary Select Committee for Welsh Affairs

Framework for the School Curriculum (DES)

1980 Welsh Grants, Section 21

Falklands War

1982 Launch of Sianel Pedwar Cymru (S4C)

General election: Conservatives

1983 Neil Kinnock: leader re-elected Labour

School Curriculum Development Committee

1986 *Pwyllgor Datblygu Curriculum Ysgolion* (School Curriculum Development Committee: Wales)

GCSE exam established

1986 *Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg* (Committee for Developing Welsh Education)

Conservatives re-elected

1987 Peter Walker becomes Secretary of State for Wales

*(Adapted from Herbert and Jones, 1995, p.xi)*

14
The Second World War resulted in a blurring of the divisions between different classes of society and a greater sense of equality. A sharing of dangers and sacrifices resulted in a similar kind of levelling to that which had happened during the 1920s-1930s Depression in Wales. G. E. Jones (1990) maintained that 'education of the general masses in Wales suffered greatly during the Depression as jobs became more important than scholarship places and the lack of money resulted in college and university places being sacrificed'. The Second World War proved to be a watershed in the history of Wales.

The Wales of the chapel or the miners' institute was passing away, to be replaced by a Wales in which people acquired an unaccustomed affluence which could find a partial outlet in an Anglicised culture (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.52).

There was a general decline in the population of Wales in the Second World War years. Only the north and south coastal strips avoided this trend because of their relative prosperity. Many of the rural areas of central Wales remained sparsely populated. These areas suffered most as farming became less labour-intensive but perhaps more important for its effects on the educational system, was the movement of English families into rural Wales. Anglicisation of the Welsh communities in turn resulted in the need for a variety in the of provision of education.

Once short stays of the tourists began to be translated into the longer stays of settlers there were other implications for education...Children posed problems for schools, problems reminiscent of those which faced chapels in the last century...Then, sermons became gradually bilingual and eventually led to wholesale dilution of the Welsh language in the communities concerned...Particularly significant was that the economic, social and cultural base of Welsh life grew inexorably more similar to that of England (G. E. Jones, 1990).

The Second World War resulted in an increased demand for coal and steel and a growth particularly in the motor and electrical industry, hence industrial prosperity in parts of Wales. In certain areas in Wales, these changes also affected education because there was a need to provide industry with personnel trained to provide a new range of the necessary skills. All this meant that government investment, and government interest, made education in its social context more significant than ever (ibid, p.51).
The language of the new culture was English:

The Welsh language could never be the language of the new commerce... The mass culture of the post-war period was that of the popular newspaper, the cinema, the radio and, soon, the ubiquitous television (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.52).

Changes in society coupled with the enforced legislative changes of the 1944 Education Act in an atmosphere of post war idealism put immense pressure on the educational system to implement change. The main features of the Act were consensus and partnership between the Ministry of Education, the LEAs and the teachers. They dealt with the buildings and the school and teachers dealt with the curriculum. This harmonious partnership continued throughout the 1950s.

The increased birth rate known as the 'post war bulge' meant that suddenly an increasing number of children had to be accommodated in the education system. This was accompanied by a greater idealism and optimism which also necessitated change in the school system.

Nobody can read very far into the post-war period without sensing the idealism and the optimism - some of it pretty daft, but none the less genuine - which pervaded the discussion of educational reform (Maclure, 1988, p.150).

Many of the sentiments were naive in the extreme. Maclure claims that there people were generally agreed about the aims of education. He adds that there was 'a belief in some Adam Smith-like divine hand which would miraculously ensure that all these individual aims would add up to the essential aims of society'. This was the basic premise on which 'a publicly-provided child-centred education' depended (Maclure, 1988).

In the post-war period uniquely Welsh administrative structures existed:

Decision-making in education provides a vivid example of a central paradox in post-war Wales; there has been an increasing number of administrative bodies exclusive to Wales which have implemented policies neither emanating from Wales nor necessarily reflecting public opinion within Wales (G. E. Jones, 1995, p.6).
Under the 1944 Education Act an Advisory Council for England was paralleled by an Advisory Council (Wales). Both were nominated bodies. Despite there being a separate advisory council for Wales, it was not until 1952 that there was a major overview. In that year, the Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education published a booklet entitled *The Curriculum and the Community in Wales*. This treated the subject in depth and 'set the debate on a sound theoretical basis, encompassing both Welsh and English speakers'.

The Welsh language, naturally, was the prime inheritance but that inheritance was also mediated in the nation's history. A sense of place was central to pupils' understanding of their environment, so the geography of Wales was another essential ingredient. Welsh children were also entitled to know of the musical, artistic and poetic tradition of Wales. The arguments underpinning these conclusions were subtle and urbane. However, they were far stronger on theory than on practical application. This is hardly surprising since there was no common curricular core across Wales to which practical programmes might be coupled (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.7).

The examining functions of *Bwrdd Canol Cymru* (Central Welsh Board: CWB) were transferred to the WJEC, the Welsh national examining board in 1949.

In 1947 an office of the Welsh Department of the Minister of Education was established in Cardiff, the first time that any aspect of its work had gone outside Whitehall. However, policies of central government were to be carried out as far as possible and any adaptation to meet the particular needs of Wales was a departure from the norm rather than a policy for Wales (G. E. Jones, 1995, p.6). In 1951 a Minister for Welsh Affairs was appointed. In 1952 most of the Welsh Department's work was transferred to Cardiff which was declared the capital of Wales in 1955. The 1951 and 1956 Finance Acts extended LEA funding powers and so weakened central-government control over the education system. This was a trend that increased through to the 1970s.

The Welsh Office was established in 1965, following the creation of the Office of the Secretary of State for Wales in 1964 (Welsh Office, 1996b).
From 1965, the new permanent secretary of the Department was based in Cardiff. This was to herald the emergence of a much more separate and distinctive system in Wales between 1970 and 1996 when different and independent departments of government were set up although strong attempts were made to maintain parallel systems. In G E Jones's opinion:

Despite the establishment of the Welsh Office and the appointment of a Welsh Secretary of State for the first time in 1964, education policy was determined in London rather than Cardiff, even when, nominally, the Welsh Office became responsible for all educational institutions in Wales other than the University (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.7).

The responsibilities of the new body were first limited to obvious areas of interest - roads, housing, local government. The great success of the Welsh Office in dealing with these matters, and the proof that local contact worked, led to an increasing delegation of power from Whitehall to Wales (ibid).

Since the 1940s, there was a strong campaign for Welsh in the education system. Considering this, it seems strange that before the 1960s there was little campaigning to win official status for the language.

Welsh was hardly ever to be seen on buildings (apart from Welsh chapels), on official forms or on public notices, nor was it used in post offices, by telephones operators or in conducting local government business (Rees, 1973, p. 211).

Change in the evolution of a Welsh identity during the 1960s was mostly due to the activities of the Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Welsh Language Society) which was founded during the summer school of Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalist Party) in 1962. The catalyst to the change, however, was the delivery of the BBC's annual radio lecture by Saunders Lewis on 13 February 1962. The theme of the lecture was Tynged yr Iaith (The Fate of the Language). In this, Lewis insisted that it had to be made impossible for local and central government business to be run without the use of the Welsh language (Lewis, 1971, p.26).
Increasing awareness of the value of the Welsh language coupled with non-violent law-breaking protests of members of Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg in their pursuit of equal status for the language led to an enhancement of its status during the 1960s (Morgan, 1995, p.60). The strength of the protest stimulated many other developments. Welsh pop singing, developed, book shops, printers, record companies and building societies were established (Lewis, 1973, p.198).

The Welsh Courts Act of 1942 had given Welsh speakers the right to use their language in courts of law only if they were in a position to argue that they would be disadvantaged if obliged to use English. However, in 1963 a parliamentary committee was formed to discuss the official status of the Welsh language. In 1965 the committee reported that ‘Welsh should have equal validity with English in the eyes of the law’. This was incorporated into The Welsh Language Act of 1967 (Lewis, 1973, p. 196).

Between 1940 and 1950, when less than a hundred new books were released, it was feared that the demand for Welsh books would diminish. However, in 1950 Cardigan LEA library ventured into the world of publishing children’s books. Other LEAs followed, and in 1954 the Cynllun Llyfrau Cymraeg (Welsh Books Scheme) was established to prepare materials for schools. In 1956, a further government grant was provided to fund the publication of Welsh books for adult. In 1961, Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg (Welsh Books Council) was established again by government grant; by 1988 this had reached £300,000 a year. As a result there was a substantial rise in the range and number of Welsh books and periodicals published (Davies, 1993, p.628). However, Jones argues that:

> Even the printed word, so crucial to the Welsh language literacy of a burgeoning population, failed to command the loyalty of readers so that, by the late 1960s, only a quarter of the Welsh-speaking population read a newspaper or periodical regularly in the Welsh language (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.62).

The Welsh Arts Council was established in 1967, a milestone in the history of Welsh culture. By 1985, the council was receiving £7 million grant per annum.
During the 1970s, the Welsh Language Society campaigns focused on developing a television network. Part of their argument related to the educational implications of the media.

It is often forgotten that radio and television had, and have, a direct input into education, especially in the primary schools, which helps mould attitudes towards communication generally, visual and linguistic. There were educational implications. When the word was projected into the schools of Wales, increasingly backed up by visual images from slide projectors, film loops, television sets and recently, video-recorders, it was in English.

The media generally are an informal educative force of immense power themselves, especially by the time that television had become the predominant leisure activity of the population. The impact of the media in moulding opinions and setting standards of the spoken and written word grew inexorably. The word was, overwhelmingly, in English and the life-style it portrayed was English, often south-east English at that (G. E. Jones, 1990, p. 52).

In 1962, Broadcasting Council for Wales (BBC Wales) was formed and twelve hours of programmes a week were offered, half of which were through the medium of Welsh. Television programmes in Welsh were broadcast by commercial television. Television Wales and the West (TWW) began in 1958 and was taken over by Harlech Television (HTV) in 1968.

The creation of Radio Wales and Radio Cymru (Welsh Radio) in the late 1970s solved the problem caused by the decision to broadcast both English and Welsh programmes by using two different wavelengths (Morgan, 1995, p.64). By the late 1960s, broadcasting had become a divisive issue in Wales and a growing body of opinion, on both sides of the linguistic divide, had come to conclude that the answer was to be found in a Welsh-language television channel. Welsh speakers would be able to watch programmes at reasonable hours and English-language viewers would not have their viewing interrupted. (Davies, 1995, p.65). In 1973, the idea of a separate channel was endorsed at a national conference convened by the Lord Mayor at Cardiff. The Conservatives committed themselves to the channel in their general election manifesto and were returned to power in May 1979. In September they announced that they would not be proceeding with the channel and this decision met with angry reaction in Wales (Baker, 1985, p.125). Television licence fees were withheld, there were raids on transmitters.
In May 1980 Gwynfor Evans (the first Welsh Nationalist Member of Parliament) announced that he would fast to death unless the government made good its original commitment. After a series of mass rallies, the government yielded. *Sianel Pedwur Cymru* (S4C - Channel Four, Wales) began broadcasting on 1 November 1982 (Davies, 1995, p.67).

The informal and formal educational impact of a multi-media society (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.52) was considerable in the provision of Welsh materials to support education and also in the need to provide Welsh speaking personnel for the new developments. Another new and successful development was the publication of *Papurau Bro* (Community Newspapers). The first of these voluntary, unpaid ventures, *Y Dinesydd* (The Citizen) appeared in Cardiff in 1973. By 1992 there were fifty-two of them, with a combined circulation of about 75,000 (Davies, 1995, p.64).

The 1944 Education Act stated that public education in England and Wales was to be organised into ‘three progressive stages’: primary education, secondary education and further education’. In 1970, the Secretary of State for Wales had assumed full responsibility for the education system in Wales (Rees, 1973, p.4) thus making separate developments a possibility. Parents frequently asserted their rights and forced local education authorities to set up Welsh-medium schools. This resulted in the rapid growth of Welsh-medium education between the late 1940s to the 1960s. Davies (1993, p.621) suggests that for the Welsh people, education was the key to win, to guard and to nurture and a school which was able to develop Welsh-medium education was fulfilling its obligation to society and to the community’s cultural heritage (Morgan, 1995). Syr Ifan ab Owen Edwards stated that:

> In the past we have always spoken of the Welsh nation as a democracy - *y Werin Gymraeg* (Welsh Folk). This may be a wonderful conception. But the result of our endeavours in the past to attain this ideal is that the sons and daughters of successful business and professional Welshmen have lost their cultural inheritance....The result is that the next generation of leaders in the town are, to all purposes, English in outlook, culture and language. As a nation we cannot afford this vital loss of our nation, and it seems that the only solution to the problem lies in the settling up of private schools in Welsh in every town in Wales (Ifan ab Owen Edwards, 1943).
As Welsh-medium primary education expanded, so did nursery education and in 1971 *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin* (Welsh Nursery School Movement) was established. By this time there were already sixty-eight schools across Wales accommodating 950 nursery pupils (Davies, 1995, p.60). The first Welsh school *Ysgol Gymraeg, Aberystwyth* (Aberystwyth Welsh School) opened as a private school in 1939 under the auspices of the *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (Welsh League of Youth). It prospered to fulfil Syr Ifan’s aim of guarding the cultural inheritance of Wales:

One wonders whether this little Welsh school set up to meet the temporary problem of a crisis may not develop into something permanent and really worthwhile in our national structure, influencing greatly in time the educational system of Wales (Edwards, 1943).

(The history of *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* is detailed in Chapter 3). The aim of the school as stated in the school prospectus was:

*Meithrin dinasyddiaeth, bywyd Cristnogol, a chariad at brydferthwch ydyw uchelgais ysgol, a hynny ar sail diwylliant Cymru* (Isaac, 1943, p.50)

*(To foster citizenship, the Christian way of life and a love of beauty, and to base this on the culture of the native land of its pupils).*

The first headteacher of the school was described by HMI as ‘quite exceptional in her practical skill as a teacher, in her breadth of vision and in her general influence upon the school’. She described the function of Welsh-medium primary education thus:

*When I think of the term ‘Welsh Education’, I mean something infinitely more fundamental than using Welsh as a medium of instruction. The education must draw on the native material and penetrate deeper than the matter of language. The child must be regarded as a citizen of a small country, Wales, in exactly the same way as a Danish child is primarily treated and taught as a citizen of Denmark. The education provided should be kindred to its soil, and according to R A Butler, our aim should be ‘to base the upbringing of the young, both at home and in school, on all that was most lively and enduring in the past life of the nation’. Individuals and nations suffer if they lose contact with the mental and spiritual life of their forbears (Isaac, 1943).*
Final recognition of the school's status in Welsh education came in February 1948, when the Ysgol Gymraeg was inspected by HMI. The concluding paragraph of their report reflects its success whilst contrasting with the nature of concluding paragraphs of reports in the 1990s which identify Key Issues for Action in improving the standards achieved by pupils (OHMCI, 1996c, p.35):

The School successfully reflects in the classroom and in its general activities the ideals set out by the founders. That ideal is the belief in the value of the rich, spiritual and cultural education based on a Welsh life and language as a best means of releasing the Welsh child to full capacity. With this ideal in mind the teachers help the children to live the Welsh life joyously through lively and varied activities with plenty of exercise for imagination and for creative work in language, in movement and in art. The children's growth is marked; they are stimulated to a desire for knowledge; their whetted appetites are satisfied and their memories are stored with treasures of Welsh lore, song and legend. The atmosphere is one of a lively Welsh community living together in freedom, joy and activity, learning to grow richly from their own native soil and later branching out to embrace a knowledge of English language, literature, song and story, and to some understanding of the ways of peoples of other lands (HMI, 1948).

However, by 1950-51, it became clear that Urdd Gobaith Cymru could no longer bear the greater part of the financial burden of maintaining the school. In July 1951, it was decided to close it as an Independent School, and to invite Cardiganshire Education Committee to establish a free Welsh school in Aberystwyth. The school was taken over by the local authority and opened as a state school in September 1951. Meanwhile, its pioneering effort to preserve and develop the ability of children to speak Welsh and to provide a truly bilingual education had attracted the attention of educationalists both at home and abroad. Its influence and inspiration was felt throughout Wales, and it was responsible for the establishment of similar Welsh schools in other towns (Davies, 1995). In 1947, the Carmarthenshire Education Committee authorised the development of the first state Welsh-medium primary school at Llanelli which was opened on St David's Day. Another dozen schools were opened throughout Wales between 1947 and 1951.
By 1970 there were 41 schools including *Ysgol Bryntaf*, Cardiff (Cardiff Welsh Primary School), the largest primary school in Wales. By 1974 there were sixty-one designated Welsh primary schools in Wales, attended by 8,500 pupils (Davies, 1995, p.60). Between 1970 and 1984 the number of primary school children being taught through the medium of Welsh rose from 6,243 to 10,412 and secondary school children from 2,017 to 8,933 (Morgan, 1995, p.52.). The designated Welsh schools grew at the same time as the 'natural' Welsh rural schools were facing the challenge of the influx of English speaking pupils. By 1970, almost every natural Welsh school faced serious linguistic problems.

In 1947, the school leaving age was raised to 15. Increasing prosperity – particularly in some industrial areas - enabled pupils to stay on in school beyond the statutory school leaving age. Moves were made to ensure that every child attended secondary school without payment. This legislation dislocated particular elements of the Welsh system through ending an administratively separate set of secondary schools which were first established in 1889 (Davies, 1993).

The 1889 Act was well in advance of the reorganisation of secondary education in England (1902), and is the only significant educational measure specific to Wales ever to have reached the statute book. This was a legislation which was so experimental, independent and influential on practice and thinking elsewhere (Reynolds, 1990).

The 1944 Education Act consolidated this provision and from then on, secondary education was to be free. This had more impact in England, where there was a much higher degree of fee paying for secondary education. Secondary education in Wales was already free to a large percentage of children before the Second World War through the provision by local authorities of special places to state secondary grammar school. Until the spread of comprehensive schooling in the 1970s, most of the schools created under the 1944 Education Act survived as grammar schools. It was a tripartite system designed to accommodate three kinds of ability: academic (grammar) schools; technical schools and general ability secondary modern schools though it was never fully implemented (or resourced) as such.
One of the implications of the Act was that only a minority of pupils could benefit from an academic education. The '11+' examination administered in English and mathematics to all pupils of eleven years of age. This became a selection mechanism for pupils to enter grammar schools and 'secondary modern' schools were established for the pupils who did not pass the examination. Generally, as a result of the 1889 Secondary Education Act, the 'modern' schools were less evident in Wales. In 1946 there were 147 grammar schools, 24 technical schools and 127 modern schools in Wales. In 1960, 35% of secondary schools in Britain were grammar schools, 53% modern schools and 12% comprehensive schools.

After the war, dual grammar / modern schools were established in many areas of rural Wales. Anglesey was, in 1951, the first LEA to abolish the 11+ and to establish the first two genuine 'comprehensive schools' at Menai Bridge and Llangefni. Secretary of State Anthony Crosland (Circular 10/65, 1965) encouraged local authorities towards reorganisation along comprehensive-school lines. Central government's grip on the administration of education and, especially, curriculum, loosened in the 1960s and 1970s (Jones, 1995, p.3). The government insisted that all dual grammar / modern schools were to be abolished and before the end of the 1970s, the 11+ was also abolished throughout Wales, except for some areas of Carmarthenshire. Many large comprehensive schools were established - some with two thousand pupils. These were defended because they were able to offer a wider range of subjects. However, they were also criticised for being impersonal institutions (Davies, 1993, p.614).

As Welsh-medium primary education expanded, there was a need for Welsh-medium secondary schools to service the principality and the anglicised industrial counties of Flintshire and Glamorgan led the way. In 1956, Flintshire Education Committee opened the first bilingual bilateral secondary school, Ysgol Gyfun Glan Clwyd, (Glan Clwyd Secondary School) followed by Ysgol Maes Garmon (Maes Garmon Secondary School) in 1961. Then in 1962, Glamorgan Education Committee opened Ysgol Rhydfelen (Rhydfelen Secondary School). By the middle of the 1980s, fourteen bilingual secondary schools existed in Wales (Davies, 1995, p.62).
This development coincided with the re-organisation of secondary schools and was helped by the national move to reorganise secondary education on a comprehensive basis. Most of these schools were bilingual rather than Welsh-medium, teaching some subjects through the medium of English. There was a wide variety across Wales in the importance given by secondary schools to teaching Welsh and the Welsh culture.

Such variety is not difficult to explain. It echoed the cultural heterogeneity of the regions of Wales. It reflected the distancing of central government from the control of the curriculum. It reflected the lack of autonomous Welsh institutions of education (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.7).

The use of Welsh in higher education and at university level also expanded during this period, until about two dozen university lecturers, mostly in during Arts departments, had responsibility for teaching through the medium of Welsh. In 1980 a Welsh-medium external degree was launched by the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (Davies, 1995, p.64).

The efforts made during the nineteenth and early twentieth century to give Welsh more place in education bore fruit in the mid-twentieth century when it became the language of instruction in primary schools in Welsh-speaking areas (G. E. Jones, 1994). In the 1940s, Welsh had little status.

The teaching of Welsh to monoglot English-speaking children varied from area to area and there was little provision for children from Welsh-speaking homes (Welsh Department of the Ministry of Education, 1952, p.100).

Between 1944 and 1990 there was no legal requirement to teach Welsh in primary schools. The amount of Welsh taught depended entirely on individual county policies for Welsh Second language and on the effectiveness of the implementation of those policies in schools. Although there was no national framework, some counties produced guidelines for schools to follow. In general, priority was given to oral skills, with reading and writing skills receiving less attention. Some teaching materials were produced nationally and distributed to schools in the form of language courses which offered sentence patterns and vocabulary to be drilled daily by teachers.
The courses available emphasised language acquisition rather than genuine communication by real use of the language in the day to day running of the school. Since the 1960s, the teaching of Second language in Wales made significant progress in terms of aims, objectives and teaching methodology. There was a gradual move away from the traditional methods of structured grammar courses, with their emphasis on rote learning of vocabulary and sentence patterns, to methods which highlighted the communicative needs of the learner as his/her command of the language increased (Wilkins, 1976). In 1970 the WJEC established Yr Uned Iaith Genedlaethol in Pontypridd, Mid Glamorgan. Its responsibility was to produce materials to support the teaching of Welsh Second language. These materials were funded by the Welsh Office and distributed to individual LEAs who then offered them to schools. Uptake and use of these materials depended entirely on the persuasive skills of LEA officers to interest individual teachers (Wilkins 1976).

In April 1980, the Secretary of State for Wales, Nicholas Edwards outlined the Government's policy for the Welsh language in his speech to Gwynedd County Council entitled The Welsh Language: A Commitment and Challenge.

While there are people who want to speak it, Governments will respond with the means of supporting it and giving it strength. But if Government support is to be given we have to be clear about the objectives. I do not believe the objectives can be to impose bilingualism on the Welsh people. There can be no question of compulsion. Not only would it alienate: it simply would not work. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg said in their Manifesto in 1972 'We gladly concede that no Government can legislate a language into life'. It follows that the accent must be on voluntarism.

Our objective must not be to impose a policy on the people of Wales, but to respond constructively and actively to their wishes. Nowhere is it more vital to secure and to consolidate the goodwill towards the Welsh language that exists among the vast majority of people of Wales than in our schools. There is one group within the education service whose goodwill towards the Welsh language it is essential to preserve and foster. I am referring to the many teachers in our schools who do not speak Welsh. Every effort should be made in formulating and implementing policy on the Welsh language to secure the co-operation of teachers who do not speak Welsh (Edwards, 1980).
Section 21 of the 1980 Education Act stated that:

The Secretary of State shall by regulations make provision for the payment by him to local education authorities and other persons of grants in respect of expenditure incurred or to be incurred in, or in connection with, the teaching of the Welsh language or the teaching in that language of other subjects (ibid).

As a result of the 1980 Education Act, funding was allocated to support Welsh-medium education, and over the years this money has been used mainly in a local government context to fund the Athrawon Bro service (Section 21 and the work of Athrawon Bro are detailed in Chapter 3). The main focus of their work was on developing teacher acquisition of the language and on presenting training on the methodology of teaching Welsh Second language. Until 1988, the focus of the Athrawon Bro work was decided by the counties. Their work basically consisted of preparing teaching materials, providing INSET courses and working alongside teachers in the classroom. Their particular role and work varied from county to county (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.4).

Their service was necessary because in the early 80s, there was still a lack of coherence in the teaching of Welsh nationally. There were areas of resistance, and areas where Welsh was used as a medium of communication in the community. It should be said that this diversity was not the result of county policies alone, but the combined effect of policy, teacher enthusiasm, teacher fluency, parental acceptance, community support and the availability of Welsh teachers.

By the early 1980s Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg judged that the Welsh schools movement was losing momentum, because of financial cut-backs in education budgets and hostility on the part of some education authorities (Morgan, 1995, p.53). So in 1983, it launched a new campaign to establish PGAG to co-ordinate and promote a language strategy for Wales as a whole - 'a specific need, requiring a specific body with a specific finance budget'. PDAG, was established in 1987 to facilitate the wider use of the Welsh language as the medium of instruction in all sectors of the education system in Wales, both in academic studies and in vocational education and training.
PDAG's role is detailed in Chapter 3). The Welsh Inspectorate (1985) stated that it was natural that, given its unique heritage, the Welsh language and culture should occupy a distinctive place in the curriculum of schools in Wales.

It is natural that, given its unique heritage, the Welsh language and culture should occupy a distinctive place in the curriculum of schools in Wales. In some, because the Welsh language is in daily use at home and in the community alongside English, it will be accorded a priority in curricular terms similar to that of English. But all children in Welsh schools should have access to the means of extending their familiarity with it, refining it as a means of communication. In addition, the importance of the local context as a starting point for acquiring skills and knowledge, and the intrinsic value of the cultural heritage of Wales, argue for the placing of an appropriate emphasis on a Welsh dimension in the curriculum (HMI, 1985, p.1).

Primary education was transformed in the twenty-five years following the end of the war and particularly the discontinuation of the eleven-plus examination in the 1970s. Central government control over the curriculum was less marked than in any other time in the history of state education (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.160). Following the 1944 Education Act, the DES still had little formal control over the curriculum and religious education and religious observance were the only elements enforced by law. No curriculum content was legally specified in the Act.

Elementary school teachers, in the nineteenth century fought against rigid control of the curriculum and succeeded in the twentieth century in shaking off this control almost completely (Lawton, 1980, p.18).

Central government's grip on the administration of education and, especially, curriculum, loosened in the 1960s and 1970s.

LEAs, though technically responsible for the curriculum of schools traditionally (that is, since 1945) left the control of the curriculum to governors who have normally left it to the headteachers, who may or may not leave it to their assistants (ibid, p.10). LEAs must, so far as their powers allow, contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of the community by securing that efficient education throughout those stages shall be available to meet the needs of the population of their area (Education Act, 1944, Section: 7)
By the 1960s, primary education was not characterised by pupils sitting quietly by their desks but rather by ‘a variety of experiences’ and groups of children engaged in different aspects of the same activities ‘satisfying their enthusiasm’. Conventional timetables were discarded and the teachers’ task was to prepare ‘learning opportunities’ rather than to prepare lessons (Central Advisory Council for Education: Wales, 1967).

At this time a national system of education existed in England and Wales which was locally administered, with the implementation in the hands of teachers themselves. Publications released by the Ministry of Education reflected the liberal, idealism of the era:

It is important not to make plans that are too rigid...The schools must have freedom to experiment, room to grow, variety for the sake of freshness, for the fun of it even. Laughter in the classroom, self-confidence growing every day, eager interest instead of bored conformity (HMSO, 1967).

By 1964 questions about structuring of the comprehensive schools had developed to some extent into questions about the content of the curriculum. From 1964, the Schools Council, with its teacher majority, was entrusted with curricular initiatives which included a range of exciting projects but no attempt to tackle the problem of the whole curriculum.

Although there was a Schools Council Committee for Wales it inevitably echoed the parent body’s piecemeal approach. Therefore the one substantial overview of the ‘Welshness’ of the whole curriculum which it produced had little impact (G. E. Jones, 1990).

Wales did not come in for special treatment, with one important exception. Of the principal reports, Crowther’s in 1959, Newsom’s in 1963 and Plowden’s in 1967, only the last was complemented by separate discussion in Wales, in the shape of the Gittins Report (G. E. Jones, 1990, p 45). From the discussion paper produced by the Schools Council Committee in Wales in 1974, there was little guidance from the centre as to what might constitute a Welsh curriculum (ibid, p.7).
The trend towards bureaucratic centralism would probably have produced a national curriculum of some kind by the end of the 80s. However, the particular kind of curriculum was affected by political ideologies (Lawton, 1991, p.2). Two major strands of the 'New Right' thinking on education which were brought about by a change of government in 1979, were parental choice and market competition.

Since 1979, Conservative governments have been in power, while commanding only a minority of parliamentary seats in Wales. The policies of these governments, especially since the mid-eighties, have been to centralise control of the curriculum and testing, and to devolve detailed administration, including finance, to individual schools (G. E. Jones, 1995, p.8).

The development of the present National Curriculum began in January 1980 when A Framework for the School Curriculum (DES, 1980) and A View of the Curriculum (HMI, 1980) were published. The culmination of these papers led to the issuing to all schools of the School Curriculum (DES / Welsh Office, 1981). This was presented as a document offering guidance to local education authorities and schools as to how the curriculum might be improved. It urged each local education authority to review its policy for the school curriculum and its arrangements for making that policy known to all concerned. In Circular 8/83 the Secretary of State for Education and Science asked each authority to produce a report by 30th April, 1984. The report was to outline LEA procedures, roles, and the progress made in reviewing curricular arrangements. It required a statement of the steps to be taken particularly with reference to practical work (especially mathematics) and how far aspects such as resources and advisory service support enabled the LEA to execute its policy for the curriculum.

From 1978 onwards, a series of booklets on curriculum and school improvement were produced in both England and Wales. These were all advisory documents but influential in that they created agendas for further discussion. Such documents as the Bullock Report: A Language for Life (DES, 1975) were echoed in Aspects of Secondary Education in England (DES, 1979). These were followed by the Red Books (HMI, 1977, 1981, 1983), and from 1980s, the Achievement in the Secondary School series (HMI, 1980).
In 1985 the Government White Paper, *Better Schools*, outlined their educational aims to raise standards at all levels of ability and to secure the best possible return. In applying these aims, the Government was concerned with the experience of every pupil over the whole range of school activities (DES / Welsh Office, 1985, p.3). No mention of a national curriculum is made in the document. However, it states that:

Consultation with the Government’s partners in the education service and with other interests have shown that there is widespread acceptance of the need to improve the standards achieved by pupils, and of the proposition that broad agreement about the objectives and content of the school curriculum is a necessary step towards that improvement (DES / Welsh Office, 1985, p.9).

*Better Schools* outlined a consultative process ‘intended to lead to broad national agreement about curricular objectives’ in each subject. The Red Book series (HMI, Curriculum Matters 5-16) was intended to stimulate discussion about the curriculum as a whole and about individual components. They outlined general areas which the curriculum should cover without being specific in content. As is maintained elsewhere (Chitty, 1987; 1988 and 1989), the professional common-curriculum approach depicted in the series reflected a ‘genuine concern with the quality of the teaching process and with the needs of individual children’. In *Curriculum Matters 11-16* (1977), HMI state that:

There is no intention anywhere in the papers which follow of advocating centrally controlled or dictated curriculum...The group of HM Inspectors who wrote these papers felt that the case for a common curriculum, as it is presented here, deserves careful attention and that such a curriculum, worked out in the ways suggested, would help to ameliorate the inconsistencies and irrationalities which at present exist (HMI, 1977, p.1).

By 1987 the Government had decided that education needed to be more structured. They felt that even though the Secretary of State for Education had been attempting to raise standards since 1976, that this had not happened nationally. They were not satisfied with the progress made.
The rationale of the National Curriculum was first presented in 1987 in *The National Curriculum 5-16: A Consultation Document* (DES/Welsh Office, 1987, p.2). This publication set out in broad terms the proposed components of the National Curriculum and its associated assessment arrangements. It began by stating a need for a national curriculum which would develop the potential of all pupils and equip them for the responsibilities of citizenship and for the challenges of employment in 'tomorrow's world'. It also stated that a good curriculum would offer progression, continuity and coherence between its different stages. It stated that 'improvements have been made' and that 'some standards of attainment have risen'.

However, some improvement is not enough. Standards must rise consistently and at least as quickly as they are rising in competitor countries (DES / Welsh Office, 1987, p.2).

The Government's intention was:

*To move ahead at a faster pace to ensure that this happens and to secure for all pupils in maintained schools, a curriculum which equips them with the knowledge, skills and understanding that they need for adult life and employment (ibid).*

The National Curriculum was intended to 'provide a framework, not a straitjacket' to raise standards by offering clear statements of objectives and attainment levels, and by regular assessment of the levels of attainment reached (DES / Welsh Office, 1987, p.5). The government expected the National Curriculum to raise standards in four major ways:

- By setting clear objectives for what children over the full range of ability should be able to achieve;
- By ensuring that all pupils, regardless of sex, ethnic origin and geographical location, have access to broadly the same good and relevant curriculum and programmes of study;
- By checking on progress towards those objectives and performance achieved at various stages, so that pupils can be stretched further when they are doing well, and given more help when they are not (DES / Welsh Office, 1987, p.3).
Furthermore the curriculum should:

- Enable schools to be more accountable for the education they offer to their pupils, individually and collectively.
- Parents will be able to judge their children's progress against agreed national targets/attainment and will also be able to judge the effectiveness of their school.
- LEAs will be better placed to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the schools they maintain by considering their performance in relation to each other, and to the country at large.
- Employers too will have a better idea of what a school-leaver will have studied and learnt at school, irrespective of where he or she went to school (DES / Welsh Office, 1987, p.4).

In his speech to the Society of Education Officers in January 1987, Kenneth Baker, the Secretary of State for Education, said:

I believe that we should now move quickly to a national curriculum. By that I mean a school curriculum governed by national criteria which are promulgated by the Secretary of State but in consultation with all concerned - inside and outside the education service, and are sufficiently flexible to allow schools and teachers to use professional enterprise and judgment in applying them to individual pupils in their particular schools (Baker, 1987).

The In-Service Teacher Training grants scheme was introduced in 1983 (DES, Circular 3/83) to give direct financial assistance to LEAs. The funding for the advisory support services was supplemented by the money provided for training by Grants for Educational Support and Training (GEST). In March 1985 the Technological and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) and the In-Service Training Scheme (TRIST) were introduced.

The 1944 Education Act acknowledged parental wishes and provided for them, particularly in religious education. This was further detailed in 1945 thus:

Where Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh-speaking children are fairly equally balanced in number, a classification on the basis of the home language is the only satisfactory one. This arrangement inside the same building has its dangers, since the English element always tends to draw the Welsh one toward itself and to make the work of the teachers in the Welsh section increasingly difficult.
It may be desirable, especially where the Welsh children are in the minority, and where there are several schools in fairly close proximity, to gather the Welsh-speaking children to form separate classes or schools (Welsh Department, Ministry of Education, October, 1945).

By 1987, only 52% of secondary pupils aged between 11 and 16 took Welsh and only 66% of pupils in primary schools were either taught through the medium of Welsh or had access to Welsh as a second language (DES / Welsh Office, 1988).

In the mid-1950s the share of gross national product (GNP) expended on education in England and Wales was 3.2 per cent. In the mid-1960s, it was 5 per cent and still rising. Part of the increase was accounted for by the growth in pupil numbers and another by a greater concern with education, particularly its perceived centrality to continued industrial growth and competitiveness (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.45). The optimism and spending of the 1960s was gradually replaced by calls from central and local government, parents and other interested groups, for schools to be more accountable.

By the end of the 1960s signs of serious conflict had appeared. The first Black Paper appeared in 1969 which started a campaign which placed greater emphasis on the importance of basics in education. This focussed on two areas of conflict: firstly, should schools concentrate on an elite few or on a majority? Secondly, was the purpose of education to develop individuals or to socialise children to fit in to the existing social structure (Lawton, 1980, p.2)? One irony is that Professor Brian Cox, one principal author of these critical essays, later emerges as the enlightened co-ordinator of the National Curriculum document for English (see Chapter 3).

McCormick and James (1983) outline similarities between the situation in Britain and features of the development of educational accountability in North America. As a result of economic decline, there had been a shift of emphasis away from the belief that education was primarily of value to the individual, towards the view that education should respond to and meet the needs of an advanced industrial society.
As early as 1962 David Eccles established the Curriculum Study Group. In 1964, Sir Edward Boyle set up the Schools Council on which teachers had a majority voice.

The object of the Schools Council shall be the promotion of education by carrying out research into and keeping under review the curricula, teaching methods and examination in schools, including the organisation of schools so far as it affects their curricula (quoted in Lawton, 1980, p.75).

The Yellow Book criticised the work of the School's Council but Lawton defends their work by saying that:

It had generated a whole series of research projects designed to make practising teachers more actively involved in the processes of curriculum change and evaluation; a number of schools have been transformed and hundreds of teachers revitalised ...The major weakness has been in dissemination. The Schools Council has not solved this problem, but neither has anyone else in any other country (Lawton, 1980, p.77).

In the years following 1964, the Schools Council emerged as the most important body concerned with the curriculum in England and Wales. Its influence on curriculum development was considerable. Some argued that it was very influential in developing the curriculum particularly in Wales whilst Lawton maintained that it could never have been said to have possessed control in curriculum matters (ibid, p.67).

Because the Schools Council was concerned with curriculum development, it was automatically associated with progressive methods at a time when suggestions were increasingly made that what schools really needed was a return to traditional discipline and the three Rs (Lawton, 1980, p.72).

In 1960 as Conservative Minister of Education, Davis Eccles announced his intention to make the Ministry's voice heard on the curriculum by expressing his dislike for the 'secret garden of the curriculum'.

The development of the Assessment Performance Unit (APU), which was established in 1974, was seen as evidence of a move towards the DES's more positive role in curriculum matters.
The role of the APU was the assessment of performance of school pupils. It produced a whole range of valuable material and its influence on methods of examining cannot be underestimated.

Whilst maintaining for the most part a relatively low profile, the APU was one means by which the Government could gather evidence on what was becoming, by the mid-1970s, a major policy issue - trends in educational 'standards' (Daugherty, 1995, p.3).

A View of the Curriculum (HMI, 1980) and the School Curriculum (DES/Welsh Office, 1981) are instructive in what they reveal about the government thinking on assessment at that time. The HMI paper discusses the curriculum in terms of a broad framework within which teachers and schools determine what learning experiences are appropriate:

The broad definition of the purposes of school education is a shared responsibility, whereas the detailed means by which they may best be realized in individual schools and for individual children are a matter for professional judgment (HMI, 1980, p.2).

HMI view standards by locating the individual teacher at the centre of the system (Daugherty, 1995).

The successful implementation of different programmes for different pupils also puts a premium on teachers' sense of 'standards'; they need to be able to formulate appropriate expectations of what individual children should know or be able to do at a given stage. In order to feel assured that their expectations are reasonably pitched, they need bearings outside as well as inside the school: that is, they need to know children of similar ages and broadly similar circumstances perform in comparison with their own pupils, locally and nationally. Comparative information such as Assessment of Performance Unit is beginning to supply will be helpful to teachers in this respect; programmes of sample local testing by LEAs may give other points of reference (HMI, 1980).

As doubts about Britain’s economic performance and the education and training practices which underpinned it escalated, so civil service and government pronouncements more overtly invaded the curriculum ‘secret garden’. This suggests that there was a large measure of conformity already in place before the National Curriculum was introduced.
One example would be the *Ginn 360 Reading Scheme* which had almost universal currency in Welsh Primary Schools. G. E. Jones (1994) states that 'secret gardens' were cultivated as luxuriantly in Wales as in England in the context of a common legislative base.

Even when it became obvious from the late 1970s that the Department of Education and Science was edging towards reasserting control over the curriculum, the Welsh Office did not take any independent line and produced no major publication which specifically addressed the Welsh dimension (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.7).

A stated aim of the DES since the mid 1960s had been to gain control over what was taught in schools. Callaghan's 1976 Ruskin College speech publicised the new agenda. This signalled a redefinition of the aims of the education system as the focus was shifted away from the individual towards the needs of society and the economy in general. Callaghan referred to the hostility of 'some people' to the idea of a Prime Minister intervening in the educational debate (ibid).

There is nothing wrong with non-educationalists, even a Prime Minister, talking about education. It is almost as though some people would wish that the subject matter and purpose of education should not have public attention focused on it; or at any rate, that profane hands should not be allowed to touch it. Public interest is strong and will be satisfied. It is legitimate. We spend £6 billion a year on education, so there will be discussion. But let it be rational. If everything is reduced to such phrases as 'educational freedom versus state control' we will get nowhere (Callaghan, 1976).

He went on to list complaints about the standards of attainment and vocational preparation of school-leavers. Callaghan endorsed employers' criticisms of poor standards and noted the preference for the arts and pure science over technology and for jobs in government and academe rather than in industry.

I am concerned on my journeys to find complaints from industry that new recruits from the schools sometimes do not have the basic tools to do the job that is required...I have been concerned to find that many of our best trained students who have completed the higher levels of education at university or polytechnic have no desire or intention of joining industry.
Their preferences are to stay in academic life (very pleasant, I know) or to find their way into the civil service. There seems to be a need for a more technological bias in science teaching that will lead towards practical applications in industry rather than towards academic studies (Callaghan, 1976).

Another set of criticisms applied to teaching methods and the curriculum, with a scarcely-veiled attack on progressive primary methods together with a call for a core curriculum.

There is unease felt by parents and teachers about the new informal methods of teaching which seem to produce excellent results when they are in well-qualified hands but are much more dubious in their effects when they are not. They seem to be best accepted, if I may judge from my own experience, where there are strong parent/teacher links. There is little wrong with the range and diversity of our courses. But is there sufficient thoroughness and depth in those required...to make a living?... Some fields need study because they cause concern and (there is a) strong case for the so-called core curriculum of basic knowledge (ibid).

A third set of criticisms related to teachers, their professionalism, their willingness to share curriculum concerns with the parents and the public, and their accountability.

To the teachers, I would say that you must satisfy parents and industry that what you are doing meets the requirements and the needs of their children. For if the public is not convinced then the profession will be laying up trouble for itself in the future (Callaghan, 1976).

Among the remedies he put forward for discussion was a more interventionist role for the Inspectorate and the DES, more lay influence in and through governing bodies, and a new deal for the 16-19s age group. Callaghan’s speech heralded a dramatic change of opinion about education in England and Wales since the heady days after the Second World War. In calling for better standards of teaching, he initiated discussion on a core curriculum. His speech marked the beginning of ‘The Great Debate’ and a series of discussion papers emerged from the DES, HMI and the Schools Council. Daugherty states that:
Callaghan's speech can be seen in retrospect to signal the start of a period of several years during which the Government Department responsible for Education, the DES, and the Schools Inspectorate would take the lead in influencing the terms of the curriculum debate. In time, central Government would move from a stance of urging schools and LEAs to rethink curriculum policy to one, in the form of the 1988 Act, of requiring them to do so (Daugherty, 1995, p.2).

The Green Paper: *Education in Schools* issued in 1977 laid out the programme affecting the curriculum, the management of the teaching force, the training of teachers, standards and assessment. It summed up the administrators' approach to the restructuring of the education system. It made great play of the notion that the Secretary of State cannot abdicate from curricular responsibilities and this indicated a swing back to central influence (Lawton, 1980, p.8).

Schools had to demonstrate their accountability to society. This required a coherent and soundly based means of assessment for the educational system as a whole, for schools, and for individual pupils (DES, 1977b, p.16). The DES then requested local authorities to provide them with information about their policies and practices in curricular matters. A report summarising the information collected was published in 1979. Another strand of the accountability movement was concerned with information provided to parents. These concerns resulted in the *Taylor Report*, 1977 on managing and governing bodies and also in the 1981 Education Act, in which detailed regulations on the provision of information, including public examinations results, were given (Davies, 1995).

Restriction of the teachers' professional autonomy began with the pay settlement and a new teachers' contract being imposed by the Government through the Teachers' Pay and Conditions Act 1987. The teachers' pay dispute caused disruption in schools for a period of three years or more. Teachers' unions became highly unpopular, having taken on the Government and lost.
When the 1944 Education Act introduced the LEAs’ responsibility in monitoring schools, HMI were already in place with a monitoring programme. The Act outlined the LEA monitoring role thus:

Any local education authority may cause an inspection to be made of any educational establishment maintained by the authority, and such inspections shall be made by officers appointed by the local education authority (Education Act, 1944, Section 77, para.4).

The 1976-8 constitutional review of the Schools Council involved some criticism of LEAs for failing to take sufficient initiative in curriculum planning and development. Lawton (1980, p.100) suggests that the analysis of the part played by LEA advisers and inspectors in the control and development of curriculum is an area of research which is ‘seriously neglected’.

The 1986 Education Act decrees that it is the duty of each LEA to state its curriculum policy and keep it under review. It is the duty of the governing body to consider the stated policy of the LEA and to consider what should be the aims of the secular curriculum of the school and which parts of the LEA policy should be modified in relation to that particular school. In exercising these responsibilities the governors will need to obtain and take account of professional advice from the LEA advisory service. This gives advisers a major role in the implementation of LEA policy and delineates a new relationship with governing bodies (NFER, 1995).

Lawton and Gordon, (1987) state that although there is inevitably some overlap of functions between LEA inspectors and HMI, there is a need for both. HMI possess certain distinct features which justify their continued existence and much of the credit for any improvements will be due to them. One danger of overemphasising the ‘eyes and ears’ aspect of HMI role is that the pastoral and staff development activities may be neglected. They play with the image of HMIs as ‘secret agents on behalf of the DES mandarins’ at a time when there was ‘more than a slight suspicion that the DES was making a bid for increased power of the curriculum’.

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HMIs and civil servants, sharing similar social and educational backgrounds, tend to make the same kind of assumptions, and tend to possess similar beliefs, ideologies and obsolete theories. HMIs are in a very strong position to influence policy as well as to illustrate the general debate. This is one clear example of their national role which could not be covered by LEA inspectors, however knowledgeable and efficient they might be. It is also an interesting illustration of the need for a national Inspectorate to make comparisons between LEAs as well as to monitor standards over time (Lawton and Gordon, 1987, p.154).

In July 1987, the Task Group on Assessment and Testing in Schools (TGAT), under the leadership of Professor Paul Black, was set up to ‘advise on the practical considerations governing assessment within the National Curriculum’. The group submitted its main report in December 1987 and three supplementary reports in June 1988. The main report began by implying that a school could function effectively only if it has adopted:

- Clear aims and objectives;
- Ways of gauging the achievement of these;
- Comprehensible language for communicating the extent of those achievements to pupils, their parents and teachers, and to the wider community, so that everyone involved could take informed decisions about future action (DES, 1988a, para 2).

TGAT placed emphasis on teacher assessment and produced ten levels of attainment with an emphasis on individual progression. Progression was individual and developmental rather than competitive. The essence of graded objectives in general was that students would be encouraged to progress individually at their own pace, rather than in step with the rest of the class or age group. By June 1988, the Government had discussed the obligations of the report and had accepted a number of the recommendations but had changed the emphasis of some aspects.

The 1944 Education Act and its implementation in Wales, far from being the product of consensus, as is generally argued, was a focus of confrontation in which central government and its bureaucracy were the winners (G. E. Jones, 1990). There had been a steady deterioration in the relationships between central and local government.
Local politics had become fiercer and more polarised. And among the Labour-controlled councils, which formed a majority of local education authorities, a few mavericks like Liverpool, Brent and Haringey fell into the hands of the hard Left. Determined to confront the central Government at every turn, they refused to cut expenditure in line with Government demands and incurred financial penalties including rate-capping.

The so-called ‘loony left’ authorities had an influence out of all proportion to their numbers in crystallising the case against the ‘producers’ in education, for under the 1944 Education Act it was these ideologically committed, resolutely high-spending politicians who formed the local authorities responsible for the maintained schools and colleges in their areas. (Maclure, 1988).

Summary
This chapter focussed on the period from the end of the Second World War to 1988. It has outlined the growing status of the Welsh language, the establishment of medium education, and a developing Welsh dimension. However, between 1944 and 1988 there was little notion of a Welsh curriculum (G. E. Jones, 1994). The only distinctive feature of the education system in Wales during this period, apart from linguistic differences, was the apparent mediocrity of its educational standards (Reynolds, 1989).

The power structure on which the education system had operated for more than forty years based on Butler’s 1944 Act, and for the previous forty years on Balfour’s 1902 Act changed with Baker’s 1988 Education Reform Act. It reversed a long tradition of local policy-making and administration by giving central Government a greater role than ever before. It also offered the potential for a distinctive Welsh curriculum. The next chapter outlines the content of the Act and its relevance to education in Wales.
CHAPTER 2

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN WALES: THE EDUCATION REFORM ACT 1988

On my desk before me is a book of 350 pages. It is called Monsterplan for Grunnskolen. It lays the ground to be covered and to some extent the methods to be used for each subject in each year in school. One might call it a specification. To the British teacher such an approach to the curriculum is quite novel (Stenhouse, 1975, p. 20).

This chapter continues with the examination of the development of centralisation and focusses on the content of the Education Reform Act (1988) and its specific relevance to Wales.

SUMMARY OF RELEVANT DATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England and Wales</th>
<th>Specific to Wales</th>
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<tr>
<td>Education Reform Act</td>
<td>1988</td>
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<td>establishes the creation of the National Curriculum</td>
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<tr>
<td>National Curriculum Council (NCC) (now SCAA)</td>
<td>Curriculum Council of Wales (CCW) (now ACAC)</td>
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<tr>
<td>School Examination and Assessment Council (SEAC)</td>
<td>History Committee created</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Management of Schools (LMS)</td>
<td>Separate Orders for Welsh, history, geography, music and art</td>
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(Adapted from Herbert and Jones, 1995, p.xi)

From 1902, the education system had been broadly based on Balfour's 1902 Education Act. Butler's 1944 Act provided a basis for the next forty-four years. Baker's Education Reform Act (1988) reversed a long tradition of local policy-making and administration by giving central Government a greater role than ever before. ERA broke with the convention of a 'national service, locally administered' (Maclure, 1988).
Baker, as Minister for Education, made it clear that there was a need to inject a new vitality into the education system because it had become ‘producer-dominated’ (Opening speech for the Second Reading debate, 1st December, 1987). Conservative ministers perceived the Education Reform Act (ERA) to be a belated product of Callaghan’s Great Debate, because the Act made it clear that ‘national political power overrides local political power’. Baker told the North of England Education Conference (6th January, 1988) that ERA only incidentally extended the powers of central government. Its main aim was to enhance ‘the life chances of young people’ and to achieve this, certain ministerial powers had to be strengthened.

On the one hand, the Act gave greater autonomy to schools and governing bodies in an attempt to liberate teachers - and particularly heads - from the control of LEAs. It increased the autonomy of schools and colleges assuming that more autonomous institutions would be more cost efficient and achieve higher standards. Lowe (1988) maintains that it is only possible to take the risks inherent in setting schools free of the local authorities’ leading reins if there is a clearly defined national curriculum in being and if the Secretary of State has the power to prescribe and police it.

The Act created three councils whose task was to attend to the implementation and monitoring of the new curriculum and assessment policies. They were the:

- National Curriculum Council (England only);
- Curriculum Council for Wales;
- School Examinations and Assessment Council (England and Wales)

Each of the three councils comprised ten or fifteen members appointed by the Secretary of State. They had to include persons ‘having relevant knowledge and experience in education’. Section 15 of the Act provided for the transfer of staff and assets from the School Curriculum and Development Council and the Secondary Council to the new councils.
The NCC (now SCAA) operated from its headquarters in York and CCW (now ACAC) operated from offices in the centre of Cardiff. Their general functions as set out in ERA were:

- To keep all aspects of the curriculum for maintained schools under review;
- To advise the Secretary of State on such matters concerned with the curriculum for maintained schools as he may refer to it or as it may seem fit;
- To advise the Secretary of State on, and if so requested by him assist him to carry out, programmes of research and development for purposes connected with the curriculum for schools; and
- To publish and disseminate, and to assist in the publication and dissemination of, information relating to the curriculum for schools;
- To carry such ancillary activities as the Secretary of State may direct (ERA, 1988).

CCW was given statutory responsibility to respond to the Secretary of State's request for advice on curriculum matters and to give guidance and support on the curriculum to schools in Wales. CCW described its tasks as taking account of the work of the NCC in England and liaising closely with the School Examinations and Assessment Council which had responsibility across both England and Wales. In some areas, the functions of the CCW also related to the work of the Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC) and the Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg: PDAG (Welsh Education Development Committee) and it co-operated closely with these bodies (CCW, 1988). CCW described its responsibilities as keeping the whole curriculum under review and promoting curricular programmes aimed at satisfying both national and individual needs. Its advice would have implications for the organisation of schools, for teacher training and resources (G. E. Jones, 1994).

CCW will have major responsibility for curriculum development work and will also be responsible for publishing and disseminating information relating to the curriculum for schools (CCW, 1988).
SEAC operated from its headquarters in London, and its remit covered both England and Wales. Its functions were:

- To publish and disseminate, and to assist in the publication and dissemination of, information relating to examinations and assessment.
- To make arrangements with appropriate bodies for the moderation of assessments made in pursuance of assessment arrangements; and
- To advise the Secretary of State on the exercise of his powers under section 5(1) of the Act (that negative clause we noted earlier which requires schools to obtain approval for 'a qualification authenticated by an outside person')(ERA, 1988).

Through ERA, Central Government moved from urging schools and LEAs to rethink curriculum policy to requiring them to do so by legislation (Daugherty, 1995, p.2). It required all state-maintained schools to provide a basic National Curriculum for all registered pupils within the years of compulsory schooling in England and Wales, on and after September 1989.

The curriculum for every maintained school shall comprise a basic curriculum which includes:

- (a) provision for religious education for all registered pupils at the school;
- (b) a curriculum for all registered pupils at the school of compulsory school age (to be known as the 'National Curriculum' (ERA, 1988, Section 2.1).

To satisfy statutory requirements, the curriculum had to be a 'balanced and broadly based curriculum which promoted the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils at the school and of society; and prepared such pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life' (ERA, 1988, Section 1.2). The Act vested power and opportunity in the new Curriculum Councils to produce Programmes of Study and Attainment Targets for the list of subjects drawn up by the Secretary of State. Subjects were divided into two core subjects and foundation subjects. The Act described the process by which the Secretary of State would arrive at the Subject Orders. The documents had to be laid before Parliament for a positive resolution in both Houses.
The Secretary of State must:

- Refer any such proposals to the Curriculum Council for Wales and to anyone else with whom consultation appears to be desirable.
- Reasonable opportunity for evidence and representations must be given;
- Consider representations and then consult further on a draft Order;
- Publish the draft Order and associated documents, an explanatory statement, a list of persons consulted and summary of their views;
- Send copies to all persons consulted;
- Allow up to one month for further comments.

When this process was completed, the Secretary of State was in a position to make the order with or without modifications (Lowe, 1988, p.25). In Wales, any proposals were to be referred to the Curriculum Council for Wales to be put out for consultation. This process included LEAs, teachers' bodies, representatives of governing bodies and 'any other bodies thought to be worth consulting'. The Council's report back to the Secretary of State, summarised the views of those consulted and offered its own recommendations. In Wales, as for England, consultation procedures had to occur before any Order to amend the list of foundation subjects or key stages, to disapply the provisions for Welsh in non-Welsh speaking schools, to substitute different ages for any subject in the first and second key stages, or to prescribe programmes of study or attainment targets was laid before Parliament (Lowe, 1988).

The Secretary of State was required to publish the Curriculum Council's report. He did not have to accept the advice, but if he failed to do so he had to state his reasons for setting it aside. He then issued his draft Order, after which there had to be yet another period of at least a month for further consultation and representations from interested groups. Each subject within the National Curriculum for all pupils had to specify the knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities were expected to have learned by the end of each of the four key stages. Each subject was to be defined in terms of:
For each Attainment Target there were Statements of Attainment which defined up to ten levels of attainment which specified what pupils should know, understand and be able to do appropriate to their age and ability. (These were replaced by 'Level Descriptors' in the 1995 Orders). The Programme of Study and Attainment Targets in the four core subjects of English, Welsh, mathematics and science were introduced for all pupils entering KS1 in Autumn 1990. The implementation of each subject in terms of setting Attainment Targets, Programme of Study and arrangements for its assessment was to be presented by secondary legislation in the form of subject Orders. The elements of each subject were outlined as:

- **Attainment Targets**
  The knowledge, skills and understanding which pupils of different abilities and maturities are expected to have by the end of each key stage;

- **Programmes of Study**
  The matters, skills and processes which are required to be taught to pupils of different abilities and maturities during each key stage;

- **Assessment Arrangements**
  The arrangements for assessing pupils at or near the end of each key stage for the purpose of ascertaining what they have achieved in relation to the attainment targets for that stage.

G. E. Jones (1990) stated that the curriculum embodies the value systems of those who devise it so that arriving at a judgment as to what should be taught is not an objective exercise. He claims that:

This too is significant for Wales. We cannot teach all there is to know in schools, or even the methods of studying all there is to know. Even if we could, pupils' capacity to master either the material or the methodologies would vary dramatically. Since not everything can be done, there has to be selection. The nature of the selection has always been a matter of endless debate and will continue to be so (G. E. Jones, 1990, p.161).
The research interviews provided opportunity to investigate the reason for the distinctiveness of the National Curriculum in Wales with key players from the Welsh Office, CCW and other agencies who were actively involved in this initial shaping process.

The list of subjects making up the curriculum was drawn up personally by the Secretary of State Kenneth Baker and ‘without consultation with any Welsh bodies’ (G. E. Jones, 1990). The core subjects of mathematics, English and science, together with Welsh in Welsh-medium schools, formed the central part of the curriculum (ERA, 1988, Section 3.1). Working groups on mathematics and science reported by August 1988 and the Secretary of State published these reports with his own proposals. He did not rule out flexibility, nor cross curricular themes. The original list of subjects could be amended by Order (ERA, 1988, Section 4.2b).

The other foundation subjects were history, geography, technology, music, art and physical education, (together with a modern language at what is essentially secondary school level) and, in Wales, Welsh Second language in non Welsh-medium schools (ERA, 1988, Section 3.2). The Act defined a bilingual school as one in which more than half the foundation subjects were available in Welsh. (See p. 138 for a definition of Welsh-medium school).

The Act provided for a curriculum which was to be taught in all schools in both England and Wales. However the implementation of the National Curriculum had unforeseen consequences for Wales. The ambitions of the Welsh Office Education Department and the CCW to stake out their independence meshed with theoretical analyses to produce a National Curriculum for Wales which was substantially at variance with that in England (G. E. Jones, 1995, p.7).

Through ERA, the Welsh language was made’ more secure than ever before’ (G. E. Jones, 1995). The Act decreed that Welsh was one of the compulsory subjects of the National Curriculum in Wales. As a first language it would be taught as a core subject in natural Welsh schools and in designated Welsh schools.
In all non-Welsh-medium schools, Welsh Second language would be taught as a foundation subject of the curriculum. All pupils between the age of 5 and 16 would be required to study Welsh to General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) examination level. Pupils speaking Welsh First language 'should have the opportunity to develop and enhance their language skills, and gain a deeper understanding of their cultural background'. The Welsh language 'with its rich oral tradition, was a vital factor in giving Wales its own identity' (CCW, 1993a, p.6).

In some areas, Welsh was the language which was most commonly heard in the local communication. There were other parts of Wales where English was the predominant means of communication, yet where many vestiges of the Welsh language survived in the names of towns and villages, farms and street names, as well as in the colloquial idioms found in the local English dialect, many of which have been translated word-for-word from Welsh (ibid).

ERA introduced testing and assessment procedures in connection with the National Curriculum. These would produce a steady flow of evidence of attainment from one year to the next. Lowe maintains that the Government saw the Act as a provision of a set of standards against which schools' academic success would be measured, and which gave schools a number of incentives to measure and demonstrate their overall success (Lowe, 1988). Therefore, the National Curriculum provided both a framework and criteria against which schools' educational performance should be judged. The Secretary of State's power to demand information also meant that he could demand the publication of results of assessment and testing, and determine the form which this would take. However, G. E. Jones stated that:

While the 1988 Act has, perhaps inadvertently, been a catalyst for significant steps towards a distinctive curriculum for the schools in Wales, there has been no move to date to define, still less to develop, policies on assessment which differ from those in England (G. E. Jones, 1994).

The National Curriculum and its assessment structure extended central curricular control further. Each subject Order laid down in outline, rather than in detail, what children from 5 to 16 must study.
Its linked assessment programme required children to be assessed on the objectives, continuously by Teacher Assessment and, at the end of the four key stages, by external assessment. These results were to be reported at ages 7, 11, 14 and 16 by class, age group and school (Gipps, 1989, p.12). Wiliam explains that the national assessment story is different in Wales in two matters of detail within a common policy framework.

One National Curriculum subject, Welsh, is a requirement only in Wales and the assessment of some pupils in other subjects takes place through the medium of Welsh (Wiliam, 1994).

Williams believes that it seemed to have gone largely unnoticed in England that perhaps the biggest success story of all in the decidedly chequered history of implementing the National Curriculum is the introduction of Welsh as a school subject for all pupils. Williams (1993) maintains that assessment methods and materials had generally been well-received. Daugherty states that:

Rightly or wrongly, the policy framework for National Curriculum and assessment remains, for the time being at least, an England and Wales one, with Wales 'opting out' of it only when what is proposed in London proves so unpalatable to Welsh Office ministers that they are moved to go down a different route from that taken by their counterparts in the Department for Education (Daugherty, 1995, p.xii).

The Orders recognised that every pupil attending schools in Wales should be aware of a distinctive Welsh perspective when looking at the wider world and that aspects of National Curriculum subjects in Wales should address a specifically Welsh dimension. CCW stated that this dimension should be reflected in the programmes of study as it offered an opportunity for 'a difference of perspective as well as a difference of content'. (CCW, 1993a, p.9).

ERA made it clear that the legal control of the curriculum lay with the Secretary of State. It removed the confusion built into the 1986 Act, by stating that both the LEA and the governing body must adopt curriculum policies to give effect to the National Curriculum (Maclure, 1988, p.9).
ERA decreed that all maintained schools ‘are required to make sure the National Curriculum and the legal requirements of religious education are implemented’. This duty was placed on the LEA and school governors in respect of county and voluntary schools (other than aided schools) and on the governors of Aided schools and Grant Maintained schools. In this way, ERA downgraded the LEAs’ curriculum role (Maclure, 1988, p.9). However, it declared that the National Curriculum was to be monitored in LEA maintained schools by the governors, by the local authorities through their own inspectors, and by HMIs (ERA, 1988, Section 1).

School governors emerged from the ERA with much-enhanced powers and more demanding duties. It was to the school governors that the Act delivered many of the functions which had previously been performed by local education authorities. The Act gave the Secretary of State ‘a much stronger strategic grip on the curriculum’ and on higher education, and devolved more of the ‘tactical decision-making to the governors’, who represented lay authority at the level of the individual school (Maclure, 1988).

The Act extended opportunity to LEAs and schools to interpret the National Curriculum according to their own circumstance. The LEA was required to review its policy on curricular matters and prepare its own statement of policy, to implement the National Curriculum and to have regard to it in undertaking their statutory duties. The Act compelled them to ‘make and keep up to date’ a written statement of their curriculum policy. LEA inspectors were expected to play a key role, and grants were being provided to appoint additional inspectors. Section 22 (ERA, 1988) empowered the Secretary of State to make regulations about the supply of public information which local authorities, governors and heads would be required to provide.
Among the topics covered would be the details of how the National Curriculum was interpreted, and curriculum policy documents which all authorities and governing bodies were required to produce. LEAs, governors and headteachers were given legal duties to provide various forms of information for different audiences (Harris, 1990).

LEAs were required to distribute funds to the schools by means of formula funding. LMS changed the nature of governors' responsibilities, both in county and voluntary schools. Financial delegation to schools meant that governors were given the responsibility for spending and accounting for their share of the LEAs' budget. They had to exercise their powers within the authority's approved scheme. They were given wide discretion in spending the sums entrusted to them. They would lose their power if they were negligent and the LEA were required to monitor the performance of the schools and hold them accountable for the use of delegated funds (Maclure, 1988).

Governors themselves would be under scrutiny, along with the schools for which they were responsible. Lowe (1988) states that though the Act could prescribe the powers and duties of governors, it could not guarantee the quality of those who volunteered to become school governors nor how wisely they would exercise their powers and duties. The powers that the LEAs had over appointments and dismissals under the 1944 Education Act were transferred to the governors of schools with delegated budgets. These extended to both teaching and non-teaching staff. Teacher numbers were are related to budget. The extent of delegation differs between LEAs, and this is the crucial factor. If governors want to keep employing a teacher, they have to find the money. Governing bodies determine teacher numbers in the light of their responsibility to deliver the National Curriculum. They are required to 'consider' the advice which the LEA Chief Education Officer gives.

ERA (1988, Sections 30 and 31) decreed that governors were to send a written report to parents once a year on the work of the school (and of the governors), and hold an annual parents’ meeting where this report could be presented and discussed.
Under the 1986 Education Act governing bodies were given responsibility for the oversight of the curriculum. They were required to produce (and keep up to date) a curriculum policy document for parents, to show their intention to meet National Curriculum requirements in the light of the LEA's curriculum policy. The governors' legal responsibilities in regard to the curriculum meant that they were expected to examine any policy draft put before them and to obtain a full explanation from the professionals on any point which they wish to pursue. The law permitted them to go beyond this and to prepare a draft of their own.

In practice, governors will generally be reluctant to attempt this, even when they are not wholly satisfied with what the head offers them, because their resources in time, expertise and secretarial assistance will be limited; and if there are any governors among them who do happen to have had past professional experience of running a school, they will be rightly reluctant to act in a way which might seem to undermine the head (Maclure, 1988, p.135).

The Chief Inspector of Schools in Wales (1996a, p.21) said that, 'Governors are increasingly taking more interest in the work and are better informed about it'. ERA charged the headteacher with the 'determination and organisation of the secular curriculum' (ERA, 1988, Section 18, 5). Maclure believes that the secret of the successful school will, as always, lie in the effective co-operation between the professional leadership (the head and his/her staff), the lay government (the governors) and the local authority and its advisers (Maclure, 1988, p.134). Under the Act, parents were intended to become more discriminating consumers, watching school results, as published, and interpreting these results as best they could in the light of local circumstances. Lowe maintains that the assumption was that parents would keep schools up to the mark by making their approval or disapproval known in informal contacts with governors and teachers, and through their formal opportunity to raise points (and pass resolutions) at the annual parents' meeting required by the 1986 Act (Lowe, 1988).

In addition to the monitoring functions undertaken by the LEA, direct intervention by parents was made possible through the complaints procedure.
This gave the parents (who throughout the Act were seen as surrogate consumers for their sons and daughters) a chance to act if they believed there was a failure to deliver the curriculum to which they were entitled by law (Lowe, 1988).

The governors were also a focal point for complaints and criticism from parents and the community. The National Curriculum was perceived as an entitlement and parents who believed it was not being provided in an adequate manner were given channels of complaint, leading ultimately to local appeals committees set up by the LEAs (Section 23). If they were still unsatisfied they could appeal to the Secretary of State. Parents also had the power to remove their children from one school and send them to another (Maclure, 1988).

ERA ensured, under the proposals for financial delegation, school budgets would reflect the popularity of schools, because they were related to pupil numbers. The Act aimed to give incentives to professional teachers and lay governors alike to ‘sell’ their schools to the best advantage. This was seen as a step in the free-market direction. Maclure (1988) maintained that the main purpose of this was to keep heads and their staff, and governing bodies, on permanent guard against the possibility of local challenge. They will watch their flanks with caution (Maclure, 1988, p.22).

**Summary**

This chapter has outlined proposals made in the 1988 Education Act for the National Curriculum, and its assessment, local financial management of schools, parental choice, and the introduction of market principles into education. The Act changed the way in which schools were to be organised, managed and above all controlled (Maclure, 1988).

Schools had to take the programmes of study which emerged from the curriculum councils and interpret them into long-term, mid-term and short-term plans. The Attainment Targets were to form the framework within which these syllabuses would be fitted together. Welsh First language was established as a core subject to be taught and assessed at all key stages in all Welsh-medium primary and secondary schools in Wales. Welsh Second
language was to be taught at every key stage and assessed by Teacher Assessment. This raised the necessity for schools, particularly primary schools, to decide upon the language category of their school. It also posed a problem relating to meeting National Curriculum requirements when a large proportion of teachers in Wales are non Welsh-speaking.

However, although the ERA (1988) marked a continuation of the tension between central and local government, it also initiated 'some surprising potential' for the re-emergence of distinctiveness not only in curricular but also in institutional terms (Phillips, 1996, p.32). The establishment of the Curriculum Council for Wales to advise the Secretary of State for Wales released potential for the development of a distinctly Welsh curriculum. The next chapter focusses not only on the development of the Welsh dimension but on the growth of a more specific *Curriculum Cymreig* (Welsh Curriculum). It also traces the establishment and role of agencies dealing with educational policy in Wales and their role in the development of the increasingly distinct National Curriculum in Wales.
A language is so much more than a means of communication. Its very existence is often the most obvious distinction of any culture. A language is the collective memory and holds within it the communal values and traditions of a people (European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, 1993, p.34).

The way in which the 1988 Education Reform Act was interpreted: in institutional terms through the establishment of the various Welsh policy-making agencies, and in curricular terms through the development of a distinct National Curriculum in Wales is now analysed.

**SUMMARY OF RELEVANT DATES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England / Wales</th>
<th>Specific to Wales</th>
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<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>David Hunt becomes Secretary of State</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.3% GDP</td>
<td>Geography, art, music separate Orders</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>WSL Non-Statutory Standardised Assessment Tasks (NSS) contract awarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>6 Grant Maintained Schools in existence</td>
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</tbody>
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Three Wise Men

General election: Conservatives re-elected

| 1993            | CCW Review |
|-----------------| Aspects of Primary Education |
|                 | John Redwood: Secretary of State |

Education (Schools) Act

Office For Standards in Education (OFSTED) created

| 1993            | Welsh Language Act passed making Welsh Language Board statutory.body |

Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector (OHMCI): 5 year inspection cycle begins

Welsh Language Board Education Officer appointed
School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) 1994

Awdurad Cwricwlwm & Asey Cymru (ACAC) Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales

Dearing National Curriculum Review

CCW National Curriculum Review

Reviewed Curriculum in place 1995

Committee for the Development of Welsh Education (Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg - PDAG) finished

Annual Report of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools - Standards and Quality in Education (OFSTED) 1996


A Working Countryside for Wales: a rural white paper

Local government reorganisation

Reviewed OHMCI Handbook for the Inspection of Schools

(Adapted from Herbert and Jones, 1995, p.xi)

The Curriculum Cymreig (Welsh Curriculum) was based on the ‘Whole Curriculum’ as an educational experience reflecting the values, heritage, culture, language and literature of Wales (CCW, 1993a). As a result of ERA (1988), Welsh First language was to be taught and assessed as a core subject at all key stages in all Welsh-medium primary and Welsh-medium secondary schools in Wales.
1. The Educational Goal
In his 1996 Annual Report, Her Majesty's Chief Inspector of Schools outlined Wales's educational goal thus:

To promote a culture of lifelong learning. This means encouraging individuals to commit themselves to achieving their potential and to take responsibility for their development.

It also means encouraging employers to invest in the success of their business by developing the skills of their work force.

Much is happening to bring this vision closer to reality, but there is a long way to go to achieve the National Targets for Education and Training (OHMCI, 1996a, p.18).

2. The Welsh Context
There are about 1,700 primary schools, 229 secondary schools, 61 special education schools and 52 nursery schools in Wales. A significant number of the primary schools are small:

About one third have fewer than a hundred on roll and around a quarter are staffed by three or fewer teachers, one of whom is the headteacher.

Many of the classes in the small primary schools in Wales cater for pupils with different home languages. About a fifth of all pupils are taught mainly or in part through the medium of Welsh (OHMCI, 1995b, p.1).

Up until 1988, when Welsh was made a statutory requirement, only 52% of pupils between the ages of 11 and 16 and 66% of primary school children were studying Welsh. Moreover, Welsh was spoken by fewer than 200,000 people—less than one in five of the Welsh population (TES, Sian Griffiths, 19:4:91). The National Curriculum brought with it an obligation to teach Welsh First and Welsh Second language. This posed problems because many English-medium schools had no Welsh speakers on the staff.

The Education Reform Act 1988 defined a bilingual school as one in which more than half the foundation subjects were available through the medium of Welsh.
(Under the terms of the definition, twenty-four bilingual secondary schools are in existence in 1996). Designated Welsh schools often serve Anglicised areas where the majority of pupils come from non-Welsh-speaking homes. Natural Welsh schools support a Welsh-medium policy although a large majority of the attending pupils also come from non-Welsh-speaking homes. A small minority of these schools are also designated Welsh schools. The existence of each of these variants depends on the support of non-Welsh-speaking parents for the Welsh language policy. Some 26% of secondary schools and 19% of primary schools, teach through the medium of Welsh. By 1992 there were 600 ‘designated’ Welsh-medium primary schools serving a total of 9,338 pupils on role which is only a small percentage of primary-school children in Wales (OHMCI, 1994c).

2. Whole Curriculum 5 - 16 in Wales
Following the introduction of the ERA (1988), the CCW developed guidelines to support schools during the implementation of the National Curriculum. In November 1989 the Council published a consultation paper which outlined a rationale for The Whole Curriculum 5 to 16 in Wales, and suggested a framework which might facilitate the delivery of a curriculum which had coherence, continuity and progression. The Council’s central purpose in initiating this debate was to suggest, and promote, ways in which schools might fulfil the statutory requirements of the Act whilst, at the same time, developing a wider and richer curriculum (CCW, 1991, p.2).

Well over one thousand participated in the formal and informal discussions. CCW in its resulting publication The Whole Curriculum 5-16 in Wales (1991), stated that the curriculum provided in the schools of Wales should be distinctive. In doing so, they acknowledged the various linguistic, cultural, social, historical, economic and geographical contexts which have given Wales its own distinctive nature. The CCW indicated that these elements, when brought together, would be called a Curriculum Cymreig. In The Whole Curriculum 5-16 in Wales the Council acknowledged its importance by defining it thus:
The whole curriculum in Wales encompasses and reflects in its content or exemplification, both the English and Welsh language cultures in the country, and a whole range of historical, social and environmental influences that have shaped contemporary Wales. The development of a curriculum Cymreig in all its diversity represents an important objective for schools in Wales (CCW, 1991).

By means of the National Curriculum and locally agreed religious education syllabuses, schools in Wales are given opportunities to celebrate those features which give to Wales its own distinctive social and cultural identity. They should not only give to the pupils an appreciation of the Welsh heritage, but also an awareness of the opportunities which the future has to offer Wales in the rapidly changing world of the last decade of the twentieth century. It should be recognised that pupils have an entitlement to a Curriculum Cymreig and should be given opportunities to:

- understand and discuss its relevance;
- acquire positive attitudes in formal lessons, in informal situations, during pastoral time and whilst taking part in extra-curricular activities (CCW, 1993a, p.3).

The Council suggested that these wider needs would be best catered for by considering the curriculum as comprising eight aspects of learning:

- Language Studies
- Mathematical Studies
- Scientific Studies
- Technological Studies
- Creative and Aesthetic Studies
- Social and Environmental Studies
- Religious and Moral Studies
- Physical Education

Topography, history, language, occupations, social customs, traditions and outlook in Wales have led to differences in shades of opinion and perspectives. Its distinctive cultural dimension manifests itself not only in those areas of Wales where Welsh is the main spoken language of the community, but also in those areas of Wales which have become more culturally diverse (CCW, 1993a, p.2).

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3. The ‘Cwricwlwm Cymreig’
Since 1995, the Curriculum Cymreig became a statutory Common Requirement in every National Curriculum subject in Wales.

In Wales, pupils should be given opportunities, where appropriate, in their studies to develop and apply knowledge and understanding of cultural, economic, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales (Welsh Office, 1995).

The Curriculum Cymreig creates a distinctive context for work in the primary and secondary schools in Wales. Its aim is to develop pupils' understanding of the distinctive and varied nature of the Welsh culture, history as well as the language. The ethos of the schools will need to reflect the varied nature of the Welsh identity (CCW, 1989, p.3). CCW outline the specific elements of the Curriculum Cymreig as giving pupils a sense of belonging through being encouraged to:

- appreciate the values of the community in which they live, and the circumstances and influences which have shaped these values;
- celebrate the fact that the cultures, languages and traditions of Wales are distinctive, whilst respecting the values of other cultures;
- become informed and integrated members of their communities, understanding how and why their local communities function, and to appreciate and respect the importance of community values and traditions (CCW, 1993a).

The Curriculum Cymreig is a separate element which only exists in Wales. CCW described it as a curriculum which is much more relevant to the children who live in Wales; a context which is familiar to pupils; an opportunity to develop to children’s potential as individuals in a familiar, local context; but a preparation for the wider world beyond Wales (CCW, 1991, p.4).

The Welshness of the curriculum will manifest itself differently in each school. However, all subjects should be taught in a way that makes the content meaningful and relevant to the pupil's own experience within his/her community:
This does not in any way undermine the policy that pupils in Wales and England should have an equal learning entitlement in all parts of the curriculum. The basic elements of knowledge, skills and understanding, which will form the attainment targets and programmes of study should for the most part be the same in both countries (ibid).

Although it is clearly of major significance, the Welsh language is not the only feature which distinguishes Wales from the rest of Britain. Welsh identity is also established in a number of other ways. Pupils’ study of many subjects and cross-curricular themes will need to be informed by aspects of Welsh history, culture and environment. This Welsh dimension, in all its diversity, represents an important factor in the cohesion of the whole curriculum in Wales. CCW acknowledges that schools, in their different settings, will need to establish clear aims and policies to ensure that pupils are helped to explore the concepts of Wales and Welshness from their own particular standpoints. A ‘whole’ education should enable the individual to understand the community and to take a full and meaningful part in the life of that community. (CCW, 1989, p.26). Education needs to provide pupils with an understanding of present life in Wales and Britain. A balance is also needed between the need to value what is distinctively Welsh with the need for a positive awareness and response to the wider world.

Wales is part of the United Kingdom and the European Community. World influences affect the economy and society through inward investment, tourism, the cultures of other ethnic groups living in Britain, and through the media. The curriculum must meet the needs of those who move to Wales from elsewhere and must equip all pupils with an education which will stand them in good stead wherever they may go (ibid).

4. National Curriculum Orders
The National Curriculum in Wales was defined in terms of subjects as in England but it presented Welsh schools with an opportunity ‘to create for the first time ever, a ‘state school curriculum unique to Wales’ (G. E. Jones, 1990). The statutory Orders for five of the National Curriculum subjects differ from those in England. The first of these is Welsh itself.
a) Welsh First and Welsh Second Language

The National Curriculum in Wales includes provision for the Welsh language as a subject. In addition, Welsh is used as the main medium for teaching and learning in a number of schools (CCW, 1993a, p.4). The Order concerning teaching and learning the Welsh language will give rise to a range of diverse teaching contexts, from schools where Welsh is the main medium of instruction to those where it is taught as a second language and to others where some of the pupils are multilingual.

In small primary schools, teachers often have to operate within a complex linguistic framework with the added dimension of mixed-age, mixed-ability classes. Almost a third of primary schools in Wales have 100 or fewer pupils in comparison with England where a fifth of schools fall into this category. In Dyfed, Gwynedd and Powys well over half the primary schools are 'small schools' and approximately one third of the schools in these counties have 50 or fewer pupils. The small school is, therefore, a very significant constituent of the education scene in Wales (Williams, Thorpe and James, 1995, p.10).

CCW stress that schools can help pupils to become aware of 'the important part which language and literature have always played, and continue to play in Welsh life', by:

- providing all children in Wales with access to the Welsh language and opportunities to refine their ability to use it as a medium of communication either as a first or second language;
- learning about the richness of dialect and accent variations within Wales in both spoken Welsh and spoken English;
- learning about the heritage of fable and legend which is part of Welsh experience, and of the traditional Welsh love for the spoken word as exemplified by many poets, story-tellers, orators, preachers and some politicians;
- introducing pupils to the range and variety of Welsh literature in both Welsh and English and stimulating an awareness of Wales' rich literary tradition (CCW, 1993a, p.4).

The Welsh language Order places particular emphasis on oracy and on the development of the three specific elements of speaking, listening and viewing in both Welsh First and Welsh Second language.
b) Four Differing Subject Orders

In Wales four foundation subjects, namely history, geography, art and music, were given separate Orders, as a result of which pupils in the school of Wales follow somewhat different programmes of study from their counterparts in England. These reflect schools' needs and the differences between the two countries. Both the Orders and CCW's non-statutory guidance covering these four subject areas make specific reference to the Welsh aspects of the curriculum.

The difference between the history and geography Orders for Wales and England lie principally in the Programmes of Study; the structure of the Orders, the Attainment Targets and Levels of Attainment are the same or similar. In art and music there were differences in structure as well as in content from the beginning, with both Orders having three rather than two Attainment Targets. CCW outline some of the specific elements which, taken together, constitute a *Curriculum Cymreig* thus:

Pupils can be given a sense of **place and heritage**, based on understanding and empathy, through learning about:

- the geographical environment of Wales, thereby gaining an understanding of the relationship between the environment and the people;
- the history of Wales and of Wales' relationship with other parts of the United Kingdom, together with an appreciation of past and present links with Europe and the wider world;
- the contribution, past and present, which people from Wales have made to the development of their own and other nations' cultures;
- the part played by both farming and industry as shaping forces in Welsh life (CCW, 1993a, p.3).

The history Order for Wales reflects an entirely distinctive curriculum which has the history of Wales and Britain as its centre. The History Committee for Wales stated that:

Just as the view of the countryside seen from two adjacent peaks are different and mutually enriching, so likewise the map of the past drawn from a Welsh, as opposed to an English, vantage point will have certain features (Welsh Office, 1989).
National Curriculum **geography** in Wales should:

- involve pupils in a deeper understanding of themselves in relation to their local area, Wales and the wider world;
- enable pupils in Wales to be made aware of the diversity and complexity of the cultural and linguistic patterns, the social environmental and economic conditions within Wales, and the factors which contribute to them;
- develop an understanding of Wales as a geopolitical entity and of the variety of perspectives of its inhabitants;
- undertake studies of the geography of Wales on a variety of scales in order to help pupils to understand how physical and human processes interact and bear on the character of a part of Wales or Wales as a whole;
- reinforce understanding of geographical themes through the inclusion of Welsh examples alongside others in order to enhance learning;
- develop an understanding of the relationship between processes which have shaped the geography of Wales and other parts of Britain;
- relate the geography of Wales to the geography of the wider world through the selection of those areas of study which are relevant to the Welsh experience (CCW, 1993a, p.9).

CCW state that pupils in Wales can be given a better understanding of the **creative and expressive arts** through learning about:

- the distinctive nature of Welsh music, both traditional and contemporary, vocal and instrumental;
- the Celtic artistic and craft tradition, and the manifestation of artistic and craft skills in Wales over centuries, including knowledge of contemporary Welsh artists, sculptors and craftworkers;
- technology as seen in many aspects of the built environment in Wales, past and present;
- expressive movement and team experience by means of dance, sport and physical activity (CCW, 1993a, p.4).

Perhaps the most significant factor in the ultimate adoption of a separate music curriculum was the acknowledgement that Wales did have a distinctive culture and heritage which merited special consideration. In 1992 the Welsh Office published *National Curriculum for Music in the Schools of Wales*. 
This was based on three Attainment Targets: Composing, Performing and Appraisal. The adoption of a distinctive National Curriculum for music not only acknowledged the position of music in Welsh life, but also led the way forward in the teaching of the 'third language' (Beauchamp, 1995, p.52). A Welsh emphasis in National Curriculum music in Wales was ensured by CCW's insistence that it should:

- provide opportunities to gain awareness and understanding of the varied cultural musical heritage;
- enable pupils to explore their cultural identity and musical inheritance, both traditional and contemporary, developing musical skills and understanding (CCW, 1993a, p.9).

National Curriculum art in Wales recognises a number of factors:

- the cultural and visual context in which art, craft and design are taught in Wales is distinctively Welsh and brings its own influence to bear on education. The visual arts play an increasingly vital role in generating a dynamic and varied contemporary artistic culture in Wales;
- much of the exciting work being produced builds upon and extends Welsh cultural traditions. The art curriculum can contribute to the development of a whole curriculum which is distinctively Welsh;
- the structure and aspects of the content of the Order for art are distinctive to Wales, recognising the need to study local and Welsh examples of art, craft and design work as well as learning about artists, craftworkers and designers who have been influenced by living and working in Wales;
- the National Curriculum for art provides opportunities for schools to develop a curriculum which is meaningful and relevant to each pupil's visual experience of his/her community in Wales, as well as in the wider world (CCW, 1993a, p.10).

Phillips (1996) questions whether this description of the Curriculum Cymreig fu fil s CCW's declared aim that it should encourage an awareness of 'the opportunities which the future has to offer Wales in the rapidly changing world of the last decade of the 20th century'. He maintains that its language and points of reference are often nostalgic.
c) Common Orders
In the remaining National Curriculum subjects where the Orders are common with those in England, teachers can make use of appropriate local or Welsh examples and contexts for teaching and learning. It is these three elements - the language, the separate Orders and the distinctively Welsh aspects of other subjects - which form the basis for the Curriculum Cymreig in primary schools in Wales (ibid). CCW states that the Welshness of the curriculum will manifest itself differently in each school. However, all subjects should be taught in such a way that the content is meaningful and relevant to the pupil's own experience within his/her community (1993, p.2). The effective implementation of Curriculum Cymreig will depend to a large extent on teacher knowledge of the local community. Its variance suggests that setting up a national monitoring strategy would be problematic.

d) Religious Education
Other instances of distinctively Welsh content are likely to occur within agreed religious education syllabi. Pupils' awareness of the factors which have shaped the religious beliefs and practices of the people in Wales can be developed through learning about:

- The Christian tradition in both church and chapel, and its influence on all aspects of Welsh life;
- An appreciation of the any changes which have occurred, and of the greater diversity of religious beliefs to be found amongst present-day communities in Wales (CCW, 1991, p.4).

Daugherty (1995) states that to many observers of the way in which the National Curriculum evolved, the most obvious dispersion of responsibility, for curriculum and assessment, came with the setting up in sequence of separate working groups in each foundation subject. He states that even where two subject groups were working concurrently, as with mathematics and science, there seemed to have been little or no sharing of ideas about the interpretation of their parallel briefs. He says:
Unsurprisingly, each group developed its own interpretation of key terms. While advisory bodies, officials and critics of the groups' proposals would point to some of the inevitable inconsistencies and anticipated problems in implementation, the overall design of each set of proposals for a foundation subject was very much a product of the thinking of a group of subject specialists (Daugherty, 1995, p.33).

The inconsistencies in format overwhelmed teachers and eventually necessitated a review which produced a new, slimmer version of the Orders presented in a common format.

The Minister of State made it clear in Committee that the Orders would not say how a teacher must teach, or how lessons must be organised or what books should be used. There should be clear attainment targets, reached in different ways, but reached they must be' (Lowe, 1988, p.10).

There is however, no requirement to teach them as separate subjects with separate timetabled lesson, or is there a specific amount of time (ibid). There is no easily achieved final blueprint, as every school situation is unique. Each school community, and the curriculum which it provides, is characterised by Welshness, albeit in differing ways, and in different geographical and cultural settings. But, since there is undoubtedly a 'Welsh dimension' to all our school communities in Wales, it is a worthy objective which should be within the grasp of every school (Curriculum Council for Wales, 1993, p.5).

The Teacher Support Programme was designed to support the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales. In 1989, CCW resolved to establish the Teacher Support Programme, with the aim of providing support and guidance materials for teachers. The materials would be of practical value in meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum in English, mathematics and science and in the cross-curricular theme of economic and industrial understanding (University of Wales, Cardiff, 1995, p.50).

The Curriculum Council for Wales produced over a hundred books of support and guidance for teachers, four videos and six sets of wall charts. All the titles developed as part of CCW's Teacher Support Programme have now been published and the series is complete (ibid).
By 1992 there had been a considerable expansion of the programme in order to include all statutory subjects, cross-curricular themes and other special elements relating to the implementation of the National Curriculum in primary schools.

Below the level of the Council the Teacher Support Programme was structured and organised under a series of subject and cross-curricular Steering Committees. Each committee was responsible for monitoring the Teacher Support Programme, recommending materials for publication, identifying gaps in teaching and curriculum materials, and initiating further programmes of curriculum development. Each committee was chaired by a member of the Council who had a particular interest in the remit of his/her respective committee (University of Wales, Cardiff, 1995, p.50).

The Council's relationship with teachers in the Principality is a close one and operates on a much more personal level than is possible for England. Also, we have a different staff structure which includes a number of field officers who spend most of their time out and about in schools and classrooms, developing teacher support activities. This enables us to build close relationships with all the schools in Wales and also, we hope, makes the teachers feel more involved in what will be required of them under legislation. We see this teacher support programme as being a very important part of our work (Rogers, 1991).

The material was 'drawn from the actual experience of teachers working on the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales'. In this way Council intends to ensure that its continuing review of curriculum policy is firmly rooted in the practical experience of the profession (CCW, 1991, p.26). However, the speed with which the material was produced and reaching schools did not allow for explanation by Inservice training. Its general presentation improved but it was criticised for its distance from the classroom culture.


In December 1991 the Minister of State with responsibility for education at the Welsh Office, Sir Wyn Roberts, announced a major review of primary education in Wales in parallel with a similar review in England. This was
followed by a discussion paper by HMI in Wales on *Classroom Organisation and Teaching Methods in Primary Schools in Wales* (1992). The paper was written to 'generate and inform debate among primary teachers and others with a view to improving quality and raising standards'. In that paper HMI reported that the advent of the National Curriculum had brought 'a sharper focus to the learning activities and clearer and more easily monitored progression'. It also stated that many schools with fewer than 100 pupils did not have staff whose qualifications, either initial or subsequent, to cover the full range of National Curriculum subjects (HMI, 1992, p.8). However, it did not attempt to offer a comprehensive description and analysis of classroom organisation and teaching methods. It aimed to clear the ground for debate (ibid, p.1). HMI listed a number of questions arising from the paper as areas for debate and for action and they included the following:

- How can planning be improved to ensure that classroom organisation and teaching methods are matched to clearly identified curricular objectives and to pupils' individual needs?
- How should forms of classroom organisation and teaching methods be planned to facilitate the systematic monitoring of individual pupils progress and the planning for them of appropriate learning tasks?
- Is there sufficient direct teaching of pupils (as individuals, groups and classes) to secure steady progress in all National Curriculum subjects?
- Is thematic or topic work systematically planned and prominence given within it to sustained, broadly-based study subjects?
- Can class teachers be reasonably expected to cope with the statutory requirements of all National Curriculum subjects (particularly towards the end of KS2) and to achieve both the depth and the breadth of learning required?
- Has the school a balanced range of subject expertise within its staff; in the case of smaller schools, can access be obtained to such expertise in cooperation with neighbouring schools and among advisers and advisory teachers?
- Do teachers have access to pertinent INSET dealing with: a) classroom organisation and teaching methods in general and focusing in particular on the needs of pupils and teachers towards the end of key stage 2? b) the enhancing of teachers' subject expertise? (ibid, p.9).
CCW was asked to consider the responses to this document and to prepare guidance for teachers to be circulated to all primary schools in Wales. The Council lays great store on the vastness of its consultation exercises as a means of building good relations with schools in Wales and of listening to them and responding to their needs. A three-stage consultation exercise began with a national conference which was held in Cardiff in March 1992. It was attended by delegates from primary schools, HMI, local education authorities, colleges and universities, organisations and associations. There followed a series of nine regional seminars convened by CCW. Representatives were invited from among headteachers and teachers in each primary school cluster (CCW, 1992a, p.1).

The third stage of consultation was the distribution to all primary schools of a structured response form. Schools were encouraged to debate the issues as a staff before completing the form and returning it to CCW. More than seven hundred schools replied to the consultation and over four hundred and fifty teachers and LEA advisory staff were involved in discussions at the conferences and seminars. Special thanks are extended to the task group of primary teachers, teacher trainers and advisers who contributed to the process of shaping the consultation exercise (ibid).

In 1992, following this 'extensive consultation' the CCW published Aspects of Primary Education in Wales, a guidance paper. The paper 'was intended to contribute to the process of modifying and reviewing the curriculum in primary schools'. It was intended to 'offer initial guidance on a range of issues affecting practice in primary schools in Wales and was to be used over a period of time to promote whole school discussion'. It included a section specifically concerned with small schools recognising that 'many of the issues raised during the consultation present particular challenges to small schools' (CCW, 1992a, p.5). It drew attention to the proportionately large number of small schools in Wales and to special circumstances associated with the role of the Welsh language in many of those schools (Williams, Thorpe and James, 1995, p.4). The paper was addressed 'primarily to headteachers, curriculum leaders and class teachers'. CCW (1992) stated that:
It may also be useful to governing bodies and of interest to parents. It reflects current practice and considers future practice. It is a development document which may be used over a period of time as a source document to promote whole school discussions and assist schools as they develop clear policies on aspects of primary practice (ibid, p.2).

Although an effort had been made to use colour and, drawing and shading, the language used and its general layout was not primary school user friendly.

The next step was a review of the National Curriculum. In April 1993, at the request of the Secretary of State for Wales, the CCW began a process of review. The aim was to reduce the burden of the National Curriculum in schools. One of Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru (Curriculum and Assessment Council for Wales: ACAC)’s key objectives in undertaking the review was to create ‘discretionary time’ which schools could use to deal with aspects of the curriculum which staff believed were of particular importance. CCW suggested that schools could reasonably expect to deliver the revised National Curriculum and religious education in approximately 80-85% of the recommended minimum teaching time at Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 where Welsh is taught as a core subject (ACAC, 1994b and 1995, p.14).

ACAC maintained that the aim of the review was to reduce the statutory content in all subjects and to:

- clarify the knowledge, understanding and skills to be taught;
- remove unhelpful areas between key stages and across subjects;
- make progression more explicit both across and within key stages;
- establish a clearer relationship between the programmes of study and attainment targets which is consistent across subjects;
- extend access to pupils of all abilities;
- rectify any known areas of weakness within current Orders (ACAC, January 1995).

The review process was divided into four main phases. Each phase involved ‘members of the teaching profession and others concerned with education in Wales’.

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For those subjects with separate Orders in Wales (Welsh, geography, history, art and music), working groups of practitioners were set up in Wales. These groups, which included representatives of OHMCI, Welsh Office Education Department and Schools Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), worked closely with ACAC officers in writing the proposals. For those Orders which Wales and England have in common, SCAA formed advisory groups which included at least one Welsh member. Key stage groups scrutinised the work of subject groups to assess both manageability and educational appropriateness. The research interviews offered the opportunity to hear key policy makers recollect the major debates of this period.

The consultation on the proposals for each of the National Curriculum subjects was launched on 9 May, 1994. It ended three months later on 29 July. The response in Wales was substantial and influenced the final proposals that ACAC put before the Secretary of State for Wales:

- 8,124 response questionnaires were returned by MORI.
- Additional contributions came from organisations and individuals.
- Consultation meetings were held by ACAC with:
  i) Teachers' Unions and Associations;
  ii) Initial Teacher Trainers;
  iii) LEA Advisers;
  iv) Parents' Associations;
  v) Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC).
- Seventeen conferences were hosted by ACAC covering phase, subject specific and SEN issues;
- ACAC staff were invited to participate in a further 44 conferences and seminars throughout Wales (ACAC, 1994b, p.1).

The consultation sought to answer three basic questions:

- Would the new Orders help raise standards in Welsh, English, mathematics and science?
- Beyond the three vital proposals, would the proposals provide pupils with a broad and balance curriculum?
- Would it more manageable and presented in the most helpful way to teachers? (ibid)
A report was published by ACAC in September 1994 and it recommended that:

- the Orders should be slimmed by 20% by for implementation in schools by September 1995;
- the Welsh Second language Orders for Key Stage 1-3 should not be slimmed because there was a need to build on the success of the work completed already;
- there should be core subjects in Key Stage 4, namely English, mathematics, science and Welsh (in Welsh-medium schools), together with more selection of other subjects;
- teaching and assessing Welsh Second language as a compulsory subject be postponed at present and that the Secretary of State would re-address this issue when the first cohort of the National Curriculum would reach KS4 in 1999;
- assessment of Welsh Second language be unstatutory at KS1 but statutory through Teacher Assessment at KS2 and in KS3 (ACAC, 1994b).

The revised proposals submitted by ACAC were accepted in full by the Secretary of State for Wales. The new reviewed curriculum aimed to:

- retain the essential core of knowledge, skills and understanding in each subject which must be taught;
- reduce the content so that the statutory curriculum for 5-14 year olds can be taught in the equivalent of four days per week, leaving one day per week for school to use at their discretion;
- be less prescriptive and detailed than the existing curriculum and, in particular, to offer wider options for 14-16 year olds;
- give teachers more chance to use their professional discretion;
- achieve a broad and balanced education for all children (ACAC, 1994b, p.2).

The major difference between the 1991 Orders and 1995 Orders was a reduced content and greater flexibility. The most important changes following the review were:

- slimming down of the mandatory curriculum for 5 - 14 year olds particularly outside the core subjects.
- releasing an average of 20% of time for schools to use at own discretion.
• reform of the 10 level scale to reduce significantly the number of criteria - 'statements of attainment' defining what pupils must be able to do at each level;
• simplification and reduced testing and recording demands (ibid).

Some aspects of the curriculum remained the same, namely:

• the range of subjects for 5 - 14 year olds;
• an unchanged core of mandatory content;
• teachers free to go on teaching aspects of the curriculum which have become voluntary;
• tests focus on basic literary and numeracy for 7 year olds;
• tests focus on language, mathematics and science for 11 year olds

The key features of the new Orders were described by ACAC thus:

• programmes of study as a basis for day to day teaching and assessment;
• clearer relationship between Programme of Study and Attainment Targets;
• no reference to teaching methods;
• exemplification limited to clarifying meaning and/or defining scope;
• schools to make professional decisions regarding the shape and emphasis of the curriculum;
• improved accessibility for pupils with SEN;
• be manageable for schools to implement (ACAC, 1994b).

The revised Programme of Study and Attainment Targets for each subject became legal requirements by means of an Order made by the Secretary of State for Wales (jointly with the Secretary of State for Education in some subjects) for all year groups in KS1, KS2 and KS3 in August, 1995 and for Year 10 pupils in KS4 in August 1996 (Welsh Office, 1995b). The explanation booklet for parents on National Curriculum Assessment declares that:

In 1994 the National Curriculum was reviewed and slimmed down, and it will not be changed again before the year 2000. (Welsh Office, 1996e).
6. The Significance of the Revised National Curriculum Orders

Richard Daugherty reminds us that the Review sought to make the national curriculum more manageable by simplifying and clarifying the Programme of Study and reducing the amount of material required by law to be taught, particularly outside core subjects. He stated that the initial separate curriculum Orders drawn up by different Working Groups reflected eleven different interpretations, each distinctive in its own way. Furthermore, there was added fragmentation because of the separate curriculum and assessment councils (ibid, p.33). He said that as a result of the review slimming process, teachers would have greater scope to exercise professional judgment in implementing the requirements of the new curriculum and to respond to the needs and enthusiasms of particular pupils. He claimed that:

It is very much up to individual schools to determine how to make best use of the discretionary time at their disposal, though they will need to show their governing bodies and parents as well as visiting inspectors that they are using it effectively and providing a balanced and broadly-based curriculum which meets the national curriculum requirements of the Education Reform Act 1988 (Daugherty, 1995).

The extent of subject overlap was narrowed and the new Orders were produced both as separate subject documents and as a single Key Stage 1 and 2 document which replaced all previous files. All documents were produced bilingually. Examples illustrating statements of attainment were removed in an attempt to meet the practitioners’ demand for a slimmer National Curriculum. These changes were welcomed by some schools, but others who had already produced policy documents and schemes of work were overburdened with the prospect of adapting them to meet the new requirements.

The reduction in the extent of subject content meant that schools needed to revise their schemes of work and also discuss how to make use of the greater curriculum flexibility allowed by the new Orders (Cox, 1995). The advantages of discretionary time was developed by a very small minority.
At the end of KS1, KS2 and KS3, for all subjects which, in the original Orders, had Statements of Attainment, there were now broader level descriptors for each Attainment Target written in prose. From 1995/96, the 10 level scale was redefined to reduce the number of descriptions about what pupils should know, be able to do and understand. The 1299 Statements of Attainment were replaced by 260 'level descriptors'. These described the types and range of performance which pupils would characteristically demonstrate over a period of time. Eight level descriptors were outlined for each Attainment Target. An additional description above level 8 provided opportunity for teachers to recognise exceptional performance at the end of KS3 (Welsh Office, 1995b, p.v).

All four separate subjects remained distinctive to Wales. There were slightly different emphasis on content in art and music. The Programme of Study units and themes in history and geography were reduced and content was removed from each key stage. In art, music, and physical education, the End of Key Stage Statements (EKSS) were redrafted in the style of level descriptions and re-named 'end of key stage description'. These were adapted to be broadly equivalent to specific levels in other subjects. As in other subjects, additional descriptions for exceptional performance were added (ACAC, November, 1994, p.2). Evidence already shows that non-specialist primary teachers, in particular found the change to the more open-ended level descriptors too general to aid their assessment of individual pupil progress.

The Secretary of State decided that from 1 August 1994 regulations would come into force to suspend until 1999 the National Curriculum requirements for pupils aged 14-16 (KS4) in non-Welsh-speaking schools (Welsh Office, 1995a). The Welsh Office stated that although the primary responsibility for meeting and delivering these statutory requirements rests with schools, that they 'have been considering what steps might be taken now and in subsequent years to help schools be in the best position to start teaching Welsh at KS4 at the earliest opportunity'. They indicated their expectations of schools which had already been making appropriate provision to teach Welsh at KS4 to continue to do:
Ministers hope that all schools will give the appropriate priority to planning and preparation in order that as many as possible will seek to start teaching Welsh at Key Stage 4 earlier than 1999 (Welsh Office, 1995a).

They also stated that by 1999 all secondary schools should be ready for the compulsory teaching of Welsh at KS4.

During this period schools have a statutory duty to exercise their functions with a view to securing full implementation of the requirements from August 1999. The Welsh Office and Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (ACAC) have already indicated that they will continue to provide substantial levels of support in order that schools are suitable prepared (ibid).

Gareth Elwyn Jones (1995. p.7) states that although the Welsh language 'is not now to be compulsory as a Welsh Second language beyond the age of fourteen, it has a more secure place than ever before'. Welsh Office Ministers also stated that the introduction of the National Curriculum with Welsh as a core or foundation subject has already given the teaching of the language in schools a significant boost.

However, the postponement was considered by many to be a grave mistake. Pupil uptake fell from 66.1% in 1993/4 to 32.8% in 1994/5 which had a significant impact on school staffing policies (OHMCI, 1996). The decision throws into doubt the true status of the Curriculum Cymreig in Wales. This provided another an interesting issue to discuss with key policy makers during the research interviews.

From 1995, all subject Orders common to England and Wales listed four Common Requirements for the Programme of Study which were:

**Access:**
The programme of study for each key stage should be taught to the great majority of pupils in the key stage, in ways according to their abilities. For a small number of pupils who may need provision, teachers may select material from earlier or later key stages where this is necessary to enable individual pupils to progress and demonstrate achievement. Such materials should be presented in contexts suitable to the pupil's age.

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Use of language (Wales only):
Pupils should be taught to express themselves early in both speech and writing and to develop their reading skills. They should be taught to use grammatically correct sentences and to spell and punctuate accurately in order to communicate effectively in written English or when the medium is Welsh, in written Welsh;

Information Technology:
Pupils should be given opportunities, where appropriate, to develop and apply their information technology (IT) capability in their study of (each subject);

The Curriculum Cymreig:
In Wales, pupils should be given opportunities, where appropriate, in their study to develop and apply their knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic, environmental, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales (Welsh Office, 1995b);

Statutory status for the Curriculum Cymreig was an indication that the Welshness of the curriculum was extending to encompass all subjects. However, it is couched in statutory language without explanation or examples and left open to interpretation. Policy makers interpretation of it and their expectations in terms of practitioner delivery of it provided another area of enquiry for interviewing.

Ball (1990) claims that subjects such as English and history were identified by restorationalists as important arenas for cultural struggle. However, despite a struggle, the English Order remains a shared common Order between England and Wales. In England the lament seemed to be that the quality of language was deteriorating. The emphasis was on grammar, spelling and accent which was to be the focus. Professor Brian Cox, who chaired the Working Group which set out the first National Curriculum in English in 1989 suggested that political influence on the curriculum was not as strong in Wales as it was in England. He maintained that:

When the Right took over crucial positions of power on NCC and SEAC, they forgot to do the same for the Curriculum Council for Wales (Cox, 1995, p.80).
Cox described how Richard Daugherty as CCW's chair, was 'supported by teachers sympathetic to the Cox curriculum'. On 9 March 1993 the CCW submitted to David Hunt, Secretary of State for Wales, a revised curriculum different from and (according to teachers) 'vastly superior' to the one devised by the NCC at York. In a letter sent by CCW to David Hunt, Richard Daugherty stated that the CCW had worked closely with the NCC and 'on most matters the two Councils are agreed'. He listed three ways in which the Welsh proposals differed from those submitted by NCC to ministers in England:

- We believe it is not appropriate to introduce a requirement to use standard English in speaking and listening before level 5; increasing competence in standard spoken English is thus a feature of our proposals from Key Stage 2 onwards;

- We are also recommending that the reading required of pupils should be set out in terms of criteria and categories rather than lists of authors/text. This consistent framework across all four key stages will, in our view, ensure that pupils read a wide range of suitable fiction and non-fiction text. In this respect, as with the recommendations on standard English, we believe out proposals are more appropriate for pupils learning English in Wales (Daugherty, 1993).

Cox (1995, p.81) points out that the Welsh document made it 'abundantly clear' that the consultation process revealed no desire among teachers for radical change; the NCC document did not do this and was 'deliberately misleading'. The Welsh document specified two particular concerns:

The apparent departure from the underpinning rationale of the current Order which drew extensively on the Bullock and Kingman Reports, the implementation of GCSE and the work of the National Writing and Oracy projects;

The implicit narrowing of the range of experiences which would encourage the perception that the revised English curriculum is more mechanistic and restrictive than that exemplified in the current Order (CCW, 1993).

In May 1994 Rudi Plat, Chairman of ACAC wrote to the Secretary of State, John Redwood to present English in the National Curriculum, - Proposals for Consultation stating that ACAC believed that the proposals required amendment to take into account the specific needs of Wales:
There is the issue of prescribed reading lists for pupils between 11 and 16. The Council is anxious that pupils in Wales should have the opportunities to read a range of literature which is distinctive to Wales and which includes works common to the literary heritage of Wales and England. The range of Welsh writing in English is rich and diverse but much of it is characterised by its sense of locality and place. Further much of this material is only available in collections and anthologies, which are well used in schools in Wales and which contain a range of short stories and poems, etc which are accessible to and which motivate children of all abilities. Against this background, it would be difficult to produce prescribed lists of authors which adequately reflect the range of established and contemporary Welsh and English writing (ACAC, 1994a).

ACAC in its summary of the changes to the detail of the subject Orders and their overall shape stated that:

The (English) proposals aroused much interest and debate and stimulated an impressive response. The revised Order differs in significant ways from the May 1994 proposals with many changes made to address respondents' concerns (ACAC, November, 1994, p.2).

In Autumn 1995 the teachers 'were confronted with a new, slimmed-down English curriculum, presenting new opportunities and new problems. Cox (1995, p.1) stated that it was generally agreed among teachers that the new English curriculum lacked vision. He said:

It reduces the curriculum to basics, many of which are cliches, and at the same time it includes some confusions and falsities of emphasis....Both pupils and teachers in the slimmed-down curriculum are to some extent reduced to technicians, and the joy and wonder of the subject are lost. On the other hand, the 1995 curriculum is superior to the drafts of a revised English curriculum which were proposed in 1993. Many absurdities have been removed, and the new curriculum gives teachers some freedoms to develop their own programmes of work (Cox, 1995).

Members of the English Working Group published a statement stating that they welcomed the re-ordering and the restructuring of the Programme of Study and the 'greater clarity, coherence and consistency'. They also said that the move to level descriptors was a significant improvement which offered greater emphasis to teachers' professional judgments in assessment. However, they went on to say that:
While we had every opportunity to express our views, submit suggestions and agree many recommendations, we are surprised that so many of the group's recommendations have been ignored or changed beyond recognition since our last meeting......We would like to know for what reason, by whom and at what point in the review were these changes made (TES, 13 May, 1994).

Cox acknowledges the Welsh influence on the English Order whilst he also indicates his awareness of political influence on development processes in England. The nature and extent of Central Government intervention provides another line of enquiry to be pursued in the interviews with the former Chair of CCW and other key promoters of educational policy in Wales.

From September 1995 the new Orders were to be implemented in all schools. A 'considerable volume of material' was published by CCW in the period up to 1995 in the form of non-statutory guidance, INSET material, teacher support material, exemplars of pupils' work, case studies and advisory papers to facilitate teachers to implement National Curriculum requirements. The non-statutory guidance material presented details and examples for teachers which the National Curriculum review had omitted. ACAC's Assistant Chief Executive for the Primary Phase states that:

With hindsight, it was very difficult to cope with the amount of material coming through, to give it proper attention both in terms of scrutinising it to seeing that it was appropriate and having decided it was appropriate putting it through and publishing it (Rogers, 1991).

This theme is also taken up by an evaluative report which criticised the mismatch of the language used in CCW's curriculum support materials. The report recommended that ACAC's future materials should be presented 'in an appropriate medium for the message' (University of Cardiff, 1995, p.41). The research interviews investigate policy makers' interpretation of effective national and institutional support structures which facilitate the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales.
7. National Curriculum Assessment

The Secretary of State says that he regards the maintenance of a soundly based, manageable system of pupil assessment as being of critical importance to providing parents with clear information about children’s progress in the context of the National Curriculum. He also says that he regards it as essential for teachers to have the data they need to secure better teaching and learning year by year. ERA (1988) empowered the Secretary of State to establish assessment arrangements for the National Curriculum and to prescribe what the assessment arrangements should be in each subject. In Wales the current mandatory assessment arrangements cover the core National Curriculum subjects of English, Welsh (where taught as a first language), mathematics and science for pupils at the end of Key Stages 1-3 (broadly equivalent to 7, 11 and 14 year olds) (Welsh Office, 1996a, p.3). Summer 1995 was the first time in which formal end of key stage assessment was conducted simultaneously in KS1, 2 and 3. The Secretary of State claimed that he endorsed the Authority’s aim:

To produce a coherent and integrated curriculum and assessment framework which meets the needs of pupils, has the confidence of the teaching profession, parents, governors, and the wider public, raises standards of achievement and widens educational opportunity (Welsh Office, 1996a).

He also stated that the approach is entirely consistent with the programme of action which he has set out in A Bright Future - the Way Forward. This encourages schools, LEAs and other interests to work closely together to raise educational standards and improve individual pupils and school performance (ibid). He emphasised that elaborate systems of recording would ‘neither be required by the National Curriculum nor expected by inspectors operating within the statutory framework’. Similarly, it has been accepted that the assessment arrangements are too burdensome. In outlining the assessment and reporting processes to parents Welsh Office Ministers state that:

A range of National Tests and Tasks have been produced to help teachers measure your child's progress at the end of Key Stages 1, 2 and 3. Short paper and pencil tests will, in the main, be used with 11 and 14 year olds to test key aspects of English, Welsh (First language), mathematics and science.
A range of tasks in the form of classroom exercises will be used with tests for 7 year olds, and for those 11 and 14 year olds who might struggle with the tests. A series of tasks at all levels has also been produced to measure progress in aspects of Welsh, where this is taught as a first language (Welsh Office, 1996, p. 5).

When Welsh Second language was identified as a National Curriculum foundation subject a decision was taken that at KS1 (5-7 year olds) and KS2 (7-11 year olds) the subject should be assessed by Teacher Assessment alone. This meant that at ages 7 and 11 children would not have to take mandatory SATs in Welsh Second language. There was a genuine concern about the primary teachers' knowledge of Welsh and their experience in assessing Welsh Second language (Elfed-Owens, 1992). To aid teachers in meeting National Curriculum requirements, it was proposed that they should be provided with supportive change agents in the form of Non-Statutory Standard Assessment Tasks. These could be used to inform and confirm the assessment judgments they were making (CCW/SEAC, 1992b).

One of the biggest problems in developing standard assessment material was the wide variation in the standard of teaching of Welsh Second language across the country. While some schools involved in teaching Welsh for years have evolved proficient teaching methods, others are embarking on the tasks for the first time in response to the new requirements. In Summer 1992 all end of KS1 pupils were to be assessed by their teachers in the three Attainment Targets for Welsh Second language. Teachers could base their assessments on their accumulated records of pupils' achievements during the course of the key stage (Welsh Office, 1992). The KS1 Non Statutory Standardised assessment for foundation subjects were optional and could be used at any time during the school year either to finalise pupil assessment or to confirm Teacher Assessment in accordance with National Assessment requirements. They were prepared as simple activities to be helpful both during and when finalising teacher assessment at the end of the key stage. Some schools had to face the task with few or no Welsh speakers among their staff.

In Anglicised counties like Gwent and in schools near the English border, heads complained of a two-fold problem - they have few Welsh-speaking teachers and no tradition of teaching the language.

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Most counties changed their plans in order to ensure that Welsh was effectively presented as part of the new curriculum. The initial focus was on Key Stage 1 and on ensuring that Athrawon Bro supported the high percentage of primary teachers who did not speak Welsh (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.4).

In order to develop materials to meet teachers' linguistic needs, and their need for ideas which matched the requirements of the National Curriculum for Welsh Second language, Athrawon Bro from the eight counties of Wales were brought together at different stages in the development process to produce the assessment material and to lead Inservice training on its use. Teacher Assessment of Welsh Second language is non-statutory at Key Stage 1 and statutory at Key Stage 2.

In 1995 schools were required to report to parents, where appropriate, the results of both the Teacher Assessment and the National Curriculum Tests and Tasks. For comparative purposes, it was also a requirement that reports include aggregate results for the school.

The aggregate school results are also to be included in the School Prospectus and the Governors' Annual Report. National comparative data will be included in each of these documents from 1996 onwards (Welsh Office, 1996a, p.4).

This was a significant new development which signified a tightening up of accountability. The Welsh Office assessment guide for parents, explains about the National Curriculum in Wales, and how assessment, testing and reporting arrangements fit into the framework. It aims to give parents a 'clearer idea of what their children are taught; how their progress will be measured, and to help them to prepare for discussions with teachers about their child's progress':

Each National Curriculum subject has its own set of challenging targets which cover a series of steps, or levels, on a common national scale. This scale is graded from levels 1 - 8, shows how the subjects become more difficult as children get older, and provides clear goals to aim for. It also enables teachers to plan lessons according to age and ability, and helps them, and you, to monitor your child's progress against National Curriculum standards. (Welsh Office, 1996a, p.3)
The Parents’ Charter (Wales) emphasises’ the right to know and the right to choose’ particularly in the context of the standards of work achieved.

It explains your rights as a parent in the education of your children, the choices you can make, information you can obtain about the performance of schools, and the influence you can have on the way schools are run (Welsh Office, July 1994a, p.1).

It states that every school must provide a broad and balanced curriculum which promotes spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development and prepares children for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life. It goes on to say that:

A large part of the week is taken up by teaching the requirements of the National Curriculum: English, Welsh (with certain statutory exceptions), mathematics, science and physical education from age 5 to 16: technology, history, geography, art and music from 5 to 14, and a modern foreign language from age 11 to 14 (Welsh Office, 1994a, p.7).

In the Parents’ Charter, Welsh Office ministers state that most schools offer a number of choices for 14 year olds, including technology, modern foreign languages, arts, humanities and other subjects which are not compulsory under the National Curriculum. Specific reference is not made to the Curriculum Cymreig. This calls into question its true status and the existence and effectiveness of national strategies to monitor its progress.

8. Roles & Responsibilities for Welsh Language Education

Information relating to the roles and responsibilities of the different educational agencies provided the necessary background knowledge into the decision making processes in Wales, the relationship between agencies, and the context in which they operate. It also highlights issues and gaps to be addressed in conversation with key personnel during the research interviews.
Although Whitehall has maintained strict control over education policy in Wales, the Welsh Office has been administratively responsible for schools in Wales since 1971. Jeremy (1993) claims that considerable advances have occurred in the pupils' quality of learning as a result of partnership between the Welsh Office, authorities and the national examining board, the Welsh Joint Education Committee. Such co-operation has been crucial in the highly successful development of Welsh-medium education over this period.

Hood (1976) argues that for perfect implementation to be achieved it would be necessary to have a completely unitary administrative system - 'like a huge army with a single line authority' - with no compartmentalism or conflict within.

Even to state this condition of perfect co-ordination is to know that, leaving aside questions of desirability, its attainment would be all but impossible within and among real-life organisations which are characterised by departmentalism, professionalism, and the activities of many groups with their own values, goals, and interests to protect (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p.244).

They believe that the condition of 'perfect implementation' requires that there is a single implementing agency which need not depend on other agencies for success, or if other agencies must be involved, that the dependency relationships are minimal in number and importance. Where, as it is often the case in practice, implementation requires not only a complex series of events and linkages but also agreement at each event among a large number of participants, then the probability of a successful even a predictable outcome must be further reduced (ibid, p.242). Jeremy (1993), on the other hand, maintains that:

Considerable advances, especially in the Thatcher era, have occurred in the pupils' quality of learning as a result of partnership between the Welsh Office, authorities and the national examining board, the WJEC. Such co-operation has been crucial in the highly successful development of Welsh-medium education over this period (Jeremy, 1993).

The Welsh Office was established in April 1965, following the creation of the Office of the Secretary of State for Wales in October 1964. Responsibilities were at first limited to areas such as roads, housing and local government.
Welsh Office publicity material suggests that:

The great success of the Welsh Office in dealing with these matters, and the proof that local contact worked, led to an increasing delegation of power from Whitehall to Wales. Health, industry, agriculture, economic policy and other concerns rapidly became the responsibility of the Welsh Office (Welsh Office, 1996b).

The Welsh Office claims that its personnel, while having specific areas of responsibility, 'mix on a daily basis with colleagues with overlapping interests. This means that 'staff have been given opportunities for a great range of experience and contact with a wide circle of people' (Welsh Office, 1996b).

The Welsh Office is divided into eleven groups. Eight of these deal with specific areas of government responsibility and two, Finance and Establishment Groups, are concerned with the running of the Office. There are also a specialist Legal Group and Information Division.

The operational divisions and branches of the various groups communicate closely with their opposite numbers in the relevant Whitehall departments (Welsh Office, 1996b).

The official head of the Office is the permanent Secretary of State. He is assisted by two Deputy Secretaries and eleven under secretaries, or officers of equivalent grade. The Education Department comprises four divisions:

**Schools Performance Division** which is responsible for 'seeking to raise standards in schools, including the development, oversight and review of the National Curriculum for maintained schools'. This covers both subject curriculum development and associated assessment arrangements in the medium of Welsh, as well as English. It includes all examinations, diplomas and vocational qualifications in school as well as the curriculum for religious education. The Inservice training of teachers; and the Grants for education Support and Training (GEST) programme is also managed by this department.

**Schools Administration Division** has policy responsibility for the administration of nursery, primary and secondary schools. It is also responsible for the administration of Grant Maintained schools, for City Technology Colleges, Parents' Charter and for Education finance.

**Further and Higher Education Division** is concerned with the supply and initial training of teachers, teachers' pay and appraisal and policy in connection with higher and further education provision.
**Culture and Recreation Division** is concerned with museums and libraries; the arts; broadcasting; sport; Welsh aspects of the National Lottery; and Welsh language policy and grants. In addition it is responsible for the management of the Translation Unit which provides a Welsh-English translation service, primarily for the Department (Welsh Office, 1996b).

The Welsh Office states that 'one of the keys to the successful development of Welsh language education, both Welsh-medium and Welsh Second language, lies in active and constructive co-operation between all the statutory and other bodies involved'.

The active co-operation of these five public bodies in the discharge of their statutory functions will give further impetus to the successful development of Welsh language education (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.2).

The roles, functions and responsibilities of five all-Wales public bodies which have recently assumed responsibility for aspects of Welsh language education are outlined as follows and investigated further by interview.

On April 1st, 1994, ACAC took over statutory responsibility for schools curriculum matters in Wales. ACAC were given a key role in implementing the Government's policies on Welsh language education; education through the medium of Welsh and the teaching of Welsh Second language. The authority had advisory responsibilities for the curriculum in Wales, for assessment arrangements in KS1, KS2 and KS3, and commissioning responsibilities for Welsh and bilingual classroom materials. Responsibilities for examination standards at GCSE, A level etc. were confined initially, to Welsh First Language, Welsh Second language and Welsh Literature. In 1995, the Secretary of State later agreed that the responsibilities in Wales for all examination standards should transfer to ACAC. On 21 April 1995 all remaining assessment and examination functions for Wales were transferred from SCAA to ACAC. It is responsible for:

Advising the Secretary of State on curriculum matters and the exercise of his powers (under Section 5 (1) of the Education Reform Act 1988) to approve courses of study leading to external qualifications;
Publishing and disseminating information relating to the curriculum for schools, including examinations and assessment, and carrying out such ancillary activities as the Secretary of State may direct (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.6).

The Secretary of State intends ACAC to take on the function of sponsoring the development of 'essential Welsh language curriculum materials'.

It will work closely with the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority in England in the exercise of this function, particularly on the curriculum for subjects with a common statutory content in England and Wales and in advising on the standards of courses of study and examination arrangements leading to external qualifications (ibid).

ACAC is responsible for advising the Secretary of State on all aspects of the curriculum relating to Welsh-medium education in maintained schools. It will be responsible for commissioning the publication and dissemination of guidance to assist teachers in Welsh-medium schools to interpret and deliver their responsibilities in respect of the curriculum for pupils in Wales. It will also be responsible for:

- Advising on the availability of suitable textbooks to enable teaching of the curriculum requirements specific to Wales;
- Developing essential Welsh language curriculum materials (in the form of written materials such as textbooks, media information - technology based and related teacher support materials) to enable schools to teach National Curriculum subjects and religious education through the medium of Welsh and the materials required to teach Welsh as a subject;
- Commissioning the development of such materials where gaps exist which cannot be filled commercially (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.7).

Sponsorship of Welsh language leisure reading material for children and young adults will remain the responsibility of the Welsh Office which funds the Grants to Publishers scheme administered through the Welsh Books Council. Leisure reading plays an important role in complementing language teaching and instruction through the medium of Welsh which takes place in schools. The Books Council and the Authority work closely with each other to ensure that the two grant schemes together fully meet identified needs and do not result either in duplication of effort or materials.
OHMCI and the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) derived their statutory position and power from the Education (Schools) Act 1992. The Offices were formally established on 1 September 1992 as a new non-Ministerial government department (Welsh Office, March 1994b, p.8) for keeping the Secretary of State informed about the quality and standards of education in schools in Wales. G. E. Jones (1995) state that the work of HMI, 'until recently acknowledged globally for the thoroughness and consistency of its practice', is replaced by a quite different institution of appraisal. An institution.

The Act requires HMCI in Wales ‘to keep the Secretary of State informed about the quality and standards of education in schools in Wales, the efficient management of financial resources and the development of pupils’ spiritual and moral values’. In particular, the Act requires HMCI to arrange and keep under review a five year cycle of inspection by independent agencies and providing or approving training for the independent inspectors.

HMCI also has powers under the Act which include advising the Secretary of State or Wales on any matter connected with schools in Wales, of causing any schools to be inspected by HMI and causing any inspection of a school to be monitored by HMI. The Act also requires HMCI to make an annual report, and other reports to the Secretary of State for Wales and arrange for their publication (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.6).

In addition, under Section 6 of the Education (Schools) Act (1992, p.8) the Secretary of State for Wales has requested that HMCI secures the inspection of initial teacher training, including the element undertaken in schools. Section 9 of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 provides responsibility for inspecting these aspects of further education provision which remain the responsibility of local education authorities, including adult education and youth and community provision, and for offering advice on wider further education as requested. Another important aspect of OHMCI’s responsibility is reporting on the quality and standards of work in:

- Institutions which provide Welsh-medium education;
- The teaching and learning of Welsh First and Second language;
• The training for Welsh language work and Welsh-medium education provided in colleges and school; and on:

• Advising the Secretary of State on matters regarding language in education are taken into account; and in

• Reporting about matters including Welsh in the annual schedules (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.9).

Research interviews offer the opportunity to seek HMI views on national monitoring strategies, the extent to which they have influenced decisions in Wales and how their role and approach compares with that of their English counterparts.

The Welsh Language Bill (17th December, 1992) which became law in 1993 established the Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg which assumed statutory status on 21 December 1993. This replaced the non-statutory body set up in 1988 to advise the Secretary of State. The new Welsh Language Board would have powers to insist that all public bodies in Wales should prepare plans giving details of the Welsh language services they would provide in Welsh. Its new responsibilities do not remove from any of the statutory bodies their responsibilities for specific aspects of Welsh language education (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.11).

The Board will consider Welsh language schemes prepared by local education authorities, school and college governing bodies and other public bodies involved in education in Wales. The Language Board will also have a broader role complementing the statutory responsibilities of the other agencies in their specific areas of operation by providing an overview which should help to ensure coherence and consistency so that the use of the language can be promoted and facilitated (ibid, p.1).

Davies (1995) maintains that the bill was widely considered to be inadequate. Welsh and English were treated on a basis of equality only ‘where appropriate’.

The people of Wales, therefore, still did not have the right to choose to use Welsh or English as they wished. In addition, the powers of the Secretary of State, who could vet any proposed plan, were considered too great, while those of the Language Board, which would be unable to sue a public body refusing to comply with its demands, were too few (Davies, 1995, p.61).
The Welsh Language Board has a membership of 14 people who represent the different aspects of life in Wales. They also have a permanent panel which looks at the Board's specific language policy. A number of the other members are also from within the education field. The Welsh Language Board has three education officers and three additional officers to evaluate the Board's present position in the field of education.

Under the Welsh Language Act, every public body must have a language policy. The Welsh Language Board prepares schemes, advises on language issues and on how to apply the language policy in every field of education. LEAs' schemes are required to cover all aspects of Welsh language education provision under their control, including the number and distribution of Welsh-medium schools. Schemes also need to be prepared by individual schools operating under grant-maintained status, and by further and higher education colleges (Davies, 1995).

The Board is also responsible for taking a broad overview of teaching through the medium of Welsh across all phases of education. It will develop a broad perspective of the relevant needs and concerns which will enable it to contribute towards the development of Welsh-medium education within each sector. It will need to establish a loose working relationship with the other statutory agencies, with the local education authorities, the Assembly of Welsh Counties and the Welsh Joint Education Committee and with voluntary organisations such as Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Welsh Nursery Movement) (ibid).

The Welsh Office states that it will be particularly important for the Welsh Language Board to work closely with ACAC and the Funding Councils in advising the Secretary of State on provision for the Welsh-medium education for pupils and students of all ages.

Equally, it remains to be seen whether the recent, highly public, but unofficial, recognition of the language - the statements by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for Wales, in Parliament, that the Welsh language is an official language in Wales - can be translated by the statutory Welsh Language Board into real gains for speakers of the only language native and exclusive to this part of the universe (Davies, 1995).
The Welsh Language Board have become increasingly involved in educational matters by preparing reports on matters such as Welsh in Key Stage 4 and on the *Athrawon Bro* system. In 1996, responsibility for the allocation of Section 21 funding was moved from the Welsh Office to the Welsh Language Board.

**Welsh Language Education Development Committee's** primary role was one of gathering information on policies and needs, of collating information not readily accessible nor readily proffered, of formulating specific advice and of recommending specific priorities for action, mainly to the Education Department of the Welsh Office (the Department), which was responsible for acquiring and disposing the grants under Section 21 of the Education Act 1980, the only direct lever available to those working to promote the use of Welsh within the education system in Wales (WJEC, 1994, p.22). As a 'relatively free agent' the Committee could be seen to be acting dispassionately on behalf of the Welsh language. It acted as 'honest broker between a number of well established and potentially competing agencies'.

- National Language Unit of Wales in Treforest;
- Educational Resource Centre, Aberystwyth;
- Gwynedd Languages Resources Centre, Llangefni;
- National Centre for Religious Education, Bangor;
- Welsh for Adults directorate, WJEC, Cardiff;
- Micro-Electrics Unit for Wales (MEU Cymru) at the WJEC;
- Welsh Books Council and individual book publishers;
- Education Department of BBC Wales and other companies:

The former Director states that:

As a body concentrating exclusively upon the needs of Welsh within the system, PDAG offered focus for many general demands and provided support for many individuals who found themselves in the minority wherever they turned. PDAG was able to instil confidence and engender new enthusiasm in sectors, such as further education or special needs provision, which has seldom paid any attention to the demands of Welsh-speakers (WJEC, 1994, p.23).
In his 1993-94 report he stated that:

Though at the outset the Secretary of State promised to supply the funds that would be needed, PDAG was never given a block grant and never allowed to become that kind of national development body which was demanded during the eighties. The Committee's achievements and frustrations stemmed from its anomalous position:

It was an ad-hoc creation, with no statutory basis, directly responsible neither to local government nor central government;

It was suspended uneasily between the recognised democratic structures - notably the eight local education authorities in Wales and the Welsh Office with its mushrooming un-elected quangos;

It controlled no substantial moneys of its own and was therefore restricted to a weak, advisory, role, exploited by both local and central government when it suited them but equally ignored by both sides when its advice proved uncomfortable or costly (WJEC, 1994, p.22).

However, the Director maintained that initially, in the period 1987-89, the Committee acted as the voice of those working within the established system, demanding attention to general and specific problems by researching and collating an annual claim for the Welsh Office support under Section 21 (WJEC, 1994, p.23). PDAG was disbanded at the end of March 1994 as many of its functions were taken over by statutory non-departmental public bodies established by the ERA of 1988 and the 1993 Act which established the CCW and subsequently the ACAC; Education Act (Further and Higher Education) 1992 which established the Funding Councils for Further and Higher Education in Wales and Deddf Yr Iaith Gymraeg, 1993 (Welsh Language Act), which established the Welsh Language Board.

In its final report PDAG states that its activity coincided with 'a time of strict financial control and re-direction by central government':

When huge resources were steadily, and increasingly, being moved out of the hands of the LEAs both into the control of the Department itself and into the hands of heads and governors of individual schools and colleges (WJEC, 1994, p.23).
PDAG report continues by stating that during the second phase, from 1990 to 1994, its role as a forum for the expression of needs across the education system was severely constrained. PDAG was forced to concentrate upon offering advice on how best the Department should prioritise the restricted funds available (WJEC, 1994, p.23). The Committee had to work with other agencies to promote ideas and systems which it could not itself put in place. The report states that it was difficult, therefore, to list any specific developments for which the Committee could claim exclusive responsibility:

Though its members and officers were closely involved in all the initial discussions, the detailed drafting of legislation and the hard political lobbying which led to the eventual shape of the Education Reform Act 1988; for example, to what extent would PDAG claim to have ensured the presence of Welsh within the National Curriculum? (ibid).

The question is to what extent the ‘undoubted growth of Welsh-medium teaching in mathematics, science and technology should be attributed, post 1988, to the programmes supported by the Welsh Office’. These were presented ‘as the result of PDAG advice rather than to the spade-work already put in by enlightened individuals working within schools and colleges, by members of HMI for Schools in Wales and by officers working within the Welsh Joint Education Committee prior to PDAG’s existence’.

Much of PDAG’s advice and recommendation, after all, was simply the distillation of best-practice, and best-wishing, found within the Welsh-medium education system at the time. That system had been put in place by dint of concerted and enlightened action over many decades prior to PDAG’s existence and all the players remained active. If it succeeded at all, the Committee merely enabled all these players to follow the same game-plan, above all to direct their energies to attainable goals (WJEC, 1994, p.24).

The PDAG report suggested that it might perhaps be justified in claiming major contributions to the following developments:

- Formulating a programme for developing Welsh language teaching within all sectors of the education system in Wales, from pre-school to adult and continuing education;
• Formulating a programme for publicising and promoting the use of the Welsh language in all sectors of the education system in Wales, from pre-school to adult and continuing education (this programme was transferred to the non-statutory Welsh Language Board from 1988)

• Initiating and organising national forums and specialist seminars on all aspects of Welsh language provision - including, for example, early years voluntary provision, response to needs of blind readers, establishing editorial standards - by bringing together various bodies and interests, not all of them directly involved in education;

• Establishing working links with bodies promoting lesser-used languages in other parts of Europe and the wider world community and instigating wider understanding and co-operation via conferences and working groups supported by the European Community and the Welsh Office;

• Advising MPs and Lords of the Realm on requirements in new legislation, for example, ensuring an honourable place for Welsh in the National Curriculum (this programme transferred to Curriculum Council for Wales from 1989);

• Establishing and publishing data-base of resources available to support Welsh-medium learning throughout the system;

• Researching and publishing recommendations on present provision, future needs and immediate priorities in all curriculum areas (WJEC, 1994).

PDAG’s report maintained that it was salutary to compare the above short list of the major programmes the Committee had formulated and requested and those for which support had been refused or delayed by the Department. PDAG’s former director presents the argument that if these initiatives had been fully supported, they would have ‘enhanced the quality and effectiveness of Welsh language education throughout Wales’. All aspects of this discourse did not appear to be widely accepted.

PDAG’s finishes by saying:

PDAG’s reports and recommendations were to be activated by other agencies in Wales (ibid, p.23).

Like any coach, however, when things got heated PDAG could only sit on the touchline and watch the individual players as they were called upon to perform their skills. Occasionally, moreover, they were not even allowed to explain their game-plan to the players before they were sent on to play (ibid, p.24).
The Higher Education Funding Council was established under the provisions of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. The Council have responsibility under the Act for funding education, research and associated activities at universities, institutions conducted by higher education corporations and designated higher education institutions in Wales, together with prescribed courses of higher education at institutions funded by the Further Education Funding Council for Wales (Welsh Office, 1994b, p.5). Its incentive payments to facilitate students to take up training to enable them to teach Welsh is an influential aspect in facilitating the implementation of Welsh National Curriculum requirements.

On April 1st, 1996, 22 new unitary authorities took over from the existing eight LEAs responsibility for administering education at the local level in Wales. It is not clear what role the new authorities envisage for themselves in the provision of educational support services to schools. Whatever the outcome of the decisions made in each of the new authorities, the existing pattern of provision and monitoring of INSET in schools by LEAs will change substantially after 1996. It is reasonable to expect the local authority's role in INSET to be significantly different in the future from the role with which we are familiar (Williams, Thorpe and James, 1995, p.8). This may have serious implications on the level of advice and support available to schools.

G. E. Jones (1995) maintains that in the 1990s, 'the mass of unelected, largely unaccountable quangos, endorsed by a new right-wing Secretary of State for Wales, John Redwood, sat curiously alongside the democratic radicalism of the Welsh political tradition'. 'Authentic self-generating national pressure had not been politically effective'. The various 'quangos' need to be democratically overseen within Wales by representatives of the Welsh people to ensure specifically Welsh strategies (ibid, p.25).

The fragmented nature of educational provision .. with the arrival of a large number of small multi-purpose authorities needs to be counteracted by an overall Wales-wide planning arrangement that would co-ordinate provision, plan development and reduce the inevitable inequalities of funding (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.5).
Reynolds (1995) maintains that the various 'quangos' need to be democratically overseen within Wales by representatives of the Welsh people to ensure specifically Welsh strategies. He further claims that:

The fragmented nature of educational provision which ensues with the arrival of a large number of small multi-purpose authorities needs to be counteracted by overall Wales-wide planning arrangements that would, of course, go a considerable way towards providing the democratic oversight of functioning that is necessary to generate quality schooling for all Welsh children and, indeed, it is hard to see any possibility of developing a distinctive Welsh set of policies and an executive orientated towards enabling them without Welsh legislature to generate momentum and accountability (Reynolds, 1995, p.14).

G. E. Jones (1994) maintains that the last thirty years have been significant ones for the Welsh language.

The number of those who speak it has declined, but it has made important advances among the younger age groups because of immigration. There are fewer communities in which Welsh is the community language, but many of those who have moved to traditionally Welsh-speaking areas are well-disposed towards the language - nearly 10 per cent of Welsh speakers in 1991 were born outside Wales (G. E. Jones, 1994).

Welsh-medium schools have attracted pupils from English-speaking homes, and there are increasing numbers of adult learners. The status of the language has improved - it is now seen as an advantage to be able to speak Welsh (ibid, p.67). He believes that against the success of cultural movements, such as the Welsh schools movement and the language campaign, must be measured the general failure of political nationalism, 'evidenced spectacularly in the crushing defeat of devolution in 1979'. He maintained that a Welsh Assembly would go a considerable way towards providing the democratic oversight of functioning that is necessary to generate quality schooling for all Welsh children. G. E. Jones goes further by stating that:

It is hard to see any possibility of developing a distinctive Welsh set of policies and an executive orientated towards enabling them without a Welsh legislature to generate momentum and accountability (G. E. Jones, 1994, p.5).
Jeremy (1993) takes an even stronger stance by stating that:

Wales cannot continue with the anachronistic grip of Whitehall on education policy-making in Wales. In the era of Maastricht and subsidiarity, such centralised control is against the whole spirit of modern European thinking. An example is the much respected National Curriculum Council equivalent, the Curriculum Council for Wales. This is in no position to reconstruct the 11-subject national curriculum in Wales, because the DFE in London will not tolerate a comprehensive curriculum and assessment model from its own. What is needed in Wales is the same measure of autonomy in policy development accorded to Scotland (Jeremy, 1993).

The general opinion of these writers is that there is a need to develop Welshness further and that a Welsh Assembly ensure that the country's specific needs were recognised by guarding against ministers making arbitrary decisions.

9. Developing Welsh Policy

The Welsh Office has recently issued important policy documents which present specific targets which have major implications for the educational system in Wales. The documents include, People and Prosperity: An Agenda for Action; A Bright Future: Getting the Best for Each Pupil; A Bright Future: The Way Forward. In his most recent Annual Report, the Chief Inspector claimed that the Welsh Inspectorate was closely involved in discussions leading to the formulation of the targets and will have an important role in helping schools achieve them (OHMCI, 1996b, p.13). The Curriculum Cymreig is not addressed in these documents and this calls into question the Welsh Office interpretation of it and the nature of its statutory profile. Both issues provide a line of investigation for the research interview with the Minister of State for Education.

In People and Prosperity, the Welsh Office (1993) identified a strategy on how vocational education and training would develop to meet the needs of Wales. The overall aim was:

To stimulate the growth of the Welsh economy, by developing the skills and initiative of the people of Wales, so that individuals and business can fulfil their potential, and help Wales outperform our world-wide competitors' (Welsh Office, 1993, p.4).
The Secretary of State claimed that the economy is far more diverse than it was a decade ago. He stated that:

(Wales has) benefited from major inward investment, and many of our indigenous companies have grown. Wales has the potential, over the next decade and beyond, to build a prosperous, high productivity economy. Success will depend on the skills and enterprise of our people. To meet this challenge we need to achieve standards of education and training that match the best of our competitors. We need a learning and enterprise culture in which people have the confidence to seize the opportunities available. My goal is to create an environment which helps employers, individuals and communities to respond to these challenges (Welsh Office, 1993, p.4).

He stated that he wants to 'encourage approaches that focus sharply on these needs, put an accent on performance, and promote strong links between employers and education at all levels'.

With a common sense of purpose among employers, and everyone involved in education, training and enterprise, we shall succeed. Clear and consistent priorities and effective teamwork are essential (ibid).

He stated that employers and organisations have a role to play in building the learning and enterprise culture Wales needs and that the national goal is to encourage educators and trainers focus on the needs of individuals and employers; meet those needs effectively; thus make the maximum contribution to the development of the Welsh economy (Welsh Office, 1993).

The Secretary of State claimed that 'successful companies need people at all levels with lively, enquiring minds, and an intelligent awareness of the world. It means building equal status between academic and vocational studies; and forging close links between education and employers and local communities. The challenge is to create a seamless, user-friendly system which makes progression easy at each stage. Meeting the goal will require action in:

- expanding choice;
- making education and training user-friendly;
- creating the right funding arrangements (Welsh Office, 1998).
He stated that the establishment of technology as a separate subject in the National Curriculum has been an important step forward.

*Bright Future* launched in April 1995 featured consultation on specific targets for the whole of Wales by the year 2000. The Secretary of State, John Redwood, stated that:

In a world frenzied by technology, change and world competition...The competition battles of the next century will be determined in no small measure by our success in the classrooms in the closing years of the century (Welsh Office, December 1995c, p.1).

The next Secretary of State, William Hague, set the Welsh targets as 'relating to the achievement of 15 year olds in the core curriculum' (Welsh Office, April, 1995, p.1) were set. These included the following aims:

- Half the individual 15 year olds obtain grades A-C in GCSE mathematics, science, English or Welsh (First language).
- Schools reaching high standards in the core disciplines of literacy, numeracy and science;
- All primary schools regularly setting their own targets for improvement especially in literacy and numeracy;
- All secondary schools regularly setting targets for improving achievement;
- Most 15 year-olds achieving 5 passes at GCSE grades A-G or the vocational equivalent;
- Immediate attention from OHMCI for any school where fewer than 2 out of 10 pupils achieve 5 GCSEs at Grades A to C, or otherwise give special cause for concern;
- 95% of all classes with at least satisfactory standards and 50% of classes with good, or very, standards;
- Vocational options firmly established for 14-16 year olds, taking advantage of the distinctive National Curriculum;
- Schools and employers working together to provide high quality work experience and careers education;
- Excellent use of up-to-date Information Technology and opportunities for popular schools to expand;
- More information to parents about how schools' performance is changing over time (Welsh Office, 1995c).
Its follow-up document *A Bright Future: The Way Forward* spells out a clear programme of action to enable schools to improve their performance.

All school in rural areas will be setting targets to beat their previous best, subject by subject, and year by year. Uniquely for Wales there is an overall target that by the year 2000, 50% of 15 year olds should get an A to C grade in GCSE mathematics, science and either Welsh (First language) or English (Welsh Office, 1995d, p.19).

In November 1995, the Secretary of State for Wales, William Hague, set out his *Bright Future* programme for educational improvement. His message was that school improvement remained vital so that pupils do not miss opportunities for educational fulfilment and were equipped to meet the pressures of growing international competition. He set out the imperative that education and training is the key to economic success and that future prosperity depends upon raising academic and vocational attainments for everyone. The document emphasises the importance of the contributions from LEAs, employers, Training and Enterprise Councils and Careers Services. The Secretary of State paid tribute to the work of committed teachers in Wales and acknowledged the significant progress made in recent years to improve standards and results; but he cautioned that there was still much more to do. He drew attention to the need to raise standards in the basics of literacy and numeracy in primary schools, and ‘the distinctive target’ that:

*By the year 2000, half of all individual 15 year olds should get an A to C Grade in each of GCSE Mathematics, Science, English or Welsh First language* (researcher’s emphasis) (Welsh Office, 1995d, p.1).

Other targets included:

- Raising the expectations of schools, teachers and pupils;
- Getting better leadership and support for teachers;
- Broadening the range of qualifications to include vocational qualifications for school age children;
- Ensuring that schools and business work together; and
- Getting the most for the £11/2 billion plus invested annually in schools in Wales (ibid)
10. Additional Initiatives and Reports

Welsh Office ministers claim that since IIPs was launched in Wales in 1994, 184 firms have committed themselves to achieving the standards to be recognised as IIPs, and the number is rising steadily. The Welsh Office claim that it is of 'crucial importance' to the success of the country.

Achieving the Standard involves making a public commitment to develop all employees, regularly reviewing training and development needs, action to train and develop individuals and evaluating investment in training and development. It is vitally important for employers to follow the example set by others and commit themselves to becoming Investors in People (OHMCI, 1996a, p.18).

In *A Working Countryside for Wales*, (1996c) ministers state that along with the village hall, the post office and the village pub, the village school is a central feature of a vibrant rural community and it frequently provides the venue for a range of community activities.

So where there is evidence of strong parental opposition to the proposal to close a small rural school, we will not normally expect it to be approved, unless there is convincing evidence that it is not possible to maintain satisfactory standards across the curriculum and across all age groups (Welsh Office, 1996c, p.19).

To ensure that small schools are able to reach the targets set out in *Bright Future*, expertise in specific areas of the curriculum will need to be developed in schools and clusters. This implies that in two and three teacher schools mechanisms to enable teachers to support colleagues in the implementation of the curriculum (Welsh Office, 1996c, p.55).

'The rural dimension' imposes demands on teachers in terms of curriculum range and experience (Reynolds, 1995, p.10). *Inset in Small Primary Schools in Wales* states that in drawing up INSET arrangements for small primary schools, LEAs and schools should have regard to the findings of this Welsh Office research project report document and for recommendations set out in *Bright Future*. The claim is made that education and training must be available through the medium of Welsh and learning must be more user-friendly.
HMIs state that the challenge for small schools in the future will be to overcome 'the considerable logistical difficulties and problems of ensuring coherence and continuity in pupils' learning which have stood in the way of closer cooperation and the sharing of subject expertise' (HMI, 1992, p.4). They highlight the benefits of collaboration between small primary schools to ensure 'more effective and economic use of resources and expertise' and 'the joint planning of INSET (Williams, Thorpe and James, 1995).

11. Targeted Funding

INSET in Wales over recent years has been dominated by the need to provide support for the introduction of the National Curriculum. The scale of training and support activities required by the National Curriculum called for a major input from national organisations from LEAs and, to a lesser extent, from Higher Education Institutions together with a substantial development of school-based and other local training approaches. The main focus of INSET for teachers over this period was the development of knowledge, skills and attitudes to enable them to implement National Curriculum requirements and the associated assessment arrangements (Williams, Thorpe and James, 1995, p.5). The role and effectiveness of In-service training in facilitating the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales is another aspect which will be investigated during the interviews, particularly from the aspect of monitoring its effect on teaching and learning in the classroom.

Welsh Office ministers (1995) claim that since the introduction of the National Curriculum they have channelled considerable funding specifically to provide training and other support to help introduce and develop Welsh First and Welsh Second language as a National Curriculum subject. They claim that since 1991/92 a total of £5.3m has been made available for Welsh as a National Curriculum subject through the:

- Grants for Education Support and Training (GEST) programme;
- Welsh language education grant under Section 21 of the 1980 Education Act totalled £5.6m to LEAs; and
- £7.8m has been allocated to other bodies (Welsh Office, 1996d).
OHMCI (1996a) reports that:

Providers of education and training have a crucial contribution to make by making learning flexible, accessible and user-friendly (OHMCI, 1996a, p.18).

The Welsh Office claims that through Grant for Education Support Training (GEST) and Section 21 programmes 'large numbers of teachers not previously teaching Welsh have responded with commitment and vigour to the challenge involved in helping to provide the language. This has embraced language learning, and improved existing competence and training in second language methodology'. Advisory teachers have provided support for non-specialists and 'all initial teacher training institutions in Wales are now required to feature training in Welsh Second language as an optional part of their primary courses'. The Welsh Office foresee an estimated increase of 60% in the number of Welsh teachers in secondary schools between 1989 and 2001, when National Curriculum requirements in the Welsh language are to be fully implemented. They state that over half that number will be in place by 1993-94 and that the needs of schools are on course to being met.

The fruits of this investment are already evident. OHMCI assessments indicate that there is growing respect and affection for the language in schools and classrooms (ibid).

Pupils are 'generally motivated and apply themselves well and as a result the quality of teaching, satisfactory in some three quarters of secondary classes, has improved considerably'.

The 1996-97 GEST programme features a number of identified priority areas supported by a grant. The activity areas for 1996-97 are:

- Welsh in the National Curriculum;
- Raising standards through the Curriculum;
- Improving Performance: New Materials / Technology;
- School Management and Leadership;
- * Support for Teacher Development;
- * Under 5s;
- Youth and Community Workers;
- Special Educational Needs (Welsh Office 1995d, p.4).
These priorities areas have remained the same for a number of years, and as such are beginning to show marked improvements as reported by the Chief Inspector in his two Annual Reports. The scope of the (GEST) programme remains broadly the same as for 1995-96. However, there are some revisions, additions and deletions to the priority areas. The programme takes full account of *The Bright Future - Getting the Best for Every Pupil at School in Wales* (Welsh Office, 1995c, p.3). LEAs must devolve to schools a sum equivalent to at least 60% of the formula based funding for activities 2 to 6.

While the money must be used only for defraying expenditure of the kind approved by the Secretary of State, within those constraints, schools must be given a free hand in deciding the type and provider of training. Any prescription by LEAs would obviously not be consistent with delegated decisions about spending (Welsh Office, 1996f)

The overall aim for the use of the grant provision is ‘to encourage efficient and effective training, support and developmental activities to achieve better educational outcomes, and to aid LEAs meet selected priority needs.’ The GEST Programme objectives for 1996-97 are to:

- Promote higher educational standards;
- Improve school performance in delivering the curriculum, including vocational education, and its related assessment arrangements;
- Meet the relevant objectives implicit in *A Bright Future - Getting The Best for Every Pupil at School in Wales*;
- Develop efficient and effective systems for managing staff training and continuing professional development (p.4);

According to the regulations set out in Section 21 of the Education Act, 1980, money payment is made by the Welsh Office to local education authorities to develop the Welsh language. The money is allocated in connection with the teaching of the Welsh language or the teaching in Welsh of other subjects and is to be kept centrally. In a letter to Directors of Education on 19th March 1996 relating to Section 21 funding, the Welsh Office stated that the programme takes ‘full account’ of *A Bright Future* and that the aims of the 1996-97 programme of activities were:
To provide training and support measures to assist with implementation and development of Welsh First and Welsh Second language as a National Curriculum subject and support for teachers who wish to transfer to Welsh-medium teaching (ibid).

In developing such measures, schools and LEAs should have regard to the practical measures outlined in the Welsh Office paper ‘The full implementation of National Curriculum Requirements for Welsh Second Language at Key Stage 4 in 1999’ (Welsh Office, 1996d, p.12).

As a result of this funding considerable developments have been made in introducing Welsh Second language and in supporting its development as a core subject in primary schools. In May 1996, the Welsh Office released information to all Welsh Directors of Education stating that the Minister of Education had announced a new push to raise standards in schools in the Principality through the better training and development of teachers. The Teacher Training Agency was already tackling this issue in England and he has asked the Welsh Teacher Training Agency to advise on policies relating to the professional development of teachers in Wales. The Welsh Office stated that an advisory group would ensure that the Teacher Training Agency was fully informed about Welsh issues and perspectives. Led by the Welsh Office, the group will includes representatives of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Schools in Wales, local education authorities and headteachers (Welsh Office, 1996g). He said that ‘all was geared to one thing - to help teachers to realise their potential and thus to raise standards in schools’. In reaching the Welsh Office targets, it was deemed essential that all teachers in Wales ‘have top-class and up-to-date professional skills’ and that:

It is essential that developments in Wales keep pace with developments there, but in ways which best reflect Wales’ distinctive circumstances, such as our large numbers of small rural primary schools and Welsh-medium teachers (Welsh Office, 1996g).

On March 2, 1995, the Secretary of State for Wales released information on the Athrawon Bro (Welsh Language Advisory Teachers) service in Wales. He included those funded with money from Section 21, GEST funding and money from the counties themselves (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.5).
Welsh peripatetic teachers
Supported Under Section 21 of the Education Act 1980

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* 1993-94 figures for Gwent include support teachers (athrawon cynnal).

The main funding sources of the Athrawon Bro service are grant aid from the Welsh Office allocated under Section 21 of the 1980 Education Act funding from GEST, and the individual expenditure of local education authorities (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.6). Section 21 money is allocated to counties on an annual basis, and through an agreement with the Welsh Office the LEA is permitted to keep this money centrally. This money is kept apart from the amounts the LEA must delegate. The Welsh Language Board report that LEAs have managed the funding and the service in a variety of ways:

With the introduction of LMS and delegation of finance to schools, changes were seen in the pattern in terms of funding Athrawon Bro across Wales. In some counties the arrangements for delegating school finance have led to a decrease in the number of Athrawon Bro available as a result schools being able to use the money for other priorities eg full time staff members.
In one county there is a situation where a team which used to have 32 Athrawon Bro now has a team of 10 based in the language centres, and a county which was spending substantial amounts on the Athrawon Bro service decided to delegate this funding to schools, in the hope that the schools would then opt to buy the Athrawon Bro team back in. This did not happen and the Athrawon Bro service has therefore disappeared in the county during recent years (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.8).

In delegating budgets to schools, governors are given a choice of how it is spent. However, with relatively small budgets, it is possible that schools might choose not to use the services of the Athrawon Bro whilst prioritising in order to keep a permanent member of staff, or in order to receive specific training in another field. If this situation were to develop in schools across many areas of Wales, particularly where there are small schools, it is clear that the support given to uphold and promote the use of Welsh through the Athrawon Bro could decrease and disappear rapidly (ibid, p.9). The main aim of the work of the Athrawon Bro is to implement the LEA's policy and to meet the requirements of the National Curriculum. Their work is normally overseen by county Welsh Advisers, although in some counties the running of the team on a day to day level is the responsibility of a coordinator or a senior member of the Athrawon Bro team.

In trying to define the role of the Athrawon Bro, it is apparent that the title is a broad one used to describe a wide range of functions and roles. A range of terms is used to describe in more detail the work of various members of the support service, and the meaning of these terms varies from county to county, eg Partnership Teacher, Advisory Teacher, Peripatetic Language Teachers, Peripatetic Teachers, Language Enhancement teachers, Language Support Teachers (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.10).

The responsibilities of Athrawon Bro can include the following:

- Advising headteachers / staff on whole-school planning for Welsh Second language;
- Creating and / or adapting teaching materials to meet National Curriculum requirements (including adequate resources in terms of courses which match age ranges and levels);
- Facilitating inter-departmental links - infants/juniors, junior/secondary and coordinating meetings. Coordinating and strengthening primary/secondary links, helping maintain progression of learning from primary schools to secondary schools;
• Organising residential courses (not in all counties) in order for the children to practice Welsh skills in 'real' situations (eg, Glanllyn);

• Working alongside teachers in their classrooms to provide challenging and linguistically stimulating experiences;

• Helping schools to present the whole curriculum through the medium of Welsh, particularly to pupils from non-Welsh speaking homes;

• Offering advice and guidance on ways of presenting the Welsh language in terms of school schemes of work, in order to promote Welsh as a medium of teaching across the curriculum;

• Helping schools to become self-sufficient in their attempts to use Welsh as a medium of communication and a medium of teaching;

• Offering practical support in teaching exemplary Welsh Second language lessons in the presence of the class teacher. Providing practical assistance by helping new pupils to understand the Welsh 'ethos' from a linguistic and cultural viewpoint;

• Working as part of the county's advisory team;

• Providing INSET for class teachers, particularly in catchment areas where native Welsh speakers are scarce;

• Working as required in centres for 'latecomer' / language centres in the county;

• Supporting extra-curricular activities and cultural experience which enrich pupils' experiences through the medium of Welsh (ibid, p.11).

The Association of Welsh Athrawon Bro was established in the early 90s. It holds an annual conference which normally comprises two days of in-service training for the teachers themselves at a national level.

This provision organised by the WJEC for Athrawon Bro has been useful, and it is appreciated by them. This is the only opportunity for Athrawon Bro to discuss the difficulties and the challenges facing them as an all-Wales level. Unfortunately, as a result of the decreasing number of Athrawon Bro, and the limitations of local service contracts, the number of teachers attending the conference has fallen, and some counties send only a limited number of representatives in order to have a taste of the discussion (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.13).

The Athrawon Bro system has now established itself as a central element of the present LEAs' provision in terms of ensuring that Welsh is taught in every school. Effective teams have been established which follow work patterns agreed between themselves and the schools.
With the reorganisation of local government there was a danger that these teams would be dispersed, and that expertise in terms of training and resource creation would be scattered across much smaller authorities. The Welsh Language Board in its report on the situation stated that:

Welsh Office funding under Section 21 has been cut over the last three years. As a result, the amount allocated for 1995/96 (£1,539,000) despite the fact that the needs of Welsh as part of the National Curriculum are increasing. It must be noted that school finance has also been cut this year, and this leads to a situation where it is increasingly difficult for schools to plan ahead effectively and to have to pay for Athrawon Bro (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.14).

It added that in some areas within the LEAs there are many traditional Welsh-medium primary schools but there is a constant influx of non-Welsh speaking children into these areas. The Athrawon Bro role in helping latecomers in schools and in Language Centres, was deemed essential in ensuring that schools maintain their Welshness. In many cases the influence of Athrawon Bro in effectively exposing these children to the Welsh language is central to the pupils’ linguistic success. The work of the Athrawon Bro service is crucial to the success of presenting Welsh as part of the National Curriculum. Funding methods need to be reinforced and extended to provide a firm basis for the service (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.15).

A short time after receiving the Welsh Language Board’s report the Welsh Office announced that the responsibility for Section 21 grants was to be transferred to the Welsh Language Board from 1997 onwards. This development provides further indication of the Welsh Office policy of devolving responsibility to agencies best suited to dealing with specific functions.

Prior to Local Government Re-organisation, the former county of Gwent was located in south east Wales near to the border with England. The vast majority of the population are English speakers; in 1991 only 2.3% of the population of the old Gwent were able to speak Welsh. The anglicised nature of the County is reflected in the linguistic nature of the schools.

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Prior to the introduction of the National Curriculum in 1990 no primary school taught Welsh Second language and only ten secondary schools offered Welsh as an optional subject (A. Jones, 1996).

The introduction of Welsh Second language into all schools in the county of Gwent has proved to be a unique challenge to the Local Education Authority. An audit of all the teaching staff in Gwent schools carried out in 1989 revealed that only a tiny percentage of teachers were fluent Welsh speakers. These Welsh speaking teachers were often senior members of staff who would be unable to deliver Welsh in the classrooms due to other commitments (ibid).

The Welsh Language Adviser, Ann Jones maintains that the only feasible strategy was to embark on an intensive training programme to develop a pool of expertise within each school in Gwent. To ensure that the KS1 teachers received the best possible training a team of expert Welsh tutors was employed to teach Welsh to them. A team of Athrawon Bro was also employed to provide an advisory service within the classroom and in-service training courses in the methodology of second language teaching. Teachers were trained a year in advance of the official date of implementation and were therefore able to teach some Welsh to their pupils before having to deliver the National Curriculum Welsh the following year. The problems and the challenges encountered in the implementation of Welsh Second language at both Primary and Secondary level proved to be entirely different.

The Gwent implementation plan submitted to the Office requires that all infant teachers should be trained to deliver Welsh as a foundation subject in their classrooms. The training programme aims to train teachers to speak sufficient Welsh to deliver Key Stage 1 Welsh in their classrooms. All Key Stage 1 teachers will receive at least a 30 day training programme spread over a period of two years to delivering National Curriculum Key Stage 1 Welsh Second language in the classroom. Further top-up training will be given in future years to ensure that teachers are aware of current good practice and assessment procedures (ibid).

At the end of the training programme teachers are supported within the classroom by a team of Athrawon Bro. Each school was visited at least once a fortnight to ensure that teachers feel sufficiently confident in teaching Welsh to their pupils. The Athrawon Bro also prepared additional support materials for teachers.
The progression in Welsh Second language to KS2 provided further challenge to the Gwent LEA as few Junior teachers are able to speak Welsh. In addition, very few specialist Welsh teachers reside within Gwent. During ensuing years as Welsh teaching progressed from year to year, the focus of the work of Athrawon Bro work moved from KS1 to KS2. The first cohort of children to learn Welsh from Year 1 have now reached Year 5 and these pupils will be starting in secondary school in September 1996. Although Athrawon Bro have concentrated on KS2 in recent years, a pastoral course system was also required for KS1 teachers. Thus, the work of Athrawon Bro has extended substantially since the beginning of the 90s (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.4). Initially, the practicalities of the arrangements created concern in schools, for instance:

At Key Stage 2 the Gwent implementation plan requires at least two members of staff per school to deliver Welsh. Many headteachers expressed concern that if the pattern of training at Key Stage 1 were repeated at Key Stage 2 the same pupils would suffer disruption throughout their primary education (A. Jones, 1996).

Another concern noted by headteachers was that:

It would be extremely disruptive for a specialist class teacher to deliver Key Stage 2 Welsh to all 4 years in the Junior department due to the time commitment away from his / her own classroom (ibid).

Strategies then had to be developed to avoid too much disruption to classroom organisation and management within the school. For instance, that the class teacher delivered Welsh to his / her own class and one other class. This was the type of teacher exchange which was currently occurring in other curricular areas, especially with music and physical education at Primary level (A. Jones, 1996). The amount and intensity of training required to deliver Key Stage 2 Welsh was far more than in Key Stage 1. Teachers were released for an intensive 10 week training course to train for Key Stage 2 Welsh. This intensive training course was monitored closely by the staff Development Officer for Welsh to ensure that the training fulfilled all requirements of Key Stage 2 Welsh Second language.
Teachers attending Key Stage 2 training received follow-up training within the classroom situation by the Athrawon Bro team and further training in twilight training sessions. These teachers also received additional training in future years to ensure that they were aware of current good practice and assessment procedures (A. Jones, 1996).

Headteachers mentioned the possibility of employing an additional specialist member of staff to deliver KS2 Welsh. They asked for the provision of a team of support teachers until teachers in their schools become fully confident in the delivery of KS2 Welsh. They envisaged that the support teachers would be in addition to the Athrawon Bro team. The Welsh Office to consider the feasibility that this strategy could be funded by central government (ibid).

The Athrawon Bro team provide follow-up support for teachers within the classroom situation as well as teaching aspects of Welsh methodology on the training courses. As the four clusters implement Welsh, the Athrawon Bro team will provide an advisory service to each school as well as support for assessment and moderation (A. Jones, 1996).

The recruitment of suitable graduates able to teach Welsh in KS3 and 4 has proved to be the most difficult aspect of the implementation of Welsh in the schools of Gwent. School governors and headteachers were aware of the shortage of Welsh teachers in general and in South East Wales in particular. Many schools advertised for Welsh teachers and only received one or two applicants, others received no applicant. Many schools asked Welsh speaking members of staff to retrain to implement Welsh as a foundation subject in Year 7 of KS3. These teachers have been retrained either on the University of Glamorgan course or within the retraining package offered by the Gwent LEA (ibid).

Athrawon Bro have been a crucial factor in enabling teachers to implement Welsh Second language statutory requirements by their understanding of teacher linguistic and methodology needs. The interviews will focus on policy makers’ perceptions of the key to effective implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales.
12. Extra-Curricular Welsh Language Activities

The rise recorded in the numbers of those aged between three and fifteen claiming to be able to speak Welsh is closely linked with the spread of Welsh-medium schools.

In Cardiff, for example, where the original eighteen-pupil school established in 1949 had by 1992, been replaced by six schools with the total of 1,400 pupils, the ability to speak Welsh was 153 per cent greater in the five to fifteen age group than it was among the population as a whole (Menter, 1996).

Aitchinson and Carter (1994, p.86) state that those attending Welsh-medium schools in overwhelmingly English-speaking areas, however frequently, lack opportunities to use the language outside school while the very existence of the schools may have aroused a certain degree of hostility towards the Welsh language. CCW stress the importance of developing pupils’ fluency and confidence in using the language. They maintain that this can be done by giving Welsh a high profile and ensuring that pupils can see the relevance of the language in the everyday life of the school and through extra-curricular activities for example:

- Many schools have found that encouraging pupils to achieve high standards of public performance using the Welsh language is of great value to pupils;

- Folk dance is a successful means of interesting children in an old Welsh tradition;

- Many schools find that periods of well-prepared residential experience for pupils are invaluable as part of their Welsh language course. This is of particular importance for Welsh Second language pupils;

- Many teachers feel that a modern, up-beat presentation of Welsh as a living language is essential if pupils are to respond fully and enjoy learning the language;

- The use of the Welsh language in a variety of clubs and societies both within and outside school can help to give credibility and authenticity to the pupils' language work. Clubs such as gymnastics, judo, chess, photography, nature, Urdd can become valuable language learning (CCW, 1993a, p.8).

Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth) is a youth organisation which stresses commitment to Wales, to fellow-man and to Christ. It argues that it has a 'leading part' to play in the implementation of the National Curriculum.
The Urdd states that ‘the Curriculum Cymreig instils in children an awareness of their Welshness’, but ‘especially for those children who do not often get the opportunity in their daily life to experience the ‘Welsh Dimension’.

The moral and spiritual elements are underlined through the Message of Goodwill to the World (Urdd Gobaith Cymru, 1992).

The contribution to the development of singing, recitation, dance and literature is evident in the local, regional and national Eisteddfodau and the Drama Festival and Theatre Company courses (…) The Urdd is also a body which arranges physical recreation activities at a local and national level including sports as diverse as judo, cross-country, swimming and rugby. The Urdd residential centres’ contribution to children’s physical developments is also substantial (ibid).

The Urdd also claims that it has a ‘significant role to play’ in the delivery of National Curriculum subjects:

Firstly, outdoor activity is one of the compulsory fields of Physical Education. Weekends and whole weeks at Llangrannog, Glanllyn, Blaen Cwm and Pentre Ifan give children the opportunity to accomplish experiences such as pony-trekking, skiing, canoeing, sailing, climbing, rafting, mountain walking and overnight adventure trips;

Folk dance or creative dance competitions in Eisteddfodau also ensure that the appropriate experiences in Dance are provided;

Eisteddfodau and regular weekly activities of ‘Adrienne’ provide an opportunity for children to gain direct experience of music-making;

Similarly, the Eisteddfod can be used as a catalyst for work in science, environmental studies (history and geography) and art (Urdd Gobaith Cymru, 1992).

CCW maintain that five aspects of Urdd work would appear to be of linguistic value:

- Urdd meetings held after school hours where children can enjoy using the Welsh language to play, leisure pursuits and competitions;
- Enjoyment derived from reading some of the Urdd magazines / publications;
• Preparing for, and competing in, Urdd eisteddfodau - seen by many schools as a mean of encouraging the use of the Welsh language - aiming for high standards of presentation which help the pupils’ self confidence;

• Visit to Urdd camps;

• Encouraging pupils to take part in Welsh book competitions, mass 'sing-along' events and sports competitions where the Welsh language is extensively used (Urdd Gobaith Cymru, 1992, p.8).

In his annual address on May 29, 1996 at the Urdd Eisteddfod (Annual National Youth Arts Festival) at Wrexham the National Chairman of the Urdd, Wynne Melville Jones, paid tribute to teachers for the role they play with the work of the Urdd and in community activities in general. He added:

Teachers now have to take a further workload with assessment programmes and this has led to additional administration responsibilities yet we all expect them to contribute to a range of voluntary activities including the work of the Urdd (W. M. Jones, 1996).

He said that the work of the Urdd was recognised in the National Curriculum in Wales but yet it appeared to be more difficult to find time for Urdd activities especially during school hours. He said:

Activities complement other subjects and the Urdd makes an invaluable contribution to making our youth better citizens. The Urdd, like many other organisations, is dependent on voluntary support of teachers. They are the backbone of the organisation and they deserve our support (W. M. Jones, 1996).

Interviews will show policy makers’ awareness of the work of the Urdd and an evaluation of its role in implementing aspects of the Curriculum Cymreig.

Both the Menter Taf Elai and Menter Cwm Gwendraeth (Taff Ely and the Vale of Gwendraeth Welsh Language Project) projects were created to increase the opportunities for people of every age to use Welsh language outside the school for leisure activities. Menter Taf Elai was established after the visit of the Urdd Eisteddfod to Tonyrefail in 1991 in order to encourage use of the Welsh language.
Volunteers do most of the work. Its main aim is to:

- Increase the opportunities for people of every age to use the Welsh language for leisure activities;
- Encourage Welsh education
- Help adults learn Welsh
- Raise the profile of Welsh among local businesses (MENTER Taf Elai, 1996).

MENTER claim that more than 3,500 people read their newsletter and this is half the number of Welsh speakers in Taff Ely. It maintains that over 25% of Taff Ely children receive their education through the medium of Welsh. It also says:

It is more than likely that you have some members of staff whose children go to Welsh-medium schools, and they would be glad of the opportunity to send their children to a Welsh language play schemes (ibid).

Numbers can be interesting at times. 411 children on our play schemes, over 100 in our drama clubs, over 100 in our football clubs, over 30 in the snooker clubs, 25 in Aikido, 20 in the Saturday morning clubs and 15 in the cricket. And this is on top of the excellent work done by the Urdd, the chapels and the local councils (MENTER, 1995, p.1).

This is an interesting response to needs. When in the 1940s Welsh-medium schools were founded to meet the linguistic and cultural needs of the community. Whilst as the communities in Wales become more anglicised, the Welsh language is in danger of becoming a school day language.

12. Inspection of schools

a) Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance

OHMCI introduce the Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance as 'a statutory document which is designed to ensure rigour and consistency in inspection' (OHMCI, 1996c, p.4). OHMCI claim that the purpose of inspection is to identify strengths and weaknesses so that schools may improve the quality of education they provide and raise the educational standards achieved by their pupils.
The published report and summary report provide information for parents and the local community about the quality of the school's provision and the standards achieved by the pupils, consistent with the requirements of the Parent's Charter.

The inspection process, feedback and reports give direction to the school's strategy for planning, review and improvement by providing rigorous external evaluation and identifying key issues for action (OHMCI, 1996c, p.2).

The following statement appears on the front page of the *Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance*:

Schools in Wales are required to provide a curriculum which reflects the languages culture and heritage of Wales.

This includes the teaching of Welsh First or Second language, and/or using the language as a medium of instruction in other areas of the curriculum.

In history, geography, art and music, statutory orders for attainment targets and programmes of study specific to Wales are in force which schools in Wales are required to implement.

These requirements have implications for staffing, resources, organisation and the ethos of the schools which inspection must take into account (OHMCI, 1994a, p.1).

Partnership with industry features as an additional section of the revised handbook. A new emphasis is given to technology, and to industry and the world of work in an additional section on schools' partnership with industry. This should be judged by the extent to which it contributes to the development of pupils' knowledge and understanding of industry and the world of work.

An additional statement pertaining to the National Curriculum in Wales appears in the *Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance*.

Subjects of the National Curriculum must be assessed in relation to the programmes of study and attainment targets as they apply in Wales (OHMCI, 1996c, p.37).

The guidance to inspectors section features additional comments such as:

A school exhibits high standards in pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development when pupils have extensive knowledge of the culture and heritage of Wales (ibid, p.12).
In the general guidance on the inspection of subjects it is stated that inspectors need to consider:

The extent to which the school has develop a Welsh dimension ("Cwricwlwm Cymreig"). The development of the Welsh dimension within the schools may take a variety of forms and aspects may be taught in a number of subject areas.

Subject inspectors, therefore, should report on aspects that are clearly identified within their subject's schemes of work. Where provision is lacking in subjects where they might appropriately be considered, particularly those where there are separate Orders in Wales, a statement to this effect should be made (ibid, p.62).

An additional Technical Paper *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* is also included. The paper provides further guidance on the responsibilities of the registered inspector in relation to the *Cwricwlwm Cymreig*. It sets out the background to this entitlement for pupils in schools, identifies general characteristics and specific aims and offers guidance for inspection:

Schools are required to provide a curriculum which reflects the languages, culture and heritage of Wales. This includes the teaching of Welsh, either as first or second language, and/or using the language as a means of instruction in other areas of the curriculum. In history, geography art and music, statutory orders for attainment targets and programmes of study specific to Wales are in force. These requirements have implications for staffing, INSET, resources, organisation and the ethos of the schools, which inspectors must take into account. Thus the curriculum should be evaluated as a vehicle which gives pupils an orientation and influences their perception of the school and the wider community through activities organised within and without the classroom (OHMCI, 1996c, p.63).

Extra-curricular activities including Urdd activities should play an important role in promoting *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig*:

Many schools already organise St David's Day Eisteddfodau or concerts, and often other activities are organised through Urdd Gobaith Cymru. These include residential courses for language enrichment, outdoor activities, book quizzes, team competitions, visits by artists and authors and educational exchange visits. In evaluating the impact of such activities on raising standards, inspectors should not only consider their range, scope and vibrancy, but also the number, gender, ages and ability of all pupils involved (ibid, p.64).
This may suggest that the various agencies in Wales interpret the Curriculum Cymreig differently. Phillips (1996) warns that:

Cultural restorationism in Wales need not and should not be inward looking or parochial...After all, the geopolitical entity which is Wales exists within a post-modern, global cultural market-place, linked to the rest of the world through mass communication (Phillips, 1996, p.35).

The Chief Inspector in Wales (1996a) stated in his annual report that for the second consecutive year, that he was ‘pleased to be able to report improvements in the quality of education provided by schools and in the standards achieved by pupils’. He maintained that these improvements could be attributed to a number of factors including:

- The embedding of the National Curriculum and its associated assessments;
- Good quality in-service training on important aspects of the National Curriculum;
- The increasing emphasis within schools on monitoring and evaluating the quality of teaching and learning;
- A growing awareness in the schools of the need to plan for improvements, including the setting of targets;
- The continued dedicated professionalism of teachers; and
- The agenda for improvement provided by inspection.

It is also clear that improvements in standards in schools are closely linked with the quality of leadership. The ability of headteachers, deputies, heads of departments and curriculum coordinators to influence. motivate, encourage, support and inspire colleagues is a crucial factor in the success of a school (OHMCI, 1996a).

The press reported his statements thus:

Welsh Teachers have been patted on the back by their chief inspector, while their English counterparts are still smarting after being told that 15,000 of them were incompetent;

Roy James, the Chief Inspector for Wales, makes no mention of sacking teachers and says that, overall, standards in the principality are improving. He calls on the Government to offer schools some encouragement;
I don’t think incompetent teachers are a major problem. That’s a very small proportion. Twenty per cent of unsatisfactory teaching does not necessarily mean you have 20 per cent of unsatisfactory teachers;

You might have teachers in primary schools who might be very able in the core subjects but who might have difficulty teaching, for example, technology (TES, 23:2:96).

HMCI reported that all the agencies involved in education will need to work together in harmony. Most of all schools will require continued support and encouragement from central Government, LEAs, parents and the wider community. The challenges faced by teachers need to be recognised and their work value.

HMCI stated that though it was gratifying to report a decrease in the amount of unsatisfactory work in schools, there remains no room for complacency. Important weaknesses were identified in literacy and numeracy and in the application of these skills across the curriculum in about 15-20% of classes. Though improvements were noted in the teaching of almost all the foundation subjects of the National Curriculum, standards continue to be unacceptably low in physical education in both primary and secondary schools, and in design technology in primary schools.

Last year, I identified KS2 (years 3-6) as the key stage with the largest proportion of unsatisfactory work. Discernible improvements have been noted in year 6 and to a lesser extent in year 5, but more needs to be done in years 3 and 4 to build on the firm foundations laid in KS1 and attention needs to be given to planning for progression over the four years if further development is to be secured (OHMCI, 1996a, p.1).

Aspects of Welsh culture are suitably prominent in most primary schools, though many give insufficient attention to developing pupils’ awareness of other cultures (OHMCI, 1996a, p.23).

He reported that standards in Welsh First language have improved generally in both KS1 and KS2.

Generally, standards in KS1 have improved over the past year, largely as a result of better planning to promote progression in the teaching and learning. Standards in oral work are satisfactory or better in rather more than 80% of classes. As pupils’ oral skills have improved, attention has been focussed upon developing their skills in reading and writing.
Standards in reading are satisfactory or better in about two-thirds of KS1 classes. Standards in writing are still tending to lag behind the standards achieved in other aspects of the work, but are satisfactory to good in about half of KS1 classes (ibid, p.9).

In KS2, progression from year to year is not always sustained and this tends to depress achievement in general. Standards in oral work are satisfactory or better in about 65% of KS2 classes. They are highest in Year 3 and Year 4, where a good number of classes, following the recent implementation of the National Curriculum Order in KS2, have built consistently and effectively on pupils’ oral achievements in KS1. There has been some improvement of standards in reading and writing, but only about half of KS2 classes fully meet the requirements of the National Curriculum in these aspects of the work (ibid, p.11). There is, however, no room for complacency. In 15-20% of classes in primary schools, mostly in KS2, pupils progress in writing is hindered by inadequate attention to spelling, punctuation, grammar and handwriting (OHMCI, 1996a, p.5). It stated that:

- literacy skills in Key Stage 2 are unsatisfactory in 20% of cases;
- standards are lower in Design Technology and PE;
- better curriculum planning is needed in KS2;
- quality of teaching is unsatisfactory in 20% to 25%;
- assessment is unsatisfactory in up to 30% schools;
- many School Development Plans are insufficiently detailed;
- many schools give insufficient attention to other cultures (ibid).

The new inspection arrangements are helping schools to improve aspects of provision and to raise standards. Many schools are using the Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance as a vehicle for self-evaluation. A year’s advance notification of an inspection is enabling schools to prepare thoroughly for the inspection. This preparation, sometimes involving pre-inspection reviews by LEA advisory teams or external consultants, is in itself often resulting in better provision, for example, improved curriculum planning in primary schools. The professional dialogue between inspectors and teachers during the inspection also helps to improve provision (OHMCI, 1996a, p.21).
Action plans following inspections are giving schools an useful agenda for improvement. Most action plans are of a satisfactory to good quality, though relatively few of the initial versions, especially in primary schools, set specific targets for improvement of achievement or give sufficient information about the likely costs of implementing the initiatives. The preparation of the plans is causing heads and governors to work more closely together for the good of the school.

Governors are increasingly taking more interest in the work and are better informed about it. The new inspection system in part accounts for this; meetings with registered inspectors and HMI have been well attended and have contributed effectively to governors' knowledge of the life and work of their schools.

Most governing bodies have paid close attention to the findings of inspections and taken prompt action to build on existing strengths and make good any deficiencies (OHMI, 1996a).

The Chief Inspector of Schools said that LEAs are also contributing to the thrust for improvement. There are INSET events for primary heads on the production of development plans, again focusing on improvements in teaching, learning and standards as the outcomes. Other strategies include establishing school improvement steering groups, devising value-added instruments to help identify areas needing attention, and funding specific activities for example, to raise reading standards in primary school.

Summary
The introduction of the National Curriculum in 1988 coincided with the active existence of several Welsh pressure groups. This combination resulted in the development of a distinctly Welsh curriculum for schools in Wales. In 1991, CCW first introduced the term Curriculum Cymreig (Welsh Curriculum) to describe the distinctiveness of the curriculum in Wales. Separate Orders were developed in history, geography, art and music in addition to the Welsh First and Welsh Second language Order and a Welsh dimension to the remaining subjects.
The establishment of the separate Curriculum Council for Wales to advise the Secretary of State, facilitated distinct developments. In 1994, potential for further 'Welshness' was increased when responsibility for assessment and examinations in Wales was transferred from the School Examination and Assessment Council to the new Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru (ACAC: Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales). The influence of HMI in Wales was also a significant factor.

The National Curriculum reviews of 1991 and 1993 offered opportunity for reassessment. In Wales, this was done by a wide ranging consultation exercise. As a result, it was realised that there were fundamental differences in values, contexts and issues between England and Wales. Consequently, in 1995, a further dramatic advancement was made in the revised, 'slimmed down' version of the National Curriculum when statutory status was accorded the Curriculum Cymreig as a Common Requirement in every subject. The reviewed OHMCI Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance (1996) has been adapted to include this. However, recent policy statements made by the Welsh Office do not reflect these advances. No reference is made in any of these documents to the Curriculum Cymreig, only to Welsh as a core subject in Welsh-medium education. Therefore, the final arbiters in this dichotomy are the teachers and how they interpret and implement the Curriculum Cymreig in the classroom.

Since the ERA, teachers have been bombarded with curricular changes and their accompanying influx of documentation from the Welsh Office, CCW, SEAC, OHMCI and ACAC. Accountability has been increased through testing, publication of results and a five year school inspection cycle. This period has also marked the diminishing role of the LEA and the availability of Advisory staff to offer school support. Furthermore, the nature of policy implementation in Wales has to be considered in the light of factors such as:

The complexity and variety of local context (compare Aberdare to Aberaeron, Carmarthen to Cathays, Harlech to Hengoed), important micro-political factors such as the influence of individuals (particularly headteachers) and, above all, ideological factors (rooted for example in different conceptions of 'Welshness'), all play a significant part in the way education policy is subject to interpretation and contestation (Phillips, 1996, p.35).
The mixed reaction of Welsh counties to the new status of Welsh First and Welsh Second language is an example of this. For instance, Gwynedd - as perhaps the furthest county away from the English border - formulated a language policy which decreed that Welsh First language was to be taught in all its schools regardless of the Welsh language level of pupil intake. In complete contrast to this, border counties such as Gwent - where a low percentage of teachers are Welsh-speaking - the introduction of Welsh Second language as a statutory requirement caused the LEA a much publicised problem.

The next chapter deals with the implementation of the National Curriculum in the classrooms of Wales. This is considered in the light of research on how the practitioner interprets change and implements policy. As OHMCI is the main monitoring body in Wales, progress in the classroom is analysed through reviewing a sample of their surveys and inspection reports. This review offered the opportunity to identify possible gaps between policy and practice which in turn provided the baseline for interviewing key policy makers in Wales.
CHAPTER 4
A REVIEW OF THE OPERATION OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM IN WALES AT CLASSROOM LEVEL

If we wish to understand policy implementation, we must understand the street level bureaucrat (Hudson, 1989, p.397).

This chapter focuses on a perceived gap between the national promoters of curriculum change and the classroom practitioners. It presents a review of literature on the management of change and of recent OHMCI reports and surveys on the progress of the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales. It also examines the effect of change largely as seen in the primary classroom. It takes the view that there is a need to discover how the teachers, the 'street level bureaucrats', are actually behaving (Hudson, 1989) because there is often a gap between what is intended and what actually happens. Some research studies have tended to see the 'implementation deficit' as a problem for top-level policy-makers (Hill and Bramley, 1986).

The broad problem confronting policy-makers is that policy is rarely applied directly to the external world, but is mediated through other institutions and actors. Policy impact is therefore at risk of distortion by these mediators (Hudson, 1989, p.386).

A range and diversity of initiatives, developments and new ideas have bombarded teachers since the launch of the original National Curriculum, its 1995 streamlined version and its assessment. Chief Inspector for Wales, Roy James acknowledged that:

Greater demands are being made of primary teachers than ever before, in terms of subject expertise and organisational skills (OHMCI, 1995a, p.6).

Changes have been introduced in a climate of reduced spending and increased demand for value for money. A rapidly changing industrial and technological society demands that teachers update their knowledge and skills in the quest to provide an equal opportunity for pupils in the twenty first century. Barth (1990) believes that:
More and more is demanded faster and better, not only by parents but also by school boards, central offices, state departments of education, and a multitude of national studies (and legislations) (Barth, 1990, p.174).

Barth (1990, p.164) goes on to compare the lives of teachers and principals to mushrooms in that they are kept in the dark most of the time, periodically covered in manure, but when they stick their heads out they get chopped off. However, OHMCI reports also offer evidence of teachers flourishing in the delivery of recent changes.

Accountability tightens through various channels. Through the work of the governing body, lay personnel carry a statutory responsibility for monitoring the implementation of the National Curriculum in schools. Lawton (1980) claimed that enforced accountability has brought about a significant blow to the previous ‘secret garden’ of the curriculum. LEAs’ monitoring of schools has intensified (but may be affected by the change to unitary authorities from April 1996) and well over half the schools in Wales have been inspected in the OHMCI five year cycle. OHMCI (1995b) describe the variety of situations in which the curriculum is to be delivered in the small schools of Wales:

There are nearly 1700 primary schools in Wales. About one third have fewer than a hundred on roll and around a quarter are staffed by three or fewer teachers, one of whom is the headteacher. In Dyfed, 26% of primary schools are two-teacher schools, and in Powys about one school in three has fewer than 50 pupils. In addition to a wide range of age and ability, many of the classes in the small primary schools in Wales cater for pupils with different home languages. About a fifth of all pupils are taught mainly or in part through the medium of Welsh (OHMCI, 1995b, p.1).

Inspectors state that ‘many of the challenges associated with the implementation of the National Curriculum are common to all primary schools, but small schools approach them from a different perspective’ because:

They cater for more than one age group in each class and, in the Welsh-speaking areas, often a wide range of competence in Welsh and English as well as the usual range of ability.
The small size of the schools means that each teacher normally has special responsibility for several subjects, and an associated heavy workload. The load is especially heavy for heads since they are also class teachers; they are directly involved in the planning and organising the teaching for their own pupils as well as in dealing with the usual array of curricular, administration, and financial matters associated with running a school (OHMCI, 1995b, p.12).

Wiliam (1994) explains that up until the 1950s almost all schools in Wales taught most subjects through the medium of English. He states that until the introduction of the National Curriculum, many schools taught no Welsh at all. Welsh was offered only as an optional course of study for older pupils. Wiliam describes the language types of schools in Wales thus:

Welsh-medium schools are described as naturally Welsh-speaking; Welsh is the primary medium of discourse in the school, as it is in the wider community. In other areas, often where the Welsh-speaking population is in the minority, a number of schools have been designated as Welsh-medium schools (Wiliam, 1994, p.19).

Wiliam quotes Bellin (1984) when he says that 'an increasing proportion of young Welsh speakers obtain fluency in the language through the school system rather than from home'. Wiliam claims that some LEAs have long-established language policies that aim to make every child in the county bilingual, and see schooling as the major agent for the preservation of the Welsh language.

The use of the term designated Welsh schools, however, disguises a great deal of variation in practice. Many designated Welsh schools, while espousing a strict policy of Welsh-medium teaching, have, in the past, been forced to use English-medium text books, particularly in science and mathematics, because appropriate Welsh-medium material was not available. The situation has improved greatly in recent years, but in many Welsh-medium schools a tradition of oral work being done in Welsh and written work being done in English has persisted, and one can frequently observe teachers 'switching' (Wiliam, 1994, p.19).

OHMCI (1994b) reports that about 6% of teachers are Welsh speakers and there is at least one Welsh speaker in 22% of the schools. There is, therefore, a high proportion of teachers who are not native Welsh speakers and do not possess a qualification in teaching Welsh (OHMCI, 1994c, p.12).
The Chief Inspector for Wales stated that to enable teachers to implement National Curriculum requirements and to achieve the targets in *A Bright Future* schools will require continued support and encouragement from central government, LEAs, parents and the wider community; the challenges faced by teachers need to be recognised and their work valued (OHMCI, 1996a, p.2).

Interviews with Welsh policy makers indicate that they perceive the National Curriculum in Wales to be manageable and accepted by teachers because it was subject to a wide consultative process. It is largely recognised by policy makers and teachers as desirable although it is frequently not attainable, at least not in the short time. This does not alter the fact that presently, teachers have to adapt their teaching to accommodate changes in curriculum and assessment practices to meet National Curriculum requirements, national targets and looming inspections.

House (1990, p.142) maintains that the central problem in the improvement of education generally is the gap between the promoters and the practitioners which must be addressed if change is to be implemented. Fullan states that the promoters of change must understand the ‘subjective world of teachers’ as a necessary precondition for any change effort from them (ibid p.120). He (1982, p.115) claims that the strategies commonly used by advocates of change frequently do not work because they are taken from a world different from the world of teachers.

Hustler, Cassidy and Cuff (1986) describe implementation as ‘the processing of new ideas’ and Holly and Southworth (1989) describe it as the stage when ‘plans are put into practice’ - the ‘doing stage’, ‘the action for development stage’. According to Leavitt (1986) implementation is ‘what practitioners do when they include new ideas within their normal classroom practice’. McNiff (1988) maintains that the politics of educational knowledge is about the battle of ideas and small values and establishing them through the reality of schools.
Fullan (1982) claims that 'implementation is a black box' because teachers do not know much about it and so they rarely reach the stage of full implementation. Their energies are spent on trying to absorb new initiatives, but when they are ready to implement this initiative, the next innovation appears. Holly and Southworth (1984, p.143) claim that 'initiating is the educational equivalent of fool's gold, it flatters to deceive' and it is not 'real change'. The fact that a change project is 'on the books' does not mean that it can be implemented. They maintain that initiation and implementation are different. They describe initiation as a stimulating 'start on the journey' and implementation as 'the latter part of the journey which is potentially more wearisome and mundane'.

Fullan (1991) claims that when promoters take the direct route of telling teachers what is the right way to act and think it is not conducive to increasing teachers' interest in the value of change. Innovators must maintain the balance between their own knowledge of and commitment to 'the change' with 'the change process' (ibid p.113). Fullan maintains that 'true change' takes time and Elliott (1991) also believes that there is a difference between the content of change and the process of change. He maintains that the educational process that happens in classrooms is not always an indicator that the change has been accepted by teachers. Fink says that change sometimes takes time. He compares the change process to the growth of the bamboo:

Chinese Bamboo
When you plant it nothing happens in the first year, nor in the second or the third or fourth years. You do not even see a single green shoot. And yet in the fifth year, in the space of just six weeks, the bamboo will grow 90 feet high. The question is, did it grow 90 feet in six weeks or in five years? (Fink, 1992)

Lipsky (1980) claims that street level bureaucrat performance is notoriously difficult to define and measure, and much of the performance occurs in places inaccessible to supervisors'. He maintains that measures to increase the scrutiny of 'street level activity' are strewn with difficulty. George Bernard Shaw observed that 'reformers have an idea that change can be achieved by 'brute sanity'.

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Although the use of sheer argument and sheer authority can get a change 'on the books', it is not an effective strategy for implementing real change. Brute sanity tends to overlook the complex processes and detailed procedures required. The School Curriculum Development Committee stressed the importance of clear goals and a 'grand plan' in facilitating 'real change'. They said that:

Successful curriculum change is rarely accomplished by the sheer force of argument; rather it is a gradual process of appraisal, consultation and persuasion to change teachers' attitudes which are often deeply entrenched. External pressure to change on its own is not enough; tangible professional support through materials, resources, time, INSET and encouragement is essential (School Curriculum Development Committee, 1987).

Elliott (1991), on the other hand, believes that although the development of the accountability movement is eroding the 'traditional craft of teachers', it is creating conditions for the spread of a more reflective culture. According to Fullan, (1991) teachers need to review their own practices to bring about improvements that they themselves identify as necessary. Barth (1990, p.169) claims that curriculum review is a necessary process to enable teachers to see common practices in schools not as encrusted regularities, as 'wallpaper patterns', but rather as tentative decisions which are subject to continuous examinations and reflection? He states that:

The kind of school I would like to work in and have my children attend is the kind of school I suspect most teachers and principals would like to be part of. It is a place where teachers and principals talk with one another about practice, observe one another engaged in their work, share their craft knowledge with each other, and actively help each other become better. In a collegial school, adults and students are constantly learning because everyone is a staff developer for everyone else (Barth, 1990. p.163).

Hustler, Cassidy and Cuff (1986) believe that teachers need 'quality time' to reflect whilst Barth (1990) agrees and states that the word 'curriculum' comes from the Latin for 'a little race track'. He questions:

Why do those who move reflectively and precisely and happily have to abandon reflection, precision, and interaction in order to finish so much so fast - or burn out on the race track...
Enduring a condition of high anxiety, tension, and pressure for prolonged periods is not good for children, adults, or other living things. I would like to be remembered in a school for raising standards and lowering anxiety (Barth, 1990, p.174).

Revens (1957, p.129) stated that survival happens when the rate of learning is the same or faster than the rate of change. He says that following the concrete experience of acquiring knowledge, there must be time to reflect and evaluate the personal meaning attached to it. Kolb (1984) described the same process of learning thus:

- **Doing:** learning activity
- **Reviewing:** reflection and evaluation
- **Learning:** extraction of personal meaning from the review
- **Applying:** planned use of learning in future action (Kolb, 1984).

Stoll and Fink (1996) believe that school improvement is 'a series of concurrent and recurring processes' in which a school:

- enhances pupil outcomes;
- focuses on teaching and learning;
- builds the capacity to take charge of change regardless of its source;
- defines its own direction;
- assesses its current culture and works to develop positive cultural norms;
- has strategies to achieve its goals;
- addresses the internal conditions that enhance change;
- maintains momentum during periods of turbulence; and
- monitors and evaluates its process, progress, achievement and development (Stoll and Fink, 1996).

OHMCl report weaknesses in monitoring and evaluation by heads in over a third of schools in Wales which they contribute directly to deficiencies in the quality of development planning (OHMCI, 1995a, p.7).
The Chief Inspector (1995a, p.7) reports that most heads and curriculum leaders are unable to visit classes regularly to monitor and evaluate the quality of educational provision and standards achieved largely because their non-contact time is either very limited or non-existent. This situation limits schools' ability to implement the changes required of them. Inspectors also state that schools occasionally fail to identify the training needs of individuals or groups of staff because teaching, learning and standards are insufficiently monitored, allowing weaknesses to go undetected. They claim that in a minority of primary schools, INSET plans have little or no discernible relationship with the School Development Plan (OHMCI, 1995a, p.10).

Fullan (1982, p.169) declares that implementation depends on what teachers do and what they think while the School Curriculum Development Committee claimed to measure the success of curriculum development work by its impact on professional attitudes and practice. They identified several levels of impact:

- adoption which signifies that the innovation has been placed on the agenda for discussion;
- implementation which involves putting the new practice, idea or programme into effect; and
- institutionalisation which describes the process whereby an innovation becomes part of the everyday practice of an institution (School Curriculum Development Committee, 1987).

Fullan (1982, p.115) believes that new ideas can become integrated within the old practices but that genuine change is slow. He believes that the difficulty of learning new skills and behaviour and unlearning old ones is mostly underestimated. He makes the point that change threatens to undermine teachers' experience and confidence of 'how to handle the job' (ibid, p.29). Real change, whether desired or not, whether imposed or voluntary, produces a state of uncertainty (ibid, p.26). ‘Something old must come apart in order for something new to come together’ (Schon, 1971, p.51).
The full implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales stands or falls on the extent to which teachers (the front line implementors) will use new practices with mastery, commitment and understanding. Fullan (1991) maintains that policy makers’ efforts need to concentrate on managing change and developing strategies for making it happen. He states that:

Educational change depends on what teachers do and think - it's as easy as that and as complex as that. It would be all so easy if we could legislate changes in thinking. Whether significant educational change is possible or not is a moot point; easy it certainly isn’t (Fullan, 1992, p.117)

Stoll and Fink (1996, p.80) claim that ‘understanding school culture is a vital part of school improvement’. When culture works against you, it is nearly impossible to get anything done (Deal and Kennedy, 1983, p.4). Fullan (1982, p.125) claims that people must be able ‘to attach personal meaning to experiences regardless of how they might be to others’ because it is at an individual level that change does or does not occur (ibid.p.38). Schon (1983, p.34) believed that when a person enters a social system, a school for instance, he encounters two bodies of theory - ‘the formal theory’, and ‘the informal theory’. The body of ‘formal theory’ is the rhetoric of how people are supposed to be, and what they are supposed to be doing. The ‘informal theory’ is the hidden reality of the views, attitudes and beliefs held within the value system - the ‘way the world is’, ‘who we are, and ‘the way we do things’. Wynne (1993) suggests that some schools 'play the game for the inspectors' which impedes rather than facilitates the value of inspection in the school improvement process.

Holly and Southworth (1989, p.144) suggest that by posing the simple question on behalf of teachers of ‘Why should I put my effort into this particular change?’ the meaning of change from teachers' perspective can be better understood. Fullan (1982, p.113) also believes that teachers must have the opportunity to work through the change in a way in which the rewards equal the costs. His theory of ‘cost - benefit analysis’ suggests that the balance must be favourable towards the teacher at an early stage in the implementation.
Fullan (1991) believes that when change involves rewards such as a sense of accomplishment, mastery and excitement, the incentives for trying new practices are powerful. To facilitate real change, teachers need to accept its value. He believes that the attitude of teachers as the 'change agents' is crucial to success (Fullan, 1991). He believes that 'change occurs at an individual level', because teachers are at different starting points with different needs. In 1987, the School Curriculum Development Committee in Wales stated that finding fault with teachers' practice simply lowers morale. They claimed that teachers function in a wide range of classroom situations and school environments from widely differing teaching experience and expertise with a different level of knowledge of Welsh and Welshness (School Curriculum Development Committee, 1987). The same is true ten years and much legislation later. Hersey and Blanchard's (1982) Maturity Bell indicates that teachers' varied starting points are determined by experience, professional maturity, attitude and confidence.

Echoes of this theory are evident in the Chief Inspector's report when he states poor lesson reports in some subjects cannot be used to count up the number of poor teachers. He reported that:

> Twenty per cent of unsatisfactory teaching does not necessarily mean you have 20% of unsatisfactory teachers. You might have teachers in primary schools who might be very able in the core subjects but who have difficulty teaching, for example, technology (TES, 23:2:96).

OHMCI report that this difficulty is particularly evident in the implementation of the Welsh language National Curriculum requirements (OHMCI, 1995b, p.7) when a third of the teachers expected to teach Welsh cannot speak the language. OHMCI also report that lack of subject expertise in a number of small two-teacher rural schools in Wales makes it difficult for them to cover the full range of the National Curriculum subjects. OHMCI (1995a, p.7) state that shortcomings in the quality of teaching are frequently associated with weaknesses in teachers' subject knowledge, particularly in the National Curriculum foundation subjects.
OHMCI reports indicate on the one hand that standards are rising and on the other hand that there are weaknesses particularly in the new subjects of the curriculum and in the new roles which headteachers and teachers are required to undertake. Opportunity arose in the research interviews to discuss with key Welsh policy makers their awareness of change from the practitioners point of view, and their strategies for monitoring implementation.

The Welsh Language Board (1996, p.4) reports that one of the main difficulties facing the presentation of Welsh Second language occurs at the upper end of primary schools when teachers of Year 5 and Year 6 require much more assistance and training than those who teach Welsh in KS1. They claim that:

This has created a number of difficulties in the presentation of Welsh Second language, ones which the system has been largely unable to solve. It is clear that at present every school in every area of Wales cannot present Welsh Second language successfully in Key Stage 2 without assistance and that a comprehensive strategy is needed to overcome this problem (Welsh Language Board, 1996, p.5).

The Welsh Inspectorate also report that inevitably it is not always possible for these teachers to extend pupils' responses confidently in Year 2 because of the narrow scope of their own language Welsh language capabilities and that teachers need more training, especially to help them proceed with the work from the first stages of the three Attainment Targets (Speaking, Listening, Viewing; Reading; Writing) and to achieve higher levels (ibid, 1995).

OHMCI (1995e) report that changes in initial and in-service training have had 'a vital bearing' upon the ability of the education system to make further progress and to bring satisfactory work up to a standard that is good. Inspectors report that:

Following INSET (in teaching Welsh Second language), an increasing number of teachers gain confidence to contribute effectively to the teaching and to take more responsibility for teaching Welsh in their own classes. Many also make the effort to use Welsh incidentally throughout the day, thus extending the language's status in the pupils' experience.
Often their perseverance and readiness to use the language creates enthusiasm amongst the pupils (OHMCI, 1995e).

The Welsh Language Board (1995) reports that courses to improve teachers’ skills in Welsh have done much to ensure that the presentation of the language is improving in KS1 but a little less so in KS2. OHMCI state that unsatisfactory Inservice training in all subjects has cut teachers’ attendance at courses. They suggest that this is because teachers do not perceive the quality of training provided will suit their special circumstances.

CCW maintain that during the last two decades Welsh language lessons have become far more lively and interesting experiences as teachers and pupils approach the task of teaching and learning with enthusiasm and imagination. It is not proposed to enter into any great detail about the methods and techniques of teaching language at either first or second-language levels; suffice it to say that approaches have changed, new techniques have been developed and new support materials produced aimed at enthusing pupils and providing opportunities for projecting Welsh as a living dynamic language (CCW, 1991, p.6):

The development of pupils’ fluency and confidence in using the language will, however, be considerably augmented if there is a whole-school approach to the use of Welsh as a medium of communication. Given such support, the status of the language within the school will be enhanced and, because of its higher profile, pupils will be better able to see the relevance of the language in the everyday life of the school (ibid).

The provision of advice and support directly to the schools has diminished as a consequence of the diminished number of advisory teachers employed by the LEAs (OHMCI, 1995e, p.7) and the smaller size of the new unitary authority advisory teams. However, some support structures are still in place, some of which are perceived by key personnel as highly effective. For example, the Welsh Language Board (1996) state that the contribution of Athrawon Bro to the work of pupils in Welsh in many schools has been useful, ‘particularly where there is good co-operation between them and class teachers and where the service they provide is supported by headteachers.
**Athrawon Bro** play a crucial role in supporting the presentation of the National Curriculum and class teachers appreciate their contributions. They lead useful discussions in schools on schemes of work and on the development of Welsh provision. This training is supplemented by **Athrawon Bro** working alongside teachers in the classroom. They help to reinforce and increase teachers' confidence and also help them to produce and make use of resources effectively (Welsh Language Board, 1996). However, there are instances where an overdependence on the regular visits of **Athrawon Bro**, results in Welsh becoming an isolated weekly slot on the timetable. In these instances, the links between Welsh and other subjects suffer and minimum regard is given to the development of the required Welsh ethos in the classroom.

The CCW claimed that in small schools it may be difficult for two or three teachers to cope confidently and in isolation with the required depth of the full National Curriculum and religious education. However,

Support from advisory teachers, peripatetic teachers and curriculum leaders in cluster groups has enabled small schools to address the demands of the National Curriculum in a positive way, especially in Welsh First and Welsh Second language, technology, science and music (CCW, 1992a, p.5).

Lortie (1975) states that teachers most appreciate 'recipes for busy kitchens' a theory which Fullan (1991) acknowledges:

> When teachers do get help, the most effective source tends to be fellow teachers, and secondly administrators and specialists. (They) describe 'tricks of the trade' they picked up - not broader conceptions that underlie classroom practice (Fullan, 1991, p.120).

However, tricks of the trade may not necessarily lead the way to good practice. The broader concept provides the goal and the 'trick' may be only an interim measure.

Coulson (1992) believes that much of the promoters’ literature is ‘couched in language that is inaccessible to many people because of the level of jargon adopted’.
He compares the 'limited language' that (particularly) primary teachers use in the classroom with the 'statutory speak' of the documentation they receive. Through wide consultation processes and commissioned research, the quality of presentation of recent National Curriculum and assessment documents has improved considerably. However, most documents are still not designed to be easily adopted into the school culture. Recommendations were made to CCW on improving teacher uptake of curriculum support material thus:

The outcomes of the needs analysis and prioritisation should form the basis of a programme of development and production of curriculum and assessment materials which are suitably targeted, focused and user friendly in an appropriate medium for the message (University of Wales, Cardiff, 1995, p.41).

As part of national research into the effect of presentation on teacher uptake of Non-Statutory Standardised Assessment material, Elfed-Owens (1992) quoted teacher responses to the original National Curriculum Order for Welsh Second language thus:

- It looks horrific, It's enough to frighten anyone/It's not a bit teacher friendly;
- Only half the Welsh National Curriculum file is of use to me/the English bit of the Welsh Second language. But all the Welsh First and Second languages comes to me in Welsh and English;
- I wish there was a handbook to the National Curriculum so that I could understand it;
- It really frightens me all that jargon and it doesn't really tell you how to do what you have to do.

Schon (1983) states that the technical aspects of any change must fit into the school culture and value system. Teachers must be able to apply their feel for the situation and evolve their own way of doing things. Van Kuyk (1991) agreed and claimed that ‘the style and lay-out of curriculum materials presented to teachers needs to be familiar’. Presentation is an important feature in making them inviting, as is their potential for adaptability. Drawings and photographs need to be ‘attractive and appealing’ in the hands of professionals so that the lay-out ‘excels in functionality’.
Aesthetics, therefore, deserve some attention in the task of motivating teachers to make use of the material. He believes that teachers will use materials if they find them relevant, manageable, inviting, easy to understand, and useful in translating requirements into familiar activities and tasks. He sums up his philosophy thus:

If schools are to develop, they need to be offered realistic models; and they need to try things they can do (Van Kuyk, 1991).

The way the National Curriculum, though statutory is not uniform. It is implemented according to local circumstances by teachers with differing levels of expertise subject. The Welsh Inspectorate (OHMCI, 1995a, p.27) reports that ‘the implementation of the National Curriculum has helped define the content of what is taught, but that ‘it is essentially a matter for professionals to decide how they teach’. Some primary schools accommodate the National Curriculum through ‘topic’ organisation, rather than through separate subject teaching. Inspectors report that:

The quality of topic work is satisfactory or better in 65% of the classes visited, but unsatisfactory in around 35%. In the best practice, the work benefits from close attention in the planning to organisational strategies and teaching methods as well as to content. There is generally a satisfactory balance between whole-class, small group and individual work, but in around 30% of the classes, work beginning from a common stimulus is insufficiently differentiated thereafter to cater appropriately for the needs of groups and individuals (OHMCI, 1994b, p.6).

OHMCI reports that in virtually all the schools, the planning of work in which several subjects are linked under a particular topic or theme is an effective means of catering for the wide age and ability range in classes. The quality of topic work is satisfactory or better in over two-thirds of the schools. However, in between a quarter and a third, the work inadequately meets the requirements of the National Curriculum and fails to stimulate pupils sufficiently (OHMCI, 1995a, p.7). They report that in over two-thirds of the schools when topic work is related to the National Curriculum, it relates closely to whole-school plans for teaching subjects and / or topics. It gives good attention to teaching methods, classroom organisation, the use of resources and assessment (OHMCI, 1994b, p.6).
However, OHMCI state like the larger schools, small schools in Wales need to give close attention to curriculum planning, classroom organisation and teaching methods in ways that reflect the contexts in which they operate and the particular strengths they possess (OHMCI, 1995b, p.1):

In about a quarter, deficiencies in whole-school planning contribute directly to unevenness between classes and standards achieved particularly in religious education, and in the National Curriculum foundation subjects of technology, history, geography, art, music and physical education (OHMCI, 1995a, p.7).

OHMCI (1996a, p.1) states that in KS2 attention needs to be given to planning for progression over the four years if further development is to be secured. Inspectors report that few schools have given sufficient consideration to the effective management of teaching time as part of their whole-school planning.

Lawton (1980, p.61) states that any official test inevitably encourages 'teaching to the test' and that it is, therefore, very important that the tests themselves should reflect good curriculum thinking rather than what is convenient to test. Wilkins (1976, p.165) claimed that assessment leads to changes in teaching practice and that 'forms of testing do have a considerable influence on the manner and content of language teaching'. While Van Ek (1976) explained that teaching methods moved in emphasis from teacher-centred structured grammar / language acquisition courses to child-centred natural communication because of a lull in sharp ended assessment.

Welsh Second language Non-Statutory Standardised assessment material (CCW / SEAC, 1992) provided guidelines and support for the coverage of the National Curriculum and assessment. They were recognised, accepted and adopted by teachers as useful teaching tools (Baker, 1993). The material bridged the gap between the statutory language of the National Curriculum documents and the teacher in the classroom. It 'translated requirements into games, ideas and activities which provided 'models of good practice' which easily fitted into the culture of the classroom. The colourful material interpreted and exemplified the Statements of Attainment to communicate the statutory requirements to teachers 'in their own language'.
Teachers were fully involved in its production. The material was well accepted by promoters and practitioners alike. The teachers responded well to it because it translated National Curriculum requirements into ideas and easily adaptable activities, whilst the policy makers accepted it and financed it because it facilitated the implementation of statutory requirements for Welsh Second language. Eventually, the packs were used as ‘useful teaching tools’ (Baker, 1993) which further facilitated teacher awareness and the implementation of statutory requirements at Key Stage 1.

OHMCI report the effectiveness of statutory assessment as a change agent:

The introduction of statutory end-of-key-stage tasks and tests has given added impetus to these initiatives in nearly all the classes catering for Y6 pupils, has led to changes in teaching methods, planning and organisation (OHMCI, 1995a, p.18).

Valette (1970) believed that the assessment tasks should be valuable and worthwhile in order to motivate and give satisfaction to the pupil. By evaluating success, or lack of success, in the classroom the teacher has an opportunity to adapt his/her teaching methods, to note areas of development for the child, as well as planning specific aims for future developments and to ensure continuity in the teaching/learning. Harding (1980, p.32) stated that an effective assessment plan is an essential for an effective teaching plan in the classroom. ‘Teaching and testing are often uncomfortable bedfellows. Although teachers handle assessment more confidently and effectively by now many schools offer insufficient guidance about how assessment can be used to improve the teaching and learning (OHMCI, 1995d, p.2). Fullan (1991, p.120) believed that teachers normally do not relate objectives to principles of instruction and learning outcomes of pupils. Van Ek (1976, p.165) believed that attention to continuous assessment and to developing in children elements of self-assessment should be included as part of initial training and in-service courses offered to teachers. OHMCI’s recent report on Teachers’ Assessment and Statutory Assessment at the end of KS2 they state that:
Teachers' assessment of pupils' progress and achievements in the National Curriculum foundation subjects is not as advanced as it is in the National Curriculum core subjects. In over half the classes, little progress has been made in developing teachers' assessment in art, music, religious education, physical education and where it is taught, Welsh Second language (OHMCI, 1995a, p.2).

All five separate Welsh subject Orders encompassing the *Curriculum Cymreig* are included in this category. The research interviews offered the opportunity to question policy makers further about how they measured progress in the implementation of these distinctly Welsh elements of the National Curriculum.

The Chief Inspector reported improvements in the quality of education provided by schools and in the standards achieved by pupils which he attributed to a number of factors including:

- The embedding of the National Curriculum and its associated assessments;
- Good quality in-service training on important aspects of the National Curriculum;
- The increasing emphasis within schools on monitoring and evaluating the quality of teaching and learning;
- A growing awareness in the schools of the need to plan for improvements, including the setting of targets;
- The continued dedicated professionalism of teachers; and
- The agenda for improvements provided by inspection (OHMCI, 1996a, p.1).

Though he reported a decrease in the amount of unsatisfactory work in schools, HMCI states that there is 'no room for complacency' because important weaknesses have been identified in:

- Literacy and numeracy
- The application of these skills across the curriculum
- Physical education and
- Technology in primary schools (ibid)
'Discernible improvements' were noted in KS2 in Y6 and to a lesser extent in Y5, 'but more needs to be done in Y3 and Y4 to build on the firm foundations laid in KS1'. Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore (1995) sum up the necessary characteristics for facilitating school improvement and implementing change thus:

- Professional leadership
- Shared vision and goals
- A learning environment
- Concentration on teaching and learning
- High expectations
- Positive reinforcement
- Monitoring progress
- Pupils' rights and responsibilities
- Purposeful teaching
- A learning organisation
- Home-school partnership (Sammons, Hillman and Mortimore, 1995).

OHMCI state that schools may differ one from another, but the essential characteristics of good organisation are applicable generally. In order to raise National Curriculum related standards and to improve the quality of teaching and learning in line with the criteria outlined in the *Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance* attention needs to be directed towards:

- Positive leadership by heads
- Enhancing the role of the curriculum leader
- Improving classroom organisation and
- Monitoring teaching methods (OHMCI, 1996a)

Barth (1990) states that he favours the definition of leadership as 'making things happen'. OHMCI reports that good work is closely associated by strong leadership by heads to make efficient use of teachers' individual and collective expertise within schools, and to secure the conditions in which pupils can work and play together.
Practice is not consistently good and, if overall standards of pupils' achievements are to rise, there is a need to secure the successful implementation of all National Curriculum Orders (OHMCI, 1995a, p.1).

(Rosenholtz, 1989) claims that 'learning enriched' schools encourage higher achievement by the pupils. All members of the organisation are involved in a process of review, reflection and improvement: the teachers see themselves as members of a 'professional community' (Louis & Kruse, 1995). They anticipate problems and seek continuous review. Curriculum organisation aims for coherence and connection for the learner. A good school is a place where 'everyone is teaching and everyone is learning simultaneously, under the same roof'. Students are teaching and learning; principals are teaching and learning; and teachers are teaching and learning. Everything that goes on in the school contributes to this end (Barth, 1990, p.162).

The creation of (a) mutually supportive and professionally satisfying atmosphere depends very much on the leadership of the head (OHMCI, 1995a, p.27).

Holly and Southworth (1989, p.144) also interpret the leader's role in the change process as 'getting all the players in the game' - a process which is not always straightforward. Whilst Fullan (1991) views it as 'coming to grips with the multiple realities of people' - the 'participants of implementing change'. He claims that all new initiatives involve a change in what people know and assume which in turn leads to new behaviour and practices and ultimately to adopting new beliefs and understandings. Fullan identifies four types of teachers. Those who:

- Prefer to be left alone to make their own choices;
- Like to play a role in curriculum development by participating in the decision making and in developing new materials;
- Have no time or interest in professional development; and
- Desire more opportunities to interact and share ideas (Fullan, 1982).
However, OHMCI state, where standards are consistently good throughout the school, the concept of classroom autonomy has been replaced by one of a team working together in an atmosphere of mutual respect towards the achievement of common goals. Where the older view persists, it must be replaced, because effective team work is essential in securing consistent, successful implementation of all the National Curriculum Orders (OHMCI, 1995a, p.27). In order to facilitate true team work Fullan (1982, p.120) claims that it is crucial to establish conditions for teachers to interact, in order to reduce the personal costs of change. He claims that ‘teachers should not be left alone nor should they leave each other alone’. Changes which build on teachers’ strengths and which are rooted in classroom practice are more likely to be fruitful. The quality of pupils’ learning experiences depends on teachers’ interaction and interrelationships with particular pupils in particular contexts (Schools Council Development Committee, 1987, p.1).

OHMCI report that improvements in standards in schools are closely linked with the quality of leadership. The ability of headteachers, deputies, heads of departments and curriculum co-ordinators to influence, motivate, encourage, support and inspire colleagues is a crucial factor in the success of a school (OHMCI, 1996a, p.1). However, less than 10% of the heads have had training to help prepare for their duties as both managers and teachers. Approximately 70% take a strong lead in curriculum planning but around a third offer insufficient guidance to other staff (OHMCI, 1996a, p.6). Weaknesses in headteacher are reflected in the uneven quality of the standards achieved and in deficiencies in meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum (OHMCI, 1994b, p.7).

Barth (1990) maintains that a strong vision is a necessary requisite for school improvement. He maintains that ‘without a vision, behaviour becomes reflexive, inconsistent, and shortsighted ‘as we seek action that will put out the fire fastest so we can get on with putting out the next one’. Barth claims that:

> Without a clear sense of purpose we get lost, our activities in school become but empty vessels of our discontent. The visions of school people are badly needed in efforts to improve schools (Barth, 1990, p.177).
The CCW (1992) state that the organisation of the school curriculum is the responsibility of the headteacher and the governing body. It is the headteacher and the staff who are in the best position to judge how the curriculum is to be planned and managed, how time should be organised and which are the most appropriate teaching methods to use. In making these decisions, schools will take account of their own context and circumstances.

Barth (1990) claims that few question that principals are leaders. But others in schools - teachers, librarians, guidance counsellors, parents, and students - also want to make what they believe in happen. The kind of school he would like his child to attend is one where 'everyone gets a chance to be leader'.

A school can fulfil no higher purpose than to teach all its members that they can make what they believe in happen and to encourage them to contribute to and benefit from the leadership of others. With a community of leaders comes a community of learners (Barth, 1990, p.171).

The role of the headteacher and curriculum leader is seen to be crucial in supporting and advising colleagues and in maintaining a whole school overview of progression and continuity by monitoring standards in every National Curriculum subject. Responsibilities for the wide spread of subjects in small two-teacher rural school can cause concern:

We appreciate the challenge of fulfilling aspects of the role (of the curriculum leader) in the primary school, especially where the leader is a full-time class teacher, but it requires a positive, supportive approach, enthusiasm, initiative and diplomacy. It also demands a clear view about standards and quality. Crucially, however, underpinning the role and the raising of standards is the leader's own level of subject knowledge and expertise, and how best to enable others to acquire it (OHMCI, 1995a, p.27).

However, Williams, Thorpe and James (1995) outline strategies for overcoming this isolation and overload. They suggest that school clustering and pooling of resources and expertise can be beneficial and effective. Stoll and Fink (1996, p.191) claim that 'the one ingredient which will make or break the change process' is caring. Caring teachers expect all pupils to do well and they do what it takes to help each pupil achieve.
**Summary**

This chapter looked at the implementation of the National Curriculum in the schools of Wales in the light of two bodies of research; firstly a sample of OHMCI reports on progress in schools and secondly, research on possible gaps between paper policy and practitioners' implementation. It focused on the classroom taking the stance that the full impact of curriculum change occurs in the complex interaction between pupil and teacher, and the change process only begins at policy level. Curriculum policy can be only be justified if it leads to an improvement in teaching and learning in real terms.

The development of the *Curriculum Cymreig* stands or falls on the extent to which the teachers understand it, can come to terms with it and are committed to it. It is important that it is clearly linked to classroom practice and that it does not meet with teachers' conflicting priorities. If teachers are to implement the *Curriculum Cymreig* effectively, they need to be convinced of its status and value in the learning process.

Successful implementation of the *Curriculum Cymreig* also depends on the commitment of national decision makers to it and on how strongly it features on their agenda. It calls for clear direction, the correct combination of pressure and support and a national overview of how it is being carried through.

The effectiveness of this two-way communication depends on a clear understanding on all levels of the exact nature and substance of the *Curriculum Cymreig*, and its true status. The seven research interviews offered an opportunity to investigate further the views of key policy makers about the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales and to focus on what they considered to be the key to effective delivery on both a the national and institutional level. The next chapter deals with the research methodology.
CHAPTER 5
RESEARCH AND DESIGN

In differing degrees, they had mandates for change, and where they had no mandate they created it by clear statement and force of personality (Kogan, 1971, p.59).

The chapter outlines the nature of the research, the selection of research process, the choice of participants and an evaluation of the methods used.

1. Introduction and background to the study

Until 1988 there had not been a statutory curriculum in England and Wales although there had been, for considerable periods, strong central controls. Education was transformed in the twenty five years following the end of the Second World War particularly after the discontinuation of the eleven-plus examination. The period between 1944 and 1996 marked a growing awareness of Welsh-medium education, and a strong Welsh dimension to the curriculum. Baker (1990) claims that:

The formal subject curriculum, the pastoral curriculum and not least the hidden curriculum have become progressively more Welsh since 1956 (Baker, 1990, p.28).

The ERA 1988 resulted in the development of a National Curriculum for England and Wales the purpose of which was to raise the standard of education. To facilitate its creation, subject panels were established with the task of formulating subject-specific Orders. Independently and collectively the panels decided that there should be separate Orders in Wales for four specific subjects in addition to the Welsh First and Welsh Second language Orders and a Welsh dimension to every remaining subject. In the reviewed National Curriculum, implemented from September 1995, the Curriculum Cymreig became a statutory element in every Subject Order. The DES claimed that offering clear National Curriculum statements of objectives, programmes of study, attainment levels and regular assessment would entitle all pupils to the same opportunities by providing them with a ‘balanced and broadly based’ curriculum (DES, 1989, para.2.2).
Hudson (1989, p.235) states that 'to understand policy process as a whole it is necessary to give attention to policy implementation' and that must be seen as part of policy making. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) suggest that where goals are set they come through in such potentially contradictory ways, particularly as new policies are typically layered on top of earlier ones. Therefore, they maintain that 'implementation is better studied by looking at the efforts of those at the bottom to make sense of new inputs from the top'. Barrett and Fudge (1981) take the stance that on many occasions 'lower level actors take decisions which effectively limit the hierarchical influence, pre-empt top decision-making, or alter 'policies'.

Most research studies suggest that in real life, the objectives of organisations or programmes are often difficult to identify or couched in vague or evasive terms...Official objectives are often poorly understood, perhaps because communications downwards and outwards from headquarters are inadequate (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984, p.21).

Some research studies have tended to see 'implementation deficit' as a problem for top-level policy-makers (Hill and Bramley, 1986).

Policy-makers find themselves under intense pressure to ensure that policy impact reflects the intended direction of change. The broad problem confronting policy-makers is that policy is rarely applied directly to the external world, but is mediated through other institutions and actors. Policy impact is therefore at risk of distortion by these mediators (Hudson, 1989, p.386).

2. Aim
The aim of the research was:

• to investigate the development, establishment, and implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales and to identify the key policy-makers;

• to ascertain if its existence is in itself a guarantee that schools can or will deliver it;

• to examine the possible gap between the policy and its implementation at classroom level.
3. Methodology
Two research techniques were adopted:
   a) literature review
   b) interviews

a) Literature Review
The starting point of this study was a review of post 1944 historical literature and a study of the documents and records of the major policy-making agencies in Wales in order to follow the development of the Welsh dimension of the curriculum. The work of a variety of researchers was reviewed and criticised in tracing explanations, relationships, comparisons and theories to understand and interpret the significance of agencies' documents and curriculum developments.

The second category in the literature review comprised HMI and OHMCI school inspection reports, national surveys and HMCI annual reports in order to gauge the progress of the implementation of the National Curriculum of Wales in the classroom. The problem for the researcher is that Inspectorate documents are written in a curiously 'distanced' prose. There seems to be an attempt never to make a direct statement about good practice (Lee and Fitz, 1994, p.88).

This investigation is supplemented with a review of literature focussing on what change looks like from the point of view of the teacher, and the 'do's and don'ts' of bringing about change in schools (Fullan, 1992, p.xi). It takes into account the theory that individuals interpret the policy they receive, 'make' their own policy, and use this as a reference point for action within that site (Penney and Evans, 1994, p.36).

b) Interview
It was forecasted that the literature review would leave the picture incomplete and the interview technique was selected as an attempt to rectify the position.
The interview method was selected because this was 'the most penetrating way of gaining information from and about people' (Simons, 1991) and the best way 'to find out what is on someone else's mind' (Patton, 1980, p.196). In Scotland, McPherson and Raab's research combined empirical data generated through interviews with policy-makers themselves and stressed themes which had 'particular resonance for Wales' (Phillips, 1996). In England, Kogan (1971) and Chitty (1989) and Ball (1990) created primary sources for educationalists by using interviews to gain insight to provide a 'detailed and intriguing picture of the political machine in action' (Kogan, 1971).

The advantages of interviewing are well documented (Patton, 1980; Burgess, 1984; Oakley, 1981; Simons, 1977). This method presented the opportunity to meet key personnel in their normal workplaces and to observe their body language and reactions to the questions.

Often it is important to judge the significance of what is said by non-verbal cues such as gestures, the tone of the voice, how people dress, how they look, how and where they sit to infer what is not said or what is denied and what the interviewee thinks or feels. At the same time acceptance of non-verbal cues may be misleading. Their significance has to be judged in relation to all the data obtained (Simons, 1977, p.37)

i) Purpose

The purpose of the interviews was to:

- check the information gathered through the literature review;
- listen to first-hand recollections of how and where policies arose in Wales and who the key decision-makers were;
- investigate the process of how present policies were formulated and reviewed;
- gain insiders' perception and interpretation of policy issues;
- study relationships between agencies and schools and ways in which frameworks for monitoring progress are being developed;
- gauge the way in which respondents perceived implementation at classroom level.
ii) Selection of interviewees
To enhance the knowledge gained in the literature review, and to investigate the nature of policy and policy-making, it was essential to seek the opinions and thoughts of leading educational decision-makers representing past and present major educational agencies in Wales. Interviews were conducted during Spring 1996. In line with recent policy research, respondents have not been personally identified although they are identified by title.

Ranson's (1985) work on central-local relations and DES policy-making gives an indication of the possible richness of interview material, even where there are problems of confidentiality and access. His study conveys an image of the DES far removed from the accounts of dispassionate officials (Ozga, 1987). Kogan (1971)'s investigation based on interviews with Boyle and Crosland to investigate how much 'real power' Ministers of State has been widely respected and quoted. This is also the case with Chitty's analysis of the effects of legislative proposals on the education system which revealed the contradictions and tensions within the New Right thinking.

**Welsh Office: Minister of State for Education**
G. E. Jones (1992, p.101) states that the 1988 ERA increased the power of the Secretary of State for Education and Science (and, where appropriate the, Secretary of State for Wales). He maintains that 'appropriateness leaves a lot to fight for'. Jones claims that 'the Welsh Office now has a degree of influence over education which would have been unthinkable thirty years ago'.

For the first time ever, we have Welsh Office administration of all aspects of Welsh education, including financing higher education through a separate funding council. The symbolic significance of this is crucial (ibid, p.104).

G. E. Jones (1992, p.105) states that the Welsh Office is in an invidious position, having to interpret policy laid down for England and Wales in a Welsh context and ensure that more local initiatives from bodies which it funds are, on the one hand not stifled, but also not incompatible with wider policies. Jeremy (1993) on the other hand, claims that:
At present, Westminster provides negligible oversight of government education policies in Wales. Welsh question sessions in the House are infrequent. The Welsh Grand Committee, composed of all Welsh MPs and a small number of English MPs, is talking shop which rarely discusses education (Jeremy, 1993).

Kelly (1990) has argued that whatever the rhetoric of politicians, the thrust of most of the major initiatives in the development of the state-maintained education system has tended to be economic rather than educational. Kogan (1978, p.48) takes the stance that 'no Minister can adequately scan, let alone control, more than a small proportion of the policies for which he is accountable. He maintains that most activities continue without Ministerial scrutiny'. Kogan quotes Minister of State Edward Boyle as saying:

> A large part of any Department's work, which does not at that moment raise acute controversial issues, will go on without the Minister being involved at all...when I was Minister, I selected what seemed to me to be the crucial issues (ibid)

Kogan (1971, p.41) 's general conclusion is that 'the ability of even the most able Minister to create, promote and carry out policy is limited'. Both Boyle and Crosland emphasise the constraints under which a minister operates in terms of policies already in train or being explored, the amount of information to be digested and the continually evolving nature of educational policy.

The Minister of State for Wales was selected to investigate these assumptions and to provide an explanation of the relationship between the Welsh Office Education Department and the DfEE. Furthermore, it was assumed that he could provide a national overview of the state of education from both a Welsh and English perspective together with an indication of possible future developments.

**Other agencies**

The remaining interviewees were selected because they either presently or recently were involved in advising the Secretary of State for Wales on educational matters. McPherson and Raab (1988, p.484) maintain that all policy process is inevitably political.
References were made throughout the literary review to the advantages of the small size of the country, to a greater community of purpose (G. E. Jones, 1992, p.101) and to how the educational network in Wales enjoyed a good and productive relationship which had facilitated the speed of the development of the Welsh dimension. However, he states that Wales is full of educational bodies but ‘often the one is insufficiently aware of what the other is doing’.

If we think of the varying briefs and overlapping activities of the schools, the agencies and the LEAs we get the idea of the opportunity for crossed wires and uncoordinated initiatives (G. E. Jones, 1992, p.105).

It was intended through the interview process to conduct a ‘sensitive exploration of the connections between these people’ (Ozga, 1987, p.147).

**Curriculum & Assessment Authority for Wales (ACAC):**
**Chief Executive, Assistant Chief Executive and Deputy Chairman**

G. E. Jones (1992, p.104) states that ‘by far the most critical achievement’ is having a distinct curriculum in Wales.

Fortunately, it is what has become centralised that is of the essence of Wales - what is actually taught in the curriculum. That is why, ultimately, the 1988 Act is of such crucial importance in the history of education in Wales (G. E. Jones, 1992, p.102).

He maintains that communicating this to schools is a major responsibility of the curriculum council (ACAC). Since 1994, ACAC is responsible for the statutory assessment of all subjects throughout all key stages and for external examinations in Wales. G. E. Jones claims that assessment tables to allow parents to make ‘rational’ choices are just not required over large tracts of Wales.

By implication there is nothing distinctly Welsh about the theory of the operation of competition between schools…. The practical point is that it is irrelevant over most of Wales. We are a rural country, and the free market for those parents without a helicopter who want to see something of their children in their formative years does not actually allow much choice of school (ibid).
The Chief Executive, Assistant Chief Executive and Deputy Chairman of the ACAC provided access to a comparison between their initiatives in Wales with those of SCAA in England. Access was also provided to investigating the nature of the relationship between the two bodies, the extent of the parallel development and a comparison of their decision-making processes.

**Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector:**

**Staff Inspector Welsh & former Staff Inspector Primary**

Fitz and Lee (1994, p.87) maintain that the Inspectorate is one of the most influential agencies within the educational system and that its role as policy-maker is evidenced by its output since 1978. G. E. Jones (1992) states that:

Contrary to much propaganda, the Welsh language has not lacked for state approval and it has certainly not lacked backing over the decades from HMI, since the first chief inspector, OM Edwards set the tone after 1907 (G. E. Jones, 1992, p.103).

Within OHMCI, six Staff Inspectors have management responsibilities for inspection and advice in particular phases or aspects of education and for independent inspection arrangements. The Staff OHMCI Inspector for Welsh was selected to provide the Welsh Inspectorate’s perspective on Welsh First and Welsh Second language. He was also responsible for the compilation of the original OHMCI Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance and for its current update (OHMCI, 1996c, p.19). He liaised with OFSTED on parallel developments. This interviewing process provided an opportunity to compare and contrast the nature and style of operation in the Welsh and English Inspectorate.

The former Staff Inspector for the Primary sector was selected to give the Welsh Inspectorate’s perspective on the development of the Welsh dimension across the primary sector, and to judge the nature of the coverage and the attainment reached. He has recently retired and taken up a position as Deputy Chairman of the ACAC. He is currently involved in discussing details of ACAC’s future initiatives on teacher support and guidance through In Service training and teacher support materials.
Welsh Language Board: Chairman

Jones maintains that for all who believe in the importance of the Welsh language, the Welsh Language Board has been a real success story. The language has been reinforced by its inclusion in the National Curriculum as a core and foundation subject. However, G. E. Jones claims that:

Concentrating on Welsh language education is dangerous. Because it is so important it has tended to monopolise interest in Wales. It is all too easy to slip into arguing that a Welsh education is an education in the Welsh language. The majority of the Welsh do not speak the language, however much we hope that numbers may increase. The majority of the Welsh who speak English have the right to an education which is distinctly Welsh (G. E. Jones, 1992, p.103).

The Chairman of the Welsh Language Board (newly established in 1993) was selected because the Board presently informs and advises the Secretary of State of Wales on matters relating to the Welsh language in the context of education in Wales. He was also a Welsh Nationalist Member of Parliament and a member of the Committee for Welsh Affairs.

Curriculum Council of Wales:
Former Chairman and former SEAC council member

G. E. Jones (1992) maintains that CCW fought for 'a curriculum in Wales which is more balanced, as is reflected in the separate Orders, and less assessment dominated'. The former Chairman of CCW and former SEAC council member was selected because he remained in post until the ACAC was founded. He was involved in the initial debates of both councils in England and in Wales when the National Curriculum and its assessment were put in place. He was, in his capacity as Chairman of CCW involved in working closely with Dearing during the National Curriculum review. It was hoped to benefit from his first hand recollections of the processes.

Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG):
Former Director

The former Director of the PDAG (founded in 1986) was selected because he remained in post until the committee was merged into the ACAC.
He was instrumental in advising the Welsh Office about school needs in relation to Section 21 funding of Welsh language advice, support and teaching materials. He was involved in initial debates to secure the establishment of the Welsh dimension of the National Curriculum from the point of view of identifying teacher support needs.

iii) Procedure
The type and the length of the interview was drafted, trialled, modified and printed (See Appendix iii for interview schedule and Appendix iv for transcripts). Seven interviewees were selected to represent the major decision-making agencies in Wales and an initial approach was made to them by letter. Each one agreed to be interviewed. Most interviews were conducted during the half-term school break in February 1996, two through the medium of English and five through the medium of Welsh.

While sharing certain common assumptions, some writers emphasise that there is no single right way to interview and individuals have to work out what style is most appropriate to them in what situation (Simons, 1991). Patton (1980) also points that:

There is no single correct format that is appropriate for all situations, and no single way of wording the questions that will always work. The particular evaluation situation, the needs of the interviewee, and the personal style of the interviewer all come together to create a unique situation for each interview. Therein lies the challenge (Patton, 1980, p.252).

It was decided to follow a broad interview schedule because although the nature of the information sought was definite a certain flexibility was necessary to question in depth.

We did not come to our conversations empty-handed. We did not, as some scientific version of 'candid camera', seek to capture their beliefs and actions without our subjects being aware of us. Rather we sought to bring our preconceptions and questions into the conversation and to understand the answers we were receiving (Bellah, 1985, p.304).
Simons warns that this can challenge conventional expectations of the research process:

Relying as it does a great deal on the personal skills and judgments of the interviewer it is also open to manipulation and distortion. Principles of procedure protect both the interviewer and the interviewee from misuse of data, provided assumptions are shared (Simons, 1977, p.27).

Many writers have likened the interviewing process to a conversation (Simons, 1977; Patton, 1980) and to the importance of intimating an informal style, a friendliness, and an attempt to equalise the relationship between interviewer and interviewee. Kogan (1971) emphasised the style of the interviews he conducted in the title of his book ‘The Politics of Education: Edward Boyle and Anthony Crosland in conversation with Maurice Kogan’

The approach is not new. Burgess (1984, p.102) claims that conversational skill is a technique to be learned and that ‘there is a long tradition in social science research where interviews have been perceived as ‘conversations with a purpose’. Simons maintains that:

Some writers have cast doubt on the conversation mode itself. They suggest that most of us are not very skilful conversationalists and that reliance on one’s natural style to carry out an interview may simply result in somewhat inept interviewing (Simons, 1991).

Piaget (1929) said that the skill of the interviewer is not in making the respondent answer questions clearly but ‘in making him talk freely thus encouraging the flow of his spontaneous tendencies instead of diverting him into the artificial channels of question and answer’.

One of the most common errors in interviewing is failure to listen, either by asking too many questions or by interrupting to confirm one’s hypotheses (Simons, 1977, p.35).

The process of recording the interview by tape-recording is advocated by MacDonald and Sanger (1982). Arguments against using tape recorders usually centre on their intrusiveness inhibiting honest accounts or the time that it takes to process and transcribe the tapes.
But in most situations Simons finds that these disadvantages are outweighed by the advantages. Tape recording helps ensure that the data is accurate. However good one’s memory, the distortion in reporting that can occur is considerable. Accuracy can easily be checked from time to time by comparing verbatim quotations written down during the interview with what is recorded on tape.

However, it is not a guarantee of accuracy. Distortions and omissions in transcribing must be legion. Accents may be difficult to hear. You have been there. The secretary has not. Even intelligent guesses may need to be checked (Simons, 1977, p.45).

Newson (1976) claimed that when the interviewer is relieved from the burden of having to take notes, s/he can listen, observe and respond more attentively to the interviewee. And the interviewee can feel at ease not having to worry about the possible significance of what the interviewer notes down in relation to what she does not.

Bellah viewed the research interview as a dialogue or conversation with fellow citizens about matters of common interest (Bellah, 1985, p.304). Simons states that:

Control of the interview is in the hands of the interviewer. It is a device for evoking the participant’s response rather than a two-way conversation. The interviewee is a passive rather than an active participant in the process (Simons, 1991).

MacDonald (1981) says:

Let us concentrate upon the interviewee as a person rather than a role incumbent, and use the interview as a means to explore the relationship between people and the jobs they happen to be doing...In my view, this should be the basis of a much more personalised approach to interviewing in which the person being interviewed is invited and encouraged to take an ‘outsider’s view’ of his professional situation and subject it to evaluative scrutiny (MacDonald, 1981).

Kogan (1978), on the other hand, states that in his interviews with Boyle and Crosland he ‘less intended to portray individual personality except when this might account for the differences in the way in which respondents played their roles’ (Kogan, 1978, p.11).
This investigation was conducted through semi-structured interview in as informally and naturally a manner as possible. Interviewees answered such questions as: What equivalent agencies exist in England and Wales? What is the nature of parallel development and what are the key similarities and differences? Who makes the decisions? How was your agency involved in shaping the original and reviewed Orders? What are the reasons for the distinctiveness in Wales? How do you interpret the *Curriculum Cymreig*? How much status has it got? What strategies are there for ensuring delivery and what support do you offer to schools? What are your general perceptions of future developments and what role have the LEAs. How is progress monitored and what is the level of improvement? How are teachers coping with the changes and what is the key to effective delivery?

All interviewees were (or had been) in a position of influence. The possibility that the interviews offered an opportunity to ‘set the record straight’ and to display how much their actions had influenced developments had to be taken into account. As it was possible that interviewees had some small bias, it was essential to analyse each interview carefully and check for accuracy by using different sources of information to reach the true basis of what was being said.

Each respondent was welcoming and each readily agreed to be taped. No respondent requested a transcript. It was possible to create a relaxed atmosphere of conversation and to be free to listen, to think and to respond without having to concentrate on recording what was said through note taking. This offered opportunity for elaborating and for adapting questions which may not have prompted answers that addressed the real issues sufficiently. It also enabled some further probing to allow for fuller responses and for interjecting to keep interviewees on the point. Taping ensured accuracy and an opportunity to quote extensively from what was actually said.

Each interview was intense and interesting and lasted an average of ninety minutes. All respondents were good to listen to. Five of the seven interviews were conducted through the medium of Welsh.
All were conducted on a one to one basis apart from those with the Welsh Office and ACAC which involved two people. A few interviews were heavy with anecdotal evidence and it was tempting to follow interviewees' line of interest. In contrast, interviews conducted with personnel who were Members of Parliament were concise and to the point. Retired personnel appeared to be more ready to give their own opinion which was sometimes unconventional. All except one volunteered that it had been pleasurable to recollect the developments that had taken place in securing a strong Welsh dimension to the curriculum. Each interview generated three days translating and transcripting. An experienced educational secretary was engaged to transcribe but to maximise accuracy, the translations were carried out by the researcher.

c) Content Analysis
In analysing the content of the documents and the interviews, a concentrated effort was made to ensure objectivity by working within a systematic framework. Through delineating procedures and defining selection criteria every attempt was made to ensure that subsequent analysts using the same rules, procedures and criteria for selection, would be able to arrive at the same inferences. Throughout the interview data analysis a concentrated attempt was made to minimise the possibility of the findings reflecting subjective predispositions rather than the contents (Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

Summary
The chosen research method was a combination of literature review and interview. It was expected that the review of literature would leave gaps in the ‘curriculum story’, and this proved to be the case. Part of the purpose of the interviews was to fill some of the gaps. The following chapter is a summary of the evidence gleaned from the interviews and it focusses particularly on:

- how policies were formulated in Wales and who the key decision-makers are; and
- how interviewees perceived the implementation of their policies at classroom level.
CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

We have arrived at our present conception of education along many avenues and by a variety of enterprises expressive of the genius of the people or the circumstances of the time (Board of Education, 1930, p.1)

This chapter summarises the research interviews. It follows the interview schedule closely but the data has been categorised to draw out the key issues and major concerns to enable judgments to be made. Complete transcripts can be seen in Appendix iv.

A. NATIONAL LEVEL: THE POLICY MAkers

1. Parallel Development Between Equivalent English and Welsh Educational Agencies

1.1 Equivalent Agencies

Respondents identified the major equivalent Welsh and English policy-making agencies as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England</th>
<th>Wales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department for Education &amp; Employment</td>
<td>Welsh Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schools Curriculum &amp; Assessment Authority</td>
<td>Curriculum &amp; Assessment Authority for Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Curriculum Council</td>
<td>Curriculum Council for Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office for Standards in Education</td>
<td>Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Further Education Funding Council</td>
<td>Welsh Further Education Funding Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Higher Education Funding Council</td>
<td>Welsh Higher Education Funding Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since April 1995, all the Welsh agencies mentioned above were driven by Central Government and controlled from Wales.
• Major Agencies With No English Equivalents

Before 1994, when Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru: ACAC (Curriculum and Assessment Council for Wales) took responsibility for assessment in Wales the Schools Examinations and Assessment Council (SEAC) functioned across England and Wales. Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg: PDAG (Welsh Education Development Committee) was unique to Wales until its functions were also transferred to ACAC in 1994. The Welsh Language Board has no English equivalent.

1.2 Key Similarities

All respondents said that the roles and functions of equivalent English and Welsh educational agencies are basically the same. Many stated that this was advantageous. The following comments illustrate the extent to which they interpreted the similarities:

“Welsh Office
The overall framework of government policy is the same and is a collective Cabinet responsibility. The Welsh Office in Wales and the Department for Education and Employment in England take responsibility for education respectively. The focus is the same but they operate in different cultural contexts. The Secretary of State for Wales has statutory responsibility for education in Wales as the Secretary of State for England has statutory responsibility for education in England”.

“Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
As CCW, we did the same work exactly as the NCC did in England. Since April 1994, ACAC and SCAA share the same responsibilities but function within their respective countries”.

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The organisation is the same. OFSTED and OHMCI have the same structure and the two bodies operate in the same way in the context of their own countries and they both have an Inspection Framework”.

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
CCW in Wales did exactly the same work in Wales as the NCC did in England. Obviously, for 2 or 3 years all the councils had similar agendas which were full of the National Curriculum proposals as they came through one after the other. Meetings were dominated by these matters and there was very little opportunity to take other things on”.

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1.3 Key Differences

Significantly, this question generated the most data. In general, interviewees agreed that differences between agencies occur mostly in cultural context and in approach. They identified the differences as tabulated below:

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Size of the country</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>A Welsh dimension to the National Curriculum</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Relationship between agencies in the education network</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Political influence</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Role of Central Government in education</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Relationship with teachers</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Inspectorate approach</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Functions of the Secretaries of State</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Education policy</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>Curriculum and assessment council approach</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Needs analysis structure</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>Athrawon Bro (Welsh Language Advisory Teachers)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>Press release regularity and nature</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most respondents expressed confidence that within a fairly similar pattern Wales is free to develop differently from England. However, one interviewee claimed that there was no room for manoeuvre because of the extent of Central Government control. One interviewee said that Welsh traditions and Welsh history in general had been sufficiently different across the centuries to justify claims that Wales as a nation is totally different. Another maintained that it was surprising that Wales still chose to function through the medium of a different language from English and that:
“In the year 2000 it will still be possible to travel 150 miles from London and hear people speaking the Welsh language from choice. This was remarkable in the light of the fact that people have cohabited with England and with a language which has increasingly spread across the world for about 15 centuries”.

Most interviewees maintained that the developments which had taken place in Wales since the 1988 Education Reform Act were an indication of the vast difference between the English and Welsh cultures. One claimed that the Welsh are very different, their needs are different and their organisations are different. Another said, there is room for much more diversity and we should be trying to justify why we are so much the same. The following comments are representative of the differences that were pinpointed:

“Welsh Office
Because Wales is a smaller country, the Secretary of State for Wales has a wide range of other statutory functions apart from education - highways, farming and transport for instance”.

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The greatest difference between both countries is that Government ministers in Wales have dealt with education much more openly and you are never aware of their political backgrounds. In the beginning, the Welsh Office managed National Curriculum development in Wales and the NCC managed it in England”.

The general feeling was that a push towards too much diversity in Wales caused embarrassment to the Welsh Office. Many stated that it was also embarrassing to England when something is done differently in Wales when it could have been done the same. One respondent said that this reaction was surprising when time and again England have had their National Curriculum policies thrown back at them by Wales. The following comments illustrate these points:

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Issues relating specifically to the Welsh language and the Welsh dimension can be - and have been - used to avoid embarrassment to Central Government because they are so obviously different”.

“Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
There are important basic elements in the system which mean that we can do things differently in Wales within a fairly similar pattern which is shared by both countries. The system allows Wales to be
different as long as there is an obvious value in it. The Welsh Office promotes different developments by means of funding”.

“The Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
There is a natural reluctance on the part of ministers in the Welsh Office to go down a different path, unless they are totally convinced it is a better path. There is always potential for Government opponents to ask questions and to consider that Wales may have a much better way of doing it. So long as we have a similar structure, we are always going to be faced with the dilemma as to whether the Welsh Office should have a combined front with their colleagues in London, or whether they choose to have a different tack. If that becomes more normal, it will become less of an anxiety”.

a) Size of the Country
All interviewees stated that the education system in Wales benefited from functioning in a small country. Most maintained that this resulted in an atmosphere of partnership. They all agreed that the Welsh educational agencies shared general aims and co-operated well with one another. This is illustrated by the following representative comment:

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
We have benefited so much from being such a small country. It is possible for us to work in partnership with all agencies. This close method of working together is an integral part of the pattern of education in Wales. This is not so in England, and it may not be possible in a country of such a large size”.

b) A Welsh Dimension to the National Curriculum
The Welsh dimension was seen as a separate element that only exists in Wales. Respondents were in 100% agreement that there had always been a question in Wales about whether there should be a Welsh dimension to the curriculum. However, its acceptance to statutory status was considered surprising considering the chequered history of the acceptability of the Welsh language in the field of education.

The former Chairman of CCW said that the Welsh dimension - which the Council first labelled the Curriculum Cymreig in The Whole Curriculum 5 - 16 in Wales in 1991 - was an important feature of the work. He maintained that CCW had given a pretty high priority to cross-curricular themes and a
fair amount of money into the 'development-of-understanding-work'. Other respondents stated that the Welsh dimension could easily have passed as a very minor codicil to the curriculum just as it is in geography. Three out of seven stated that one reason why the Welsh dimension was given a high profile was to avoid many of the unfortunate things that had happened in England. They identified these as:

- the fierce battle over the English Orders;
- harsh criticism of teachers;
- disagreements on teaching methodology.

Interviewees stated that because of a strong political push to the right, the NCC very largely took the curriculum in a direction which was unpopular and badly matched to Welsh needs. ACAC claimed that the strongest reason behind Wales's different curricular route was that CCW took into account teachers' strongly expressed views. The following selection of first-hand recollections illustrate the situation further:

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
People were up in arms because the NCC were so ideologically determined to push through their views against the working groups and against consultation in England. The Welsh Office not only had the Welshness issue to resolve but also the whole nature of the curriculum.

The NCC ignored some of the most important recommendations of the working group. They were unhappy about the extent to which the Orders reflected classical and traditional forms of music. Teachers' views were not well received, so the NCC ignored the consultation and went down a different path.

Very strong feelings were expressed about a distinctive history curriculum in Wales and CCW supported it. The kinds of subjects that were kept in the history and geography Orders in Wales reflected school needs.

CCW presented a very strong case for making sure that the working panels in art, in music and in the curriculum in general, gave due attention to the Welsh dimension. The Welsh Office ultimately felt, I suppose, that it could both endorse the consultation in Wales and in England and at the same time please people in Wales by stressing the Welshness of the art and music curriculum and going for a different
The Welsh Office must have decided that it was worth getting some disapproval from the DES because of the tremendous pressure in Wales to go down the path which we were advocating in CCW. After some persuading, the Welsh Office agreed that the Curriculum Cymreig would be retained in CCW's development programme, so they were not just pushing CCW into core subject work.

Through the Teacher Support Programme and The Whole Curriculum 5-16 exercise, CCW did make many teachers feel part of the curriculum changes."

The distinctiveness of the National Curriculum in Wales were seen to reflect school needs and further emphasise the differences between the two countries. Interviewees identified the distinctive elements as:

- Welsh First and Welsh Second language;
- separate Welsh history, geography, art and music Orders;
- a Welsh dimension to the remaining common subjects.

ACAC described how the Welsh Office had later reduced the amount of time and money available for anything other than development work in National Curriculum core subjects.

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Increasingly between 1990 and 1992 the same kind of pressures were being brought upon CCW as was brought on the English councils to concentrate on the basics and particularly on the teaching of maths and language."

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Non-statutory subject work was always the bit that was squeezed because the Welsh Office felt it was a luxury. More and more attention was being paid in England to core subjects and the need to support teachers in the core subjects. Then the Welsh Office also took the stance that funding was for the basics not for non-statutory guidance."

- English Subject Order
Respondents suggested that disagreement also arose in relation to the English Orders although it was different and in a way more complicated. The former chair of CCW maintained that the Council did not want to reopen the English debate in 1991. He explained that CCW had recommended that the Order should not be reviewed because it needed time to settle in as it had only
been in place for 2 years. However, there was no separate English Order in Wales. A selection of his recollections follow.

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The right wing in England were not happy with the English Curriculum. They had never been happy with it. They had taken control of the NCC and managed to get the Secretary of State to agree that there should be a review. It was supposed to be a joint review between the CCW and NCC and it was a pretty fraught joint exercise! CCW found themselves differing for the same reasons that they did not want the review in the first place. The Welsh Office was very wary this time because opting for a Welsh version of the English curriculum did not offer the same political benefits. This issue had a much higher profile. They acknowledged that CCW had a case, and they were willing to listen to it. They tried to square the circle politically by not embarrassing their colleagues in London".

c) Relationship Between Agencies in the Education Network
There was 100% agreement that good and productive relationships existed between the Welsh agencies. It was generally agreed that this was a much greater issue than that of size or area, and more a question of tradition and tolerance for different points of view. The following comments illustrate this further:

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
We work differently because our country is different and because of the good relationships and understanding which exist between us. We have never had the kind of hatred and animosity which has existed in England for instance in the context of the English language.

It has been infinitely easier to disagree constructively in Wales than in England because of the basic structure. In Wales, certainly there was healthy discussion but never fierce argument and never hatred”.

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
We are more homely in the relationships which exist between the different agencies”.

Many referred to the value of the Welsh Office outlines of the exact role of all the different players in the education game.
d) Political Influence
Respondents maintained that one of the greatest difference between England and Wales was the place of politics in education. They maintained that Wales is more or less clear of the kind of political influence which exists in England and that Welsh ministers deal openly with the whole subject of education. All except one agreed that political baggage was not an issue in Wales. Most agreed that they were never aware of people's political backgrounds. Most claimed that the aim at all times was raising standards. The PDAG respondent insisted that the British Government's influence was obtrusive. It was a general belief that there was stronger emphasis in England on national norms and competition between pupils, schools and counties.

e) Role of Central Government in Education
Comparisons made between the structures of the education departments of England and Wales fell into the following categories as tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department for Education &amp; Employment</th>
<th>Welsh Office Education Department</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A well established department</td>
<td>A fairly new department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,000 staff</td>
<td>90 staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible only for education</td>
<td>Umbrella department for all systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Specialists</td>
<td>Generalists - less specialism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dealings with education only</td>
<td>Dealings with matters across the board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Specific Minister for Education</td>
<td>No specific Minister for Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single purpose disadvantageous</td>
<td>Multipurpose mostly advantageous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
In England information is controlled by the DES and is political. In Wales education is less politically driven. Everybody knows that we are moving forward in Wales. Furthermore working patterns illustrate the degree of influence Wales is having on the way in which they work in England”.
f) Relationship with Teachers
CCW and ACAC respondents claimed that their relationship with teachers was much closer than that of their English counterparts. The following selection of comments illustrate this further:

"Awdurddod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
We depend on our good relationships with teachers because they have to teach Welsh Second language even though only a third of them are Welsh-speaking. Teacher-influence shows clearly in the way in which the subject Orders were steered in Wales.

In Wales, there was a history of co-operation - the Schools' Council led the way by working hand-in-hand with the teaching profession and with the colleges. CCW built on it and benefited from it by being nearer to what was needed in the classroom. The Orders are much more likely to take effect in Wales because of teacher ownership”.

They claimed that through wide consultation exercises teachers were made to feel that they were part of the changes which was a plus point both politically and practically.

"Awdurddod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
CCW believed that people in schools needed to be encouraged that the curriculum was not all a matter of statutory Orders. This eventually lead to the Whole Curriculum 5 - 16 a document which was entirely a CCW initiative. It involved a big scale consultation with schools, conferences, then they produced a draft and final version. The message was that the curriculum was a professional discussion which involved each school not just an overview to be developed by national personnel. Because of the size of Wales, CCW could consult widely and with every school. CCW always felt that the National Curriculum subjects were only part of the picture”.

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
This attitude of involvement prevailed through all consultations particularly in the Welsh Office's major consultation exercise of 1990 resulting in the production of The Whole Curriculum 5-16 in Wales. This document was a major step forward because it outlined clearly the principles which the CCW believed should underpin the whole curriculum”.

These interviewees maintained that the success of the exercise was further facilitated by the small size of the country.
"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
In England, relationships with teachers were not very good and the cost of such a major consultation exercise would be enormous - they have so many schools”.

- Teacher Support Programme
The CCW’s former Chairman explained that the CCW’s Teacher Support Groups were a legacy of the Schools Curriculum and Development Committee (SCDC). He maintained that as a former employee of the SCDC, the CCW’s Chief Executive was insistent that this method of working closely with the profession would be carried over from one council to the other. He also questioned the suitability of this model.

“There was a very strong belief in certain peoples’ minds that you could adopt the Schools Council model of ‘active teacher participation of curriculum development initiatives managed from the centre and developed locally’ model into CCW in spite of the changed circumstances of the new legislation. However, CCW was committed to that style of curriculum development”.

He also maintained that CCW’s teacher support initiatives had offered teachers ownership of the curriculum and that this in turn had reaped benefits by creating a more positive attitude towards the changes in the curriculum.

“The number of people involved in the Teacher Support Programme across the whole country was very large and there was a sense of participation in the programme of change. Teachers felt it was their curriculum and not somebody else’s curriculum imposed from the top. CCW carried through the Teacher Support Programme in all the foundation subjects, making sure that there was some material for all the subjects. But there was always that argument about where the emphasis should be.

Neither the NCC or SEAC had an equivalent to the Teacher Support Programme. The NCC commissioned people to do certain things but it was much more a central organisation giving a contract to somebody to do something, than using a grass roots network of people to develop material across a wide range of fields as we had in Wales.

These materials which were developed in Wales were picked up and used in England and there are examples of English teachers there asking why they could not have access to CCW / ACAC materials.
The two curriculum councils worked separately and differently on producing non-statutory guidance and many English teachers liked the Welsh material better because it was produced by teachers for teachers. Praise from England for the material was much appreciated. It is only anecdotal evidence but it was a reinforcement of a sense that it was the right way to do things.

There was a bottle-neck effect when a mass of material came through from the groups. The quantity of material produced made it difficult to scrutinise it properly and judge its appropriateness. It was very difficult for the small publications department in CCW to handle such a large number of publications and it was building up all the time. By the time the subject officers, the subject committees and the Teacher Support Groups were established and the programme was put in place, the Welsh Office decided that the Council had taken on more than it could chew and it was critical of the size and scale of the programme and the difficulties of managing it. It was a very ambitious programme of very wide ranging initiatives.

There were lessons to be learnt about the sheer scale of the programme but none of us would have wanted a narrower focus. CCW couldn’t do what they wanted to do without Welsh Office approval because it was a budgetary matter. CCW would outline proposals annually and the Welsh Office would allocate funding”.

g) Inspectorate Approach
The difference in tone and content between the English and Welsh HMCIs’ Annual Reports (Spring, 1996) and press releases were identified as further examples of difference in attitude towards teachers. Interviewees referred to the English Chief Inspector’s harsh criticism of teachers. They compared this with the Welsh Chief Inspector’s different style of firstly praising teachers for their progress (particularly in improvements in their teaching of Welsh Second language) before focusing on aspects which needed further development. All respondents referred to the value of the Inspectorate’s influence on developments in Wales as is shown by the following representative comment:

“Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Aesu Cymru
Welsh HMI are represented on all education committees and are in a strong position to influence good practice. It is all due to the size of Wales and the close network which exists”.

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OHMCI respondents explained the Welsh Inspectorate's approach thus:

"English and Welsh HMI have always been different. Welsh HMIs know the system much better than their counterparts in England. This is partly due to the size of the country and partly due perhaps to the fact that they had a totally different attitude to their work.

The Inspectorates' role in advising the Secretaries of State has perhaps been more obvious in England because the Department for Education has been directly involved in creating policies for Central Government. English HMIs have functioned very closely to the centre. Because they have been so involved in this way, it has not been possible for them to build the same direct evidence base and to create the same detailed, broad picture of the education system in England as we have done in Wales. Our direct contact with schools has always been the basis to the advice we have given to Central Government.

HMI in Wales have better relationships with the education system. People know HMI in Wales better because they have seen us regularly and because we are closer to schools anyway. HMI in England were rather aloof strangers”.

Comparisons made by interviewees between English and Welsh HMI are tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Wales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers:</td>
<td>Large team</td>
<td>Small team</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector / School ratio:</td>
<td>Decreased from 485 to 180 in 3 years</td>
<td>Remained static</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational background:</td>
<td>Mostly public school.</td>
<td>Mostly same as teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mostly Oxford &amp; Cambridge</td>
<td>Mostly same as teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approach:</td>
<td>Less time in schools</td>
<td>More time in schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Aloof and close to Central Government</td>
<td>Close to schools</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

OHMCI respondents outlined how the English Inspectorate had been affected by diminishing numbers:
"In England, they were changing the inspection system at the same time as they were cutting down on the numbers of HMI - a cut by two-thirds in the last two years. It has been a very difficult time for the system itself and a very difficult time for the inspectors as well. In England, they have had to do all these things while their numbers have been decreasing. So they have been distancing themselves even more from the schools even in this difficult time of change.

In Wales, things have been comparatively settled. The numbers in the Welsh Inspectorate remained almost the same until very recently. This has been advantageous in a revolutionary time in the history of schools. We have had to train the new independent inspectors but at least we were able to retain the same number of personnel".

- The Inspection Frameworks
Representatives of the Inspectorate explained that because OFSTED and OHMCI had liaised closely in creating the original Inspection Frameworks there were similarities between them. However, they also cited marked differences. OHMCI respondents maintained that there were differences in the Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance which they felt were important to retain in Wales because they were characteristic of the Welsh Inspectorate's usual practice. They claimed that schools expected the different characteristics and that on the whole they were appreciated.

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The OHMCI Framework differs from the OFSTED Framework to a greater extent than previously. By now the differences between our Framework and theirs are significant. Some things happened traditionally in the area of primary school inspections in Wales which did not happen in England.

We wanted to ensure that we kept courtesy and uniqueness in the Inspection Framework in Wales; There was an effort on our behalf to ensure that we did not lose some of our traditional values, attitudes and methods of working.

It has been a tradition in Wales to hold a post inspection meeting with the headteacher and staff as part of the inspection process. This was not so in England. But we felt strongly at the time that it was important to keep this and to build it into the Inspection Framework - and that's exactly what happened. We also believe that the governors' pre-inspection meeting with the Registered Inspector is crucial in determining the extent of the influence of the governing body. OHMCI did not include this in their inspection process either."
Another totally intentional difference is our emphasis on the difference between performance and achievement. OHMCI assert that the emphasis in lesson observation is standards in the context of the individual’s ability and background. OFSTED focus on performance and achievement, and there is much more emphasis on comparing children with the national norms.

There was an effort on our behalf to keep the idea alive that there was a professional and close educational relationship between inspectors and schools in Wales”.

h) Functions of the Secretaries of State

The roles of the two Secretaries of State for Education were compared and contrasted. It was ascertained that the English Secretary of State for Education has no responsibility for education in Wales apart from teachers’ pay and conditions and Teacher Training. Interviewees compared and contrasted the roles and functions of the two Secretaries of State responsible for education as tabulated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>England</th>
<th>Wales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Specific Secretary for Education</td>
<td>No specific Secretary for Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takes full responsibility for education</td>
<td>Delegates responsibility to a minister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible for education in England</td>
<td>Responsible for education in Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Focusses on educational functions</td>
<td>Focuses on a wide range of statutory functions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More say in education in England</td>
<td>Less say in education in Wales</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Secretaries for education during change period: Joseph, Baker, MacGregor, Clarke</td>
<td>1 Minister for education during change period: Wyn Roberts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The interviewees considered that the stability of the Welsh Office’s education department personnel following the 1988 Education Reform Act was a considerable advantage.
i) Education Policy
Most respondents referred to the Welsh Secretary of State's policy, Bright Future: The Way Forward. One remarked that this was the first time ever that the Welsh Office has set down a definite education policy for Wales. The view was also expressed that different elements of government policy pull in various directions. For instance:

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Different elements of government policies pull in various directions. Money is being delegated to schools, yet with standards rising - particularly in Welsh Second language - there is a need for central services like the Athrawon Bro to be financed in order to support further development."

j) Curriculum and Assessment Council Approach
Significant differences were identified in the exercise of appointing English and Welsh council members. The former Chair of CCW and SEAC council member recollected thus:

"The DES invited prospective NCC and SEAC council members to vetting interviews conducted by the Secretary of State. The Welsh Office officials talked to people they wanted to invite as members and they were then appointed by the Secretary of State. Council members were not interviewed by ministers to ensure that their views on matters were acceptable.

The three curriculum and assessment councils had to be seen to be independent from the system and none was to be considered as simply as mouth pieces for the teaching profession nor as mouth piece of the government. They all took unpopular decisions either way.

Comparisons between the Councils were made as follows:

School Examinations and Assessment Council
There were fifteen SEAC members. Only two of them were teachers - one primary and one secondary. It wasn't very good diplomacy to have a council which was so lacking in school teacher representation as to be readily discredited on these grounds. Three people were from university education departments, (which was over representation) and there were various other members from the world of business. It was a very odd composition."
Curriculum Council for Wales
The Welsh Office chose Council members to represent schools and that affected the way we worked and also the way schools saw us. There was a strong representation of people working in schools and in teacher education. It was an interesting mix of people from different perspectives. There were representatives from the business field and from parent organisations. There were no factions or divisions which weakened it. We enjoyed interesting discussion across that divide between education insiders and lay outsiders. There was a good feeling of a group of people working together and an attempt to reach consensus rather than having to rely on voting.

- Councils' First Meetings

School Examinations and Assessment Council
The first SEAC meeting focussed immediately on decisions relating to Key Stage 1 SATs (Standardised Assessment Tasks contracts) and the DES ran through the decisions which were needed urgently.

Curriculum Council for Wales
From the beginning, CCW wanted to ensure that it did not become overly involved in commonalities. The first three meetings were open-agenda meetings without formal business and there was a broad topic for each meeting. Members were invited to contribute and one or two were actually asked to lead the discussions.

- Relationship Between Government and Councils

Department of Education and Science / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Relations were relatively formal and rather bureaucratic. The chairman was very effective and involved members in decision-making but in a rather formal way with one eye on the DES. He had come from the DES and the DES was keen to push the agenda in the way it wanted it to go. From the beginning DES officials moved large in meetings saying what they would like to see done, or rather what ministers would like to see done. There was a very strong element of the DES calling the shots.

Welsh Office / Curriculum Council for Wales
Welsh Office staff were very active and involved in all discussions and made valuable contributions. They were helpful and a full part of the process. They did not sit and observe only. They much less obviously tried to steer the Council in a particular way. They accepted the Council's independent role and that it needed to adopt its own position. They contributed a Welsh Office point of view because CCW also had to understand their position. It was interestingly different.
• **Council Staff**

**School Examinations and Assessment Council**
They increased the staff to manage it all but there was a big change after 1991. They abandoned much of the committee structure, and much more power rested with officers, because this way they did not have to carry a committee with them.

**Curriculum Council for Wales**
Staff and in particular the Chief Executive had been linked to the Schools Committee for Wales which was linked to the School Curriculum Development Committee. So CCW grew out of a very small organisation into a very different scale of organisation with much bigger responsibilities - statutory responsibilities. This resulted in a big growth exercise - new staff were recruited with the appropriate expertise”.

• **Committee Structure and Cross Representation**

CCW’s former Chair described the councils’ subject committees structure as a carry over from the secondary examination councils. He said that committee members were chosen for their particular subject expertise. Both SEAC and CCW arranged that council members would chair the subject committees. In this way, they could both relay the Council’s broad policy to the subject committees and be in a position to report the committee’s views back to the Council. He claimed that on the whole it worked well and recollected the experience thus:

**School Examinations and Assessment Council**
"There were two sets of committees - phase committees and subject committees and CCW members were involved in both. Committee work became a heavy load of council work, chairing at least one of the subject committees and membership of two of the phase committees. The idea was that the council members were sufficiently in touch with the issues to be able to take soundings and bring those soundings to the council discussions.

**Curriculum Council for Wales**
There was a sub-committee structure to deal with things in between meetings. They had a wide network of people for each subject who were invited to comment and feed expertise into their thinking. The officers would pull all the information together and take council members through it".

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• **Fundamental Differences Between NCC and CCW**

CCW's former Chair described his experience of the relationship between CCW and the NCC towards the end thus:

"The comparison between the two councils over the period 1988 - 1991 was very interesting because from the start, the two worked in very different ways. CCW had tried to co-ordinate some of the work with the NCC but relations and lines of communications were so poor and it did not work very well. With a bit of information from NCC and by looking to the Welsh Office for approval, the CCW made an attempt to ensure that some work was done in common with NCC but, in truth, it was largely a CCW programme.

From 1991 onwards the smoothness of communications went and there were increasing tensions between the two councils. It was exacerbated by the fact that the chairman of the NCC at that time, really did not want to know about Wales or even to notice its existence. His agenda was in England. CCW's Chief Executive found it very difficult to deal with the NCC's Chief Executive partly because he did not seem to regard CCW as being important. Meetings would be postponed or cancelled making it very difficult to establish the right kind of relationship between the two sister organisations. It was awkward for the NCC when CCW started to take a different point of view, because that increased problems in England. We started to get into curriculum differences of a more fundamental kind. It came to a head over National Curriculum English which was a really big issue.

• **Effect of Central Government on Subject Working Panels**

**England**
The NCC was responsible for setting up the working panels with a chairperson and members and the NCC moved the process from draft papers to statutory Orders. There was quite a distance between the DfEE and the NCC”.

**Wales**
*Awdurod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru*
The Welsh Office ran the whole process and subject panels were created under their umbrella structure with a chairperson and members. The Welsh Office ran the drafts to statutory Orders. They only had to listen to CCW's opinions. CCW (followed by ACAC) worked very closely with the Welsh Office".
"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
In Wales, there was a much higher degree of direct influence on the original curriculum. The Welsh Office chose representatives from each interested party for the different panels."

k) Needs Analysis Structure
Interviewees cited the benefits of ACAC’s tendering structure emphasising that it responded to teacher needs far more than the equivalent English structure.

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
There are 11 subjects and 11 committees to analyse needs. Each committee then prioritises the needs and the information is forwarded to ACAC’s central committee. This process used to be managed by the Inspectorate."

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
England does not have a similar needs analysis system which reflects the specific needs of their country. In Wales, consideration is given to the importance of the Welsh language and to the Welsh dimension and all materials have to reflect this.

Market forces in the tendering process are restricting because then publications in Wales mirror England - it does not make sense. In England you have large press houses with plenty of money and resources. In Wales, you have a small press having to keep 5,000 books in stock for 5 years which is a huge tax on their resources. This is another example of an imported English condition."

The PDAG respondent condemned the structure because it was run by personnel who are too far removed from the classroom. Although there were conflicting views relating to this structure most believed that the availability of resources and personnel presented a good opportunity to develop things differently in Wales.

1) Athrawon Bro (Welsh Language Advisory Teachers)
All interviewees considered the Athrawon Bro system to be totally unique to Wales and vital to the development of Welsh Second language.
m) Press Release Regularity and Nature
ACAC claimed that there was a different approach to press releases in both countries as is illustrated by the following comment:

"Anything that happens in England becomes news - its underlined and given immense publicity in the press".

1.4 Nature of Parallel Development
Interviewees claimed that there has been a tradition of co-operation and cross-representation in Wales. Specific examples which emerged in dialogues with interviewees included:

a) Welsh Office

"Welsh Office
The issue is that the Welsh Office have to time their input into the decision making process very carefully because influence lies in numbers and we are a comparatively small department. If the Welsh Office wants to influence education they have to very carefully time and plan their input into the discussion in order to have maximum influence on policy".

b) SCAA (England) and ACAC (Wales)

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Everybody knows that we are moving forward in Wales. Furthermore if you looked at the questions and working patterns you would realise the degree of influence we are having on the way in which they work in England. Nobody says that in the press in England you notice!

Since April 1994, the curriculum and assessment brief is exactly the same for both authorities".

c) The Inspectorate

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
OHMCI work closely with OFSTED and each is represented on the other's committees. OHMCI is free to interpret the common remit in its own way as long as it can show categorically that it is the better way. OHMCI and OFSTED co-operate and decide the extent to which they follow along the same path. There was a time when they were closer than they are presently because there was less pressure of time. English HMI were the largest of the bodies and they invited Welsh HMI subject specialists to join their subject panels. It also worked the
other way but to a much lesser extent. OFSTED organised the agenda and if Welsh HMI wanted to place a Welsh matter on the agenda they had the right and freedom to do so. Welsh and English HMI co-operate on particular assignments particularly on the formulation of the initial Inspection Frameworks and on their review. OHMCI and OFSTED sometimes work together on a school inspections”.

d) NCC (England) CCW (Wales) and SEAC (England and Wales)

“Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Co-operation went from being quite good in the beginning through a very bad period into a period when things looked up again when Dearing came in. The NCC was in the picture quite strongly between 1988 and 1991 because at that stage, the chairs of the three councils were attending each others meetings”.

• Cross-representation

“Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
There was cross representation of the senior people on each of the councils so when there was something about comparison or different points of view it was well represented. Whatever else went on with officers, there was the immediate point of contact at the senior level which oiled the wheels. There was mutual acceptance of differences, and NCC representatives were accepted as very helpful members of the CCW meetings because they would interpret for us what was happening in England.

That all broke down in 1991 when a serious difficulty occurred when the NCC was going through a crisis. There was a lot of internal politics within NCC. They apparently thought that the DES was trying to dominate too much and that their council meetings were full of outsiders who were trying to push them this way and that. This resulted in the NCC engineering the breakdown of the mutual meetings arrangement. It collapsed at a senior level when the chairman of CCW was no longer invited to NCC meeting. That immediately lost common ground in communication.

There was a very big contrast when Sir Ron Dearing took over in April 1993. He respected the distinct roles the two councils and immediately promoted amicable relations, by improving communications and set up mutual meetings. From the first, he took account of Wales and entirely recognised the country’s own priorities and attempted from the start to carry the whole review forward on a joint basis”.

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The PDAG respondent maintained that before 1994, the Welsh LEAs had come together as one committee to establish an effective system to respond to schools needs. Teachers expressed a need for support material to prepare children for examination and national assessment, for instance. He claimed that the Welsh LEAs were at the centre of the process and the schools trusted them. He said that he resented an educational system which was contract-based throughout - from the development of teaching materials to school inspection. The following comment is representative of his viewpoint:

"This system will curtail the co-operation and close working relationship which has existed between agencies and which had been instrumental in establishing the unique aspects of good practice in education in Wales".

e) Welsh Language Board

The Chairman of the Welsh Language Board said that:

"There are similar bodies to this in Scotland which facilitates the Gaelic language. There is also a statutory body in Ireland, and there are language departments in the regional governments of Catalonia and Basque. However, there is no English equivalent because in a climate of multiculturalism it would be emotive".

He added that the Welsh Language Board works closely with Irish and Scottish Boards as well as language departments of regional governments such as Catalonia and Basque. He claimed that when the Board was first founded in 1993 ministers from both Houses made it clear that part of its role would be to take a strategic overview particularly of education. The Board deals with the Local Education Authorities, with ACAC and with different schools. The Board intends to develop a working partnership in every field including Teacher Training, Further Education as well as with schools.

He explained that the Board had developed its curricular role by beginning to work quite closely with ACAC on curriculum matters such as the curriculum for under 5s and general curriculum needs especially in technology. He claimed that the Board had initiated a curriculum sub-committees structure to examine specificities like new technology to decide on software and computer priorities in order to promote funding through sponsorship.
He referred to the Board’s recently submitted report to the Welsh Office expressing concerns about Welsh language training, teaching needs and the future of Athrawon Bro in Wales. He explained that this had resulted in the Welsh Office granting over £2,000,000 to the Board to manage the Athrawon Bro service across Wales. As a result of this the Welsh Language Board is responsible for the Athrawon Bro service nationally and for sharing the Section 21 grant to local education authorities. He claimed that this illustrated the Welsh Language Board’s new role in developing a working partnership with different agencies to facilitate the Welsh language in the National Curriculum.

2. Agency Involvement in the Development of the National Curriculum in Wales

2.1 Shaping the Original Orders
The following paragraphs summarise how each body interpreted its involvement in the process of shaping the original National Curriculum in Wales.

a) The Welsh Office

"The long genesis of the National Curriculum started with the 1988 Act and developed into subject Orders. The Welsh Office established a statutory Welsh advisory body - the Curriculum Council of Wales - and acted on its advice. They set up separate consultation on National Curriculum proposals.

The DfEE took the lead with three orders but the Welsh Office considered that Wales should have something separate. They ensured representation of Welsh views in the original subject working groups by looking for specialists in every subject and every phase. That was the pattern across each subject.

Clearly there were problems with the National Curriculum in Wales as there were in England. The first time round each separate working group developed in their own way. That was the greatest problem because everyone wanted to ensure that their own subjects were right instead of taking an overview across all the subjects. It was very difficult for teachers to follow the many different formats. The Welsh Office took account of the views they expressed".

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b) **Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru (ACAC)**  
(Curriculum and Assessment Council for Wales)  
This body replaced CCW and was not in existence until 1994.

c) **Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector: Wales**

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector

Before the 1980s, education had not been a political issue. Then the climate changed and Central Government took a totally new standpoint by throwing it into the political arena. Then they started to interfere in order to improve standards and quality. In reality it was quite a natural step for them eventually to wake up to the fact that considerable discussion relating to the curriculum was necessary. At this point, the Inspectorate offered evidence of what was actually happening in schools - the variable practice, the over-variable practice!

The concept of a national curriculum was founded on the fact that HMI showed through their reports that there was too much inconsistency between subjects, classes and schools in terms of opportunity, practice, content, 'coverage', expectations and standards. This led to some children having unequal opportunity and insufficient fair play.

Therefore, it was a natural development for the government to push for 'accountability' and for HMI to push for 'entitlement' in order to plan for every child to have an equal opportunity through a common curriculum for all. This was one very important way in which HMI influenced the shaping of a national curriculum. In the 1970s, HMI had formed very influential subject working groups resulting in the production of the 'little red books series' - 'Curriculum 5-16'. These were very influential in effecting change. Some major players from the English Inspectorate were members of the groups and it was here that the idea of curriculum balance was introduced for the first time. At the time, there was little interest in the primary curriculum. Back in the 1970s, the emphasis was on teaching methods and 'how to' ideas. At the time, curriculum content did not count in preparing a good education. In fact, at that time there was no need to think of the curriculum at all!

However, the Inspectorate is always in the background of all curriculum development because they come from a background of considering the curriculum philosophically and practically. It was Welsh HMI from the secondary sector who started analysing the secondary curriculum and they did this - if not totally scientifically - half scientifically.
The primary curriculum was not considered in the same way as the secondary curriculum in terms of balance, entitlement and justification for including certain subjects in the curriculum. Looking at the primary curriculum and asking the same kind of complicated philosophical questions was a new experience. So the ground had to be cleared first so that the primary curriculum could be considered with equal seriousness.

The whole development process started in the early 70s and Wales was totally involved in it from the start. The idea was supported equally by both countries and the two Inspectorates worked very very closely. Because in the end, the education system and its operation is the same in both countries. The structure is exactly the same”.

d) Welsh Language Board
The Welsh Language Board was not in existence until 1993 well after the first National Curriculum Orders were drafted. However, the present Chairman was a Member of Parliament at the time, a member of the Welsh Affairs Committee and a member of the Education Measures Committee. He said that:

“ Fundamentally, the National Curriculum reflected what happened in schools. The existing primary and secondary Welsh-medium schools continued to teach Welsh as a core subject. Welsh came in as a foundation subject in all the other schools”.

He added that as soon as the English language became part of England’s core curriculum, the Welsh language became part of the core curriculum in Wales.

e) Welsh Language Education Development Committee (PDAG)
PDAG’s former director claimed that the committee had created national panels for identifying needs. Teachers voiced their anxiety about a curriculum which was too heavy and broad and an assessment structure that was too demanding to operate. PDAG reported this situation to the Welsh Office.

f) Curriculum Council for Wales
“ The aim throughout the development process was to ensure that through direct involvement, teachers in Wales would feel ownership of the curriculum rather than feeling that it was a curriculum imposed from the top. Towards this end, an additional wide consultation
exercise was conducted by the Welsh Office. As a result of this, CCW were confident that teachers felt more ownership for the curriculum in Wales and this in turn built a better relationship between teachers and their national curriculum council.

In every subject, CCW had a wide network of people who fed expertise into their thinking. Officers would then pull that together and the Council would consider it. CCW received the recommendations of the subject working groups.

CCW gave top priority to the case for a separate history curriculum for Wales. The Welsh Office decided to endorse a distinctive history curriculum.

HMI led small committees to draft the initial National Curriculum for music and art documents. Both committees were dissatisfied with the developments of these subject Orders and separate Orders were developed for Wales. The music Order in Wales consisted of three Attainment Targets whilst the English Order comprised of two.

CCW carried out an ambitious teachers support programme involving a grass roots network of people. Through this they produced support materials in all national curriculum subjects addressing many other additional themes and dimensions”.

2.2 Shaping the Reviewed Orders

Each agency's interpretation of their role in shaping the reviewed National Curriculum Orders is illustrated by the following summaries:

a) The Welsh Office

“ The Welsh Office asked the CCW to take part in a curriculum review with Sir Ron Dearing. It implemented the recommendations of the CCW and the ACAC arising from the review”.

b) Curriculum Council of Wales: CCW / Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales: ACAC

“ No-one will admit the level of influence that Wales had on the review processes. By looking at the interim reports and then looking at the final reports that came out from England into Wales and just by comparing letters that went to the Minister you would be amazed at the level of Welsh influence. The CCW worked hand in glove with Ron Dearing. They had a great amount of freedom which is obvious from the way things developed. They fulfilled their responsibility to inform the Welsh Office by collecting responses, collating them and presenting
them in a report. They influenced the process in England and influenced the amount of time given to and some of the basic principles in the physical education and modern languages Orders”.

c) Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector: Wales

“HMI collected direct evidence from schools and influenced the process fully by sharing its professional, specialist knowledge. HMI gave advice based upon evidence from the schools to the Welsh Office and to all subject and sector panels. The Welsh Office depended on HMI for professional advice”.

d) The Welsh Language Board

The Board was not in existence.

e) Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)

“We listened to class teachers’ observations and needs and represented them externally”.

2.3 Reasons for Distinctiveness

All interviewees agreed that the National Curriculum in Wales has specific differences. One maintained that:

“When the term ‘National Curriculum’ is used in England it means the National Curriculum England and when it is used in Wales it means the National Curriculum in Wales”.

Others said that:

“In the past, formal schooling was English in nature. You spoke Welsh at home and went to school to learn English if you wanted to get on in the world. That was the reason for the Welsh Not. There was a lack of respect towards the language and the country itself.

We are a small country. We live next door to a large land with a national language. There is an inferiority complex and it still remains today”.

Interviewees attributed the development of the distinctly Welsh curriculum to a variety of elements as is tabulated:
**Reasons for Distinctiveness**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) The network of national agencies</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) The Welsh Inspectorate</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) A separate Welsh curriculum and assessment body</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) A difference of opinion between England and Wales</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) Section 21 Funding</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) Parents</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g) Welsh Joint Education Committee</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h) Cymdeithas yr Iaith (The Welsh Language Society)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Menter Cwm Gwendraeth a Thaf Elai (Vale of Gwendraeth and Taff Ely Welsh Projects)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**a) The Network of National Agencies**

All respondents stated the *organic co-operation of a national network* as a major influence in the developing distinctiveness and status of the curriculum in Wales. Two statements represented the majority view:

"Everyone works naturally through and with each other towards the same aim. We all campaigned to ensure that Welsh was considered, to change attitudes and to establish influential boards, working panels and committees. There has always been a strong tradition of cooperating and networking because everyone works towards the same aim of providing quality education to every child. There was no politics in it".

**b) The Welsh Inspectorate**

Most interviewees referred to the Welsh Inspectorate’s influence in the country’s educational system. This viewpoint is represented by the following comment.

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The Welsh Office depend on the Inspectorate for professional advice about education in Wales. Welsh HMIs have been instrumental in ensuring good practice".
The Inspectorate's close relationship with schools was particularly valued as was their capacity to influence at all levels through:

- gathering valuable first hand evidence;
- feeding good practice into the system;
- advising the Welsh Office and the educational agencies.

The following comments have been selected to illustrate the Inspectorate's own interpretation of its approach to its work:

"Office for Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Certainly since the early 80s Welsh HMI emphasised the importance of visiting schools to collect reliable evidence and they spent most of their time out in the schools - either inspecting formally or visiting in a pastoral capacity. This has been possible in Wales because of the small size of the country. It was more difficult for them in England because of the scattered nature of the country. We can influence because of our professional, specialist knowledge and because the Welsh Office does not really have anyone else's opinions available to them, they have to depend heavily upon our opinions. We give advice on which Section 21 educational projects have most merit. It means a lot more work but it is one way of influencing and it is a chance to support the Athrawon Bro system".

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac AseSU Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Inspectorate stand or fall together and are a team working towards the same aims".

c) A Separate Welsh Curriculum and Assessment Body
All respondents said that the existence of a separate curriculum advisory body in Wales whose views Welsh Office ministers were prepared to take into account had been of paramount importance. The Welsh dimension to the curriculum was developed by the CCW and taken up by ACAC. They said that

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac AseSU Cymru
The Welshness of the curriculum was helped by the way in which the NCC was handling the curriculum in England. They made it easy for CCW to distance themselves from them and do what they wanted to do".
In 1989 the Authority decided to distribute an original document *The Whole Curriculum from 5 - 16*. It outlined what the *Curriculum Cymreig* could be. This included the Welsh language and cultural context of history, geography, art and music and the Welsh aspect of all remaining subjects. It was laid out there as a reflection of the community; a reflection of the language and a reflection of the Welsh climate.

CCW set up a group to look at it more fully and this resulted in the production of the first of the advisory papers. Then the Council promoted development work to give schools more assistance. The Welsh Office - after some persuading - agreed that it would be retained in our programme, and that we would continue to develop it. There was a wealth of examples in the original Orders that of course, was why the Orders were so thick.

Under the review process, the main aim was to slim down the curriculum and give teachers much more flexibility. However, when the examples are taken away you have to depend completely on professional skills to feed into the bare bones of the subject Orders”.

Before the review there was no definite acknowledgement of the *Curriculum Cymreig*’s existence. The history and geography Orders
were different from the equivalent English Orders and this was evidence of its existence. Things have changed since the review and all Orders contain a statement relating to the Curriculum Cymreig - even the Orders which are statutory in both England and Wales. In England when anyone tries to develop a notion of an English identity in schools it becomes a highly controversial issue because it seems to be hostile to multiculturalism. In Wales, it has largely been regarded as a positive thing because it enables young people to understand the culture of their own country”.

d) A Difference of Opinion Between England and Wales

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Now we were always going to have the question in Wales as to whether there should be a Welsh dimension. It could have been a very minor codicil to the curriculum just as it is in geography. But because the NCC were so determined to push their own ideologies against the working groups and against the consultation in England, the Welsh Office not only had the Welshness issue to resolve but the fact that people were up in arms about the nature of the general curriculum. CCW was presenting a very strong case in favour of the working groups as well as making sure the Welsh dimension was in the art and music curriculum. The Welsh Office ultimately felt, I suppose, that it could both endorse the consultation in Wales as in England and at the same time please people in Wales by stressing the Welshness of the art and music Curriculum and going for a different curriculum. The Welsh Office must have taken the decision that it was worth their while getting some disapproval from the DES because there was tremendous pressure in Wales to go down the path which we were advocating in the CCW”.

English Order

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
CCW did not want to reopen the English debate in 1991. We recommended that the English Order should not be reviewed because it needed time to settle in as it had only been in place for 2 years. The right wing in England were not happy with the English curriculum. They never had been happy, and they had taken control of the NCC. They managed to get the NCC and the Secretary of State to agree that there should be a review. Once we were in that review (which was supposed to be a joint review between the CCW and NCC which was a pretty fraught joint exercise!) we found ourselves differing for the same reasons that we did not want the review in the first place. But again the Welsh Office was very wary of that because they did not have
the same political benefits in saying we had a Welsh/English curriculum and it was a much higher profile issue. But they acknowledged that we had a case, and they were willing to listen to us, and they did try to square the circle politically by not embarrassing their colleagues in London.

Ministers, so long as we have a similar structure, are always going to be faced with the dilemma as to whether they should have a combined front with their colleagues in London, or whether they choose to have a different tack. If that becomes more normal it will become less of an anxiety.

The comparison over that period (1988-1991) was very interesting because from the start, the two councils worked in very different ways. From 1991 onwards the smoothness of the communications went and there were increasing tensions between the two councils. It came to a head over English. National Curriculum English was a really big issue. We had several meetings trying to resolve it. That was exacerbated by the fact the chairman of the NCC by that time, really did not want to know about Wales, did not want to notice Wales. He would acknowledge us from time to time but really his agenda was in England. It was awkward for him when we started to take a different point of view, because that increased his problems in England”.

e) Section 21 Funding

The Inspectorate maintained that:

"The original aim of the Section 21 grant was pump priming in the context of developing something new that had not existed before”.

One respondent maintained that:

"The purpose of the Section 21 funding initially was to produce resources for teaching Welsh not for the payment of salaries which would take up much of the money”.

There was general agreement that Section 21 funding had facilitated initiatives which had brought about a good level of change and development particularly through the work of the Athrawon Bro. It had also facilitated students’ attendance at Welsh outdoor pursuits courses at the Urdd Gobaith Cymry camps at Glanllyn and Llangrannog.

PDAG voiced dissatisfaction about the level of support available to teachers in the classroom. He also claimed that there was a need for people to go into schools to ascertain teachers’ needs before producing the resources.
f) Parents
All respondents referred to the remarkable growth in Welsh-medium education. The PDAG respondent maintained that ‘the founding of the first Welsh school was a manifestation of self respect within the community for Welsh as a medium for education. He claimed that as more Welsh-medium schools were founded, the parents called for more provision. That, amongst other things, led to giving the language statutory status and accelerated the development of ‘Welshness’ generally.

“Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Welsh-medium schools used to be middle class institutions - Grammar Schools, through the back door. In the beginning they were attended by children of the elite. Welsh schools’ changed from appealing to a few to appealing to the whole society once the working class of the Rhondda Valleys began supporting them. Although the parents had lost the language, they wanted their children to benefit from a Welsh-medium education”.

g) Welsh Joint Education Committee (WJEC)

“The WJEC was a convenient unit within Wales. It was the foundation for everything. The WJEC have supported the slow work in the direction of bilingualism for half a century”.

h) Cymdeithas yr Iaith (The Welsh Language Society)
PDAG expressed a strong view about Cymdeithas yr Iaith’s contribution towards the development of the distinct National Curriculum of Wales.

“We have our language and people have been prepared to suffer and struggle to maintain it”.

i) Menter Cwm Gwendraeth a Thaf Elai
(Vale of Gwendraeth and Taff Ely Welsh Language Projects)
The Staff Inspector described his perception of how the wheel has turned and this is the pitiful plight.

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The tragedy is that Welsh in the community has declined at the same time as awareness of the importance of Welshness in the educational system has increased. If the development of the Welsh dimension to the curriculum had happened when the local communities were busy
cultural entities, they would have sustained each other. Now, the
problem is that both trends are running at cross purposes with each
other instead of running parallel. If the development of the Welsh
dimension to the curriculum had happened when the local communities were busy cultural entities, they would have sustained each other”.

He claimed that Menter Cwm Guendraeth and Menter Taf Elai were projects which had been formed to counteract the existence of Welshness as something confined to school. He said:

“Children are taught through the medium of Welsh, studying their subjects through the medium of Welsh and then they go out through the door and they socialise in English”.

3. Educational Power Bases

3.1 Whose Schools?

Only one interviewee considered that the schools belonged to the British Government. The following comments illustrate the views of the 4 respondents who described the schools as belonging to the Welsh nation:

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Even if the Welsh Office chooses to follow England - and it may well do for political reasons - in all sorts of ways the situation is very different from 10 years ago.

If you compare 1996 with 1986 especially to the extent that the Welsh Office is responsible for all levels of education in the way it did not used to be, it is obvious that increasingly schools are becoming the Welsh nation’s schools. This reflects the work of CCW and there is a general ground swell of opinion that we want a separate system and CCW was a vehicle for that. We are all working in the same direction of Wales creating its own system and gradually bit by bit distancing ourselves from things in England”.

Two interpreted the question in a different way by stating that schools belonging to parents as consumers and children as pupils. The following selection illustrate their views:
"Welsh Office
Schools are there to serve the pupils and their parents. They must meet the needs of the consumers - the parents - who must have maximum choice in the schooling of their children”.

“Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Schools are the children’s schools. We must concentrate on the needs of the children and the young people. It is vitally important that children come out of our schools at 16 and 19 with the necessary skills and knowledge to enable them to face the world as adults wherever their (and our) loyalties lie”.

3.2 Current Power Bases
86% of the respondents expressed the view that the small size of the country facilitated an atmosphere where different points of view were tolerated and respected because everyone already knew each other. One claimed that:

“That airing of views and the fair hearing ensures that we have a balanced viewpoint in Wales”.

When asked to identify the power base in education in Wales, interviewees responded as tabulated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (ACAC)</th>
<th>100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Welsh Office</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Schools</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Local Education Authorities</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>The British Government</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Welsh Language Board</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>The Inspectorate</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Colleges of Education</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a) Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (ACAC)
All interviewees stated that as a statutory body responsible for the National Curriculum and its assessment in Wales, ACAC had a great deal of power. One added *it depends now what they do with it*. One respondent stressed the importance of organisations like CCW and ACAC because their role helped to stimulate the system as well as monitoring and operating it.

Most respondents urged ACAC to use its power, influence and resources to the utmost to promote the *Curriculum Cymreig* now that it has reached statutory status. The following comments illustrate how interviewees interpreted ACAC's position in the education system in Wales:

"**Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru**
Since April 1st, 1994 ACAC has control over four national functions under one roof - curriculum, assessment, examinations and commissioning. At the end of the day ACAC is the most influential body over education in Wales. ACAC is a partnership, not really a Super Power in Cardiff ruling everything! ACAC is a partnership between the Welsh Office and the Inspectorate in Wales in laying down the statutory foundations to ensure that we move forward in the curriculum and assessment processes. ACAC is in a pretty powerful, influential position in Wales to move things forward".

"**Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector**
It is ACAC's responsibility to ensure that the awareness of the Curriculum Cymreig develops. It also has to ensure that the necessary support materials are available for schools.

SCAA used to decide whether the WJEC's syllabus for each subject was acceptable or not. Now that responsibility has been transferred to ACAC too".

"**Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)**
The Government has never been prepared to announce - and even the Minister for Welsh Affairs (and Education) has been unable to announce categorically - that SCAA's assessment and examination role was transferred to ACAC from the 1st of April, 1995 and that all this responsibility lies in Wales now.

The educational system in Wales has succeeded in convincing the Cabinet in London that all public examinations in Wales should be in the hands of their own examinations body, namely ACAC".
b) Welsh Office

Most respondents perceived the true power base for education in Wales to be the Welsh Office. 28% of the sample referred to the Welsh Office's freedom to decide the extent by which developments in Wales differ from those in England. Comments illustrate respondents' points of view further:

“Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
At the moment, the Welsh Office has a great deal of power. On the whole, they have never hindered developments. They are not as enthusiastic as I am, obviously - there is always a sort of cautionary air about civil servants - but certainly they have promoted a number of developments and promoted goodwill.

The Welsh Office is not overly enthusiastic in its use of its power to be different because by tradition civil servants want to proceed in the same way as England. There is always a sort of cautionary air about them and a reluctance to diversify. Freedom to diversify is used only exceptionally and as long as there is a strong argument and obvious value to it”.

Two interviewees claimed that the Wales's first policy for education - the Bright Future series - had brought with it added power to the Welsh Office. Selected comments illustrate this point further:

“Welsh Office
The education system in Wales is independent in terms of administration although it has to follow Central Government policies”.

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
At the moment, the Welsh Office has a great deal of power”.

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
On the whole, the Welsh Office has never hindered developments and staff have promoted goodwill. Legally, the Welsh Office has absolute responsibility for monitoring education in Wales. By now this includes universities because the Welsh Office now have their own Funding Council for Further Education, Funding Council for Higher Education and funding for teacher training”.

“Welsh Language Board
The government promotes a certain policy like the Nursery Voucher System and tries to implement it in Wales but it does not work because the needs and the education patterns in each country are different”.
c) Schools
Two interviewees stated that the power to influence is gradually returning to the classrooms. One said that there were encouraging signs of teachers in schools regaining power after a period of feeling so overwhelmed by the need to implement all the changes. However, the other maintained that, reclaiming responsibility and control over the curriculum is very patchy from school to school and depends largely on professional confidence:

"Welsh Office
Schools have more power over their own budgets and they have more freedom in the admissions system”.

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Headteachers and governors are more powerful in running their own affairs.

If every school developed to its potential, education in Wales would be transformed overnight and this is the very influence which is needed”.

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Increased influence and power has been put in the hands of the headteacher and governors and it is rightly placed - where the work is done. Schools will definitely not be given less responsibility in the future. The more responsibility and power schools have the better - but the crucial question in all this is what happens afterwards.

The Chief Inspector of Schools in Wales said in his annual report that there is considerable potential in individual schools which has not yet been released. If every school developed to its potential, education in Wales would be transformed overnight and this is the very influence which is needed”.

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
Education provided in the schools has to be in accordance with parents’ wishes. During the last half century, the parents have increasingly chosen Welsh-medium education. Central Government does not provide the protection of extra funding to Welsh-medium schools, each has to operate under the same financial formula”.

d) Local Education Authorities
On the whole, respondents agreed that LEA influence in the past has been positive and they have been responsible for most of the promising developments such as:
• creating the Athrawon Bro structure:
• supplying schools with resources to teach Welsh; and
• founding the Welsh schools.

They agreed that although they still hold some power even now with their new look following local government organisation that their role is diminishing because much responsibility has been removed from them and delegated to schools.

e) Parents
The Welsh Office maintained that parents hold the most power because schools are accountable to them for the education they provide and because parents have the choice. Therefore, education provided in the schools has to be in accordance with the wishes of the parents. PDAG stated that parents have chosen Welsh-medium education increasingly during the last half century.

f) The British Government
PDAG claimed that:

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
The British Government are all powerful because they refuse to legislate in favour of the Welsh language. They still insist on offering choice for everyone. They know that the Welsh people will, as usual, choose bilingualism. When English is in the question, the government know that there is no choice, because parents see English as the language of success. It is a complete cycle back to O M Edwards's time in school. Nothing has changed".

g) Welsh Language Board
The Welsh Language Board describe themselves as relative latecomers, then interpreted their role as supplementing the educational service rather than delivering in the mainstream. The Chairman claimed that the Board:

"Takes a wide overview of how all the agencies in the field facilitate the aims of the Welsh language policy and of its delivery and becomes directly involved in the education service through our work with Athrawon Bro".
The Chairman stated that in the future the Board will facilitate the development of the Athrawon Bro service and use the Board’s influential position in the education arena.

h) The Inspectorate
The general opinion was that the Inspectorate have led the way to many developments and that their lead has been accepted and valued because it has always been based on first hand evidence. The way in which they described their role is illustrated by the following selection of comments:

“Awdur Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
HMI especially in Wales have always had influence and power. They have led the way to many developments. The lead has been accepted and valued because it has always been based on first hand evidence. In the end, the degree of the Inspectorate’s influence depends on its knowledge of schools and their workings.

No other body has such access to this information and no-one else really knows what is happening in our schools across the country. LEA advisers know their own schools but inspectors have an overview of schools across Wales. If the Inspectorate is to survive it must not lose this foundation, its principles and theories. If they lose this wealth of experience it will lose influence. The Inspectorate is living on a stock and a store of information which is diminishing and dying. Hopefully, Wales will not follow England’s situation where they have cut HMI down to a very small number. They almost never go out to schools - only to fill gaps in inspection teams. Their influence on Central Government and their influence on schools is bound to be seriously diminished.

The Inspectorate had influence on the Welsh Office. Ministers did not know what was going on in schools so they depended entirely on HMI as an independent body to inform them. The Welsh Office did not always listen to LEA advisers because they did not believe them to be sufficiently objective. They felt that advisers’ local interests could cloud their views. They always thought that local advisers had something to gain from giving a particular viewpoint. The Inspectorate in Wales still has a lot of influence. It is very important to take great care of that influence and to value it in order to be sure that the information about schools is as reliable and as strong as it always has been. It just would not have been possible for the Inspectorate to air the kinds of ideas they have aired in the past if they had not have been securely founded on what was happening in the classrooms”.
i) Colleges of Education

"Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector

The teacher trainers are key people in the system. Colleges of education have a very influential role to play which is often ignored and there is plenty of opportunity for each student to learn Welsh Second language - It's not compulsory but 60% of the students choose to do this and eventually this will be a very strong influence on the situation. It is good to see the Curriculum Cymreig in the context of what they do but teacher training for Welsh speaking teachers needs to be much more rigorous".

4. Distinctiveness of the National Curriculum in Wales: The Curriculum Cymreig

4.1 Interpretations

ACAC's Chief Executive stated that it had been tricky to find a correct, short definition that could be put forward in the new Orders in a sentence and a half of statutory language. Interviewees interpreted the Curriculum Cymreig as encompassing the following four aspects:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a)</th>
<th>Welsh First and Welsh Second language</th>
<th>100%</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Separate Orders in history, geography, music and art</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>A Welsh dimension in all other subjects</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>Economic and technological developments</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- General Interpretation

Although there was general agreement relating to the broad area encompassed by the Curriculum Cymreig, all but the Minister of State for Education stated that defining it in real terms was difficult. Respondents' definitions lacked consistency and tended to emphasise different aspects for instance:

208
The Curriculum Cymreig should:

"Reflect the historical and geographical aspects of Wales";

"Concentrate on the country’s latest economic and technological developments";

"Ensure a strong Welsh dimension in the learning contexts, for instance in the choice of literature and themes in English".

One respondent expressed interest in the fact that:

"When England tries to develop a notion of an English dimension in schools that it becomes highly controversial. Yet in Wales, it has been largely regarded as a positive thing because it illustrates that we are creating our own curriculum, not just picking up bits of legislation which happen to be different".

Most agreed with the statement that:

"The different language and cultural dimensions of the National Curriculum are getting to be more and more in line with what makes us different as a nation - our environment, our history and especially our geographical aspects".

Most interviewees referred to the outline of the Curriculum Cymreig offered in the The Whole Curriculum - 5-16 in Wales (CCW, 1991) where it was described as a reflection of the community, the language, or of something Welsh and could be interpreted as:

- the language;
- the specific subject Orders for Wales;
- the climate one gets from living in Wales.

- **General definitions**

The following comments are representative of the views put forward on this aspect of the study:

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseyu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector

The curriculum in Wales is unique in that we have Welsh aspects to every subject as well as four separate Orders and the Welsh language Orders. It touches every aspect of life in Wales in 1995. Perhaps we will have to reassess its importance when we reach the end of the century. However, for now it reflects the way Wales has moved from the beginning to the end of the 90s".
" *Welsh Language Board*

The Curriculum Cymreig is formally and officially Welsh First and Welsh Second language with different Orders for four subjects that give a specific Welsh emphasis. It is possible for the Curriculum Cymreig to hold a very strong position in the other five or six subjects as well”.

• **Differences**

" *Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru*

The Curriculum Cymreig will be totally different in every school. This is the one thing that you cannot ensure consistency in. There are common elements even when the actual content is different. So although the teaching profession know they have to present the Curriculum Cymreig, there is an immense degree of flexibility to interpret it in the local context. Every school is going to be different. The Curriculum Cymreig develops within the subjects. As it is easy to skirt across the surface, ACAC have drawn teachers' attention to the need to refer to local expertise - mathematicians, scientists, artists, musicians and so on”.

" *Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council*

Any curriculum, whether you design it to be so or not, reflects the culture of the people who are participating in it - both those who are teaching it and those who are learning it. A distinctive Curriculum Cymreig can be totally different in any one school and in any one community. The Welshness of schools in Wales will depend on teacher expertise and enthusiasm and on the varying degrees of Welshness in the communities”.

a) **Welsh First and Welsh Second Language**

" *Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector*

Welsh First language and Welsh Second language is the foundation to the whole process. The key to the whole thing is that Welsh is taught to just about every child in Wales. The existence of the Welsh language and its official Orders changes the scene entirely. Now we have a first language that everyone accepts”.

" *Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector*

There are examples of parents choosing a Welsh-medium education for their children even though as a family they are totally English speaking. We also see the children leaving the school as fluent Welsh speakers. That extends the horizons of how we interpret Welsh-medium education.
Two things need to be considered together, firstly, the language across the curriculum and secondly the development of specific language skills in English and in Welsh. The existence of Welsh First and Welsh Second language steers the whole thing. Welsh as a core subject has to be taught in every Welsh-medium school and it has to be taught as a second language in every other school in Wales.

b) Separate Orders in History, Geography, Music & Art

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The requirement of Welsh history, Welsh geography, Welsh art and Welsh music ensures that schools in Wales work in a different context from a different statutory base."

c) A Welsh Dimension in all Other Subjects

"Awdurdod Curricwlum ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Curriculum Cymreig must never become 'Welsh Studies'. Usually, that is an excuse to scrape the surface and to give a mere taste as in European or French studies. There is no depth to it, no standards and no quality. We must avoid playing about with surface elements and ending up by providing the mere minimum - a drop of ink in water.

The Curriculum Cymreig is much deeper, much more serious, and much more complicated than that. It is more than just the past and more than just a locality. There is a need to impose it/then it will blossom in the light of our success in implementing the National Curriculum in Wales."

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The Curriculum Cymreig is different in Gwent and Gwynedd and from one school to another."

d) Economic and Technological Development

"Welsh Office
Children must learn about the industrial revolution in Wales and about the place of its industry in the country's development. The country would not be as it is now but for the South Wales coalfield. This understanding is essential for pupils' future success in education, training and employment."
Our education in Wales must be involved with the whole of learning and enterprise and with support for the Welsh economy. We face strong competition in world markets. We must equip our children to face it with knowledge and confidence.

Success in the rapidly changing world in which our children will have to live is about understanding the world of work, developing strength of character and learning to work as part of a team”.

4.2 Status
Almost all interviewees considered it to be remarkable that the Curriculum Cymreig had developed to statutory status. They agreed that the foundations had been laid and the important things done.

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The important things have been done. The Curriculum Cymreig has been accepted and acknowledged as an important part of the curriculum”.

However, most interviewees also agreed that there was now a need to extend and emphasise the Curriculum Cymreig further. One said that past questions about its existence, its nature and its relation to the National Curriculum had been addressed and agreed. One respondent stated that he found it unbelievable that the important step of making the Welsh language statutory should come from a Tory government in England. He recalled how previously, it was necessary to justify teaching the language but since September 1995, no justification is necessary because it is compulsory. Before this, some parents avoided it completely by moving their child from place to place. The following selected comments illustrate interviewee response to a statutory Curriculum Cymreig:

- Common Requirements for Each Subject

“Awdurdod Curricwlum ac Asesu Cymru
The 1995 revision made the Curriculum Cymreig a statutory requirement for the first time. Sure, it was only a sentence in the introductory bit, but it is not something that a school just thinks about if it wants to - it actually is a legal requirement. Since 1995, the National Curriculum makes the Curriculum Cymreig clear, definite and statutory for the first time. It had been discussed previously but
this is the first statutory recognition ever that such a thing exists in every subject. The statement appears in the Common Requirements section of every subject in the curriculum in both the Welsh and English statutory Orders.

The Curriculum Cymreig
In Wales, pupils should be given opportunities, where appropriate, in their study of (every subject) to develop and apply their knowledge and understanding of the cultural, economic, environmental, historical and linguistic characteristics of Wales (Common Requirements National Curriculum, 1995).

It is sufficiently definite to mark that it has to be done and it's sufficiently flexible to be interpreted by the professional. This statutory statement means that it is permissing, not prescripting - meaning that teachers should introduce the Welsh dimension in their teaching 'as appropriate'. For the first time ever it has been recognised in every subject including mathematics. The idea was put up to SCAA and they had no objection to it at all.

So teachers can draw their own examples not from London, not from Europe but from their own particular locality - for instance the Conwy tunnel which is unique in the whole of Europe.

The trick was to find a correct definition that was very short and could be put forward in statutory language and which could be summarised in about a sentence and a half (and I wrote it). It has captivated its exact position. It is statutory, but allows for considerable flexibility. This enables teachers to present examples not only from England or Europe but from their own community”.

“Welsh Language Board
Who would believe that Welsh and Welsh aspects would ever be statutory! My goodness, we have come a long way! It is interesting that the Curriculum Cymreig has found its way into the National Curriculum in the first place. Now it has a very significant place in it - almost as though it steers everything. That is what it is supposed to do”.

“Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
This statement is of crucial importance in the history of the development of the Curriculum Cymreig. This gives teachers an opportunity to develop ideas in their own way. In Wales, a third of the schools operate through the medium of Welsh and the official English SATs are not operative in our Welsh-medium infants schools”.

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• **Genuine or nominal status?**

Although all interviewees welcomed the statutory status of the *Curriculum Cymreig*, a few suggesting that the following situations may be indicators that its 'statutory status' may not be as meaningful as it seems. Their comments fell into the four categories tabulated below:

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<tr>
<td>a)</td>
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<td>c)</td>
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<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>Lack of teacher familiarisation</td>
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**a) No Obligatory Status at Key Stage 4**

*Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)*

"Where is the status? If Welsh is not statutory in Key Stage 4 then that's the end of the whole thing. Only examinations count - this is the policy that determines what is taught. Very soon, Key Stage 3 will follow because secondary schools regard their work as a preparation towards examinations especially now when results are published in league tables.

In Key Stage 3 and 4 great emphasis is now put on science, technology, mathematics and physical education. Welsh is optional by now. Since Dearing, they have cut down the Cwricwlwm Cymreig in Key Stage 4 by making everything which is different in Wales non-obligatory”.

**b) Choice of Examination Boards**

*Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)*

"Pupils in Key Stage 4 do not have to follow the Curriculum Cymreig but they do have to have Welsh language provision.

A choice of exam boards at Key Stage 4 undermines its status. You really cannot impose it when there is a choice of Examination Boards. When you include it in the curriculum and it comes within the GCSE syllabus, then you compel people to do it - only then does it have true status."
Even some Welsh-medium secondary schools choose English Examination Boards which have the same status as the WJEC. They then teach the English National Curriculum in preparation for the examinations.

Until now, the Welsh Joint Education Committee provided all the examinations for the whole education system in Wales. Now, the matter is no longer in their hands, it is in the hands of ACAC and SCAA, London. By now, the WJEC cannot be an official Welsh examination board because they are on the shelf like all the others. Schools either choose for or against them. They are in the market and they are a very, very small board”.

c) Insufficient Status in the Inspection Framework

" Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG) Presently the Curriculum Cymreig is given a token mention on the front page of the Inspection Framework and a token reference in the introduction to the subjects section. It is given insufficient status and is a sort of ‘add on’ factor to what is common to every subject”.

d) Lack of Teacher Familiarisation

" Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru The next question to be addressed has to be how the teaching profession is going to develop the Curriculum Cymreig within this statutory statement. It will take time for teachers to come to terms with the concept. For the first year they will concentrate on developing the statement on the introductory page to each subject without really realising that it is the absolute foundation to it all”.

4.3 Strategies for Ensuring Delivery

Most interviewees contributed to the theory that there is no formula or framework in existence to ensure the effective delivery of the Curriculum Cymreig in the schools in Wales. One respondent said:

" Its development will depend as ever, on whether those in schools which are interested in it and those organisations who believe in it wish to give it some priority and give further impetus to its development”.

The following seven factors were identified by interviewees as methods which went some way in ensuring a measure of delivery:
• Methods of Ensuring Delivery: National Level

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<td>d)</td>
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<td>g)</td>
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a) **OHMCI Inspection Framework Emphasis**

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The present Inspection Framework does not give sufficient status to the Curriculum Cymreig. The new Orders and the new Inspection Framework ensure that it is given a more prominent place. The message is that it must be acted upon. This makes schools aware of the fact that they (staff and governors) are going to have to answer as a school on how it is being delivered. This is a way of ensuring that it will be implemented. The question is how?"

b) **Funding - Positive Discrimination**

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
More attention needs to be brought to it and more emphasis placed upon it. There has to be positive discrimination on a national level. Without funding, its delivery can never be ensured. If it is deemed important, then funding must be allocated to enable schools to do it. Presently, it is not a priority."

c) **Compulsion**

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Ensuring that everyone takes part throughout by learning Welsh as a mother tongue or Welsh Second language is a means of acknowledging the language's place in the curriculum in Wales and in the life of the nation generally."
“Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
Without making it statutory in all key stages its delivery can never be ensured”.

d) Statutory Status in for Welsh in Key Stage 4 in 1999

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Statutory status in for Welsh Key Stage 4 will be re-gained in 1999. The reason for the delay until 1999 is that those will be the only children who will have been taught National Curriculum from when it was first introduced all through their primary and secondary school education”.

“Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Until they started playing about with it and ceasing to make it compulsory at Key Stage 4, it was compulsory throughout the system. Hopefully, there will be no hitch in 1999 and it will return”.

“Welsh Language Board
Welsh will be compulsory at Key Stage 4 in 1999. We are right on target to reach that. After that, the Welsh language provision in schools will increase annually. That’s the idea, that you present it gradually. In 1999 you’ll have children who were at statutory school age when the National Curriculum started who will have been through their primary and secondary school education by 1999”.

e) Choice of Subjects at Key Stage 4

“Welsh Office
Clearly, pupils - by the time they reach Key Stage 4 - have had a good grounding in the National Curriculum of Wales. By then they must be given the chance to follow their own interests and no restriction should be made on that”.

“Welsh Language Board
It is up to the education bodies and the examination boards - and the Welsh Joint Education Committee amongst them - to respond to the market and to the challenge by ensuring interesting provision. Schools in England should consider offering Welsh studies as a choice - it would be an interesting added dimension”.

f) ACAC Influence

“Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
ACAC is in a position of influence - the will is there but these are the early days yet”.

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g) Assessment as a Change Agent

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The quickest way to influence and change practice is through assessment and that is happening through the SATs and GCSEs".

4.4 School Support
The Minister of State for Education stated that delivery is a matter for teachers to consider. Whereas most interviewees acknowledged that although many different support systems for delivery were in existence the support available for implementation was insufficient. They identified nine support systems as tabulated below:

- **National Support Systems**

  | (a)  | Targeted funding |
  | (b)  | Teacher support materials |
  | (c)  | Teacher training |
  | (d)  | Educational leadership of advisory staff |
  | (e)  | Support network |
  | (f)  | National representation of teacher needs |
  | (g)  | Discretionary time |
  | (h)  | Examples and models of good practice |
  | (i)  | Positive attitude towards teachers |

a) **Targeted funding**
Grants for Education and Support of Teachers (GEST)

"Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The allocation of GEST funding is a conscious attempt by the Government to connect funding to curriculum development. By now, the only funding that is left in the Welsh Office is the funding that goes centrally to the LEAs and to GEST funding".
" Office for Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The use of the funding and the quality of the In-service provided varies from county to county. The Welsh Office target weak areas with the aim of raising national standards and strengthening weaknesses in the system. It has happened to some degree. A high percentage of funding has been allocated towards non-Welsh-speaking teachers when they start teaching. INSET has been good - it has given the teachers language and methodology”.

- Section 21 Funding

" Office for Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Initiatives for developing Welsh Second language like the Athrawon Bro service, Welsh language centres, Glanllyn and Llangrannog are funded through Section 21”.

" Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
To promote the learning of the language, PDAG financed multi-media projects (videos, tapes, computer discs, board games, workbooks, posters, books, teachers' notes) like 'Clwb Clebran' and 'Parablu' (TV programme for Key Stage 1 and 2 Welsh learners) by means of Section 21 funding”.

b) Teacher Support Materials

" Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
It is common sense to be flexible in order to use funds effectively”.

" Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
If teachers are to meet the demands of the curriculum, they have to have appropriate resources”.

- ACAC tendering process

" Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
We have commissioned Welsh-medium and bilingual classroom-material to aid the teaching of Welsh as a language, the teaching of other subjects through the medium of Welsh, and to support other aspects of the Curriculum Cymreig. We have commissioned a series of books for GNVQ on caring and on tourism, for instance. Obviously, part of each specification has to include the Welsh elements and the Welsh agencies.

We in ACAC must always remember that at the end of the day it is our business is to raise standards and to broaden opportunities in school for our children in Wales. Without this there is no point in having the Curriculum Cymreig”.

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• **Previous assessment material as future curriculum material**

  "Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
  Materials can be used to promote assessment in Key Stage 1 and then
  used to promote change through becoming curriculum material for
  everyone".

• **Lack of materials**

  "Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
  Agencies used to work through each other to identify the needs of
teachers in the classroom. Now, there is insufficient material to
support teachers in implementing the National Curriculum in the
way they need".

c) **Teacher Training**

  "Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
  It is necessary to send those who do not speak Welsh on courses. Most
have responded favourably and training has been a success at Key
Stage 1. The Welsh Office provide specific funding for improving
teachers' language to enable them to deliver National Curriculum
requirements.

  **Gwent**
  Gwent defined their Welsh Second language targets then prioritised
the funding and structured the process very tightly. Training by
Athrawon Bro and implementation by non Welsh-speaking teachers
was staggered across the county. They started from nothing and
managed central funding excellently to produce miraculous results.

  **Gwynedd**
  "Welsh Language Board
  The Gwynedd structure of withdrawing teachers from school for a
period to improve their Welsh to enable them to provide the
appropriate level of language was also successful".

d) **Educational Leadership of Advisory Staff**

  "Welsh Language Development Committee (PDAG)
  People who support and advise teachers, inspect schools and write
policies are generally far too removed from the classroom to be able to
help teachers adequately. They have lost sight of the needs of
classroom teachers because it is so long since they were in the
classroom themselves. The main weakness is the lack of organic link
between the centre, the authority and the classroom teachers".
e) Support Network

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
There is opportunity for OHMCI and ACAC to take advantage of the Welsh educational network to support schools. Wales is in an advantageous position because the education process is free of political influence.

We always come back to the good relationships we have between everyone involved in the education process in Wales. Its a relationship to develop - we started that way, and clearly we need to develop further along the same track. ACAC's good relationship with teacher unions, Local Education Authorities, teacher trainers, and most importantly between us and the schools - schools individually - is vital.

The national network together - with the new structure founded on a statutory process - can only spell development. Schools will need more support. One thing that has ensured the success of the CCW's work from the beginning is their closeness to the schools in Wales. People just pick up the phone and come through directly to top staff here. It's a very healthy position for any national authority to be in if they want to move forward - a relationship which keeps the lines of communication direct and open".

f) National Representation of Teacher Needs

"Welsh Language Board
I try at least once every six weeks to go to schools and colleges to get some direct feedback about how things are going. The Welsh Language Board's education panel consist of people who work specifically in the field. Our officers are in constant contact with teachers, with bodies who represent them, and with the LEAs so that we continually have feedback".

g) Discretionary Time

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Authority
The basic principle of the review was to slim the curriculum to what was compulsory and to give discretionary time to the teaching profession to develop professionally by deciding what they wanted to do in addition to what was necessary".

h) Examples and Models of Good Practice

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
There was a good number of examples of good practice in each of the
first subject Orders which made the documents thick and weighty. When the examples are taken away you have to depend on teacher professionalism to feed into the bare bones of the Orders. The Curriculum Cymreig Advisory Paper is available in every school. It gives examples of how the Curriculum Cymreig should be adopted”.

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Authority
Many teachers need definite National Curriculum-referenced examples and they plead for ‘on a plate’ materials”.

j) Positive Attitude Towards Teachers

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The Welsh Chief Inspector’s annual report is very different in tone from that of his counterpart in England. He is trying to support rather than criticise teachers in their period of reconsidering things. The kind of comments made in England about teachers and where schools are now are pretty negative”.

5. Predicted Future Developments
5.1 National Level: General Perceptions
Interviewees echoed the viewpoint that the remarkable successes of the past years were built on the goodwill, enjoyment and commitment of children and their parents. One respondent said that:

“The positive developments show that the tide has begun to turn, and this will totally change the curriculum in Wales and place the Curriculum Cymreig in a totally different light”.

The following selected comments illustrate the identified major successes:

“Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
If we teach Welsh Second language successfully - and that’s what the National Curriculum tells us to do - the implications are enormous. That’s why the stiff requirements for Welsh Second language have been retained despite arguments and disagreements about whether they are obtainable or not. It is imperative that we keep the aims and objectives relating to Welsh Second language as high as possible whilst ensuring that they are attainable by supporting teachers in their delivery.
The development of Welsh-medium schools in unlikely areas and in difficult situations has been remarkable. The success of learning Welsh in Gwent - an area previously thought of as impossible and a task totally impractical - have been amazing, particularly in the primary sector.

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examination and Assessment Council
Compulsory status has been given to Welsh in the National Curriculum and accepted very seriously - when previously, inconsistency was a problem."

Interviewees identified the following five issues for future development:

- **Issues for Further Developments**

<table>
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<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>a) Return of the Welsh culture</td>
<td>86%</td>
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<tr>
<td>b) Clear and full description of the <em>Curriculum Cymreig</em></td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) A more distinct national curriculum for Wales</td>
<td>86%</td>
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<tr>
<td>d) Role of Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth)</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>e) Re-opening of a wider debate</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>f) An independent education system</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>g) Welsh Assembly</td>
<td>14%</td>
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<tr>
<td>h) Role of independent inspectors</td>
<td>14%</td>
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- **Return of the Welsh Culture**

Some respondents maintained that *success at Key Stage 4 will mean immense basic changes in the education system and in the curriculum in Wales.* The following additional comments were offered:

"Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Once children are able to communicate in two languages we will be talking about the *Curriculum Cymreig* in a very different light. Welsh will return to the system in Wales and that will completely change what we mean now by the term *Curriculum Cymreig.* It is possible to
have two streams working side by side because when the Welsh language is taught effectively as a second language it is possible to consider it as a medium for teaching other subjects as well.

Once an area loses its language it loses everything else which is connected to it - the chapel and the whole culture which is connected to traditions and local heritage. If Welsh is revived effectively and successfully in the schools it will not be the only element to develop because everything else will return alongside it - all that was lost will return”.

b) Clear and Full Description of the Curriculum Cymreig
86% of the respondents stressed the importance of a definite description of the Curriculum Cymreig in every subject. The following comments illustrate this further:

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Some teachers have sufficient knowledge of their country and function confidently and efficiently in the context of their own locality and in a wider context. To have a statutory statement at the beginning of every subject is a very big step in the establishment of the Curriculum Cymreig because it establishes its importance. It is up to the teachers to interpret it and the Orders generally and to develop these within their own localities.

Some teachers understand the concepts of the Curriculum Cymreig and have expertise in art and music - but these teachers are few in number. We will have to see now how the profession develops the Curriculum Cymreig - then perhaps we will revisit it sometime to research the best practice and collect and present ideas to schools”.

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Other teachers need to be supported and need access to this kind of expertise and knowledge in order to deliver the requirements. So the Curriculum Cymreig has to be spelled out. There has to be expertise in art and music and that has to be developed”.

c) A More Distinct National Curriculum for Wales

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The Welsh dimension has the potential to be developed even further for the sake of the children of Wales. We do as well as they do England and we have the opportunity to show them that in Wales we can do two languages equally as well as they can do one”.

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"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The kind of philosophy and principles behind the English Orders was a bit of an embarrassment to us in Wales. I’m sure that most teachers would agree. We can reach the objectives laid down in the English Orders differently. We can be different, perhaps not in what we do, but in the way we do it. There is potential for us in Wales to operate the English Orders in a totally different way so that it matches our own situation better”.

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examination and Assessment Council
There should be an even greater difference in the Orders and the standards expected should be different too. General objectives cannot be reached fully. Philosophical, educational, historical and traditional arguments point to the need for an even greater difference between the Welsh and English curriculum”.

d) Role of Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth)
42% agreed that the Urdd should be more adventurous and more directly influential in developing the Curriculum Cymreig in schools, particularly through the Urdd Eisteddfod, their most influential vehicle on schools. Two agreed that the Urdd has a long tradition of doing excellent work under difficult circumstances. One said that although the Urdd is still an important element of work in schools in Wales, particularly in the Welsh-medium schools - the Urdd’s impact on future educational developments is questionable. Another said that its influence is marginal and that it is pulling schools in the wrong direction doubting particularly through competitive activities in art and music. The interviewees generally agreed with the principle that:

"The Urdd needs to respond sharply to school needs in order to influence schools to move onward particularly in the context of the Curriculum Cymreig. This means that the Urdd will have to provide something more regular and more contemporary than the Eisteddfod”.

Additional comments were as follows:

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Urdd is far too removed from the mainstream of education and is insufficiently aware of what goes on in education to be influential.
The Urdd have taken on very few changes compared to what schools have had to respond to. In the last ten years it has become a completely different ballgame for schools - a totally different world. The Urdd’s response to change is too slow to be influential - they are behind the times. The Eisteddfod is a very important aspect of school life - but that is only a week or so and activities are moving further away from the Curriculum Cymreig.

How knowledgeable is the Urdd of what is happening in our schools today? How are they adapting to all this?”

e) Re-opening of a Wider Debate

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The National Curriculum in Wales should be much more obvious in its differences than it is now. We have the potential to offer a curriculum which is much more relevant to the children who live in Wales and which at the same time, prepares them for the wider world beyond”.

“Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
One of the things I would most like to see is the reopening of the wider debate about the kind of curriculum we have. We are having to work through a National Curriculum that we have to live with, whether we like it or not.

We in Wales have not been very good in the education debate because we’ve been too busy coping with the 1988 Education Act. Everybody has had to think in those terms since the 1998 Act. Although its going to be there for some time, it is not going to be there for ever. It is time for us to return to the issues we debated before 1988 when we used to talk about what kind of curriculum we should have and how we could organise it. Until we have a healthy debate involving not just education professionals but also the wider public, we will not have the momentum to rethink it”.

f) An Independent Education System

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
On the whole, there are advantages in having an independent education system in Wales particularly as the curriculum as it is, is far too similar to the one in England.

The fact that we have accepted the English Orders - which are almost irrelevant for us in Wales - raises all kinds of problems for us
particularly in schools where they teach Welsh and English in parallel in Key Stage 2. The kind of philosophy and the kind of principles behind the English Orders are a bit of an embarrassment to us in Wales. This problem will deepen increasingly if we succeed in teaching Welsh Second language”.

One respondent said that the tragedy in Wales is that awareness of Welshness has developed too late because Welshness in society as a whole has weakened by now.

“ If the system and society could have been at one with each other 50 years ago when people spoke Welsh naturally and were taught in their mother tongue, success would have been guaranteed”.

“ Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The tragedy is that Welsh in the community has declined and awareness of the importance of language and culture in the system has increased. The system and society are now at cross purposes with each other instead of running parallel, this is now the problem. Have we realised in time? Who knows? Who would think that things would have developed in Gwent as they have done. I would have said ‘Well, forget Gwent, cut it off, let it go the other side of the border’ - but it has happened there, so it could happen anywhere!”

g) Welsh Assembly
One interviewee suggested that a Welsh Assembly would provide a democratic forum for education in Wales.

“ Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examination and Assessment Council
The unitary authorities provide the local-level organisational framework but it is still pretty cloudy as to what will happen at a national level. There has always been a tension between the Welsh Office, CCW and the WJEC because all three are all-Wales organisations with somewhat overlapping agendas, not necessarily agreeing with each other. If the Welsh Assembly was added to that complexity, it would not do the system much good. On the other hand, if the Assembly took on education as a serious concern guided by elected members’ policy, then we would have what we have been lacking - the democratic involvement in decision making on an all Wales policy. I have often felt that I would have loved to have been able to say to the Welsh Office, ‘Well you may think this but I wonder what the Assembly - which is responsible for policy for Wales - thinks about this as well?’

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We have got a number of different organisations in the centre in Wales. I think there is a weakness that comes from diffusion of responsibility even when the organisations co-operate. WJEC and ACAC are on good terms and work together with the Welsh Language Board and so on. This does not actually help very much because of a loose focus as to what the education system is trying to do. If it was set up properly, the Welsh Assembly would be that central focus and organisations like ACAC would be answerable to it”.

h) Role of Independent Inspectors
One OHMCI respondent claimed that the new independent inspectors should consider ways in which they could replace HMI’s valuable work of investigating attitudes and offering ways forward. He suggested that they use their valuable evidence and experience of schools to try to create and establish the same traditions as HMI did. Both respondents from the Inspectorate emphasised the importance of the Inspection Framework and Handbook of Guidance as a Bible or as a Book of Law in moving schools onwards. One stated that, it is a flexible framework which guides, supports and evaluates standards. Both considered the way in which inspections are done and the presentation of school inspection reports to be of vital importance in facilitating school development. A selection of their comments illustrate their point of view further:

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The inspection report is THE document which is put into the hands of the head, the governors and the parents. If it does not persuade the school to develop and grow then it is of no help to them at all. The head must be totally convinced that inspectors have come to grips with the school and that they have got an accurate picture of what they have succeeded to do, what they have failed to do and what the exact road forward is.

In skilful report-writing the key issues section should be superfluous because the way forward will have been presented in such a carefully constructed argument that any headteacher would know exactly what to do to move the school forward. There is a great danger in putting a summary of key issues at the end of a report because some people will just do those and tick them off.

Most things that need to be developed in the primary school are complicated and are closely interconnected. They are not the kinds of things which can be addressed through a simple tick list”.

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• National Curriculum Review

“Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The real power crunch will come with the next National Curriculum review. The post-Dearing implementation will supposedly have a 5 year monitoring period. But the crunch point for power - which way its taken, by whom - will be in 4 years time. There are some absolutely vital decisions to be taken about the nature of the reviewing process and whether it will be just a tinkering or something much more substantial. Then we will see how the land lies”.

5.2 Regional Level: Local Education Authority

There was a general view that although the role of the LEA was diminishing rapidly, the education departments within the new Unitary Authorities authorities will have fewer schools so they will be in a stronger position to do something. One said that, some of the old education authorities were enormous and perhaps they did not always have the time to pay sufficient attention to all aspects.

Many referred to the responsibility which the Welsh Office had placed upon the LEA’s in Bright Future: The Way Forward. Most agreed that the interpretation and development of the LEA role is up to the LEAs themselves.

“They must decide on their role in their community, decisions must be made locally. LEAs have to service the schools as they wish”.

43% stated that they hoped that LEA influence would continue although this may not be likely because responsibility has gone to the schools. Many agreed that LEA influence had been beneficial in the past and would not like to see this coming to an end. ACAC foresaw a stronger line of communication developing between ACAC and schools.

Interviewees identified five major roles for LEAs in future development in securing the implementation of the National Curriculum in Wales as tabulated:
LEA Role in Future Development

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<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Monitoring standards</td>
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<td>b</td>
<td>Assessment and audit moderation</td>
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<td>d</td>
<td>Awareness of school needs</td>
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<td>e</td>
<td>School support</td>
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The following selection of comments illustrate further the views expressed:

a) Monitoring standards

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
LEAs’ agendas will focus much more on monitoring standards whereas previously, they tended to be more concerned with looking after money. The same agenda will surface in every service - raising standards, cost effectiveness, promoting further developments, tackling underachievement”.

Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Authority
Their role has been outlined in Bright Future: the Way Forward. It will be up to each LEA to develop that in its own community. Their agenda will have to focus more on monitoring standards than it ever was before. They will have to concentrate on raising standards, value for money and how to attack under achievement. They will have fewer schools and that will be an advantage”.

b) Assessment and Audit Moderation

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
LEAs have helped the assessment process by making it much more straightforward but in future they may not have the right staff in the right places to take the appropriate action. The Welsh Office will ensure that the LEAs understand the assessment process and their exact role in it. LEAs will continue to coordinate audit moderation and ensure that results are sent to the Welsh Office”.

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c) Influence

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
LEAs will still have the power to influence and ensure positive developments”.

d) Awareness of School Needs

"Welsh Language Development Committee (PDAG)
LEAs know schools and their needs - and speak on their behalf.
Future developments will depend on the attitude of local authority staff, on finance and on the choices made by individual schools. Their survival will depend on the attitude of local authority staff, on finance and on the choices made by individual schools”.

e) School Support

"Welsh Language Development Committee (PDAG)
As a central service in developing Welsh Second language LEAs will be vital”.

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The LEA’s role in having advisers who can work with a group of schools is crucial”.

B. INSTITUTIONAL, DEPARTMENTAL & INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: PRACTITIONERS

6. Teacher Implementation

6.1 Monitoring

Most respondents considered progress in the Curriculum Cymreig to be a difficult element to monitor. The main reasons given was its lack of specificity (particularly in the common subjects) and its openness to local interpretation. There was general agreement that:

"The Curriculum Cymreig differs from area to area and so it has become something that is difficult to handle at a national level”.

"It is difficult to monitor on a national level because it is different in different parts of the country and in different schools”.

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All interviewees placed most of the responsibility for monitoring the Curriculum Cymreig on OHMCI and one claimed that its development will be hindered by its inadequate monitoring structure. The following comments are representative:

"Welsh Office
The Curriculum Cymreig is being tested, assessed and inspected rigorously".

"Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
We do not operate as a moderating body, we use information we get from the Inspectorate. The Inspectorate say that they will be observing very carefully how things develop for this first year. OHMCI are in the process of establishing a data base across Wales to incorporate every inspection report and its additional inspection information. They will feed all this information into a central data base under the different headings then they will come up with an exact picture of education in Wales. In our report on the curriculum that it is presented by key stages we address the Curriculum Cymreig and Welsh Second language. We used statistics provided by the Inspectorate. We depend on them".

"Welsh Language Board
If we want to know the standard of work of Athrawon Bro and its effect we ask the Inspectorate".

Most respondents were concerned that with the new pressures the Inspectorate might become less available and less dependable. Comments included:

"Welsh Language Board
The Inspectorate has been cut down substantially. Inspectors are no longer able to take on extra duties although that have agreed to do that. If we want to be informed about standards of work we tend to ask the Athrawon Bro because the Inspectorate is really under pressure now".

There were contrasting views relating to whether the Curriculum Cymreig was sufficiently addressed in the OHMCI Inspection Framework. One interviewee stated that there should be more discussion relating to the obligations of the Curriculum Cymreig from an inspector’s point of view. He claimed that independent inspectors need more direction and a clearer idea of
what to look for. Another viewpoint was that the Curriculum Cymreig was not only an inspection matter but should feature high on ACAC’s monitoring agenda. There was a strong opinion that:

“ If the Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales believes in it then it has to monitor it and continue to take appropriate action in relation to it”.

ACAC, on the other hand, considered it to be too early to be watchful as the new Orders have only been in place for 6 months. Their officers questioned how familiar schools could be expected to be with the new Orders in such a short period of time. They maintained that:

“ Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Schools should be given considerable time to incorporate the Curriculum Cymreig into their schemes of work and into their daily practice before they are challenged and questioned about its implementation. The main problem would be to find the right time to ask questions. Now is not the appropriate time. We should have some sort of overview of how schools are developing it in about a year”.

ACAC officers suggested methods that schools might adopt to familiarise themselves with the necessary elements of the Curriculum Cymreig in its first year as a statutory element in every subject.

“ Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
People during the first year will be turning to the elements in the actual Orders and using their professional skills to develop these first.

Then they will be turning their minds to the first general page proceeding each subject Order. They will not understand at first the importance of the underlying factors set out in that front page. It will take a good year before they realise the crucial importance of these issues”.

PDAG’s former Director believed that it is impossible to monitor progress adequately because each body has responsibility for coordinating its own monitoring strategies. The Chairman of the Welsh Language Board claimed that:

“ Welsh Language Board
We have the right to advise the Secretary of State on any matter we
think is pertinent to the position of the language. We are not slow in
doing that in the education field and in any other field for that matter.
We are supposed to express an opinion - not on the principal of the
thing but on its operation.

We monitor informally, and we give our opinion to the Welsh Office on
things that affect the Welsh language and the Welsh dimension like
Nursery vouchers and the new colleges. Sometimes we'll conduct a
general study for ourselves just to collect information”.

6.2 Delivery of Change
There was a consensus of opinion that the way in which the content of the
National Curriculum in Wales is taught is up to the teachers themselves.
However, OHMCI identified the following seven major areas which needed to
be improved.

- Areas for Improvement

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<td>a)</td>
<td>Acceptance</td>
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| b) | Ease of delivery  
   i) the primary sector  
   ii) the secondary sector |
| c) | Teachers' professional freedom  
   i) curriculum organisation  
   ii) teaching methods |
| d) | Teachers' ability to deliver the required level of Welsh language |
| e) | Teacher support |
| f) | Existing weaknesses exist in the links and liaison points |
| g) | Weakness in Key Stage 2  
   i) Years 3 and 4  
   ii) Years 5 and 6 |

The following sample of comments illustrate the main themes further:
a) Acceptance

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseasu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Curriculum Cymreig has been accepted. It has had a very warm welcome and people have hungered for it. The notion of the Curriculum Cymreig is a very basic one which has been accepted but not yet been developed because teachers have not truly realised the importance of the whole idea”.

b) Ease of delivery

i) The Primary Sector

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
It is more deliverable by the primary school particularly by one that believes in it. This is because the organisation of the curriculum is the school’s decision. They choose the focus and they choose the topics so it is much easier to deliver for them to deliver even given the pressures of delivering all the statutory Orders. Unless you have focus days or some kind of cross curricular initiative, then it is likely to be pretty marginal”.

ii) The Secondary Sector

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseasu Cymru
The general dilemma for secondary schools - even those who want to do this kind of work - is how much time and energy they can give to cross curricular initiatives of any kind. It is easier in the primary school, even given the pressures of delivering the statutory Orders”.

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Unless you have focus days or some kind of cross curricular initiative then it is likely to be pretty marginal”.

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The difficulty always with the secondary sector with anything that is not straight subject-teaching is whether it can be given sufficient weight to play a significant part in children’s learning”.

c) Teachers’ Professional Freedom

i) Curriculum Organisation

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseasu Cymru
The main purpose of the review was to cut down on the curriculum and offer more flexibility to teachers. So you expect them to be more
professional in building around the general Curriculum Cymreig statement. You have to depend on teachers' professional skills to develop the mere skeleton of it. In Welsh history as in everything else, they need to use local examples to confirm and support the Orders. The Curriculum Cymreig offers professional freedom because it is different in Newtown from what it is in Caernarfon. Teachers should now take the Orders and develop them within their own localities. There will be completely different slants to the work in Caernarfon compared to that in Carmarthen”.

ii) Teaching Methods

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseyu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Inspector
Teaching methods are something that teachers decide for themselves. Yet at the end of the day, the National Curriculum requirements determine and dictate the methods which are to be used in the classroom. In general, primary teachers in Wales use methods which work. They would not last a day if they used methods which were not suited to the children and not suited to the specific subjects they teach”.

d) Teachers’ Ability to Deliver the Required Level of Welsh Language

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseyu Cymru
Only a third of teachers in Wales speak Welsh. There is a great need for strong input for the rest in terms of training, courses, advice, materials. The system has to ensure that non Welsh-speaking teachers can keep up with the children and this is very questionable”.

e) Teacher Support

“Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
Teachers need support. They do not have the necessary materials to support them and there is no-one who understands their dilemma. The people who advise, inspect and write policies are far removed from the classroom. They have lost sight of teachers’ needs. There is now no-one who will respond to the true needs of teachers for materials and training”.

f) Existing Weaknesses in the Links and Liaison Points

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aseyu Cymru
There are secondary schools which continue to test children on entrance although the children have have just had national tests”. 

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“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Perhaps we will have to wait until the National Curriculum and its assessment has worked itself through the system before people start to really understand the connection between one key stage and the other. All the link points are weak points. The link between nursery and infants is better, because they tend to be in the same school. There is still a long way to go with the others and the link between Key stage 2 and 3 is particularly weak. Now that national assessment has reached Year 6 there is more hope that a consciousness of its true purpose will start to develop. Year 6 will soon realise that they are the important link between Key Stage 1 and Key Stage 3”.

g) Weakness in Key Stage 2

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Children get a good foundation in the nursery but do they not get a boost at the top. There is a weakness in Key Stage 2 for historical reasons and because assessment started at Key Stages 1 and 3, leaving them out. It is easier to raise standards in Key Stage 1 but the challenge is in Key Stage 2 because it is a long period and able children learn quickly. We tend to separate Key Stage 2 into two periods Year 3 and 4 on the one hand and Year 5 and 6 on the other, Year 3 and 4 is some kind of continuation of the infants and Year 5 and 6 a preparation for the secondary school. This theory needs to be developed”.

i) Y3 and Y4

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The assessment process tends to be at its weakest in Years 3 and 4 and this is where standards are at their weakest every time. Schools say that when they have less effective teachers, they place them in Year 3 and 4 because they do not want to put them at the top - they hide them in the middle”.

ii) Y5 and Y6

“Awdurdod Currcwlwm ac Aesu Cymru
Perhaps we will have to consider different methods, and introduce an element of specialisation certainly in Year 6 and perhaps even in Year 5”.

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
According to the Chief Inspector’s report this year, standards have improved in Year 5 and 6 as if schools have realised that the pupils are going to go to the secondary school”.

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6.3 Level of Improvement

A degree of satisfaction was expressed by all respondents in an *acceleration in the awareness of the Welsh language and an added appreciation of the Welsh culture in schools*. However, all but one interviewee claimed that Wales was *ready for further distinct development*. Most questioned the Welsh's nation's tame acceptance of *some kind of implant of another country* and a significant minority claimed that the rate of progress towards a truly distinctive Welsh Curriculum was unsatisfactory. Comments - though mostly positive - also had negative elements and are presented as such:

- **Positive comments: Improvements at National Level**

Interviewees' positive comments fell into the following nine main categories:

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<td>b)</td>
<td>Welsh dimension of National Curriculum content</td>
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<td>c)</td>
<td>Interesting interpretation of the <em>Curriculum Cymreig</em></td>
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<td>d)</td>
<td>Improved teaching methods</td>
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<td>e)</td>
<td>Raised standards</td>
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<td>f)</td>
<td>Context of teacher support materials</td>
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<td>g)</td>
<td>Developments in Gwent</td>
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<td>h)</td>
<td>Incentives for students to learn Welsh</td>
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<tr>
<td>i)</td>
<td>Fewer weak teachers</td>
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</table>

**a) General Attitude**

"*Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Aesu Cymru*

*There is a definite enthusiasm and readiness in teachers to develop the Curriculum Cymreig. ACAC is very aware of the Curriculum Cymreig in the commissioning process. Specifications state that the producers have to consider Welsh aspects and Welsh agencies in their work*."

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"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
When you compare the situation today with the situation twenty years ago, it is surprising that support exists to extend Welsh throughout the education system like this. The wheel has turned completely and attitudes have changed. We have moved very far in the right direction and In Service training for teachers has enabled this to happen”.

"Welsh Language Board
The Education Reform Act of 1988 moved the Welsh language and the Welsh dimension forward. Making the language statutory has moved the whole issue along”.

b) Welsh Dimension of National Curriculum Content

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
The National Curriculum is a significant step forward because it gives the language status and respect”.

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
The National Curriculum provides a common context for everybody who is connected to education - teachers, parents, governors, advisers, trainers, different agencies, inspectors”.

C) Interesting Interpretation of the Curriculum Cymreig

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
There is tremendous virtue in using the Curriculum Cymreig as an opportunity to extend childrens' horizons in a familiar context. Concentrating on the Curriculum Cymreig is not a matter of stuffing more facts into the childrens' heads. For instance, it adds to childrens' understanding of history in general. It is not about tagging on more facts. Teachers used to teach about the Romans attacking this country and bringing civilisation to the barbarians as something beneficial. Now, there is more sympathy with the other side and children are given more information about the kind of people they were, their backgrounds and what they did.

d) Improved Teaching Methods

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
According to our evidence, teaching methods are no longer based on false principles, old traditions or unacceptable ideas they are improving because of the National Curriculum”.
e) Raised Standards

"Welsh Office
Performance tables are of intense interest to parents and they help schools to improve standards. Tables are showing steady improvement which is encouraging. Since the publication of Bright Future, the emphasis is on performance and assessment. The Welsh Office Schools Curriculum Division has been changed to the Schools Performance Division. Successive OHMCI reports show how the introduction of the National Curriculum has begun to raise standards significantly. The Chief Inspector in his annual report praised teachers for their improvement in learning and teaching Welsh language, maths, English and science."

"Curriculum Council of Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
Comparing the performance of your school against other schools and your county against other counties brings home the concept of national standards."

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
The culture is changing and national norms are being established to compare performance between children and between counties."

f) Context of Teacher Support Materials

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aesseu Cymru
We are very aware of the Welsh dimension when we develop exemplary and test materials. Names and place names are always relevant to Wales."

"Curriculum Council for Wales / School Examinations and Assessment Council
There is an increase in the purchase of published schemes which match the format and the language of assessment tests and tasks because they present teacher assessment on a plate. That is what teachers need. Teachers value support materials most when they have had 'hands on' INSET on how to use them."

g) Developments in Gwent

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Aesseu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Developments in Gwent in recent years are amazing, particularly in the primary sector. There used to be a great deal of political resistance to the whole notion of Welsh in the curriculum in Gwent. Now the situation is totally transformed because the National Curriculum makes Welsh compulsory and it has been agreed on a national level."
h) Incentives for Students to Learn Welsh

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Since 1995, students who want to teach through the medium of Welsh get money to attend specific courses which improve, correct and develop their use of the language. The Higher Education Council identified this need from HMI reports and offered funding to attract students. It could become an integral part of initial teacher training which would be another step to expand provision".

i) Fewer Weak Teachers

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
Accountability is such an important element that it is no longer possible to sweep weak links under the carpet".

• Negative comments: Weak Areas at National Level
The main negative comments fell into the following main categories. This is followed by selected additional comments to illustrate each point.

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<td>b)</td>
<td>Isolated educationalists</td>
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<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>Unsatisfactory standards in literacy and numeracy</td>
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</table>

a) General Attitude

"Awdurdod Curricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Development is very slow and one of the big weaknesses at present is that the Curriculum Cymreig is not clear enough and teachers are unsure".

"Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Curriculum Cymreig has not dawned yet. If this new awareness of ‘Welshness’ had developed in the education system while the language and the culture was alive in the local communities it would have been a tremendous time. The Welsh influence will not be sufficiently far reaching or penetrating because society has become anglicised and the strength of the culture has weakened. Welsh-medium schools have developed in anglicised areas where the level of Welsh culture is questionable so Welshness there is confined to schools.
Some conscientious teachers are stressed because the rate of change is so great they cannot keep up with everything”.

"Welsh Language Board
There were a few examples of disagreement for instance in Dyfed and in Gwent but they were soon calm.

The Curriculum Cymreig may be something that has a certain currency because it is fashionable - certain schools will take an interest then it will become a low priority”.

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
We are back to the Victorian Age. In the year 1995, we are in the same situation as we were in 1895. If there’s a choice between English or Welsh, parents will choose English to ensure that their child gets on in the world. There is no higher policy which recognises the importance of Welsh. Schools are in competition with one another.

Some schools are still working to the English Orders as if they are not aware that the Welsh Orders are different. Now there is a choice at Key Stage 4. Teachers follow the programmes/study of the English National Curriculum in order to prepare children for examinations - and they often choose English Examination Boards.

Everything now depends on the money that the head and governors can earn for the school”.

b) Isolated Educationalists

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
Everything happens on a level which has no classroom contact. The system in operation today has cut the link between the developers and the classroom. ACAC has no classroom contact and they award contracts to people to develop materials for schools and they have no classroom contact either. Universities produce materials, monitor materials, and do school research work and they have no classroom contact. Inspections are the same - contracts are awarded to teams with very little classroom contact.

Teachers have no input into material development and this undermines their confidence in their professionalism. Classroom teachers will be unwilling to accept what is being created because they will not see its relevance. It has to fit into the classroom and the way in which they work. Teachers see no need for all the paper work - lots of paper work, for no reason. No-one listens to them. Who will speak on teachers’ behalf when the 22 new authorities come in, because the Welsh Joint Education Committee will be in the midst of the commercial world by then and even more confined than they are now”.

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c) Unsatisfactory Standards in Literacy and Numeracy

"Welsh Office
Four in ten pupils still fail to reach the basics of literacy and numeracy at the end of the primary schooling".

6.4 Key to Effective Delivery
Data gathered from responses to this question fell naturally into two categories. Keys to effective implementation of the Curriculum Cymreig firstly at policy-making level and secondly at practitioner level. Selected comments are arranged in policy-making and implementing level categories. The following eight major elements were identified as keys to effective delivery at policy-making level. A sample of comments are presented to illustrate each element further:

- **Key to Effective Delivery at Policy-Making Level**

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<td>A shared philosophy</td>
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<td>Strong teacher support structures</td>
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<td>Openness about results and standards</td>
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<td>h)</td>
<td>More choice for parents</td>
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a) **A Clear Description**

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac AseSU Cymru / Office of Her Majesty's Chief Inspector
The Curriculum Cymreig is as ambiguous as the spiritual, moral, social cultural section of the Inspection Framework. It sounds good but to discover actual examples of it is quite another story. Even though the it is mentioned in every subject, it is too ambiguous to be delivered successfully".

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b) A Shared Philosophy

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
Everyone is working in partnership to develop the principle of the Curriculum Cymreig. It has been accepted right across the Welsh education system. Naturally, it will take time to become established but everyone is working towards it”.

"Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
There is a need for everyone in the education system to co-operate with each other. This type of co-operation has lessened recently”.

c) ACAC Leadership

"Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru
ACAC has appealed to teachers to look for examples of Welsh mathematicians and scientists, not just world famous people but of people nearer home as well. It is not as easy as it sounds to find Welsh people or people with Welsh connections. It is not clear how this will progress. ACAC may come back in two or three years time to look at the Curriculum Cymreig again and see if it needs to be developed further”.

d) Motivating Inservice Training

"Office of Her Majesty's Inspector
Teachers need to be stimulated by rigorous, motivating Inservice training. Important questions need to be asked about how training in Wales is meeting the requirements of the Curriculum Cymreig.

e) Quality Initial Teacher Training

We should be seriously considering the kind of initial training that is needed to ensure that teachers can teach the language effectively in Key Stage 1, and ensure they can build on that in Key Stage 2. Many students go to English colleges so they will not have looked at Welsh aspects as part of their training”.

f) Strong Teacher Support Structures

"Welsh Language Development Committee (PDAG)
Teachers need advice and support through the Athrawon Bro service, and through ideas and materials which answer their needs. Not many materials support the Curriculum Cymreig. Even teachers on the original committee did not know how to write units of work - so what hope have we got?”

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g) Openness About Results and Standards

"Welsh Office
We now have a national framework for setting standards through testing and assessing pupils, a five-year inspection cycle and more openness about results".

h) More Choice for Parents

"Welsh Office
The system is more diverse, offering choices between LEA, grant-maintained, selective and non-selective schools”.

"Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
When you talk of comparing schools and producing comparative tables - you’re in a totally different ball game and standards will rise”.

The following eight major elements were identified by ACAC and OHMCI as keys to effective delivery at implementing level. A sample of comments are presented to illustrate each category further:

• Key to Effective Delivery at Implementing Level

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<td>Strong educational leadership</td>
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<td>c)</td>
<td>Networking</td>
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<td>d)</td>
<td>Professional development programme</td>
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<td>e)</td>
<td>Quality of teaching</td>
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<td>Teachers’ ability to teach Welsh</td>
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<td>h)</td>
<td>Good links between the school and the local community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a) Belief in its Value

"Awdurddod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Goodwill, support and a very positive attitude towards the place of the Welsh language generally and specifically in the curriculum is vital. As in any aspect of the curriculum the head and staff have to believe in it. They must want our young people to understand something about the culture of their country. Even in times of change and overload, those teachers who really believe in something and are committed to it do pass it on to the youngsters. Teachers have to see the value of working to ensure that children are bilingual. Attitude counts so much.”

b) Strong Educational Leadership

"Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
The leader must pull everyone together to ensure that there is action across the subjects. Someone needs to ask the right questions or everything ends up as bits and pieces - just learning the language or learning a bit of Welsh history. Someone needs to have responsibility for the Curriculum Cymreig throughout the school - an overview, so that everyone is working towards the same aim. Teachers must understand that they have to convince people who are on the same level as themselves that they should do more than they are doing”.

"Awdurddod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Continuity and progression in content, teaching methods, use of resources and everyday practices is crucial. This must be ensured from year to year. Teachers should not be out there on their own in a vacuum.

In the past the teaching of Welsh was very much on the hoof - children did well one year with one teacher and did nothing the next year because the teacher wasn’t interested - no structure. There must be a plan.

This is a golden opportunity to link subjects - even though the National Curriculum provides a framework there is a great deal of work that needs to be done. We must make sure that there is better leadership and co-ordination”.

c) Networking

"Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Headteachers, deputies, curriculum leaders and phase and subject
teachers need to network and work together to support each other’s improvement”.

“Welsh Language Board
Teachers, parents, pupils and school governors, need to work together to facilitate the Welsh language to create a bilingual nation”.

d) Professional Development Programme

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Teachers in Gwent have to teach Welsh Second language but first they have to learn the language themselves. They have a great deal of fun and satisfaction in doing so”.

“Welsh Education Development Committee (PDAG)
Is should be a very important priority to ensure that teachers build on their successes and move forward through a training programme. Teachers need support through language and methodology courses. Not many teachers use the non-statutory guidance until they have had back-up training to understand its relevance and how to use it”.

e) Quality of Teaching

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
Attitude is a strange thing especially in children - they can change suddenly. I have seen children go into a Welsh lesson with a hopeless teacher and hating Welsh - Ugh!! Then they have an enthusiastic teacher and they enjoy it - Yeh!! A complete turn-around in a term!

When its working effectively, young people are really excited and actually celebrating their Welshness. Its success is dependent upon active, committed and excellent teachers”.

f) Teachers’ Ability to Teach Welsh

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector
It all depends on teachers’ success in teaching Welsh Second language. Clearly, priority must be given to teaching the language - either Welsh First or Welsh Second language - because so many things depend on this. By learning and teaching Welsh as a second language, teachers come into contact with a great deal more - all the kind of things that disappear when a language is dying. Then they are in a better situation to deliver the Curriculum Cymreig. In Gwent, we have the opposite situation when the language is reviving and the culture that goes with it is reviving at the same time”.
g) Time to Familiarise

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru

Teachers need time. Now there is a great need to sit back. There was a big push from the teaching profession for acknowledgement of their professionalism, so ACAC is giving them room to develop this without over-prescription. We are not distributing anymore paper - we are giving teachers time to develop the Curriculum Cymreig themselves and we will see what happens”.

h) Good Links Between School and the Local Community

“Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector

Not many people are aware of the importance of links with the local community even in the Welsh areas. Schools must link what is done within school to the wider community and use their money well. People take it for granted and you cannot afford to take such an important aspect for granted. I remember headteachers who were well known poets and writers who competed in the Eisteddfodau and wrote books but who never read poetry to their pupils because it was something that happened outside school. Sometimes the local culture is left outside the school and is seen to have nothing to do with the education of the pupils”.

“Awdurdod Cwricwlwm ac Asesu Cymru / Office of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector

Here is an opportunity to give children a taste, knowledge and understanding about what it means to live in Wales”.

Summary

This chapter has described and detailed the issues and concerns gained from analysing data from interviews with key policy-makers in the education system in Wales. It has presented interviewee perceptions on how policies are formulated, who are the key decision-makers, how much status is afforded to the Curriculum Cymreig, how it is monitored and how they perceive its implementation at classroom level.

Interview material has produced evidence to permit judgments to be made about these issues and the conclusions are outlined in the next chapter.
CHAPTER 7

MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We need in Wales not to build walls to protect our identity but instead to use a strong identity as a support whilst we look outwards for new ideas and experiences (Reynolds, 1995, p.20)

The main conclusions and recommendations drawn from this research are presented according to the five levels of decision-making which were identified by Lawton (1978) and quoted by Chitty (1989) namely, national; regional, institutional, departmental and individual.

1. NATIONAL LEVEL: THE POLICY MAKERS

1.1 Evidence gleaned from the interviews shows that a certain freedom exists in England and Wales to interpret and develop common governmental briefs differently. However, distinctiveness in Wales is acceptable only when it is not seen as contradicting or challenging Central Government policy. The push towards too much diversity causes embarrassment to the Welsh Office and to Central Government.

1.2 Empirical data makes it clear that there have been instances when the Welsh dimension has been used as a politically acceptable reason to influence the acceptance of a different curriculum philosophy.

1.3 Apart from the Welsh Office personnel and the Welsh Office appointed Chairman of ACAC, key players in all Welsh educational agencies are Welsh-speaking. Policy meetings are generally conducted through the medium of English which calls into question the perceived status of Welsh-speaking personnel;
ACAC's status has increased to encompass all curriculum, assessment, examinations, and tendering processes in Wales. This places it in a powerful position to influence further distinct developments.

Interviews confirm that the Welsh Inspectorate is highly respected at all levels. It has had positive influence on developments at macro level through giving advice based on first hand knowledge of classrooms. Its influence at micro level has been delivered through good and regular pastoral and inspectorial contact with schools;

As a result of the 1992 Schools Act, the relationship between the Inspectorate and the Welsh Office may change. There will no longer be a small body of HMI able to advise the Secretary of State from first hand experience. Annual OHMCI reports may not have the same impact when the conclusions are drawn from evidence provided by independent inspection teams. Fitz and Lee (1994, p.103) suggest that there may be benefits in reports by independent inspectors who may focus on the system rather than on the policy-makers and politicians. They maintain that this could have a more rapid and profound effect on pedagogy.

Positive discrimination is afforded to Welsh Second language through legislation and funding but this is undermined by a freedom of choice of both examination boards and subjects at Key Stage 4 in English-medium and Welsh-medium schools. As a result, the Curriculum Cymreig is more likely to exist as a stronger element in primary schools.

It is clear from empirical data that agencies believe that the implementation of the Curriculum Cymreig is sufficiently monitored by OHMCI. However, HMCI's Annual Reports make no reference to its development in subjects other than those with separate Orders.
1.9 The inspection cycle is facilitating a national monitoring strategy and a rise in standards. However, interviews show that the level of 'dressing up' encountered in schools in readiness for inspection questions the degree to which inspectors are getting a true picture.

1.10 Equivalent English and Welsh educational agencies are basically the same. They share the same focus but operate in different cultural contexts.

1.11 It is evident from the interviews that Welsh educational agencies believe that less control is exerted on them from the Welsh Office than is exerted on their English counterparts from the DfEE. However, the Welsh Office's remit to develop distinct Welsh initiatives must be interpreted as a mollifying mechanism considering that no policy document distributed to parents and school governors offers status to any aspect of the *Curriculum Cymreig* - apart from Welsh first language as a core subject in Welsh-medium schools.

1.12 The education system in Wales benefits from functioning in a small country. This facilitates networking, cross-representation and a healthy level of discussion and disagreement between agencies.

1.13 Different aims drive different levels of policy-making. They include:
- saving the language;
- raising standards;
- restoring Wales to its perceived former cultural glory;
- preparing children for the world of industry and technology; and
- preparing the nation to compete on the world markets.

1.14 Three distinct factors affect discussions relating to primary education in Wales, namely:
- a distinctive statutory curriculum which includes Welsh First and Welsh Second language;
- two-thirds of teachers are Welsh learners; and
- a large number of institutions are small rural schools.
1.15 Empirical data shows that policy-makers in Wales are closer to teachers than are their equivalent agencies in England. This is displayed by wider consultation, the positive nature of press releases and the quantity of support materials provided. One reason for this is the dependence of policy-makers on teachers to deliver good standards in Welsh Second language even though two-thirds of them are non Welsh speakers.

1.16 The needs of both policy-maker and practitioner in implementing the *Curriculum Cymreig* would be met fully if ACAC considered funding the development of teacher materials which were complemented by national training and classroom support. Tighter structures need to be put into place to ensure that materials are matching school needs and that they have credibility with teachers.

1.17 The existence of a language board to promote the 'home language' is unique to Wales and the role of the Welsh Language Board in the education system is increasing.

1.18 Despite its historically disadvantaged start, the development of bilingual education as a statutory requirement is remarkable. Without statutory status the language and culture of Wales would have given way to Anglicisation. The ERA 1988 has strengthened the use of the Welsh language, and since September 1995, the *Curriculum Cymreig* is a statutory Common Requirement in every subject. This is matched by a higher profile in the OHMCI *Inspection Framework*.

1.19 The *Bright Future* series sets down specific educational targets for Wales. These focus on meeting the industrial and technological needs of the country in the context of preparing for competition on the world markets. The *Curriculum Cymreig* does not feature in the *Parents' Charter* which suggests that that its status is not accepted by all decision-makers.
Empirical data makes it clear that the *Curriculum Cymreig*, particularly in common subjects, lacks specificity because it exists only in a repeated general paragraph of ‘statutory language’ preceding each subject Order. Teachers are, therefore, given a high degree of discretion in interpreting it ‘as appropriate’. This lends itself to a high degree of inconsistency which makes it difficult to measure nationally. In comparison, the locally Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education provides for both national consistency and local needs.

No aspect of the *Curriculum Cymreig* - except Welsh as a core subject in Welsh-medium schools - is assessed by statutory testing. This shows that some subjects are more important than others. The increased emphasis on the publication of league tables and on measuring core subjects may encourage schools to teach to the tests. It is therefore debatable whether it will survive.

Although outside markers are employed to scrutinise Key Stage 2 tests, inconsistencies in administering them make them a less than reliable source of information as to how standards in Welsh first language is improving.

Although the reviewed OHMCI *Inspection and Handbook of Guidance* offers the *Curriculum Cymreig* a higher profile, relatively low attention is given to statistical evidence compared to what is required in elements such as technology and partnership with industry.

Evidence collected during the interviews make it clear that although the profile of the *Curriculum Cymreig* profile is rising, its status and its development is hindered by loose monitoring and assessment strategies. This limits policy-maker knowledge about how policies are being implemented at classroom level.
2. REGIONAL LEVEL: LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY

2.1 Interviews show that government is carefully limiting and rapidly diminishing the control local government has over the education system in England and Wales.

2.2 It is clear from the empirical data that the LEAs' future agendas will focus much more on monitoring and raising standards, ensuring cost effectiveness and tackling underachievement.

2.3 Interviews make it clear that the work of Athrawon Bro is highly valued at policy and practitioner level and is crucial in enabling teachers to meet National Curriculum requirements in Welsh Second language. They:

- create colourful, attractive multi-media materials which translate Welsh Second language requirements into lively classroom practice;
- provide accredited training courses which focus on language acquisition and on how to use the materials; and
- support teachers in the classroom in using prepared National Curriculum referenced materials.

3. INSTITUTIONAL, DEPARTMENTAL & INDIVIDUAL LEVEL: THE PRACTITIONER IN THE CLASSROOM

3.1 Teachers are confronted with the demanding tasks of teaching and assessing Welsh Second language when two-thirds of them are Welsh learners and others have a limited knowledge of Welsh.

3.2 The proposal to base teacher training primarily in schools increases the need to ensure that high quality teaching and assessment materials are available.

3.3 Teachers need quality training and support to facilitate their effective use of teaching materials.

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3.4 The quality of educational leadership from headteachers is a crucial factor in delivering the National Curriculum in Wales effectively.

3.5 This investigation makes it clear that many teachers find difficulty in interpreting the *Curriculum Cymreig* in English, mathematics, science, physical education, technology and Religious Education without adequate description and without sufficient availability of examples of good practice.

3.6 Materials can bring about change in what teachers do by enabling them to take on board new attitudes, and new ideas within their normal classroom practice. Teachers need ‘doable’ (Holly and Southworth, 1989, p.63) materials which interpret *Curriculum Cymreig* requirements into ‘on the plate’ classroom activities. These in turn act as ‘change agents’ (Fullan, 1982) through facilitating understanding of National Curriculum requirements.

3.7 Uptake of support materials depends on presentation and the extent to which they fit into the language and culture of the classrooms in which they are to be used.

3.8 Empirical data makes it clear that the essential elements for effective delivery of the National Curriculum in Wales include:
- Belief in its value;
- Teacher Networking;
- School and individual professional development programmes;
- Quality of teaching;
- Teachers’ ability to teach Welsh;
- Time to digest curriculum changes.
- Quality links between schools and their local communities.

3.9 Working as cluster groups sharing expertise and resources enables small schools to address the demands of the National Curriculum in a positive way.
3.10 Interviews show that the *Curriculum Cymreig* is more effectively delivered in schools when a specific person has responsibility for its implementation throughout the school. Training is needed for coordinators to enable them to lead developments and to act as INSET providers in their own schools.

The *Curriculum Cymreig* is now in place. Its rise or fall will depend on the degree to which the Welsh Office, ACAC and Inspectorate partnership will impose, support, assess and monitor it. Research and development funding needs to be made available to evaluate its implementation at all key stages. Only time, and detailed research, will tell whether all pupils in schools in Wales are receiving the curriculum to which they are entitled.

*There is no question as to the almost passionate belief of Welsh parents generally in the value of education, or to the sacrifice they are prepared to make in order to secure to the full the opportunities which the public system of education offers them. Where a people is so much in earnest, and so self sacrificing, a great responsibility rests upon the education authorities to provide an efficient system of education (Board of Education, 1930, p.45).*
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Chief Inspector of Schools, Professor Owen Morgan Edwards was an educator. His enthusiasm for education in Wales grew out of his personal experiences and his books grew out of his zeal (R. G. Jones, 1962, p. 6). Although lack of official sympathy with his aims impeded the progress he yearned for, he had some success in improving the status of the Welsh language in the schools; and hundreds of teachers testified to the inspiration his visits gave them. It was he, above all others, who was responsible for tempering the rabid anti-Welshness of the education system (ibid, p. 31).

One of the students he inspired became the first headteacher of the first Welsh school in Wales. She stated that Wales cannot not be 'a country where the Welsh language is aimlessly forced on children for certain hours of the week, and where teachers have to pay for tiring themselves and their apathetic pupils. No success can follow any tuition unless real interest and enthusiasm are engendered, and no enthusiasm is aroused while a child perceives Cinderella Welsh teaching in our schools' (Isaac, 1943). She further stated that:

The best and rowdiest experience is to spend a day at school amid the clamour and excitement of children who find it difficult to keep still...but to whom Wales is a land alive with interest, her people full of history and romance, her literature, songs and arts to be venerated, her faults, shortcomings and blemishes to be obliterated, and her future something to be striving for at a rate of 60 minutes per hour of service and not as a sentimental future land for favoured heroes. This lesson needs courage to expose but Wales and the world will be debtors the sooner we take our courage in both hands and give every child in Wales what it is entitled to - a true Welsh education (Isaac, 1943).

O M Edwards (1933) ’s autobiography, Clych Atgof (Bells of Memory) must not be thought of as an innocent little collection of travel essays. They are part of a great mission - one more nail in the old education system’s coffin. The challenge he issued in the introduction is a perfect example of this:
"This book is a collection of memories recalled during idle moments. I cannot think of any good reason why it should be published. I put the blame on no-one - no-one urged me to do this. I have no reason to believe that the public are yearning for it. Once it has been published everyone can take his time to mull over it. It will not provoke passionate reaction or agitate the country in any way" (Owen M Edwards, 1933).

In Clych Atgof, OM in his own cunning way, compares the totally inappropriate education he had once he went to school, with the education that he considered should be given to a small child whose whole being is rooted in his 'square mile'. OM's 'square mile' happened to be Llanuwchlyn which happened also to represent a community of Welsh people - the nation's only hope (R. G. Jones, 1962, p. 31).

Romantic or not, escapist or not, OM was a bit of a fox and enough of a practical politician to put his romanticism to work. Clych Atgof is an educational handbook, an expression of one educational philosopher's ideal. An ideal which has eventually become half true. Wales needs more than this now, but that is not O M Edwards's fault. He did everything he possibly could (R. G. Jones, 1962).

"Old accursed system, I give thanks when I remember that I can hope for the day when I will dance on your grave" (Owen M Edwards, 1933).