

Thesis Title

Sacred and profane knowledge and the problem of identity: an exploration of the relationship between knowledge and identity in three different disciplinary fields in Higher Education.

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I, Nick Melliss, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

It appears that the position of knowledge in universities has undergone considerable change over the last twenty years which has led to changes for both old and new university subjects and disciplines. As the position of knowledge changes so the idea of learning, of what should be learnt, how it should be learnt and when it should be learnt, also changes. With changes to ideas about learning, so students' identities, the sense they have of themselves as learners , can also change. This dissertation looks at aspects of the relationship between knowledge and identity and discusses how this relationship can be explored through the concepts of sacred and profane knowledge.

To help me look at this relationship I constructed a theoretical framework taken from the work of Durkheim, Bernstein and Rom Harrè. I describe knowledge in terms of sacred and profane categories, as well as using ideas of singular, regional and generic knowledge. I use Harrè's concept of immanence to help me locate student identities in tutorial and seminar discourse as well as Bernstein's idea of instructional and regulative discourse.

To explore the potential of this framework, I recorded some university tutorials and seminars in contrasting disciplines: Classics, Midwifery and TESOL. With those recordings I also acquired curriculum data, course books, and course module descriptions, from the universities where the seminars and tutorials took place. Using this data allowed me to position ideas about knowledge and discourse in

actual and specific classroom experiences so that I could construct a methodology for future work on knowledge and identity.

Impact Statement

Crisis ? What crisis ?

I started this thesis by asking myself a question: why do students spend so much time in university tutorials and seminars talking about themselves when they are in the middle of learning something? Students seemed to know intuitively that learning required a re-orientation of their own identities, a reorientation that must be to do, in some way, with the kind of knowledge they were learning.

In focussing on knowledge I quickly became aware that there was what had been termed a ‘crisis of knowledge in the university’ associated with marketization of university activities, increased regulation of the university and rapid expansions in student numbers. I thought that the idea of a crisis was not quite right. I wasn’t sure if this was a crisis of knowledge , or whether it was a crisis in the curriculum, or even , following Bauman, whether it was a crisis in the whole of education, education now having to exist, as he said, in a world ‘saturated by information.’

I felt that Durkheim’s concept of sacred and profane knowledge might be helpful for my purposes because it is about the production of knowledge in human societies throughout history. All human societies seem to have some form of sacred knowledge associated with belonging, identity and hierarchies within that particular society. When the sacred changes so knowledge changes. I suggest that the idea of the sacred, in the three different disciplines I studied, had shifted as a result of changes beyond the university but that there is still always a notion of the sacred.

Within the university, redefining and re-energising ideas of the sacred and the profane might aid researchers working in the field of the sociology of knowledge

who have research interests in the status of knowledge within universities and the relationship between student identities and knowledge.

My approach can also help tutors review their own practice in terms of the knowledge they are passing on to their students and how that knowledge might impact on their students' identities. In fact one of the tutors whose seminar I had recorded had already used ideas from the thesis in a successful application for a Senior Fellowship at the Higher Education Academy.

Outside the university, but staying generally within education and training, the research might help teachers in any field identify significant moments of learning for their students and show a relation between the most significant and the less significant episodes of learning. By looking at those moments I show how both sacred and profane forms of knowledge might be necessary for learning to be achieved and for student identities to be developed in relation to that knowledge.

Although the research was carried out in Southern England there is no reason why interest in the research should be restricted to the United Kingdom. Ideas developed in the research could be applied widely in different educational settings in different countries.

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Chapter One

Positioning the thesis: sacred and profane knowledge, the crisis in higher education and a methodological conception of immanence

1.0 Introduction

This thesis makes a contribution to ideas and theories suggesting that whenever learning takes place, and knowledge is acquired, some process of identity formation or adaption by the learner occurs at the same time. It looks at how this process is played out in three very different learning contexts: a midwifery seminar, a tutorial on translating lines of Homeric Greek and a tutorial from an MA course in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages. In the context of rapid change in the curriculum and the marketisation and external regulation of higher education, these contrasting cases can shed light not just on learner identities, but also on the changing organisation of knowledge within universities.

The question the thesis addresses, and its contribution to knowledge, can be explained in a variety of ways. This chapter introduces three different aspects of this contribution. The first section of the chapter briefly outlines the concept of sacred and profane knowledge, and how this relates to an idea of the human soul or, in the context of this thesis, the self, or identity. These ideas are central to my exploration of knowledge and identity and are further elaborated in chapter two of the thesis. The second section of this chapter introduces debates about the ‘crisis’ in education, marketization, new categorisations of knowledge and their effects for both the curriculum and pedagogy. I use these debates to formulate the central research questions addressed in the thesis. The final section of the chapter sets out a range of different sources for an understanding of identity as immanent to discourse, which provides a basis for the methodological stance adopted in the thesis. The discussion of the diversity of approaches to researching identity, and my argument that it is possible to identify a similar use of immanence

in scholars in the diverse fields of psychology, sociology and linguistics, is important as a way of positioning the development of my own methodology for researching knowledge and identity. I begin with Durkheim's ideas about sacred and profane knowledge.

1.1 Change and Identity in Sacred and Profane Knowledge

Durkheim said (1977 p.25), in his lectures on French education history, that this history could be seen in terms of a struggle between the sacred and the profane. He described the moment of learning, when a piece of knowledge is acquired, as a moment 'touched by grace', saying:

Then, as a result of a kind of 'right about turn' it finds itself in the twinkling of an eye confronted with a wholly new outlook; unsuspected realities and unknown worlds are revealed before it; it sees, it knows things of which only a moment before it was entirely ignorant. (1977 p.29)

The 'it' here is, for Durkheim, the human soul, an entity that he said (1977 p.282) was, for Christians, sacred and divine. I would prefer to call this 'it' the self or a personal identity. The moment of learning occurs both in a twinkling of an eye, but is also stretched out over centuries, and is embedded in the entire education history. By describing knowledge in terms of its sacrality and profanity Durkheim accounts for both individual moments of learning and the wider history of learning.

Mircea Eliade described the difference between the sacred and the profane in terms of the acquisition of knowledge. Writing about initiation ceremonies in traditional Indian societies he stated:

We must add that, if the novice dies to his infantile, profane, nonregenerate life to be reborn to a new sanctified existence, he is also reborn to a mode of being that makes learning, knowledge, possible. (Eliade 1959 p.188)

In Eliade's world, knowledge is acquired through communication, as required by the initiation ceremony, between the sacred and the profane. The person initiated is, says Eliade, the person 'who knows' (1959 pages 171 and 188) and through initiation has been given new knowledge about a mystical, transhuman world. Eliade was writing about initiation and rites of passage in Indian and Judaeo-Christian religious traditions which is a very long way from university seminars and

tutorials. But like Durkheim, who said that in the early Australian societies he studied, any activity or stone or piece of land could be made sacred through a sacralising ceremony, Eliade also regards any human experience as capable of being made sacred through initiation (1959 p.171). In his account, the sacred seemed to be a universal quality tied to the profane from which it emerges through the acquisition of knowledge. With this new knowledge a new consciousness is born, a process Eliade described in terms of the Socratic metaphor of the midwife, saying that Socrates 'helped men to be born to a new consciousness of self'(1959 p.199). Eliade, in this study of different religious traditions, related identity with knowledge, a new consciousness arriving with new sacred knowledge. I wanted to reinforce Eliade's view here and find out in the dissertation the extent to which learning might lead to new ideas about the self.

Durkheim took a different view in his study of religious life, making this new consciousness a collective rather than an individualised presence. Religion, he said(2001 p.320), appeared to be individualised, but this was a mistake; religious practice was an individualised form of a collective force. Religion can be experienced through the individual's inner contemplation, but religious faith is always social and needs to be expressed with other people in a community. By describing religious practice as a collectivity (2001 p.320) Durkheim can construct a sociology of religion, in which individualised religious expression is presented within a wider social grouping. The sacred, for Durkheim, resides in the social group whose expression makes sacred the chosen items and activities used in religious practice.

Bernstein also recognised (2000 p.83) the impact of the sacred and the profane in the world of education, but felt that, by the turn of the century, knowledge was controlled through a market in education, so that knowledge had lost its sacred quality and could be bought and sold like any other commodity. Knowledge was separated from the self who does the knowing, a divorce, as he stated in the title of the paper, between knowledge and the knower, the consequences of which he describes here:

Once knowledge is separated from inwardness, from commitments, from personal dedication, from the deep structure of the self, then people may be moved about, substituted for each other and excluded from the market. (1996 p.87)

My thesis both accepts and challenges the point of view in this statement. I maintain that knowledge is still connected to inwardness and ideas about the self. I accept the terms of Bernstein's argument about the sacrality of knowledge, its inwardness and its links to the self but I reject the idea that there has been a separation between those conditions of knowledge and knowledge itself. I think that rather than a separation, the data I have assembled in the thesis can be analysed to show a linkage between the sacred and the profane, that there is a continuation in the relationship between knowledge and the knower.

1.2 The Crises in Knowledge: knowledge, curricula and pedagogy in the university

In the period since Bernstein made his argument, about the separation between the knower and knowledge in contemporary education, a range of authors have examined changes in knowledge, curricula and pedagogy. Their work provides a context for my thesis and for my examination of the relationship between learning and identity in contrasting fields.

Bernstein felt that a separation between knowledge and the knower, the destruction of inwardness by the market, could prove fatal for education (1996 p.88). Delanty (1998), writing at about the same time as Bernstein, went further and argued that the changes occurring at that time in universities, such as the impact of globalisation, the marketisation of knowledge and the large increases in the numbers of people going to university, meant that knowledge had moved from what he said was 'knowledge as an end' to 'the end of knowledge'. I don't think Delanty was referring to the end of knowledge in an epistemological sense but that the conditions by which knowledge was constructed in a university had changed so that knowledge was now assessed by other players in the educational market place, such as governments, other funders of education and the students

themselves, rather than just by the university. He described these changes in this statement:

The university was the privileged site of knowledge conceived of as the legislation of modern society by intellectuals whose universalistic categories—truth, morality, humanity, reason—defined the field of knowledge. The crisis of the university today is because that conception of knowledge has been finally undermined by conditions established by the social production of knowledge.....Knowledge, in other words, has ceased to be something standing outside society, a goal to be pursued by a community of scholars dedicated to the truth but is shaped by many social actors under the conditions of the essential contestability of truth (1998 p.5 - 6)

In a similar way to Delanty, Young finds an ‘emptying out of knowledge’ in the way knowledge is referred to and used by national and international organisations in the construction of educational policy with an emphasis on items such as learner choice and learning styles. It is not that these items are wrong in themselves but when they become the focus of policy then knowledge is hollowed out and denied its content. In this way it seems that knowledge exists more as a marketing tool rather than as a source of wisdom and learning. Young says:

My argument is that an empty and rhetorical notion of knowledge and the increasing tendency to blur distinctions between the production of knowledge and its acquisition and between knowledge and skills – the latter unlike the former being something measurable and targetable – becomes a way of denying a distinct ‘voice’ for knowledge in education.(2016 p.39)

These views were partly shared by other reviewers writing alongside Delanty in the same issue of the journal. Bertilsson (1998) thought the paper was over pessimistic, and based on insufficient evidence, but that it might be applied to universities in the UK if not to universities in the rest of Europe. Fuller (1998) agreed with Delanty that the place for knowledge was in the university, but felt that the university could retain its Enlightenment position by becoming what he called ‘a collective agent of oppositional consciousness’(1998 p. 94) The university can rediscover forgotten strands of contemporary and Enlightenment thinking, renewing acquired knowledge so that the ‘canon’ of knowledge can be

continually challenged. Friese and Wagner(1998) also suggested, in slightly different terms, that the problem is not with knowledge, so there is no end of knowledge, but with how the university positions itself in relation to changes in society. Delanty's final paper in this special issue moved on from the idea of an end of knowledge to a repositioning of the university so that its three functions, teaching, researching and providing practical knowledge through training and policy research, are given a sharper focus, a repositioning that seems to make the university rather similar to existing university structures.

These papers, alongside Bernstein's own views about a crisis in education caused by the marketisation of knowledge, indicate concerns about the position of knowledge in university curricula both in epistemological terms, by questioning the basis for knowledge because of changes to the conditions of producing that knowledge, and in terms of the increase in numbers of people who have access to that knowledge. They provide a broad context for my research, an exploration of knowledge and identity in the contemporary university.

1.3 The categorisation of knowledge in relation to the market

Another strand of debates about the affects of marketization on knowledge in higher education attempts to define new ways of categorising knowledge and its relation to the market. A recent paper by Fenwick and Edwards (2014) described the problem of knowledge in the university not as an ending, but as a multiplicity of different kinds of knowledge, a multiplicity that can, they believe, be understood by actor network theory. They say that:

Knowledge is revealed to be, not a body or an authority, but an effect of connections performed into existence in webs of relations that are worked at, around and against constantly. (2014 p.48)

If knowledge is perceived as a complex network of different activities and positions then network theory might be the best approach to understanding that knowledge. But it is also possible to see knowledge in a university not so much as a network but as a collection of bounded subjects and disciplines. Neumann, Parry

et al. (2002) argued for a recategorisation of knowledge subjects into four areas: hard pure (e.g physics and chemistry), soft pure (history and anthropology), hard applied (engineering), and soft applied (education and management studies). The purpose of this recategorisation is to highlight differences and similarities within different discipline areas that might lead to improved teaching through, for example, a more thorough reflective practice (2002 p. 414) and the avoidance of generic staff development courses. There is no suggestion in this paper that knowledge is either at an end or that the university requires a wholesale switch in focus to recapture Enlightenment values.

Manathunga and Brew (2012) reconsider the suitability of the tribe and territory metaphor that had provided the title of a previous work by Becher(1989), to describe how knowledge is conceived as a number of disciplines, with academic identities linked to those disciplines. They concluded by saying that, setting aside the colonialist aspect of the use of the word ‘tribe’, universities are increasingly inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary in their approach to knowledge, preferring to use the metaphor of the ‘ocean of knowledge’ (2012 p.56) in place of the idea of a ‘tribe’ of knowledge providers, which, whilst it conveys, to me, a sense of the wide scope of contemporary knowledge, seems also to lack a sense of definition which would be a requirement of any notion of knowledge categorisation.

An alternative approach, adopted by Cownie (2012), uses one discipline to exemplify the way the knowledge understood under one disciplinary label, her example is ‘law’, transforms over time. She provides an overview of how the law has become academicised over the last 150 years once legal education had first become a taught and researched subject in UK universities in the nineteenth century. She follows some of Bibbings’s concerns (Bibbings 2003) over the future of legal studies in a world of quality audits and the commodification of knowledge, but concluded her paper by saying that these concerns demonstrate that, whatever views legal academics might have about the future of their subject, the achievement is that legal studies now occupies a secured place within the

university which outweighs any possible threats to its funding from the education marketplace.

Cownie's paper(2012) described how Legal Studies had became academicised in the university. She showed how the subject had developed from a study of doctrinal law based on a close reading and memorising of certain key legal texts, which might, following Bernstein, be called a horizontal knowledge structure, to Critical Legal Studies, as well as feminist Legal Studies, which could be called a hierarchical knowledge structure. From her research it appeared that most academic lawyers occupied a midway point, which might be neither horizontal nor vertical, between doctrinal law, enabling students to know the Law based on study of legal texts , and a socio-legal approach which looked at the social, political and economic contexts in which law is made. Similarly, Information Science MA courses, which could be seen as having a hierarchical knowledge structure grew out of the horizontally structured Librarianship courses validated by the Library Association(Robinson and Bawden 2010).

If university courses are becoming more multi- or inter-disciplinary then it would appear to be difficult to apply the vertical/ horizontal distinction to these curriculum structures. Bernstein described(2000 pages 161 - 174) the horizontal and the hierarchical as two fundamentally different forms of knowledge that were located in two different forms of discourse, horizontal discourse and vertical discourse. A horizontal knowledge structure consists of a number of knowledge segments within a subject or discipline where the segments are largely unrelated to each other. A hierarchical knowledge structure consists of logically or theoretically related steps that develop in complexity, but are related to each other. Bernstein's example of a horizontal knowledge is Sociology; a hierarchical knowledge is Physics. I certainly found it awkward to apply these knowledge categories to the data I had assembled in this dissertation. For example, Genetics on a BSc Midwifery course is quite different from Genetics on a BSc Biology course, yet I couldn't decide whether one course was a horizontal knowledge structure

and the other a vertical knowledge structure, or whether bits of verticality and horizontality could be found in both Genetics courses.

Widdowson's account of the (1984) of the history of English Language teaching, which I refer to in Chapter Six, describes the increasing academicisation of English Language Teaching in the university over the past seventy years. A subject that had started as holiday work for UK university students in the 1930s had become in the 2000s a taught and widely researched subject in universities throughout the world. Describing that development, or any stages in that development, in terms of its verticality or horizontality seems insufficient to explain how that subject has been taught and learnt. The same point could be made about the increasing academicisation of Nursing and Midwifery courses, and which I describe in Chapter Four.

The studies I have introduced here all suggest, in contrasting ways, how the organisation of knowledge within universities is related to external factors. Neuman, Parry et al's (2002) distinction between hard pure, hard applied, soft pure, soft applied offered a way of thinking about how knowledge is or isn't related to fields of activity beyond the university. Cownie's work suggested how legal knowledge has changed since Law has been transformed, developing purer, or more hierarchical fields since its introduction into the university, and, in a similar way, Widdowson has shown how English Language teaching has transformed from a horizontal to a hierarchical knowledge structure.

These shifts are important to bear in mind in relation to the three fields that are the focus of my dissertation. Although it might be easy to identify Classics as 'soft pure', and, perhaps English Language Teaching as 'soft applied', Midwifery seems harder to classify. Bernstein's categories of singular, regional and generic, which I will explore in more detail in Chapter Two, offer another way of thinking about these distinctions and their significance in relation to the market. However, the important thing to note is the concern these authors raise about the different

ways knowledge can be related to fields beyond the university, and the ways this affects the status of the university and the transmission of knowledge to students.

1.4 The relationship between curriculum and pedagogy

Wheelahan(2010) also explored the changing nature of the relationships between knowledge and education in a contemporary world, leading to the paradox of both a growth in knowledge, with more courses and more students attending those courses, and a crisis in knowledge. She accepted Bernstein's separation between knowledge and knowers that results from placing knowledge within a knowledge market where knowledge appears to have no inner meaning or worth, and where the value of knowledge can be bought and sold. She thinks there is a 'crisis of curriculum', the title of one of the chapters in her book (Wheelahan 2010 p.106), because knowledge has, she says, been 'dethroned' (2010 p. 87) or displaced by three clusters of ideas which she believes dominate the official educational discourse and which she defined as conservatism, instrumentalism and constructivism. Her ideas about knowledge and the curriculum are explained using a Bernsteinian terminology, such as vertical and horizontal discourse, singular, regional and generic knowledge, which she applied to Australian and UK governmental documents and policies.

One of the reasons Wheelahan aimed for greater precision about the place of knowledge in a pedagogy is that she thinks the removal of knowledge from the curriculum leads to a denial of access to education for students. But, as she states in this extract, she recognises that she hasn't covered actual classroom practice in the book:

One area that has not been addressed in any depth in this book is the range of specific pedagogic practices that are needed to ensure all students have access to knowledge. Many students, particularly working-class students, have become disengaged from education as a consequence of the way in which their access to knowledge has been mediated throughout their education. Insisting that they 'learn science' or 'learn English literature' may

just lead to further humiliation and alienation. However, in placing knowledge at the centre of curriculum we have the opportunity to begin to consider the way in which these students may be provided with access.(2010 p.162)

The question of the relation between pedagogy and learner identities is central to my thesis, and Wheelahan's suggestion that the crisis in knowledge leads to learner disengagement is important. However my focus is slightly different as I looked at how the field, Classics, Midwifery and English Language, affected student identities.

1.5 Key themes feeding into my research question

This brief account of some of the features in the discussion about the position of knowledge in contemporary UK universities has highlighted certain strands which will be reflected in this dissertation. Firstly, it seems there is a wide difference in views about the place of knowledge in the university, ranging from ideas about the end of knowledge to ideas about recapturing the spirit of the Enlightenment. Secondly, the position of knowledge, epistemologically, has changed in universities over the past twenty or so years in some way. Knowledge is viewed differently now from what it was, although it is unclear why that should be the case; there appears to be some very big influences at work on these changes such as globalisation, marketisation and the large increases, at least in the UK, in the numbers of students attending university¹.

The third point is that in order to understand these changes, we might need to find new ways to categorise knowledge, whether that is by using hard and soft categories, pure and applied, vertical and horizontal, or some other form of categorisation. Finally, the problem of knowledge often brings up the problem of the relationship between knowledge and learners. Learners are always brought into the discussion, and are used, by Wheelahan, Young, Bernstein and Delanty, to

¹ The numbers of students gaining a first degree in 1990 at UK universities was 77,160. In 2011 the numbers of students gaining first degrees was 350,800. Bolton, P. (2012). Education: Historical Statistics SN/SG/4252. UK House of Commons, House of Commons Library.

justify a particular approach to knowledge, but they actually remain quite silent, they are spoken about, but they don't speak. Young (2016) makes the point that pedagogies that are in some way learner-centred, and where the curriculum is constructed in terms of the outcomes for learners, actually deny learners access to significant knowledge, which means that they are then poorly equipped to question and engage with curriculum knowledge. The relationship between how knowledge is described and the learners, Bernstein's knowers, seems to be critical here. A key aim of the thesis is to observe how learners use and respond to the knowledge they are acquiring in the classroom, which is why I used data recorded in those classrooms.

The central question of the thesis is to look at how learner identities are affected by the knowledge learners acquire in specific classroom practice. In answering this question I discuss the kinds of knowledge made available in those classrooms and see if an analysis of the relationship between classroom knowledge and learner identities can shed any light on questions raised in the discourse on 'crisis' in the university curriculum. My specific research questions are:

- 1 How might learning have an influence on student identities as viewed through the categories of sacred and profane knowledge ?
- 2 How could this learning relate to past and current states of knowledge in these three unrelated disciplinary areas ?
3. How might the idea of immanence assist in my exploration of the relationship between learning and identity ?

This final question allows me to say more about how classroom discourse reflects both student identities and the kind of knowledge developed in the classroom. It is especially important as I have not followed any one tradition, but, in my exploration of the relationship between learner identity and knowledge, I am positioning my research in a diverse field of methods and approaches that crosses multiple disciplines. While not sticking closely to any one existing approach, I identify with scholars from psychology, sociology and linguistics who share a concern with the need to explore identity as in some way immanent to discourse.

1.6 Identity as immanent within the discourse used in educational contexts

I now want to look at how three key scholars, Rom Harrè, Basil Bernstein and Jan Blommaert, have discussed the relationship between language and identity within an educational context. These scholars are positioned, respectively, in the fields of psychology, sociology and linguistics, but each was in some way extending their paradigm to enrich the study of identity. I begin by looking at how Block (2009) describes some of the different approaches to analysing the relationship between discourse and identity. I then move on to look at Harrè's understanding of identity as immanent within language. I look at the different approaches taken by Bernstein and Blommaert, and argue that each of them can similarly be understood to use a notion of immanence in their conception of the relation between language, identity and context. I also explore the way Blommaert introduces Durkheim's concept of a moral order into his work on identity. This is important in opening up a space for my own study, which borrows from both Durkheim's ideas of moral order, as exemplified through the notions of the sacred and the profane, and Harrè's idea of immanence.

Block's account (2009) of the relationship between identity and language outlines several of the various strands in the academic discussion of this topic in the broad area of the social sciences. Although he finds that what he calls a post-structuralist view of identity seems to dominate, scholars take up a range of different positions in the discussion. A position adopted by one scholar, such as using Wenger's communities of practice approach, is completely neglected by another scholar. Block delineates (2009 p. 50) seven different types of identity which he describes as ethnic identity, racial identity, national identity, migrant identity, gender identity, social class identity and language identity. He emphasises that these types can relate to each other and are not in any way exclusive but are the general categories that have emerged from the socially based research over the past twenty or so years.

As Block realises, there are omissions to his list of identity categories, there is no mention, for example, of religious identities or of consumer identities. The

development of multi-modal research offers a consideration of both monolingual and multilingual settings in identity discourse, a point that Blommaert develops in some of his more recent papers. The idea of identity as just a socially constructed entity is also challenged by the development of a more psychologically orientated approach looking at ideas of the inner self, a point Block takes up at the end of the book, where he discusses future areas of research. Block writes here (2009 p. 236) about a crisis in identity in the field of sociology resulting in part because identity is now seen as less fixed, less stable than in the past, but also because ideas about identity were derived originally not from sociology, but from psychology. But perhaps the crisis comes not from the fact that identity is socially constructed, but from the categorisation of those identities into seven different bundles of identity. Block recognises this when he states (2009 p.50-51) how some of these identities blend in with other identity categories so, for example, the migrant identity can include both race and ethnic identities, which might make the categorisations seem uncertain and difficult to define. His view is that identity is both self generated and influenced by the context in which it exists, as he states here:

Another issue key to current approaches to identity is the recognition that identity is neither contained solely inside the individuals nor does it depend exclusively on how others define the individual. (2009 p.31)

He refers to concepts such as Wenger's communities of practice and Bourdieu's habitus where identity is both displayed and negotiated within a context. Identity is not a given state, a condition that one is born with, but is contingent on its context. Block feels that now researchers might want to move on from this social view of identity and take a more psychological approach, exploring ideas about the inner self and a personal sense of order related perhaps, for example, to feelings of loss. My own exploration does not do this, but it is relevant to note as my methodology, I would propose, can best be understood as situated in this field of methodological diversity. While I do not adopt methods directly derived from the three authors discussed below, I trace a similarity in their exploration of identity as immanent to discourse, and I take inspiration from the diversity of their methods.

1.7 Rom Harrè: identity as an immanent expression in language

Harrè's interest in the self comes from a concern with how ideas about the self can be accommodated within psychology, which leads him to consider linguistic analysis. The self, says Harrè (1998 p.4) is a grammatical construction so understanding the self requires a form of linguistic analysis, otherwise the self appears as a Cartesian entity residing somewhere in the body or maybe the mind. Harrè thinks (1998 n.page 20) that Parfit in his discussion of personal identity played a 'predominantly Cartesian game' by moving different entities around the body, though Parfit himself rejects the idea that he is a Cartesian ego (1984 pages 258,259). It is the need for an understanding of language in psychology that led Harrè to, as he called it, 'enlarge the paradigm' so that psychology could incorporate Wittgensteinian ideas of the language game because there is nothing, following Wittgenstein, that is a part of the self's idea of itself that can exist outside grammar. This idea of the self as a linguistic entity led to Harrè's explanation of identity as immanent to language use.

Rom Harrè's paper (1987) developed what he said was a different paradigm for arriving at solutions to some of the problems that occur in social psychology. Instead of looking at causal solutions, the reason why an event had occurred, it would be better to look at the semantic relationships in that event. Rather than seeking an explanation through causality it would be better to look at the language used by people in those events which could then lead to analysing the positions people take up as they carry out the event. Harrè was not imposing an explanatory structure on the event but looked at the event in its immediacy, as it was taking place. The reason Harrè gave for developing this approach was that he thought many events, in the behaviours that are of interest to psychologists, are linguistic and occur in speech. Harrè described his interest in language in this way:

We should interest ourselves in semantic rather than causal relations, that is an action should be studied by reference to the meaning which an actor takes it to express, that is how the actor intends it and how the others will take it, rather than by reference to its supposed causes.(1987 p.4)

Harrè's example of this paradigm change, the title of the paper is 'Enlarging the Paradigm' , is a psychological study of the emotions. Although, he writes,

might be tempted to carry out such a study by asking a further question: “what is an emotion ?”, this could lead down a causal cul de sac where the researcher would go on to provide existing examples of emotional behaviours to answer the question. A more fruitful line of enquiry, says Harrè, would be to look at how emotive words are used by actors in certain contexts. This enlarges the paradigm by opening up new areas of research, linking linguistic research to psychological research.

An example of Harrè’s approach(2004) is found in a paper on global terrorism which begins by asking the question about how the words ‘act of terrorism’ and ‘terrorist’ are used, as he states here:

The first task then is to ask what seems like a lexicographical question: What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for using the words act of terror and terrorist? Only when we have explored this question can we go on to discuss the sources and consequences of the social constructive acts by which these attributions were made. (2004 p. 92)

Using positioning theory Harrè analysed two speeches, one by Osama bin Laden, at the time the leader of the Al-Qaeda network, and another by George W. Bush, who was President of the United States of America. He found that both speeches have a similar structure, both speakers position themselves as speaking on behalf of the ‘righteous’, both speakers give themselves, by their positioning, the right to act in a particular way. Bin Laden gives himself the right to destroy those who are against his own righteous people, those who don’t believe in Islam, just as George W. Bush gives himself the right to speak on behalf of those who are free, and can therefore destroy those who are against freedom. Harrè is not adopting a previously acquired moral viewpoint but is demonstrating how the rights and duties develop, or are immanent within the speeches used by both leaders, as stated here:

Look at the symmetry between these speeches when analyzed within positioning theory. Each protagonist sets out a story line of wrongs to be righted. Each performs both implicit and explicit acts of positioning, arrogating to the group each represents both the duty and the right to attack the other.(2004 p.100)

Positioning is a process through which a person or persons engage in a discursive event, such as a political speech, or a linguistic exchange with other people. Positioning theory is also not primarily concerned with causes as to why a position is taken up. It is, rather, concerned with the immanent production of identity positions within discourse. Positioning de-clutters the idea of self because it removes fixed ideas about the self, which might or might not be true, and sees the self as something produced in discursive practice.

Harre's method of bringing clarity to ideas about the self is to construct three selves, that is three aspects of a single person, which includes the idea the self has of itself as a single self (Self One), the attributes, qualities, skills, and attitudes that the self possesses and are often expressed to other people in social interaction (Self Two) . The third aspect of the self (Self 3) is the self as it appears to other people as attested and interpreted by them. Harre developed positioning theory from his considerations about self or selfhood, so maintaining the idea of the self as primarily a language user.

An example of Harrè's ideas about the self is provided by a paper (1992) he wrote with Sabat on people with Alzheimer's disease. Harrè and Sabat were interested in the response made by someone with Alzheimer's disease who was introduced to them by saying "This is Henry . He was a lawyer". The person, Henry, interrupted the introduction and said, "No, I am a lawyer ." Harrè and Sabat were intrigued by this confusion over Henry's identity. They used a set of ideas which, at the time, they called constructionist, and which developed into positioning theory, to understand how this confusion might occur. Henry was no longer a practising lawyer but the idea he had of himself, in the present moment, was as a lawyer. The person in this example had a clear idea of his own self, but it wasn't an idea that was shared with the person making the introduction. Harrè and Sabat realised that this was evidence of different ideas of self, the self's idea of self and the idea of that self constructed by other people through the discourse they have with that person. The person with Alzheimer's disease had lost the idea of self that was held by other people because of their view of that condition, the Alzheimer's disease. He had not lost his idea of his own self, as Harrè and Sabat state here:

Using the analytical techniques of the new approach we will show that (1) there is a self, a personal singularity, that remains intact despite the debilitating effects of the disorder, and (2) there are other aspects of the person, the selves that are socially and publicly presented, that can be lost, *but only indirectly* as a result of the disease.

In the second case, the loss of self is directly related to nothing more than the ways in which others view and treat the A.D. sufferer.(1992 p.444)

Henry positioned himself as a lawyer although he was no longer practising, whilst others positioned him as a patient with Alzheimers, thus denying him his idea of self.

Ragnhild Hedman, Go" rel Hansebo et. al (2012) also used positioning theory and Harrè's idea of the self to investigate how twelve people who had mild to moderate Alzheimer's disease expressed their ideas of their selves. The participants in this investigation were members of a community resource called an Alzheimer's cafe. The investigation was carried out using semi-structured interviews; ten participants were interviewed in their own homes, one was interviewed in the authors' research unit and one in a day care centre. The results confirmed Harre and Sabat's view that participants maintained their own self idea but that their response to other people's idea of themselves had undergone change.

Like Harrè and Sabat, Hedman, Hansebo et al. find that an idea of the self that relies on a person's medical history, an assessment of a medical condition that would include judgments about the nature of that condition, shows a misunderstanding of the person's idea of their own self. This was demonstrated by the example of Henry, who, though he has now stopped practising, has not renounced his identity as a lawyer. Harrè and Sabat, and Hedman, Hansebo et al., look at what is immanent in the conversation that occurs in the present, and do not bring to that present judgment ideas or notions from the past. By focussing on the present discourse used by the research participants, the researchers demonstrate how the participants have a maintained idea of selfhood. For these researchers the self that is immanent in the participants' conversations

demonstrates a more genuine sense of self than the ideas of the clinicians about those participants' selves.

In an example taken from Midwifery practise, Phillips and Haye (Phillips and Hayes 2008) describe how student midwives and midwives position themselves in their reflective practice conversations, and see this kind of reflection as part of an oral tradition in midwifery education and midwifery practice. They follow Harré in identifying the use of 1st person and 3rd person pronouns in reflective practice conversations as an indication of personal identity and prefer the term reflective positioning rather than reflective practice. This is because, they say, positioning allows them to capture the day to day conversations of midwives and student midwives. I look further at this in Chapter Four where I discuss Midwifery identities not in terms of positioning, but in terms of the tradition of midwifery education and by analysing student/tutor linguistic exchanges in a student reflective practice session. But as with the examples taken from work carried out with people who had Alzheimer's disease, the focus in this thesis and in Phillips and Haye (2008) is on the conversation as used by the student midwives in the present moment and not on how pre conceived ideas about language or knowledge might be applied to that present conversation.

Defining these three different aspects of the person, the Self One, Self Two and Self Three, allowed Harré to distinguish between different aspects of selfhood, but they also raised the question that Harre says we shouldn't ask (1998 p.87), namely how do these different aspects of the self relate to each other. Asking that question can easily lead, he thinks, to the unwarranted assumption of the Cartesian self, something that is external to the language we use about ourselves. We are, says Harre (1998 p. 87), the stories we tell of ourselves, which is why our own narratives are critical to Harre's linkage between linguistics and psychology. There is a literary quality to Harre's approach which is shown by his use of literary examples. As he describes in the section on narrative (1998 p. 141 – 146) stories, folk tales, TV programmes, plays and autobiographies show an unfurling of the self whereby personal attributes are related to contexts local to the self and within which the self is constructed with a past, present and possible future. As

Harre says elsewhere (2009 p.6) positioning theory is closely allied to narrative analysis. Writing about the construction of the self he refers to, amongst other texts, Julius Caesar's Gallic Wars, St Augustine's Confessions, and Shakespeare's Richard III and Hamlet. A position is constructed, the plain-speaking, direct Roman general in Julius Caesar's Gallic Wars, or the young man in Northern Africa, full of religious doubt and troubled by his sinful past, in St Augustine's Confessions, which then informs a current view of the world as described in the narrative. Harré also refers to Tolstoy's Anna Karenina (Davies and Harre 1990 p.49) to describe the different positions taken up by the characters in the novel, the narrator, who is Tolstoy, and ourselves as readers. A position in a language exchange is different from a role because it is more flexible, and can be acquired and altered by the speaker during the exchange; a role is taken up prior to the exchange and then influences the exchange. Providing these literary examples shows something of the methodological diversity in the discussion of the relationship between identity and language to which Block had referred, a diversity which Harré channels through the idea of immanence, and so securing identity within language.

I now want to look at how Bernstein enlarged the sociological paradigm by looking at the links he made between sociological analysis and linguistic analysis.

1.8 Bernstein – Enlarging the Sociological Paradigm

Bernstein (1971) argued for sociologists to take a more linguistic view of social reality in the paper, 'A socio-linguistic approach to social learning' which originally came out in 1965² and was included in Class, Codes and Control Volume I. He wanted to make good what he called 'The neglect of the study of speech by sociologists' (1971 p.118).

² But see also a more recent statement about the link between sociology and language in Blommaert, J., J. Brandehof and M. Nemcova (2017) "New modes of interaction, new modes of integration." [Tilburg Papers in Cultural Studies](#). where Blommaert et al. writes , in 2017, 'The neglect of language as a topic of detailed inquiry in sociology (and, by association, in social theory) is old and persistent.' and quotes to support this view from Herbert Blumer's text, entitled 'Symbolic Interactionism', written in 1969.

It was from this more linguistic approach to social reality that Bernstein developed code theory, which he called at the time a communication code that was consequent on social class (Bernstein 1971 p. 143) and which he described in this way:

Such a communication code will emphasise verbally the communal rather than the individual, the concrete rather than the abstract, substance rather than the elaboration of substances, the here and now rather than the exploration of motives and intentions, and positional rather than personalized form of social control. (*ibid* p.143)

This was the starting point for the discussion of elaborated and restricted code , as well as the two kinds of family, the open person-orientated family and the positional family, where the person-orientated family is more likely to use an elaborated code, and the positional family a less elaborated code. For Bernstein, people are language users, as for both Wittgenstein and Harrè, but Bernstein went on to develop a structure, the various permutations of code theory that were developed over the next thirty years, through which a person's use of language can be linked to the context in which the person is located, and to society's class structure. For Bernstein that context was the family and the world of education and the classroom, with a particular interest in how social class affected student performance in those classrooms.

Bernstein did not refer to enlarging the paradigm in his early paper called 'A socio-linguistic approach to social learning' (1971 p.118 - 139)but just as Harrè was asking for psychologists to adopt linguistic analysis when analysing social behaviour, so Bernstein was concerned with the absence of language from sociological enquiry as he states here:

Language is seen as an integrating or divisive phenomenon; as the major process through which a culture is transmitted; the bearer of social genes. However this has rarely given rise to a study of language as a social institution comparable to the analyses of, say, the family, religion, etc. As far as speech is concerned this has been viewed as a datum, taken for granted and not as an object of special enquiry. (1971 p. 119)

Language was not seen, within Sociology, as an area that could be studied but was more generally considered as just the means by which ideas or information about,

for example, the family were communicated. The sociological interest at the time, and Bernstein's paper was written originally in 1965, seemed to focus on content and not on how that content was communicated. It seems that it was only later that sociologists became interested in communication itself.

Harrè certainly knew Bernstein's work, he wrote a review of Class, Codes and Control Volume III in The Times Educational Supplement(Harrè 1975) finding it 'provocative, original and perceptive' although he wondered whether Bernstein's views on school hierarchies really demonstrated how they might influence a student's consciousness . I am not suggesting Bernstein influenced his work in any way, nor that Harrè influenced Bernstein, though it is interesting that both should want to enlarge the paradigm of their respective subject areas by introducing linguistic analysis and do so for a similar reason, which was to understand the relationship between identity and discourse. Bernstein did describe code as a positioning principle:

In general, from this point of view, codes are culturally determined positioning devices. More specifically class-regulated codes position subjects with respect to dominant and dominated forms of communication and to the relations between them. (1990 p.13)

Bernstein is much more interested, as shown here, in how power and control is expressed through social class than Harrè, but they both developed theories in which the social interaction is immanent in the language used in that interaction. Harrè is much clearer about this idea of immanence than Bernstein, largely, I think, because he was keen to avoid falling back on ideas about the self which had some form of prior existence to the interaction in which the self participated. Harrè, for example, recognised the possible similarity between his own ideas of positioning and Goffman's idea of footing and frame space (Goffman 1981 p.124-157), but thought that Goffman's categories, which Harrè saw as roles, did not arise within the conversation but existed prior to that conversation, as he says here:

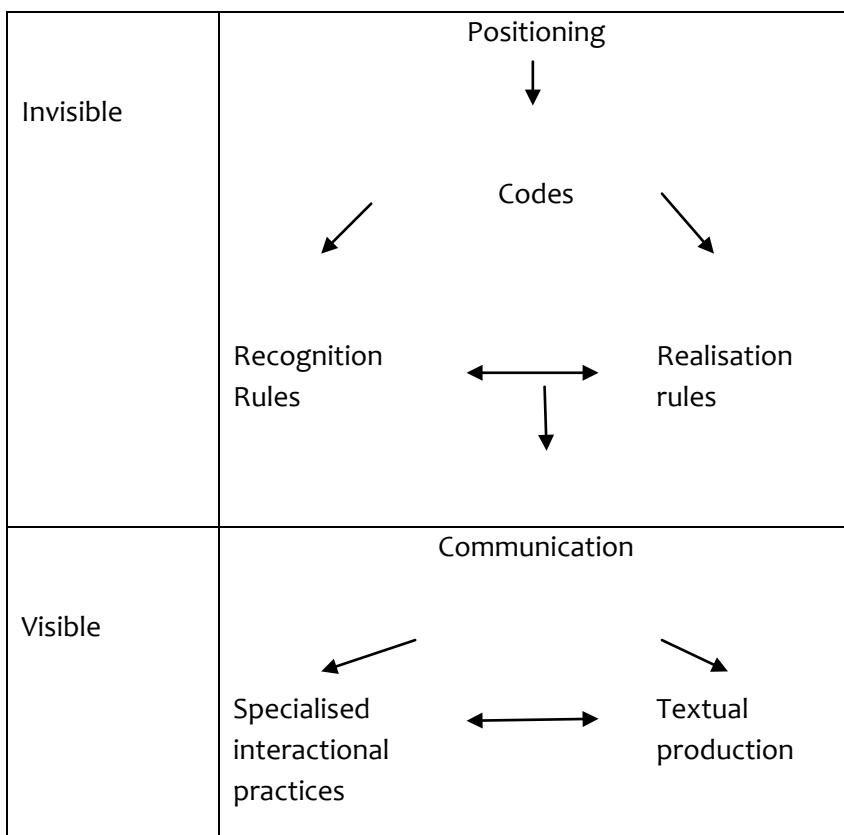
In role theory the person is always separable from the various roles that they take up; any particular conversation is understood in terms of someone taking on a certain role. The words that are spoken are to some extent dictated by the role and are to be interpreted in those terms. With positioning the focus is on the way in which the discursive practices constitute the speakers and hearers in certain

ways and yet at the same time is a resource through which speakers and hearers negotiate new positions.(1990 p.62)

The idea of immanence is quite critical for both Harrè and Bernstein, which is why I have emphasised it in my discussion of Harrè's ideas about the self. Bernstein's very early account of what he at the time called a communication code, which later became code theory, shows the start of this immanence with the emphasis on the here and now, on the concrete and not the speculative, and what he called the substance and not the elaboration of substance. I take this to mean that Bernstein saw code as a system that occurred in the discourse as it was spoken, and not as something derived from outside the discourse. What Bernstein called (1971 p.143) the 'concrete', the 'substance', and the 'here and now' refers to the discourse used by the participant, a discourse controlled by code. In that sense code is similar to Harrè's use of positioning, which is different from the acquisition of a role that influences the discourse.

The idea of immanence can also apply to Bernstein's account of code theory(1990), and his ideas about the visible and the invisible as well as to the Bernsteinian categories that I use in my data analysis, the categories of the sacred and the profane, regulative and instructional discourse, and the knowledge categories of the singular, regional and generic. Bernstein drew up (1990 p.17 fig.1.3) a diagram to explain the relationship between positioning, code and communication, showing how the invisible, which includes code as a positioning device, is immanent within the visible, a simplified version of which I reproduce here:

Figure 1 (after Bernstein 1990 Fig 1.3 p. 17)



Bernstein's interest in code focused on social class. He finds different codes, or orientations to meaning, used by middle class children and by lower working class children (1990 p.19) without explaining how he differentiates between these two quite large categories of children. The invisible, the code and the recognition and realisation rules, is immanent within the visible which are the language exchanges made by whoever is speaking. Bernstein(2000) and Daniels (1987) showed they had evidence for the existence of recognition rules, but these rules are immanent in the response made by pupils to a series of questions posed by the researcher.

The principle of immanence can also be seen in the relationship between code theory and research data as described by Bernstein (2000 p. 91-92).He listed five criteria for assessing the theoretical basis for a piece of research but these criteria arose from what he called the internal development of the research. They weren't there prior to the research being carried out, and they are certainly not part of an external assessment of the research, a process which he dismissed as 'epistemological botany' (Bernstein 2000 p.92). This idea seems quite critical to

Bernstein because he emphasises this interplay between theory and research in the third criteria when he writes about the languages of description in this section quoted here:

It is important to add here that the descriptions, or rather the rules which generate the descriptions, must be capable of realising all empirical displays to which the context gives rise. This is crucial if circularity is to be avoided; in which case the theory constructs at the level of description only that which lives within its own confines. Thus the principles of description, although derived from the theory, must interact with the empirical contextual displays so as to retain and translate the integrity of the display. (2000 p.91)

In other words, as far as I see it, the theory is not imposed on the data but allows for and constructs a description derived only from the data. The description, constructed from the data, has to, as Bernstein says, live within its own confines; it has to stay within its own space, interacting with the data.

At this point in Bernstein's account of the relationship between theory and content he turns to the work of some of his doctoral students to show the relationship between coding and content:

Finally I want to turn to research which explains the relation between Cie/Fie values of a pedagogic practice and the recognition and realisation rules which children tacitly acquire. This research shows the relation between the form of the pedagogic practice and what is acquired. (2000 p.106)

Bernstein suggests here that a relationship is being established between form and content, between the pedagogic method and what is learnt or acquired by pupils, between, in effect, code and the language used by the children. I now want to look at how this relationship between macro structures and micro linguistic exchanges in the classroom is mapped out and developed in one of the doctoral theses Bernstein supervised and to which he referred in the same passage.

Daniels' thesis (1987)entitled 'An enquiry into different forms of special school organization, pedagogic practice and pupil discrimination' looked at how the processes and systems of education and learning were communicated across four schools for pupils with moderate learning difficulties. The thesis would do this by looking at three questions, one of which I'll quote in full:

Thirdly, the actual nature of the relationship between the structure of the schools and subject specific pupil talk required investigation, firstly at a theoretical level which allowed the integration of sociology and psychology, and secondly at a level which enabled hypotheses generated by theory to be empirically tested. (1987 p. 2/3)

Daniels suggests here some form of linkage between a sociological and a psychological approach to his data, but he found that a Vygotskian account would not be able to construct an empirically sound description of how language can be related to social structure. Daniels is looking for a system or mechanism to relate text to context as he states here:

In order to account for social institutional factors in this analysis a theory is required which will relate structural features to interactional practices. Speech has been taken as the object of study most likely to evidence socio-cultural effects. The question then becomes as to how to relate aspects of individual children's speech in these contexts.

(1987 p.52)

Using a Bernsteinian framework Daniels looked at the four schools he had identified for his analysis in terms of their curriculum, their pedagogy and evaluation, the evaluative process of each school. The research appeared to confirm, as Bernstein said in his later judgment about the research (2000 p. 107), the applicability of Bernstein's research model to the schools in question. The children at the schools had acquired at some point the recognition rules which allowed them to distinguish between Arts subjects and Science subjects. To test this hypothesis two groups of ten children in each of the four schools were each given ten pictures of activities and asked to categorise them in a written statement according to whether they belonged to either an Arts subject, or a Science subject. Two teachers evaluated eight hundred of these statements. Because pupils would not have been taught how to distinguish Arts statements from Science statements the fact that they were able to make such a distinction suggested to Daniels, and Bernstein (2000 p.107) that they had learnt a recognition rule which allowed them to make the distinction. The recognition rule, which Daniels confirmed had not been taught, was immanent in the speech used by the pupils.

1.9 Blommaert - Context, Discourse Analysis and Durkheim's Moral Order

Writing from the point of view of linguistics, Blommaert (2005) argued, when looking at linguistic inequality, for a similar enlargement of the paradigm away from linguistics to something more sociological, calling for a:

‘stepping out of’ linguistics as an approach privileging textual-linguistic artefacts and ‘stepping into’ society, its history and structure, as the locus of study of linguistic inequality. A critical analysis of discourse needs to begin long before discourse actually emerges as a linguistically articulated object and it needs to continue long after the act of production. (2005 p. 233-234)

It might appear paradoxical for discourse analysis to be undertaken before the language to be analysed appears, or is spoken. But Blommaert is referring to the context in which that language is spoken, and particularly to the constraints placed on the language used in that context. Those constraints, which cause language inequalities and are reflective of greater inequalities of access for people in society, can then be brought into a discourse analysis which starts before any word has been spoken and continues after the discourse has gone quiet. Blommaert puts it like this:

The phenomenology of our object – the contextualised nature of language – compels us to recognise that linguistics offers us just part of the answers. If we see discourse as contextualised language, and take the contextualisation of language seriously, we shall be forced to develop a linguistics that ceases to be linguistic from a certain point onwards, and becomes a social science of language in society. (2005 p.235)

Two sociological problems that Blommaert looked at, and which led him to this point of view, were the problems of social inequality and identity, problems that can be understood, he suggested, through this refocusing of linguistics as ‘a social science of language in society.’ An idea of what this social science might look like is found in a series of papers by Blommaert under the title of Durkheim and the Internet (Blommaert 2017).

As part of this project Blommaert refers to an MA thesis (Brandehof 2014) where a student mapped out the complex linguistic and communicative technology

resources (2017 p. 41) used by a Cameroonian doctoral student, showing a network of different identity positions and the very wide range of different languages and communication tools that construct and support those positions. The thesis described the student's communication networks and contained:

- the different languages used by the student - for example, Standard English, Cameroonian Pidgin, Fulbe (a Niger-Congo language associated with Islam) and Vengo (a language associated with the village of Babungo in Cameroon);
- the software applications used by the student to communicate – e.g WhatsApp, Skype, Viber, Yahoo Messenger, VOIP
- the groups of people in communication with the student - parents, brothers, business partners, Cameroonians, Ghanaians, Belgians, Dutch etc
- the contexts in which communication takes place – home, Ghent, the Cameroonian job market accessed through the internet.

In this case identity is varied and flexible, containing traditional sociological identity categories, such as family, location and religion, as well contemporary categories linked to other students, and job markets that are accessed both offline and online. Identity categories are both linguistic and social, existing in what Blommaert calls 'a polycentric social universe' (2017 p.8).

Whilst it is probably possible to relate these categories to Block's seven identity groups, that seems unduly restrictive. The central idea that seemed to emerge from Block on the relationship between discourse and identity is one of multifarious complexity where different researchers and scholars take up a range of different positions related to the context of their research. Blommaert takes a different view of the categorisation of identity. Building on the traditional 'thick' identity categories (class, race, gender etc) that are used by Block, Blommaert constructs a more dynamic identity category which he outlines here:

In contrast to that tradition [the traditional 'thick' identity categories], I propose to see identities as *chronotopically organized moralized behavioral scripts*; I use the term *microhegemonies* as shorthand for that contorted phrase. (2017 p.41)

Blommaert takes from Durkheim the idea of the sacred moral order, hence the word ‘moralized’ in the quotation, from which people, individuals, acquire the collective rules and norms that guide their group behaviour, a group being the family, a professional group, or a nation state, as described in Durkheim’s *The Evolution of Educational Thought in France*(Durkheim 1977). The group is chronotopically organised because it is specific to a particular time, it is not universally true for all time. Identity is also a script, a language construction as it had been for both Harrè and Bernstein. It is in this sense of a group or collective consciousness that Blommaert’s microhegemonies becomes possible, people talk and communicate in groups using the grammars or rules established in those groups.

Blommaert has enlarged the paradigm using Durkheim, a founding figure of sociology, to go beyond traditional ideas of categorisation to construct a more dynamic, finely nuanced identification, which reflects contemporary on line and offline identities. In this way, just as Bernstein and Harrè moved away from their own subject and used language to open up that subject to new ideas and theories about identity categorisation, Blommaert has opened up linguistics by going back to some of the original ideas, ideas of a social and moral order, from Durkheim’s sociology.

Blommaert put forward an idea of a discourse analysis that begins before the discourse has been spoken and ends after the discourse has finished. The reason for this is to understand more about the relationship between the context of that discourse, and the actual discourse itself. If, as Blommaert stated, discourse is contextualised language, then the context of that language needs to be explored hence the need to look beyond the actual moment of discourse. Blommaert’s example was an MA student (Brandehof 2014)whose identity was as flexible as the many different languages and different contexts through which his identity was expressed. But recognising this fluidity, its multiplicity of forms and functions, doesn’t produce chaos or disorder because the act of recognition of that identity is a form of order, and a form of order derived from Durkheim’s idea of a moral order. As Blommaert says, it is necessary for the student to keep hold of, to integrate, these different aspects of his self so that he can be a successful student

in Ghent, a successful family member in Cameroon, and find the job he needs in Cameroon to fulfil his ambition. Maintaining these different aspects of his identity through different forms of discourse can be understood as an approach that understands identity as immanent within that discourse.

Conclusion: the methodological stance of the thesis and a summary of its methods

Harrè, Bernstein and Blommaert related discourse to context by focussing on the here and now of discourse, on what is immanent in the present moment of discourse. Immanence, which stresses the present, is not a denial of history. It is concerned with what can be legitimately brought into the present from the past to describe identities. Blommaert stressed the idea of the context of the discourse, a context which clearly has a past, but the example he provided of the student's network of languages, media and different identity positions, was in the present. In the case of the patients with Alzheimer's disease, it was observed that their sense of self was intact and immanent in their conversation. Henry refused to consign his identity as a lawyer to history and was fully able to articulate that identity to the researchers.

This methodological stance, which takes identity to be immanent to discourse, and, following Bernstein and Blommaert, understands present discourse to have a necessary relation to structural and temporal discourses that are also in some way beyond the present moment, is the stance I adopted in constructing and analysing the data for the thesis. I am exploring the relationship between knowledge and learner identities in three contrasting university degree programmes: undergraduate programmes in Midwifery and Classics and a post graduate degree in Education. The primary data, collected specifically for this thesis, is recordings of seminars or tutorials in each setting. I understand learner identities to be immanent to the discussions that took place in those seminars and tutorials. However, to understand the discourse of those events, it was also necessary to look at additional material, course documentation and histories of each field, in

order to trace the institutional, social and historical discourses embedded in the assumptions and language of the classrooms.

The thesis aims to contribute to an awareness of how a conception of sacred and profane knowledge can help us to understand contemporary relations between learner identities and knowledge in contemporary universities and to make a contribution to debates about a ‘crisis’ in contemporary universities. It develops a methodology that begins to set out how identity is immanent to discourse, and offers an understanding of how learner identities can be seen as immanent to their engagement with knowledge in the classroom.

Thesis Structure

This thesis has seven chapters. Chapter Two introduces the ideas I want to use to look at how student identities are constructed in tutorial and seminar discourse, focussing particularly on the idea of sacred and profane knowledge. Chapter Three describes the research methods I used for the thesis. Chapters Four, Five and Six contain the empirical data I use to support my argument about learner identity and the sacred and profane knowledge they acquire in the seminars and tutorials. Chapter Seven is my conclusion to the thesis.

Chapter Two, on the social organisation of knowledge, looks at how ideas about the sacred and profane have changed over time and how they can be related to both identity and knowledge. I felt Bernstein’s accounts of these ideas needed further exploration so I went back to some of Durkheim’s texts to understand more about how these terms might be applied to education, as well as Habermas’s concept of the linguification of the sacred.

Chapter Three, Research Methods, starts by explaining the iterative development of this thesis over a number of years because those different stages were crucial to its development. Understanding the problem of identity and its relationship with knowledge ran through each stage in the development of this thesis. I used texts

(Pavlenko and Lantolf 2000) to help me understand how learning a new language leads to acquiring a new self. Developing the thesis over time meant that I could change my focus from linguistics to sociology, as I became less interested in how the students spoke in my recordings and look more at the content of what they said. I already had the research recordings of different seminars and tutorials, which I had assembled as part of earlier work on understanding Bernstein. It was playing back these recordings that suggested to me that a more sociological approach to the problem of identity might be more fruitful than taking a linguistic approach.

In addition to the recordings, I also wanted to look at documentary sources of data such as course documentation produced by the university, historical information about how the subject areas had developed over time and information produced by government and non-governmental organisations, such as the Nursing and Midwifery Council, or the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education. The reason for doing this was not just to provide background information, though such data would be useful as I knew little about either Midwifery or translating Homer from Homeric Greek into Modern English. I wanted to find out how my knowledge categories might relate to the history of those fields, about different subject areas within those fields, and about the position of those fields in a wider, national context. By doing this, I felt I could add to the discussion about the categorisation of knowledge and the place of learner identities in that categorisation.

Chapter Four looks at the problem of knowledge and identity in two Midwifery reflective practice seminars. Midwifery university degree courses don't, it seems, regard knowledge as an end in itself, but aim to develop a 'knowledgeable, skilled and safe practitioner'. Midwifery knowledge seems to require a very clear relationship with the real world, the world of the delivery suite and the maternity unit. Although midwifery degree courses do include modules in biology or pharmacology or psychology, subjects that might not be taught by midwifery tutors or health care tutors, it always seems necessary to make connections

between the subject knowledge and the practical world of midwifery. I found that the sacred element on this course is the student midwives understanding, exploration and articulation of their own identities as student midwives, as they reflected on the practical knowledge they were acquiring on the course in their clinical practice.

Chapter Five is a discussion of a Homer Translation Tutorial which shows the student working with three aspects of her identity: (1) her identity of herself as a good student; (2) the identity of herself as a language translator, of someone who is learning the skills of translation; (3) the identity of herself as a scholar of Ancient Greek. These identities are raised through the tutorial as the student works with her tutor on the Homer translation. The tutorial shows how both singular knowledge and regional knowledge have their sacred aspects and their profane aspects. As with the Midwifery seminar, the sacred here is a combination of knowledge and practice, infused by the student's own sense of identity.

In **Chapter Six** I discuss the relationship between knowledge and identity in an MA TESOL Tutorial. I think the tutorial contains a clear idea of the students' identities both as students on an MA TESOL course and as student teachers who are also TESOL practitioners working with their own learners of English. In this tutorial it does appear that, rather than any clear separation between Bernstein's knowledge categories, or his categories of discourse, there is a blending between these different categories. In that way the different categories are placed together to construct a relationship between a pedagogy and the identities of the students who are the object of that pedagogy.

In **Chapter Seven** I conclude the thesis by saying that although it might appear that the position of knowledge has changed in present day universities, there is still a relationship between knowledge and the knower, as seen from the perspective of the learner's identity. In an echo of Bernstein's early prediction about the separation between knowledge and the knower, May and Perry in 2013 wrote about the evaporation of learning under the weight of quality audits, performance measures and new forms of managerialism, saying that:

Knowledge, in terms of what is embodied and produced in textual products, is separated from knowing which comes to exist within dominant organisational practices as ways of seeking to measure the performance of production. Learning evaporates and, with it, the opportunity to harness alternative futures for research beyond capitulation to economic myopia.
(2013 p.511)

Their paper doesn't deal with how this might affect students, which is not the aim of the paper. This thesis certainly looks at different kinds of knowledge, from a pedagogic point of view, from the relationship between student and tutor and not from a managerial perspective or from the point of view of academic staff. By observing seminars and tutorials in universities I think it is possible to see that, whatever crisis might be affecting the curriculum and the acquisition and production of knowledge, there isn't, in these examples, a separation between knowledge and the knower. Acquiring knowledge does affect how the learner sees themselves as learners, and learning does affect learner identities.

Chapter Two - The Social Organisation of Knowledge

Introduction

In this chapter I want to discuss the relationship between knowledge and identity as it occurs in an educational context using primarily ideas about sacred and profane knowledge taken from the work of Durkheim and Bernstein. From this discussion I want to assemble a set of ideas, a theoretical framework, which I can use to analyse my data taken from recordings I made of two university seminars and two university tutorials. My framework relates Durkheim's ideas of the sacred and the profane with Bernstein's concepts of singular, regional and generic knowledge, and instructional and regulative discourse. This will allow me to link together the modes of discourse with the kinds of knowledge expressed in the university seminars and tutorials and so provide me with a method for analysing the discourse used in the seminars and tutorials as it relates to the identities of the students taking part in those seminars and tutorials.

This chapter is written in two parts. In **Part One** I take a more historical approach and describe ideas about the sacred and profane in Durkheim's work generally and then move on to a discussion of the sacred and the profane in Medieval education. I suggest that the relationship between the sacred and the profane in Durkheim, and in a reading of Medieval education, shows how an idea about the self, of personal identity, can be related to knowledge. This is followed by an examination of how Bernstein used ideas of the sacred and the profane and how they can be expressed through his ideas of singular, regional and generic knowledge.

In **Part Two** I look more at the relationship between knowledge and discourse in contemporary education , and particularly Habermas's idea of what he called the 'linguification of the sacred'(1987) which arose from his criticism of Durkheim's account of the sacred. By focussing on discourse and knowledge in this section I can also incorporate Bernstein's ideas of singular, regional and generic knowledge, and regulative and instructional discourse in my framework.

Part One Sacred and Profane Knowledge

2.1 - Durkheim's concept of the sacred and the profane

The purpose of this section is to examine Durkheim's concept of the sacred and profane in his work on the sociology of religion as described in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*(2001) and the paper on 'Concerning the definition of religious phenomena' (1994). I then want to relate those ideas with ideas about the sacred and the profane in his history of French education: *The Evolution of Educational Thought*(1977). My reason for doing this is to look at some of the ambiguities and complexities of both these terms, particularly when they are taken out of a religious context and used in an educational context. But I want to start with three quotations from Durkheim that illustrate some of the differences between the sacred and the profane.

Quotation 1. Sacred things are those whose representation society itself has fashioned; it includes all sorts of collective states, common traditions and emotions, feelings which have a relationship to objects of general interest, etc.; and all those elements are combined according to the appropriate laws of social mentality. Profane things, conversely, are those which each of us constructs from our own sense data and experience; the ideas we have of them have as their subject matter unadulterated, individual impressions, and that is why they do not have the same prestige in our eyes as the preceding ones. (1994 p.95).

Quotation 2. It continues to be the case that the idea of the sacred is of social origin and can be explained only in sociological terms. If it influences individual minds and is developed in them in an original manner, it is by way of secondary effect. (1994 p.98)

Quotation 3. From their origins the schools carried within themselves the germ of that great struggle between the sacred and the profane, the secular and the religious, whose history we shall have to retrace. (1977 p. 26)

For Durkheim education was, whatever its nature, a social construction and is reflective of the society in which it is located³. When Durkheim discussed education in the Carolingian period he describes the relationship between

³ see Durkheim (1977 p. 40)

educational provision of the time and the needs of the Carolingian court and empire. When he talks about Alcuin, the Director of the Ecole du Palais in Paris in the Ninth century, he notes the differences between the education he provided in Paris from the education he later offered in the monastery in Tours, a quite different context. Education is presented through its relationship with the society in which it took place. Durkheim's history of French education begins in the Seventh and Eighth centuries with teaching Latin to children in the monasteries and cathedrals so that they can take part in the Christian liturgy. Durkheim traces the development of grammar and dialectic over the next thirteen hundred years, their importance in the Medieval period, their comparative neglect during the Renaissance in the work of Rabelais, Erasmus and Montaigne, the renewed significance in Jesuitical education, and it seems, the importance Durkheim himself gave to the subject in his lectures at the University of Paris from 1904 to 1913, where he constructs an ideal secondary curriculum containing what he calls a scientific culture, an historical culture and a linguistic culture (1977 p.348). Of the three cultures he thinks the linguistic is the most important because, he says, it is through language that rational thinking is created out of the confused spontaneity of our original thoughts.

Of equal importance in that history is what Durkheim calls 'that great struggle between the sacred and the profane, the secular and the religious, whose history we shall have to retrace.' (Durkheim 1977 p. 26) The terms, sacred and the profane, are useful not only because they express a continuity in education over the last fifteen hundred years, but also because of the different uses to which they have been put , and the different meanings they can accommodate, over that period. The three passages I have quoted seem to offer a definition of what Durkheim meant by the words 'sacred' and 'profane'. The 'sacred' is primarily a social phenomenon, it is found in societies and is produced in societies. The sacred covers many things, items, feelings, ideas, or thoughts, but they have all been made sacred through some social or societal process. The things themselves are not sacred until that social process has been applied to them. 'Profane' matters, on the other hand are individualistic, they are one person's thoughts and ideas,

they are 'unadulterated' by society. The mystery that accompanies the sacred is the result of this social influence because that social process is outside our own immediate understanding:

It is not surprising, therefore, that as mere individuals we do not feel at home with these conceptions which are not ours and which do not express our nature. That is why they are shrouded in an air of mystery which disturbs us. This mystery however is not inherent in the object itself which they represent, it is entirely the result of our own ignorance. (Durkheim 1994 p. 95)

The sacred, and the feelings that we might experience as we approach the sacred, is our response to our ignorance, but what we are ignorant of is not some supernatural deity or being, it is of society and what Durkheim called the collective consciousness⁴ which Durkheim called the 'highest form of psychic life'. Sociology can explain the 'sacred' because sociology can understand this society, the sum total of individual consciousnesses⁵. Durkheim's use of the terms 'sacred' and the 'profane' is not religious, or magical, but needs to be placed within a Durkheimian account of society, a society that he sees as a collective consciousness.

As he stated in **Quotation 3**, for Durkheim the struggle between what he called the 'sacred' and the 'profane' provided a central theme for the history of education in France between 500 CE and 1904 C.E, the date of Durkheim's lectures at the University of Paris and from which the text of his book *The Evolution of Educational Thought* (Durkheim 1977) was taken. The struggle was true, or at least factually accurate, because for Durkheim education begins with the early Christian church's need to educate people who were not yet Christian, and to teach people the

⁴ See Durkheim: 'To sum up, society is in no way the illogical or alogical, incoherent, and chimerical being people too often like to imagine. Quite the contrary, the collective consciousness is the highest form of psychic life, since it is a consciousness of consciousnesses.' Durkheim, E. (2001). The Elementary Forms of Religious Life. Oxford, Oxford University Press. p. 339

⁵ 'Thus sociology seems called upon to open a new way to the science of man. Until now we were faced with the following alternatives; either to explain man's superior and specific faculties by relating them to inferior forms of being - reason to the senses, mind to matter - which amounted to denying their specificity, or to attach them to some supra-experiential reality that was postulated, but whose existence no observation could establish. The mind was put in this bind because the individual was taken to be *finis naturae*. It seemed there was nothing beyond him, at least nothing that science could grasp. But as soon as we recognise that above the individual there is society, and that society is a system of active forces - not a nominal or rationally created being - a new way of explaining man becomes possible.(ibid. p. 342 - 343)

sacred Christian liturgy so they could then work in the monasteries and cathedrals of the church. That education was carried out in Latin, so it had to use sources from Classical civilisation, and was therefore pagan, or profane. But Durkheim uses the terms more generally outside a strictly religious context as can be seen in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Durkheim 2001) where he gives the terms a universal significance, seeming to divide up the entire world into the categories of the sacred and the profane. The terms are used to describe a way of thinking, and to account for a relationship between a person's inner thoughts and speculations, the world of abstract ideas, expressions of Durkheim's collective consciousness, and ideas about the real world of actual experience, which are individualistic, and are expressions of an individual's response to the real world. In Durkheim the sacred seems to imply the profane so that the terms are often used together. Although they are opposites, the sacred cannot at the same time be the profane, there is a relationship between them. The nature of the relationship between the sacred and the profane is important not only for Durkheim's history of education in France but it also seems to apply more generally to how individuals relate to the wider society.

Stanner(1967), in a passage quoted approvingly by Lukes⁶ in his biography of Durkheim(1975), thought that Durkheim's division of the world into the two categories of the 'sacred' and 'profane' in his book *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*(2001) was incoherent and that there was much in Aboriginal life, the data Durkheim used in the book was taken from anthropological studies of Aboriginal life, that was neither 'sacred' nor 'profane'. In one relevant passage of criticism Stanner states:

When *The Elementary Forms* was published there was immediate criticism of, among much else, the concept of 'the sacred'. I am not aware that there was as much or as continuous examination of 'the profane'. In Durkheim's usage it connoted one or all of the following: commonness (work, 'an eminent form of profane activity'); minor sacredness (the less sacred is

⁶ see p.28 (Lukes 1975) 'It is difficult to dissent from Stanner's judgment that this dichotomy [that is between the sacred and the profane] is 'empirically inadequate'and 'caught up in conceptual and logical difficulties', that it makes for 'too many difficulties of classification and analysis, and the heuristic value if illusory'; and that it was due to following false ethnographic leads'

'profane' in relation to the more sacred); non sacredness (the two classes 'have nothing in common') and anti-sacredness (profane things can 'destroy' sacredness). Things so disparate cannot form a class unless a class can be marked by a property, its absence, and its contrary. To retain the categorical usage is unjustifiable. (1967 P. 232)

Stanner thinks Durkheim used the word 'profane' in quite contradictory ways. How, he asks, can 'profane' cover things that are partially sacred and things that are also not sacred at all? The other main criticism Stanner made of Durkheim's work in *The Elementary Forms* was that he had never been to Australia and had no direct experience of aboriginal life. Although Stanner recognised the importance and originality of the work, he found that it was not only based on a false categorisation but also lacked authenticity because it used secondary data derived from the data collections of aboriginal life assembled by anthropologists such as Water Baldwin Spencer and Francis Gillen. Stanner's criticisms show one of the problems with taking a dualistic approach to the data. Durkheim claimed that the sacred and profane division was universal despite widespread local differences between what might be considered sacred and what might be profane ('But while the forms of the contrast vary, the fact is universal' Durkheim 2001 p. 38). Stanner felt that this division led to misunderstandings of aboriginal life, which was much more interdependant than Durkheim's misleading classification of the radically differentiated sacred and profane would suggest. A ritual practice which allows people to paint each other but not themselves is not radically different from a group in a joint religious rite which allows this self painting (p. 231 Stanner 1967). He accepts that there are aboriginal acts that can profane sacred things, actions such as trespassing on ritual ground, but some items, such as food for example, might be partially sacred or sacred in certain circumstances but not in others.

Summary

If Durkheim's classification of the sacred and the profane does not provide an adequate description of aboriginal society and belief systems, then I think it can be made to work in the world of education. He used the terms to describe the relationship between individual consciousness and a 'collective consciousness' but I hope to show that the sacred and the profane can be applied in an educational

context without keeping strictly to Durkheim's idea of the collective consciousness. As I show later (Section 2.5), when Habermas refers to the sacred and the profane he also retains Durkheim's collective consciousness but he was critical of how Durkheim articulates the relationship between individual consciousness and collective consciousness. I now want to find out how Durkheim himself used the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' in relation to education in France, and then look at how scholars who use Durkheim's categorisation, like Basil Bernstein and Jurgen Habermas, make use of the terms. Before I do that I want to look at how the ideas of the sacred and the profane have been used in another but very different religious context, the world of medieval Europe in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries CE.

2.2 The sacred and the profane in Medieval Europe

Brown's paper (1975) analysing some of the changes that occurred in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries in Western Europe focused on how changes in religious practice, in social organisation, changes in the role of the state and monarchy as well as literary changes, can be seen through ideas of the sacred and the profane. Prior to the eleventh century, he says, the sacred and the profane were mixed and intertwined but, during the eleventh century and after, the sacred and the profane, it seems, became disengaged. Brown uses the example of the ecclesiastical Ordeal to illustrate his argument. In the eleventh century, secular disputes over land or cattle ownership, or establishing guilt in crimes such as poisoning, witchcraft or murder, could be settled through Ordeal. An Ordeal was a ritualistic process carried out by the church on church land under the auspices of a priest or other ecclesiastical dignitary, whereby the litigant in a secular case would have to undergo an Ordeal to establish their guilt or innocence.

An Ordeal might require a litigant to hold a red hot length of iron for nine paces, or put an arm in a cauldron of boiling water. The Ordeal was a lengthy, public, almost theatrical, ritualistic process through which the community could establish for itself the guilt or innocence of the litigant. It was conducted in such a way that neither the litigant nor the accuser would lose face and respect because the source

of the decision is derived from the supernatural, the sacred made apparent in the life of the community. The community recognised the word of God, as declared through the ordeal, and by that recognition could solve the problem of wrong doing and crime within the community. The profane world of the community with its property rights, ownership, and criminal misdemeanours, was, by the way of the Ordeal, infused by the sacred, the word of God. For Brown it is the community aspect of the Ordeal which is the most significant. When Lateran Council IV of 1215 forbade priests from pronouncing the liturgical blessing in the Ordeal, so ending the church's engagement in the process of Ordeal, the practice was continued in those areas where the community identity was strong enough to allow it to continue.

Brown explains this relationship between community and the sacred in this passage:

What we have found in the ordeal is not a body of men acting on specific beliefs about the supernatural; we have found instead specific beliefs held in such a way as to enable a body of men to act. The type of community that was prevalent in pre twelfth-century Europe found in this particular form of the mingling of sacred and profane an elegant and appropriate solution to some of its problems. When the type of community survives intact, the ordeal or avatars of the ordeal survive with it..... The sacred, therefore, was intimately connected with the life of the group on every level. At the same time, however, it was operative because it was thought of as radically different from the human world into which it penetrated (Brown 1975 pp 140- 141)

The sacred here, as with Durkheim ,is expressed through the life of the community or group. It was the community that established guilt or innocence based on their interpretation of how the sacred had manifested itself in the ordeal. After the twelfth century the division between the sacred and the profane world seemed more sharply defined. The same Lateran Council⁷ that forbade priestly involvement

⁷ Lateran Council IV seems to have had a far reaching effect on church teaching, as stated here: 'The canons of Lateran IV were ambitious in their regulatory scope. For example, a new crusade was ordered, the necessity of confession once a year was mandated, the technical term "transubstantiation" was put on the books for the first time, the practice of ordeals was regulated, and, Jews and Muslims were ordered to wear garments that defined their religious otherness so that intermixing might be avoided. Read together, the various canons evinced a desire for Christian purity as demarcated by the papacy. Strict borders were drawn, in precise language, as to the borders of

in the ritual of the ordeal, because it was wrong to expect God to suddenly appear and settle an earthly lawsuit, also recognised the transubstantiation of Christ's body into the bread and wine of the Catholic mass. The sacred becomes more sacred, more guarded by ritual and law, as well as being more differentiated from the profane⁸.

The 1215 Lateran Council also formalised the process of confession within the church so that the penitent now had to recognise and explain their own motivations for an act as well as describing the act itself. The penance that William the Conqueror's soldiers had to carry out following the Battle of Hastings in 1066 was only related to the act of killing or wounding, a year's penance for killing, forty days' penance for wounding, and not to the soldiers' inner thoughts and desires (Morris 1972 p.70-71). This seems to indicate that as the profane became disengaged from the sacred there arose new ideas about the significance of the self and the individual in the space created between the sacred and the profane, hence the need to give account of one's own inner feelings and thoughts, and not just to describe a piece of wrongdoing. Morris, whose book (1972) explores this theme, provides other examples of these changing ideas about the self, such as the development of autobiographical writing based on St. Augustine's Confessions, new ideas about courtly love, and the growth of satirical writing using classical models. The Twelfth century veneration for the Virgin Mary, unassociated with relics and other early medieval paraphernalia, stressed the inner contemplation of an idealised individual, and what Brown called the 'pure celestial tokens' such as memories of her presence and drops of her milk. Prayer in church could be done silently and not just expressed through an authorised liturgy.

orthodox practice and belief.' Monagle, C. (2013). "Theology, Practice, and Policy at the Turn of the Thirteenth Century: the Papacy and Peter Lombard." *Journal of Religious History* 37(4): 441 - 456.

⁸ Habermas in the chapter on The Linguification of the Sacred p. 79, Habermas, J. (1987). *The Theory of Communicative Action: Volume 2 Lifeworld and System - A Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Cambridge, UK, Polity Press. describes how modern civil law has become more profane, and still retains its sacred qualities:

'Reparation in the sense of compensation for harm done belongs in the profane sphere of balancing private interests. In civil law, paying damages takes the place of expiation. It is along this axis that Durkheim marks off the evolution of law. Modern law crystallizes around the balancing of private interests, it has shed its sacred character. At the same time, the authority of the sacred cannot be dropped without replacement, for the validity has to be based on something that can bind the choices of private legal persons and obligate the parties to a contract.'

It is of course contentious to relate such an enormous theme as the rise of individualism in Western Europe to any one time and place. But Brown describes this twelfth century renaissance during which the sacred drew away from the profane in the following way:

Let us first describe the kinds of changes which, for the non-medievalist at least, may be the most significant. They cluster around a redrawing of the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. We begin in A.D. 1000, "in a world where hitherto the sacred and profane had been almost inextricably mixed." One cannot resist the impression that a release of energy and creativity analogous to a process of nuclear fission stemmed from the disengagement of the two spheres of the sacred and the profane in the succeeding two centuries. (1975 p. 134)

Brown's release of energy and creativity describes very generally what happened when the sacred separated from the profane. Alongside this release of energy there also occurred a new concern with individuality, examples of which can, he says, be found in Abelard's autobiography or the work of Bernard of Clairvaux. I would suggest that this new creativity was carried through into the world of education, where it was experienced in the new universities and schools established in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries.

Summary

The essential point I want to make through this brief excursion into the world of Twelfth century religious practice is that it is in the space created by the separation of the sacred from the profane there developed a new individualism, an individualism expressed in literature⁹, art, thought, and religious observance. The twelfth century individual looks to both the sacred and the profane and in doing so makes specific demands on the world of education as described by both Durkheim (Durkheim 1977), and, following Durkheim, Bernstein¹⁰. Neither Brown or Morris

⁹ Danielle Regnier-Bohler's chapter on Imagining the Self , in Duby, G., Ed. (1988). A History of Private Life - Volume Two: Revelations of the Medieval World. Cambridge, Massachusetts, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. on ideas about the self in medieval literature

¹⁰ Bernstein, B. (2000). Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity. Lanham, Maryland, Rowman & Littlefield. thought this new individuality was a distinctly Christian concept, as opposed to a classical idea - see p.83 'Thus the dislocation of inner and outer, to open up a new existential self, is intrinsic to

define what they mean by the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' so I've assumed that they follow a dictionary definition of the sacred as something that is consecrated, set apart or dedicated for some religious purpose or associated with a deity. 'Profane' is something that violates, abuses or misuses something that should be considered sacred. By freeing the profane from the sacred, it could be seen that the Twelfth century opened the way for Thirteenth century Thomism and the union of Aristotelian thought with Christianity. The natural world becomes an object of study at the same time as ideas about God and association with God become more a matter of inner contemplation and thought. Both Durkheim and Bernstein trace the development of education in Western Europe back to this early medieval world where Christian ideas and way of thinking about education were developing from Classical thought.

I now want to explore how Durkheim's ideas about religious thought relate to his ideas about educational practice, and how that is related to his ideas about the sacred and the profane. It is clear from Durkheim's work on religious topics that he saw both these terms quite generally, and not just as an expression of religious or irreligious thinking. They seem to be more about the relationship between thought and the social and personal worlds in which thought occurs, and not just, as they were for Brown and Morris, related to ideas about God and an association with God. Through the Ordeal, the community looked at the evidence before it and decided how that evidence expressed the sacred word of God. Sacredness was a community decision, blessed by the priest. The sacred can be anything, as Durkheim stated in quotation 1, sanctioned by the community for a sacred purpose. In the thirteenth century the sacred separated from the profane, and, in the space created between them, there arose a new individualism, so the sacred became more private and more contemplative, and the profane, through Thomist science, became more secure in its understanding of the material world.

Christianity. It is not Greek.' It appears from both Brown and Morris that this individuality itself emerges within a particular Christian tradition within the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

2.3 The Sacred and the Profane in Durkheim's History of Educational Thought

The dislocation between Trivium and Quadrivium [the two parts of the medieval school and university curriculum as described by Durkheim and Bernstein, my brackets] then is a dislocation between inner and outer. A dislocation as a precondition for a new creative synthesis between inner and outer generated by Christianity. Perhaps more than this. The Trivium came first because the construction of the inner, the valid inner, the true inner, is a necessary precondition that the understanding of the world will also be valid, will also be true, will also be acceptable, in terms of the discourse of Christianity. The sacredness of the world is guaranteed or should be guaranteed by the appropriate construction of the inner, of the Christian self.

(Bernstein 2000 p. 83)

In this passage, the world becomes sacred through contact with the inner world of the self. Bernstein equates the inner world of the self with the Trivium and the external outer world with the Quadrivium. He then goes on in the paper to apply this division to the modern world, where the Trivium becomes the Social Sciences, he calls them the disciplines of symbolic control, and the Quadrivium, becomes 'specialised disciplines'. This seems to contradict Durkheim's account of the sacred being the social and the profane being concerned with the individual. But Bernstein qualifies his choice of the word 'inner' by stating that he is referring to the 'true' and 'valid' inner. I would suggest that this true inner is the sacred as an expression of Durkheim's collective consciousness, the consciousness that contains the total of all individual consciousnesses. Because sociology, in Durkheimian terms, is capable of understanding this collective consciousness it then becomes as Bernstein states¹¹, the new Trivium.

¹¹ see Bernstein 2001 p. 85 'What we are seeing is the growing development of the specialised disciplines of the Quadrivium, and the disciplines of the Trivium have become the disciplines of symbolic control - the social sciences for the management of feelings, thoughts, relations and practices.'

However I do not find Bernstein's argument about the relationship between the Trivium and Christianity here very convincing. Whilst I accept the division between the Trivium and the Quadrivium in medieval education, I think the terms were contested and challenged. In 1159 Thomas Beckett, who was the Lord Chancellor of England at the time, asked John of Salisbury to write a refutation of a group of scholars who rejected the Trivium, thinking there was no need to teach Dialectic, Grammar or Logic, and that the only purpose of education was to accumulate wealth. Scholars such as these, they were called Cornificians¹² by John of Salisbury, gave courses in Canterbury, Chartres and Paris, so their work was quite wide spread and popular with students as they promised quick results for less money. Brown and Morris both state that new ideas about individuality developed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and that these changes developed within the Christian tradition, and were not, as Bernstein suggested, a part of it from the beginning. Other studies of Medieval education(Orme 2006) seem to dispense with the distinction between Trivium and Quadrivium and concentrate more on what was actually taught and learnt in Medieval schools. Orme quotes the seven year old boy in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale who turns to his older colleague to ask him what the Latin words he is learning by heart actually mean, the older child replies:

I kan namoore expounde in this mateere.
I lerne song; I kan but smal grammeere. (Chaucer 1975 l.83-84)

Neither boy can understand the Latin words which they have been made to learn. This learning by heart, especially when it was associated, as here, with corporal punishment ("And shal be beten thries in an hour" says the child), doesn't appear to be associated with any inner sacred qualities. Orme states that university colleges were set up in large cities such as Northampton and Salisbury as well as Oxford and Cambridge, but only the latter two survived, perhaps because both universities were some distance away from the centres of clerical power, were free of the church's influence and had more control over their own affairs. Unlike

¹² The term is taken from the name of the leader of this group, who was called Cornificius, a name made up by John of Salisbury. See Tobin, R. B. (1984). "The Cornifician motif in John of Salisbury's Metalogicon." *History of Education* 13(1): 1 - 16. McGarry, D. D. (1948). "Educational Theory in the Metalogicon of John of Salisbury." *Speculum* 23(4 (Oct 1948)): 659 - 675. and Howarth, M. A. (1949). "The Translatio Studii in the Carolingian Renaissance." *The Classical Bulletin* 26(Jan 1st 1949): 52 - 53.

the University of Paris, neither university was set up in a centre of ecclesiastical power such as London, Canterbury or Winchester. Oxford was based in the diocese of Lincoln, which was 120 miles away, and Cambridge in the diocese of Ely. Durkheim records the conflicts between the University of Paris and Notre Dame Cathedral , which led to the relocation of the university to the left bank of the Seine. But the connection between the university and the church was advantageous to both. Members of the university, as members, could not be tried in secular courts; financially the university would be more secure but it was also placed under papal control. The Twelfth century seems to have been a time of immense change where new ideas about education were created, as well as the development of new commercial practices and new sources of wealth. Accounts of medieval education describe a world of bitter rivalry and conflict, where the sacred and the profane both need each other and contest with each other.

The relationship between the church and the university seems, in both France and England, to be one of conflict and contestation. It is from this division in the medieval curriculum that Durkheim constructs an idea of knowledge that has both an inner sacred world and an outer profane world.

Between the one and the other there stretched the whole of that abyss which separates the sacred from the profane, the secular from the religious. This enables us to explain a phenomena which dominates the whole of our academic and educational development : this is that if schools began by being essentially religious, from another point of view as soon as they had been constituted they tended of their own accord to take on an increasingly secular character. This is because from the moment that they appeared in history they contained with themselves a principle of circularity. This principle was not something they acquired (we know not how) from outside in the course of their evolution: it was innate in them. Feeble and rudimentary to begin with it grew and developed; from being in the background it passed gradually into the foreground, but it existed from the very beginning. From their origins the schools carried within themselves the germ of that great struggle between the sacred and the profane, the secular and religious, whose history we shall have to retrace. (1977 p. 25-26)

In these lectures¹³, Durkheim views the history of education in France as a 'great struggle' between the sacred and the profane. But a struggle suggests a relationship which appeared not to be the case when Durkheim explored ideas about the sacred and the profane in his study of religion in aboriginal societies. There he found a 'logical gulf' between the sacred and the profane:

The sacred thing is par excellence that which the profane must not and cannot touch with impunity. This prohibition surely makes all communication impossible between the two worlds; for if the profane could enter into relations with the sacred, the sacred would serve no purpose. Now, this contact is always in itself a delicate operation that requires precautions and a more or less complicated initiation; but it is not even possible unless the profane loses its specific features and becomes sacred to some extent. The two genera cannot be brought together and still maintain their separate natures.(Durkheim 2001 p.39)

Stanner had questioned the adequacy of Durkheim's categorisation of the sacred and the profane but here Durkheim states clearly the essential difference between the two categories: the profane cannot become sacred because if it does then it is no longer profane. At the same time Durkheim does allow some doubt, or at least some flexibility, in his description by using phrases such as 'a delicate operation', 'a more or less complicated initiation' and 'to some extent' to describe behaviour which is sacred. In the world of education, and, it seems, education in Paris in 800 - 1000 CE, there is a necessary communication between the sacred and the profane. The church was required to teach, but teaching required a knowledge of the profane Classical civilisation, and particularly a knowledge of Latin. In England it appears that a child would first learn by heart a religious text such as The Lord's Prayer, in Latin, and only later when their knowledge of Latin had improved would they move on to a classical text like Virgil's Aeneid(Orme 2006 p.30). For Durkheim the key text here is St. Augustine's De Doctrina Christiana, which is a statement of how an understanding of Christian scripture required knowledge of Latin and Classical texts. Education begins in the Church, in the cathedral and monastic schools, but its pedagogy has to use classical models of education and

¹³ Durkheim's The Evolution of Educational Thought..... was never published as a complete text in his lifetime but is taken from his notes for a course of lectures he gave at the University of Paris between 1904 and 1913 to graduate students who were going on to teach in lycees in France. The passage I have quoted is taken from Chapter 2 which equates with the second lecture on the course.

the Latin language because there is no other¹⁴. I do not want to track how the sacred and the profane are presented by Durkheim throughout his history of French education but I think it is helpful to provide three further examples of how the categories influence some episodes in French education and which demonstrate the relationship between the sacred and the profane.

Durkheim relates the organisation and constitution of the medieval University of Paris with scholasticism¹⁵. Morris and Brown both view scholasticism as one of the developments that resulted from the changed relationship between the sacred and the profane, evidence for which was provided by the rulings contained in the Lateran Council of 1215. The social organisation of knowledge in the medieval university of Paris relates the structure of the university with the dominant scholastic philosophy. The University of Paris had four faculties in the Thirteenth century: Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. Durkheim concentrates on the Arts faculty because it was essentially different from and much larger than the other faculties. It appeared to have a lower status, it provided what was a secondary education for boys aged about thirteen and fourteen, consisting of Latin grammar and Dialectic. This seems to equate with Bernstein's Trivium but Durkheim saw Dialectic as a profane subject¹⁶. Theology was the more sacred subject, but this faculty was small, at one time it had, says Durkheim, only eight tutors. Very little theology or religious instruction was actually taught in Paris, it appears, and not before the Sixteenth century Reformation. Most medieval education in the university was concerned with logic and dialectic, which was presented in lengthy debates and arguments. Although dialectic was used in sacred learning, in theology, it was only a means to achieving this sacred end. However in doing so it took on what Durkheim called 'an aura of sanctity' (1977 p. 165) which suggests

¹⁴ An example of the difficulty this might cause to a Twelfth century teacher, in Chartres, is provided by Bernard Silvestri's commentary on teaching the first six books of Virgil's Aeneid, where the teacher, Bernard, provides a Christian or Pauline interpretation of Classical myth. Pike, D. L. (1998). "Bernard Silvestri's Descent into the Classics: The *Commentum super sex libros Aeneidos*." *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 4(3 (Winter 1998)): 343 - 363.

¹⁵ see p.95 'This complexity in the organic constitution of the University is a magnificent expression of the system of ideas which was its soul. Indeed we ought already to have caught a glimpse of what we shall see more clearly in what follows: that the university was the institution in which that particular philosophy flourished which has been called scholastic philosophy.' (Durkheim 1977)

¹⁶ see p. 106 'the vast majority of students did not look beyond the profane learning which dialectic constituted' (Durkheim 1977)

that the division between sacred and the profane was more blurred than was the case in Durkheim's work on religious thought, in *The Elementary Forms*. Other subjects, the profane worldly subjects such as astronomy, mathematics, and natural history, were taught in special lessons outside the official teaching hours. In Durkheim's medieval world there is more profanity than sacredness, but the two did exist together, which was not, it appears, the case during the Renaissance.

In the Renaissance, particularly in the work of Rabelais, Durkheim finds a different kind of sacredness, which he calls 'the supreme state of blessedness' (Durkheim 1977 p.189) that comes from the acquisition of any kind of knowledge, which is an end in itself and not related to any other aim. But here, and more so with ideas about education in the work of Erasmus and Montaigne, Durkheim finds what he calls 'an 'educational nihilism', (1977 p. 225) where education becomes an activity of the wealthy, or those with leisure, ' a mere aristocratic game', a form of dillitentism. Jesuitical education offered a development on this position in the sixteenth century, by renewing the connection between the sacred and the profane. Jesuits were not allowed to teach in Paris, as members of a religious order, because the University of Paris monopolised religious teaching, but if they taught as a secular organisation then they betrayed their religious calling. Their solution to this problem was to establish separate Jesuit colleges such as the one at La Fleche attended by Descartes. Whilst this renewed the link with the sacred, the children who went to the new Jesuit colleges were intensively trained in both Classical and Christian texts, but science and understanding of the natural world, the profane world, were neglected. Durkheim's description here of the sacred is used later by Bernstein¹⁷, stating that for Christianity it is the mind, or rather the soul, that is sacred, whilst the natural world is vile and profane.¹⁸ Education should, it was thought, be concerned with the mind and the soul, with what was

¹⁷ Bernstein states (Bernstein 2000 p.83) 'The sacredness of the world is guaranteed or should be guaranteed by the appropriate construction of the inner, the truly Christian self. Thus, whereas the apparent form of the discourse is Greek , the message is Christian. More than this the deep grammar of the Trivium, Quadrivium, that is, its paradigmatic and syntagmatic features, is a metaphor of the new dislocation between inner and outer that Christianity itself introduced and resolved.'

¹⁸ Durkheim states 'For Christianity, by contrast,[the contrast here is with the thought of Socrates] it is the mind, the consciousness of man, which is regarded as sacred and ineffable; for the soul, this principle of our inner life, is a direct emanation of the divine. As for the world it is defined in terms of matter; and matter is something profane, vile, degrading and antagonistic to the spirit and the source of evil and sin. (Durkheim 1977 p.282)

highest in the world, and not with what was the most base. This changes in the nineteenth century where science, and positivist thinking is brought into education, so that Durkheim then finds it, he says, 'an essential element in the older humanistic education which was for so long completely dominant' (p. 342)

As Durkheim brings science into education, in his reflections on education in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, at the same time he introduces the study of language and grammar which he sees as a method of introducing order and system into thought. In that sense there always seems to remain an essential duality between the sacred and the profane in his thinking about education. In fact the persistence of this duality can be seen in a paper he presented(Durkheim 1979) on sex education¹⁹. Here he argues against taking a strictly religious view of sex education but looks instead to preserve the distinction between the sacred and the profane in order to ensure that sex, 'this curiously complex act' preserves a sense of modesty and dignity.

I have outlined some of the features of Durkheim's distinction between the sacred and the profane through his history of French education. The two categories are clearly essential to his analysis. Although they are linked to religion, the last example I gave on sex education, as well as the passages I quoted at the start of the chapter from the paper, 'Concerning the definition of religious phenomena' (Durkheim 1994), shows that he does use these terms to define differences that are not religious. Both terms are used in a quite general way. The term 'sacred' is only rarely combined with a specific subject, although it is probably correct to see Theology as sacred whenever it was taught. Certain subjects, such as the medieval Dialectic, are profane, but in fact both terms are used to assign qualities to other subjects or areas of the curriculum. Theology can become profane when it is linked to Dialectic, as in the medieval curriculum. When considering how an object or item becomes sacred, Durkheim asks us not to turn to religion but to the thoughts that gave that object its sacred quality. The sacred inspires both the social forces that have given to the sacred object, its sacrality,

¹⁹ L'éducation sexuelle, séance du 28 février 1911 Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie

and the realisation of its sacredness in our own selves. In the next passage Durkheim makes it very clear that the sacred is not part of the rock or piece of ground that has been made sacred by some process of initiation. For anyone who has not been a part of that process the rock remains a rock. It is only sacred to those people who have engaged in the mental and social process of initiation.

But we shall more effectively account for the phenomenon [of the sacred] we are trying to understand if, instead of considering the already established notion of religious forces, we go back to the mental process that formed it.

We have seen that the sacred character of an entity does not inhere in any of its intrinsic attributes. [...]²⁰ Religious feelings are constituted by impressions of consolation and dependence which society's influence provokes in one's consciousness. Through such impressions, these emotions are not tied to the idea of any specific object, but because they are emotions, and they are particularly intense, they are also eminently contagious. They are like a drop of oil that spreads to all the other mental states that occupy the mind at the time..... In this way these objects themselves take on a religious value which is not really inherent in them but is conferred on them from the outside. Therefore contagion is not a kind of secondary procedure by which the sacred character, once acquired, is propagated; it is the very process by which it is acquired. Sacredness sets in by contagion, so it is not surprising that it is transmitted by contagion as well. (Durkheim 2001 p.241)

It is the inner quality of the sacred that is important to Durkheim not the external object that has been made sacred through contemplation or some sacral-giving process. The sacred is a much broader category than the religious. For a Christian believer, certain items used in churches, the cross, the robes of the priest, the vessels containing the bread and wine of the blessed sacrament, are sacred. They have been made sacred by the community of Christian believers. Following this line of thought it appears that the power of the sacred lies not in the items themselves but in the social force, the thought process that gives to those items used in the Christian church their sacral quality. Because Durkheim is concerned here with thought processes, and not things in themselves, these thought processes have a fluidity that can flow anywhere even into the profane world. This fluidity gives to

²⁰ In the Cosman edition of *The Elementary Forms*, three dots in square brackets indicates a deletion made by the translator from the 1991 Lives de Poche French edition.

the sacred both its contagious quality and the need to maintain a rigid boundary between it and the profane world. The contagion, which can move anywhere, has to be guarded against and kept away from the profane.

Douglas (Douglas 1966 p. 27) thought that this idea of contagion was a weakness in Durkheim's thinking about religion because it did not recognise the difference between religious thinking and magic. How, she asks, can contagious non-sacred magic be different from contagious sacred religion ? But, as with Stanner's criticisms of Durkheim, my concern here is not with making distinctions between religion and magic in an anthropologically reliable manner but in working out how these terms, the sacred and the profane, can be applied to the world of education.

Summary

Durkheim does not use the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' to define distinct classes or categories of ideas or thoughts or behaviours, so I think Stanner was wrong to be so critical of these terms in his paper on Durkheim's book *The Elementary Forms*. The sacred and the profane are terms used to describe, quite generally, other areas of thought and activity; they describe domains of ideas, rather than distinct classes or categories of ideas, which is why Durkheim can write about the 'domain of the sacred' and the 'domain of the profane' (Durkheim 1977 p. 46) Sometimes, as Stanner realised, these terms overlap; areas of activity, curriculum areas, concepts or ideas, can be more or less sacred or more or less profane. The position of Dialectic, a method of argument and dispute, which Durkheim called 'profane' , when placed within a sacred Theology degree course in a medieval curriculum is an example of this overlap. Whilst I accept Durkheim's view that the sacred and the profane are mutually exclusive, the sacred cannot at the same time be the profane, the terms are very closely linked. They coexist together so that the sacred always implies the profane. Whenever Durkheim uses the word 'sacred' it will usually be preceded, or followed sooner or later, by the word 'profane'. The two ideas are used together to describe a form of engagement, or a stance taken, with regard to a group of ideas or activities related to a person or group of persons. When that person or group of persons is focussed on a single subject, when that subject is

separated from other subjects and requires introspection and a more inward looking focus , and where the thought processes are of an abstract nature, then that form of engagement is 'sacred'. Conversely when the person or group focus on more than one subject and on the world, on things outside themselves, a more outward looking approach, then the form of engagement is profane. The two foci or ways of thinking are mutually exclusive, but they can sit close together, they can even combine together, but the sacred cannot be, at the same time, profane. There is then an engagement between the sacred and the profane, they are not two separate entities but actually seem to work together. The sacred Theology of the University of Paris needed the profane Dialectic as a method of argument, so students could not progress to Theology until they had done a course in Dialectic.

2.4 Bernstein's ideas about the sacred and the profane

Bernstein used the terms 'sacred' and 'profane' in the early paper on Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge (Bernstein 1971 pages 202-230). Sacred knowledge is a knowledge with strong classification and strong framing to protect its sacredness. Changes to that classification and framing can lead to a kind of defilement of the sacred:

Any attempt to weaken or change classification strength (or even frame strength) maybe felt as a threat to one's identity and maybe experienced as a pollution endangering the sacred. (Bernstein 1971 p. 212)

The 'sacred' here is linked to a particular kind of subject knowledge, a knowledge that is thought, by Bernstein, to be pure, such as A Level Chemistry, Physics and Maths (1971 p. 207). Bernstein does not develop his ideas about the sacred and the profane in this paper . His idea of the sacred seems linked largely to ideas about identity and a person's loyalty to a subject. The profane is mentioned in relation to knowledge (Bernstein 1971 p. 213) particularly the knowledge that is weakly classified, where the boundaries that surround that knowledge are permeable, and where knowledge structures can be easily changed and remade. But there is also, behind the knowledge categories, and the coding definitions, another

metaphysical knowledge associated with mystery and disorder, a knowledge of the unknown and what he calls the yet to be realised. Those people who have been initiated into this knowledge, Bernstein's word is 'socialised', are a select few, like a priesthood, to whom these mysteries have been revealed. He writes:

Any collection code involves a hierarchical organisation of knowledge such that the ultimate mystery of the subject is revealed very late in the educational life. By the ultimate mystery of the subject I mean its potential for creating new realities. It is also the case, and this is important, that the ultimate mystery of the subject is not coherence but incoherence: not order but disorder, not the known but the unknown. As this mystery, under collection codes, is revealed very late in the educational life - and then only to a select few who have shown the signs of successful socialisation - then only the few experience in their bones the notion that knowledge is permeable, that its orderings are provisional, that the dialectic of knowledge is closure and openness. (1971 p. 214)

Much of this paper is concerned with access to knowledge and the control of that knowledge as well as the organisational structures that allow control to be exercised at secondary school level. This control of knowledge is described in terms of classification, how knowledge is structured generally within the school, and framing, which describes how knowledge is presented and developed within the classroom, and their associated codes that indicate strong or weak classification and strong or weak framing. At the same time Bernstein does make a connection here between curriculum knowledge, how knowledge is presented and learnt at school level , and this strange, unknown, disordered, incoherent knowledge that seems to exist on a quite different level, the level perhaps of the sacred. At this stage in his argument I think Bernstein has moved away from discussing curriculum knowledge at secondary school level to considering knowledge at a university level, or at least at a more general level, where new knowledge can be developed and constructed. It seems important that there is a connection between curriculum knowledge and this other aspect of subject knowledge which is unknown and mysterious.

I am not concerned in this thesis with curriculum knowledge at the secondary school level, but I think the interest for me of this discussion is that it shows

Bernstein using the terms sacred and profane in relation to knowledge acquisition, presumably acquired from his reading of Durkheim. A more Durkheimian slant is given to this problem about knowledge in his Open Schools-Open Society paper(Bernstein 1975), where Bernstein links school organisation and structure with Durkheim's ideas of mechanical and organic solidarities. Again he uses the concept of the 'sacred'²¹ to describe knowledge that is specialised, has sharply defined boundaries so that subjects are not combined but have clear subject identities. He combines these Durkheimian structures with Mary Douglas's description of purity and impurity(Douglas 1966) who, as we have just seen, whilst acknowledging the influence of Durkheim found, like other anthropologists, that Durkheim's use of the 'sacred' was too narrow and neglected or confused sacred magic and non- sacred magic. Bernstein does compare sacred knowledge with a more profane knowledge (though Bernstein at this point does not use the word 'profane'), which is a knowledge that is more diffuse, is much broader in scope and where subjects are much less clearly defined. Bernstein says that this broad knowledge is looked on with 'abhorrence and disgust' (Bernstein 1975 p. 74) by educational authorities. This is because he thinks sacred knowledge supports traditional authorities and is 'elitist' and 'monolithic', whilst the more profane knowledge threatens the social order of things built on specialist and hierarchical forms of knowledge. In the postscript to the first volume of Class Codes and Control (Bernstein 1971 p.241)Bernstein says that the categories he originally used, the idea of open and closed, stratified and differentiated , and perhaps collection and integrated codes, were now subordinated to newer concepts of classification and framing. But the Durkheimian distinction between 'sacred' and 'profane' which he had used in Open Schools and Open Society was used again in Class Codes and Control Volume Four (Bernstein 1990), in the papers on 'Education, symbolic control and social practices' (Bernstein 1990 p.133-164) and 'The social

²¹ see pp. 73-74 'The concept of knowledge was one that partook of the 'sacred':its organisation and dissemination was intimately related to the principles of social control. Knowledge (on this view) is dangerous, it cannot be exchanged like money, it must be confined to special well-chosen persons, and even divorced from practical concerns.'

The metaphor that describes knowledge in terms of money, is used again in the paper(Bernstein 1990 p.155) 'Education, symbolic control and social practices' and in Thoughts on the Trivium and Quadrivium (Bernstein 2000p. 81-86) but here, following what Bernstein calls the marketisation of Higher Education, knowledge can now, from 1990 onwards, be exchanged like money.

construction of pedagogic discourse' (Bernstein 1990 p.165 - 218). The sacred and the profane categories were also used in the later volume *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*(Bernstein 2000) in the paper on 'Thoughts on the Trivium and the Quadrivium'. It appears that whilst many other categories in Bernstein's conceptual framework are either removed, become less prominent, or are subsumed within other categories, the idea of the sacred and the profane, and the relationship between them, remains constant throughout his work from 1971 to 2000.

Beck says,(2002 p.619) that Bernstein's use of the sacred is 'impeccably Durkheimian' in that the sacred is kept apart from the profane, although he qualifies this when he writes:

But, from another aspect, Bernstein's appropriation of Durkheim's dyad was less 'pure' because Durkheim insisted that the sacred-profane separation divided 'the whole known universe ... into two classes that embrace all that exists, but which radically exclude each other' (cited in Lukes, 1975, p. 25), whereas for Bernstein—at least in certain ways—the profane could co-exist with the sacred within the same individuals and the same modalities of identity. (Beck 2002 p.619)

But if we accept a different reading of Durkheim's use of these two domains, which is based on his *History of Education*, as well as *The Elementary Forms*, then we can also find evidence of this co-existence between the sacred and the profane in those texts. In fact Durkheim points out one of the paradoxes in the relationship between the sacred and profane when he writes , in *The Elementary Forms*:

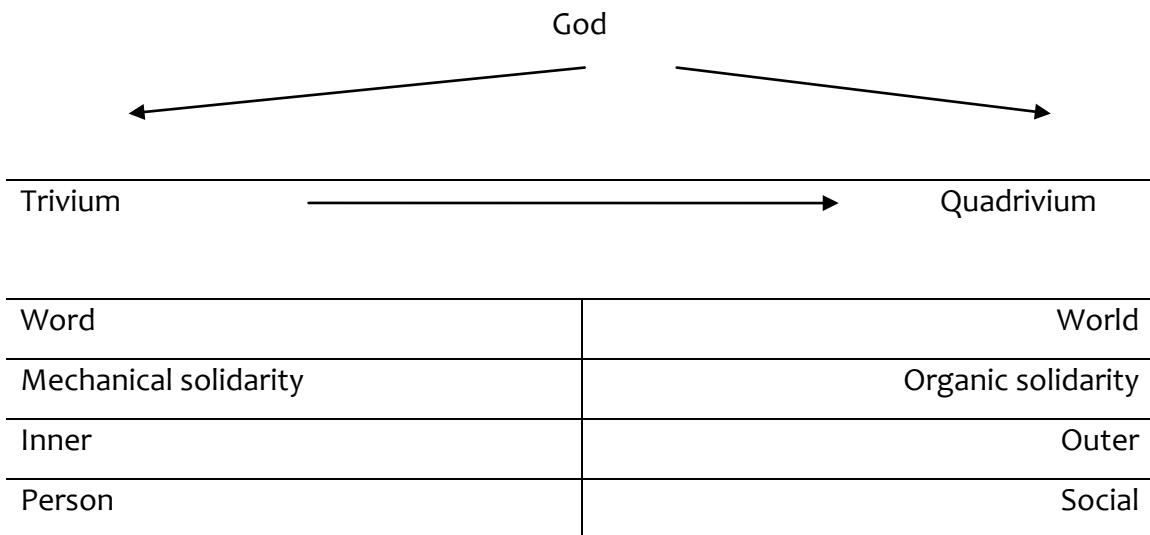
And in fact, paradoxically, the sacred world, is prone by its very nature to infiltrate that same profane world it otherwise excludes. Even as it repels it, it tends to flow into it as soon as it comes near . This is why they must be kept apart from one another and a kind of gulf must be maintained between them. (2001 p. 237)

The proximity and distance that Beck finds in Bernstein's use of the ideas of the sacred and the profane can also be found in Durkheim's essential paradox in the relationship between the two categories. The fluidity of the sacred, its contagious quality, is one of its key characteristics, and it explains one of the reasons for the need to establish secure boundaries around the subject, boundaries that Bernstein

elevated into an essential characteristic of knowledge in both schools and universities.

A further difference between Durkheim and Bernstein concerns the relationship between the Trivium and the Quadrivium. This is more than just a difference between different parts of the medieval school curriculum. Both Durkheim and Bernstein see the Trivium and the Quadrivium as having a continual influence on the world of education right down to the Twentieth century. Bernstein(1990 p.150) constructed a diagram to show the relationship between the Trivium and the Quadrivium, the Inner and the Outer, the Person and the Social, which I have reproduced here:

Figure 2



In the text, though not in the diagram, Bernstein inserts a further link by adding in the sacred and the profane:

The Trivium: inner-person-sacred —The Quadrivium: outer-social-profane
(Bernstein 1990 p. 151)

Although this diagram appears to make the relationships between these concepts quite clear in fact in the real historical world they become less distinct. We know from Durkheim that education in the Medieval world consisted largely of the Trivium with very little Quadrivium, and most education was concerned with Grammar and Dialectic, the ability to construct arguments about quite obscure topics. Just as sacred domains like Theology also included profane domains such as Dialectic, so profane subjects like Law must also have included more sacred topics

such as ecclesiastical and doctrinal or liturgical law. In the ninth and tenth centuries when education was carried out in the monasteries and cathedrals, if we accept Durkheim's view of education, there must also have been a time, even if only under the influence of St Augustine, when the sacred world of Christian observance met with the pagan, profane world of Classical literature in those early Medieval classrooms.²² A further example of the fluidity or changeability of the relationship between the sacred and the profane can be found in the work of Paul Ricoeur (1995 p. 68-69) when he wonders whether the four Gospels, which disagree on some of the fundamental aspects of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus Christ , and where there are many uncertainties about the Greek texts, are not actually profane texts when compared with the Qu'ran²³ which can only be read in Arabic, the language of the Prophet, and so has a more sacred provenance²⁴. For Christians, the Gospels are most likely to be considered sacred texts, just as for followers of Islam the Qu'ran is a sacred text. But if we place them side by side in a more secular context, then a case could be made, as Ricoeur has done, that the Qu'ran is the more sacred text.

Each of Bernstein's six categories in his diagram, including the sacred and the profane categories, as the text suggests, have quite blurred edges; each category only makes sense when it is placed alongside its associated term. A Trivium without a Quadrivium, or a Word without a World, an Inner without an Outer, lack definition, given how ill-defined the terms actually are. The vertical linkages which

²² see footnote 10 on how a teacher (Silvestri) combined Virgil and Christian doctrine in teaching at Chartres.

²³ Ricoeur writes about biblical translation as a critical act: 'Maybe in the case of Christianity there is no sacred text because it is not the text that is sacred, but the one about which it is spoken. For instance there is no privilege of the language in which it was said for the first time; it is completely indifferent whether we read it in Greek or Hebrew or Aramaic, and so on. There is already something that allows the critical act; the critical act is not forbidden by the nature of the text, because it is not a sacred text in the sense in which the Qu'ran is sacred (for a Muslim would say that to read the Qu'ran in English is not to read the Qu'ran, one must read it in Arabic) (Ricoeur 1995 p. 68). Bernstein also writes about the differences in sacrality between Christianity, Islam and Judaism, but finds Christianity the more abstract because of what he calls the dislocation of the inner and the outer (Bernstein 1990 p. 149), the lack of certainty, and the need to resolve that dislocation.

²⁴ Bernstein, and I have no evidence that he had read Ricoeur, also suggests this when he compares Islam and Judaism with Christianity: ' In Islam and Judaism there is no split between inner and outer, person and social. they are mutually embedded in the holiness of God made manifest in lived ritual and law.' (Bernstein 1990 p.151)

are sacred-person-inner-word, and profane-social-outer-world are much clearer than the horizontal linkages. But the whole model, a model for what Bernstein calls symbolic control, functions through the relationships and possible conflicts between the left hand side of the model and the right hand side. That is where the symbolic control occurs. In the same section Bernstein then relates two further categories, and they are categories of pedagogic language, to the model. Instructional discourse, the discourse of the items to be learnt, and regulative discourse, the discourse of control and social order that allows things to be learnt, can be linked to both the sacred and the profane, both can be realised in each form of discourse, although it appears that the regulative discourse for both the sacred and the profane always comes before instructional discourse²⁵. Bernstein says the Trivium is the 'fundamental regulative discourse' (p.152) because, it seems, that is the discourse that comes first, and so provides the order for other educational discourse. But the Trivium in medieval education was largely concerned with the teaching of Grammar. Grammars were written in Latin and then translated into French or English. They were also often written in verse, so that they could be more easily remembered, which was important as education became more secularised and schoolrooms lacked the resources available in the monasteries and cathedrals. Certainly Grammar was the first subject to be taught, and at least at Oxford University was supported by university statutes explaining how it would be taught. Orme (2006 p. 261 - 265) also records different teaching practices in the monasteries during the thirteenth century, depending on whether the monastery was Dominican, Franciscan, Augustinian or Carmelite. Dominican monasteries required their pupils to spend the first two years of instruction in learning song and the liturgy, leading ultimately to a course in Theology. But then it was found that studying Theology was difficult without an understanding of Logic so that was introduced at a Dominican Council in Genoa in 1305. It seems fairly clear then that medieval education in the twelfth and thirteenth century, far from being a fixed period controlled though the Trivium and Quadrivium, was actually a period of great change with new curricula and new subjects being introduced

²⁵ see also p. 151 'From our point of view this means that the initial form of socialization of agents specialising in symbolic control made instructional discourse about the abstract phenomenal world subordinate to regulative discourse: an explicit, perhaps unique recognition of language as the source of the disguise and revelation of the mind.'

depending on the needs of the monasteries and cathedrals and the abilities of the students.

Bernstein links his categories of knowledge with certain historical periods. But I am not sure how any one particular historical period can be more or less sacred or profane than any other period. If we accept Brown's argument that in pre Eleventh century Europe the sacred and the profane were combined and the sacred could be seen in the profane, then that is not to say that the Europe of that time was any more or less sacred or profane than any other time. Business studies courses in conveyancing, dictamen, letter and contract writing were run in Oxford from the Twelfth century onward, though the university did not offer degrees in these courses. The University passed a statute in 1431 (Orme 2006 p.71-72) to bring these courses under the jurisdiction of the university so that anyone teaching these courses in Oxford also had to attend university lectures in Latin. The reason for doing this is unclear - was it a case of the university trying to reassert its authority over popular courses that were beyond its control, or an attempt to maintain a standard of Latin teaching on these Business Studies courses? I do not think there is currently an answer to that question but the example shows that during the Medieval era there was, as now, a productive tension between the sacred and the profane. The knowledge categories used by Bernstein might not be historically justified in the way he describes, but that does not mean that they do not provide a useful framework with which to describe the acquisition of knowledge in any period up to and including the twenty first century.

Summary

In this section I have discussed Bernstein's use of the sacred and the profane and how these terms relate to the acquisition of knowledge both in the Medieval period and in contemporary Britain. I have shown that the relationship between the sacred and profane is necessary, it seems difficult to have the sacred without the profane, but it is also contested and ambiguous. Items, activities, or ideas cannot, it seems, be considered sacred or profane, on their own. They have to be

embedded in some other system or much wider category. That system might be a school system, such as the schools where Bernstein found the sacred subjects of A Level Physics or Chemistry, or, as Durkheim found, the whole Medieval university curriculum where the only sacred subject was Theology. In the next section I want to look at Habermas' ideas about the 'linguification' of the sacred. This concept was a development of Durkheim's categories of the sacred and the profane, coupled with his ideas about the collective consciousness and individual consciousness, together with the differences between communicative action and ritual action.

Part Two Knowledge and Discourse

2.5 Habermas and the linguification of the sacred

In this section I want to look at Habermas's idea of the linguification of the sacred. Habermas uses Durkheim's ideas about the sacred and the profane and a collective consciousness and individual consciousness but finds he misses one of the key elements in the relationship of the sacred and the profane, which is how communities or a people change from a collective consciousness that is based on ritual interaction to a collective consciousness based on communicative action. He thinks Durkheim fails to recognise the importance of language in the relationship between the sacred and the profane. To make up for this omission he introduces the idea of the linguification of the sacred to show the importance of language in that relationship. In the light of that importance, he then suggests in communicative action, and not ritualistic action, that the sacred requires the presence of the profane. This seems to have a similarity with Ricoeur's argument I quoted earlier about sacred texts, and the profanity of translation. Using language allows for the introduction of profanity, because doubt can be expressed in the Gospels over the accuracy of that language. The Qu'ran cannot be similarly doubted because it is the language of the Prophet, and is therefore more sacred.

Habermas was critical of Durkheim's account of the relationship between individual consciousness and the collective consciousness for missing the importance of language in that relationship. He said (1987 p. 57) that Durkheim neglected what he calls the linguification of the sacred. He follows Durkheim in recognising the sacred origin of the relationship between individual and collective consciousness, which is expressed in ritual action upheld by the power of the sacred, but when ritual acts are substituted by communicative acts, by language and speech, there develops a whole network of social roles, obligations, and institutions controlled by abstracted norms or laws, which is characteristic of any modern society and which is expressed through language and speech. As I follow it, Habermas is saying that the substitution of ritual acts with communicative acts required a profanation of the sacred, as what was obeyed through sacred obligation, now becomes the subject of laws and contracts:

On the other hand, sacred knowledge has to be connected to profane knowledge from the domains of instrumental action and social cooperation; this makes of religion a world view with a claim to totality. To the extent that everyday communicative practice is given its proper weight, world views have to process the profane knowledge streaming into them, the flow of which they can less and less control; they have to bring this knowledge into a more or less consistent connection with moral-practical and expressive elements of knowledge. The structural aspects of the development of religious worldviews, which Durkheim and Weber sketched in complementary ways, can be explained by the fact that the validity basis of tradition shifts from ritual action to communicative action. Convictions owe their authority less and less to the spell binding power and aura of the holy, and more and more to a consensus that is not merely reproduced but achieved, that is brought about communicatively. (Habermas 1987 p. 88-89)

The sacred has to establish a connection with the profane, as the sacred loses its power and its mystery is diluted because of the decline in ritualistic practice and the development of communicative practice.

Habermas seems here to be describing, using in part Durkheim's account of the sacred and the profane, the changes that Brown and Morris had described in

Eleventh and Twelfth Century Europe when the relationship between the sacred and the profane changed and a new individualism, and a new educational practice developed through the struggle between the sacred and the profane. Before the Eleventh century Brown had seen the sacred and the profane as combined, with the sacred made visible in the profane through such legal practices as the Medieval Ordeal. Durkheim had found that the sacred had become more profane through the educational practice in the monasteries and cathedrals. The sacred liturgy and doctrine had to be taught so that future generations could be brought up in the church, and it could only be taught through the medium of Latin, a pagan language. It was the requirement to communicate, to use language, which, as Habermas observed in the passage I have just quoted using the terms of ritualistic and communicative interaction, that led to the profanation of the sacred, the dissolution of the sacred and the establishment of new and profane institutions, the secular schools and secular universities of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Durkheim saw the development of French education, from the Eleventh century onwards, as a struggle between the sacred and the profane. I think the relationship between the sacred and the profane continues, but in secular terms, into the twenty first century. I think it is now possible to see in the data I have collected that the sacred needs the profane, and that there can, following Habermas, be no sacred without its profane aspect

2.6 Bernstein's three categories of knowledge: singular, regional, and generic knowledge

Bernstein used three knowledge categories, which he also called performance modes, in his paper(2000 p.50-53) called singular knowledge, regional knowledge and generic knowledge. As I pointed out in Section 2.4 , Bernstein also referred to an idea of knowledge that contained the Trivium, which was more sacred and included an idea of the inner self , and the Quadrivium, which was profane and was created by that inner self and allowed for the construction of a knowledge of

the world. I am not sure that the division between Trivium knowledge and Quadrivium knowledge was as sharp or as clear cut as Bernstein described. I would like to suggest that Bernstein's additional knowledge categories of singular, regional and generic knowledge can be used alongside the sacred and profane categories. The categories of the sacred and the profane are useful, aside from their other-worldly and wordly qualities, because of their ambiguities, and the paradoxical nature of the relationship between the two categories. Singular, regional and generic knowledge, using Bernstein's description, appear as much more straightforward categories and seem more closely linked to modern curricula.

Bernstein's definition of singular knowledge is as follows:

A discipline is a specialized discrete discourse, with its own intellectual field of texts, practices, rules of entry, modes of examination and principles of distributing success and privileges, e.g. physics, chemistry, mathematics, history, psychology, sociology, economics, linguistics etc. Disciplines, or singulars are on the whole narcissistic, orientated to their own development rather than to applications outside themselves. (1990 p.156)
From this definition a singular is a specific subject, such as might appear in a secondary school or university curriculum. Bernstein relates these singulars to 'inwardness' which appears to be the sacred inner quality that gives to knowledge its singularity. People, learners, scholars, identify with singulars, and acquire a sense of identity through that knowledge, which Bernstein called 'the lynchpin of the identity' (1971 p. 212).

Regional knowledge, that is knowledge clustered together in regions, are singulars or subjects that have been grouped together to form a wider entity. Typical regions are knowledge areas such as architecture, engineering, and medicine. They look outward to the real world, and are related to defined areas of work. Bernstein felt there was an increased regionalisation of knowledge caused by wider social and economic changes in society, which were breaking down the link between knowledge and personal identity. As I will show in Chapters Four, Five and Six it appears there is an increased regionalisation of knowledge in universities, but I am not sure how this might link to wider societal change. I also

do not see why personal identity should only be linked to singular knowledge and not regional and generic forms of knowledge.

Bernstein first used the term ‘generic’²⁶ in Class Codes and Control Volume Four (1990 p.161) but the term was developed in the later volume Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity (2000 p.54-55). It appears, for Bernstein, as less of a subject, whether singular or regional, and more as a personal capacity enabling the person to acquire more knowledge, in effect to be trained to acquire more skill and ability. He equated this kind of knowledge with the term ‘trainability’ which he regarded as ‘socially empty’ (2000 p.59). I want to suggest that these three forms of knowledge can have a sacred side, a side that is more abstract, more concerned with principles and founding ideas, more speculative, a side that is perhaps more linked to Bernstein’s unknowable category, as well as a more profane side attached to the real, lived, experiential world. It might be the case that singular subjects are more sacred than regional or generic subjects, and that, with increased regionality, subjects become less sacred, although the evidence I have assembled does not suggest that.

2.7 Knowledge and Pedagogic Discourse: the Regulative and the Instructional modes

As I said earlier, I want to qualify my use of the categories of the sacred and the profane with Bernstein’s categories of singular knowledge, regional and generic knowledge. These three additional categories will clarify my description of how knowledge is presented in the three courses from which I have recorded two tutorials and two seminars by showing the relationships between different kinds of knowledge on these courses. In doing this I also need to analyse the language used in these tutorials and seminars so that it relates to the knowledge presented

²⁶ “...the generic form of the organisation of knowledge entailed a dislocation between two different discourses: a general discourse concerned with a body of knowledge called ‘education’ and specific discourses called professional subjects.” Bernstein, B. (1990). Class Codes and Control Volume Four - The Structuring of Pedagogical Discourse - London, Routledge.

in those tutorials and seminars. I think this will show how, using Habermas's idea of the linguification of the sacred, sacred and profane knowledge are related to discourse. I think Bernstein's concept of a regulative discourse and an instructional discourse is a useful way of describing how language relates to knowledge. Bernstein used these concepts to explain his ideas about pedagogic discourse. A pedagogic discourse is developed by a process of recontextualisation, whereby for example, a midwifery discourse, or a discourse about the translation of Ancient Greek texts, is transformed into a pedagogy through the addition of certain pedagogic rules. There are two kinds of pedagogic rule: the regulative rule and the instructional rule. A regulative rule is expressed through the way order and control is maintained within any pedagogic context. This is demonstrated through the relationship between the tutor, or teacher, who is transmitting or expressing the knowledge and the student who is receiving or processing the knowledge. Instructional rules are expressed through the pacing or sequencing of the pedagogy, the way the instruction or the pedagogic delivery is expressed over time, and through the criteria used to make judgments about what has been learnt.

Bernstein expresses these recontextualising relationships, the relationship between knowledge and discourse within a pedagogic context such as a tutorial or seminar, like this:

Pedagogic discourse embeds rules which create skills of one kind or another and rules regulating their relationship to each other, and rules which create social order. We shall call the discourse which creates specialised skills and their relationships to each other *instructional discourse*, and the moral discourse which creates order, relations and identity *regulative discourse*. We can write it as follows:

INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE	ID
REGULATIVE DISCOURSE	RD

This is to show that the instructional discourse is embedded in the regulative discourse, and the regulative is the dominant discourse.

Pedagogic discourse is the rule which leads to the embedding of one discourse in another, to create one text, to create one discourse. (Bernstein 2000 p.30)

Bernstein describes pedagogic discourse here as a rule, not as a thing in itself. It seems to be a system or a principle that allows other things to happen, a transformational process containing both the regulative and the instructional. Described in this way the subject in the pedagogic discourse is the student herself, the person who is doing the learning, the person who has the consciousness that learns, or acquires knowledge. The student is always on the verge, or the hinge²⁷, between the thinkable and the unthinkable, between what is known and what is yet to be known. Moore(2013), following Beck (2002)and Bernstein (2000 p.54), used the figure of the Roman God Janus, the God of beginnings and changes, of doorways and hinges, as a way of characterising this process of transformation. Janus is the god of the transformation, (see Fig 2) which describes the relationship between what is known, and has gone before, and what is yet to be known, and comes after. Just as the instructional is embedded in the regulative, so the unknowable, or more accurately the yet to be known, is embedded in the knowable. The regulative is always known but it is through the instructional discourse that the unknowable, the yet to be known, becomes known.

²⁷ Harrè, R. (2009). "Wittgenstein's therapies: From rules to hinges." *New Ideas in Psychology* 27: 118 - 132. Harrè develops Wittgenstein's idea of hinge propositions to account for those things that people ascribe to, are often left unsaid, but without which other propositions or rules, ideas would be untenable. An example, used by Harrè, of a hinge would be a statement such as "human beings are sexually dimorphous". A whole series of ideas or even rules about differences between men and women might be linked to that statement, and given some cultural or historical justification, but I do not have to keep reminding myself that humans are sexually dimorphous. The hinge proposition in this section might be that there is a difference between what is known and what is yet to be known. Another hinge proposition might be that the profane is different from the sacred.

Figure 2. Janus – the God of transformations, beginnings and endings



(Moore 2013 p.114)

The Janus-like switch from one moment to another represents the pedagogic moment when new knowledge is acquired, a switch from the past, what is known, to the future and what is unknown. It also can be seen as a change in perspective where one image is transformed into another quite different image. Pedagogy appears to be a transformation where the known is created out of the unknown, the known being foreshadowed by the unknown. This transformation is carried out by what Bernstein called the pedagogic device which is a set of rules, the rule that embeds the instructional in the regulative for example, that govern pedagogic discourse.

The sacred and the profane can be found in both regulative and instructional discourse. As I will show in the Homer tutorial (Chapter Six) there are examples of regulative discourse that are profane, because it is a discussion of the university assessment standards, but also has elements of the sacred, when the tutor is querying the student's own acquired knowledge. Bernstein describes how this process is made real in the classroom, in Chapter Two of *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity* (Bernstein 2000), but his explanation is quite abstract. He explains the rules of the pedagogic device but does not show how they might work in real time, at a particular pedagogic moment in a classroom. By analysing actual pedagogic discourse as used in certain seminars and tutorials in modern universities I hope to show a relationship between how the knowledge is conveyed and acquired by the tutor and student, and how that is reflected in the

student's identity, the student's idea of herself, as articulated over the course of the tutorial or seminar.

Kress, Jewitt and Tsatskerelis (Kress, Jewitt. et al. 2000) pose the following question in relation to Bernstein's categories of the regulative discourse and the instructional discourse:

Once again, at this stage, we want to ask the question about the 'fit' of the Bernsteinian category of the pedagogic discourse in its two forms as instructional and as regulative. Are the categories general enough to be still applicable?

Kress, Jewitt et al. related this question to two pieces of data: a poster one of the writers received in his letter box in June 1998, from Islington Play and Youth Service about an Islington Summer University, and a children's TV programme made in 1996. They suggest that given the very big changes in education over the last twenty years, and children's TV and the Islington poster are examples of those changes, then the Bernsteinian categories of pedagogic discourse might no longer apply. Although Kress does not answer the question, saying that it is enough to raise it²⁸, I think it is possible to give a positive answer to that question. In fact I would suggest that just as it is possible to use the categories of the sacred and profane, the singular and regional knowledge and instructional and regulative discourse in a contemporary classroom, so these categories might also have explained the discourse used in the Medieval classroom of Bernard Silvestri when he recontextualised Virgil's Aeneid for his pupils in Chartres in the early Twelfth century²⁹.

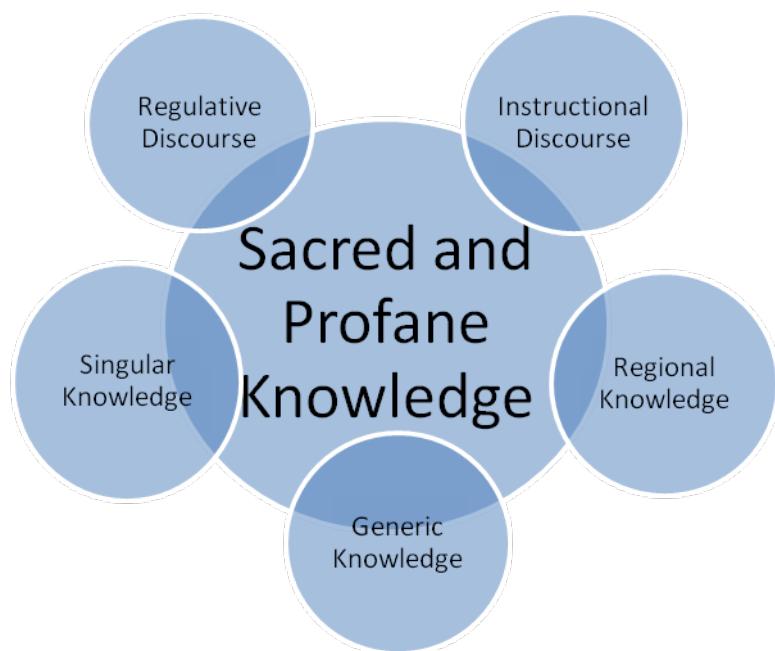
A final point to add to this discussion concerns the position of Durkheim's own texts in which he described the sacred and the profane as they relate to anthropology and education. Listening to Durkheim delivering his lectures on French educational history at the beginning of the Twentieth century, one might

²⁸ The paper states: "We are not clear on this in any way: what does seem clear to us is that the complex entity 'pedagogic discourse,' with its focus on instructional and regulatory practices, needs to be debated to see how it will be used in this new situation, where the sites of instruction and regulation are shifting, and where the representational forms are subject to the most profound change."

²⁹ For a discussion of the dates for Bernard Silvestri's text see (Pike 1998)

have wondered whether the knowledge in those lectures was sacred knowledge or profane knowledge or a combination of the two. However that question is answered it does give rise to a further question about Bernstein's unknowable or yet to be known category. Durkheim in these lectures was, it seems, creating a new subject area, creating the known from the unknown. In his study of the history of education in France he was creating a sociology of education and a sociology of knowledge by showing the possible links between the society of a particular time, whether that is a Medieval society, a Renaissance society, or the society of the Reformation, the education provided by those societies, and how knowledge was organised within that education. I would suggest tentatively that Durkheim's account of knowledge has sacred features, or a sacred area, from which more profane knowledge can be accrued. But any further account made from that knowledge will then have its own sacred/profane dialectic.

Conclusion



This diagram displays the Bernsteinian categories of singular, regional and generic knowledge, with regulative and instructional discourse, located within the wider category of sacred and profane knowledge. Although these are distinct categories the borders between the categories are 'fuzzy'. Fuzziness between different

categories of knowledge might well be a characteristic of tutor/student exchanges in tutorials, as in the following extract from a university tutorial. The interest is in how the whole framework shows some of the relationships between these categories within a process of knowledge construction, and how that construction might be related to student identity. In this extract from a tutorial, a tutor is discussing with a student the dissertation that she will write for her BA degree course in English Language and Communication, which is a course focussing on Applied Linguistics.

1	Tutor	Err a key word wh... I suppose we might want to say 'political speech'.
2		Let's see if that comes up with anything. No. We might want to say
3		then 'political discourse', see if that comes up with anything. No
4		(laughs). So we might want to say something like um just 'dis... critical
5		discourse'... there must be... ahh! OK... err we've got a cou... err two
6		there... now what are they? They can either be PhDs or MAs... that's an
7		MA, I suspect the other one is too... and what they might therefore be
8		useful for you, err.. as is on the one hand a sort of a model and how they
9		do their lit review, but on the other hand they may have some
10		references, so you can look at those sorts of things, and... or more
11		generally you could just say um 'politics' and I suspect we'll get one hell
12		of a lot more things coming up...
13	Student	Mmm...
14	Tutor	Yeah... and you might... do you know what I mean? You can... you can
15		just spend a couple of a err hours looking at them and just generally
16		seeing the stylistics because as much as research is about a process of
17		reading and summarising, it's also stylistics you know, it's that rhetoric
18		side, so you're only too well aware of that, I know, as a sort of critical
19		discourse analyst yourself, but seeing how other people do it can be very
20		useful I think,

The tutor is discussing the topic of literature reviews with the student, and has suggested she might like to look at other literature reviews in MA or PhD dissertations in the university library. She demonstrates practically how the student can 'search' an online library database, by actually carrying out the search for her on her computer. At the same time as she carries out the search, she also gives her advice on writing literature reviews and explains the importance of the

rhetorical aspect of writing up research. I suggest that the tutor is using generic knowledge when she demonstrates the database search. The talk about the literature review and the rhetorical aspects of research shows regional knowledge, but she also refers, very briefly, to the singular knowledge of the study of political discourse, which will be the topic of the student's dissertation. As part of the tutor's rhetorical repertoire she appeals to the student's sense of identity when she calls the student, who is in her third year of an undergraduate programme, 'a sort of critical discourse analyst', (lines 18-19) using that identity to confirm the point she wants to make about the rhetorical aspect of research writing.

In this short extract there is a clustering of different kinds of knowledge, mostly profane but with the sacred presence of the yet to be completed political discourse project hovering in the background. From that clustering there appears the student's identity as the critical discourse analyst, showing how aspects of an identity might be related to those knowledge clusters. As I show in Chapters Four, Five and Six this reference to the student's identity is a fairly constant feature of tutorial work, the tutor drawing in the student identity to strengthen the learning in the tutorial.

3.0 Introduction – structuring doctoral research and the written thesis

In the conventional format for doctoral dissertations, the chapter/s dealing with methodology and method usually come after chapters entitled ‘Introduction’ and ‘Literature Review’, implying that this is their proper place in the process (see Chapter 9). Similarly, research guides often advocate that decisions concerning how to actually go about doing the research should follow the definition of the focus and aims of the project and the development and drafting of research questions (or hypotheses). This sequential, logical procedure follows the traditional scientific, technicist and positivistic model and may best fit research conceived and approached from within that paradigm. Research framed in other perspectives, however, may develop and evolve differently.(Wellington, Bathmaker et al. 2005 p.95)

This thesis clearly has not followed a ‘sequential, logical procedure’ in either the way the research focus and design has developed or how the data has been collected and analysed. I started work on the thesis with the intention of interviewing people working in various UK workplaces whose first language was not English, and have finished by analysing a set of recordings I made of various tutorials and seminars held in UK universities. There seems to be no possible connection between the two activities. If I assume, following Wellington et al. (2005) that writing a doctorate consists firstly of some degree of coherence between a research area, a research focus, and the research questions, in my case the research area, the research focus and the research questions all changed fundamentally. In fact the subject area for the research also changed, as I started off with a focus on linguistics and ended by drawing largely on sociological theory. However I think despite this apparent incoherence in the construction of the dissertation, each stage of the research did offer me both ideas and data, some of which I have retained and developed over the course of writing the dissertation, so that there is now some coherence between my research area, focus and research questions.

Dunleavy (2003 pages 53 -62)described three different approaches to writing a thesis: a focusing down method, an opening out method, and a compromise model that combines the two. He seems to favour, at least for the Humanities and Social Sciences, a compromise model which combines features of the other two models. A central feature of all theses seems to be that they have core material, with a lead in section followed by lead out section which concludes the analysis. The difficulty with the focussing down method, says Dunleavy, is that the lead in section, which contains the literature review and a ‘methods’ section, can get very long, so the reader has to wade through a lot of secondary material before they get to the core of the thesis. The opening out method is usually better because it provides a much shorter lead in section, a brief literature review, with a longer analysis and discussion section which concludes the dissertation. Dunleavy’s compromise model for writing a dissertation leans more to the opening out model as a lot of the analysis comes in the final chapters of the dissertation.

I think my own thesis is a compromise between a focussing down model and an opening out model but it leans more to the focussing down model. The reason for this is that I wanted to provide a fairly clear account of the relationship between knowledge and identity, which is what I hope I have done in Chapter Two, introducing the main theoretical ideas in the thesis. That is then followed by three chapters examining the data I have collected from the university tutorials and seminars. There is a final chapter of analysis which brings together the main points of my data analysis from Chapters Four, Five and Six and relates them to my argument in Chapter One about the relationship between how knowledge is presented and acquired and the identities of those people who are learning that knowledge. The Dunleavy model suggests that there is, in all three model variants, a clear division between a core and the lead in and lead out material. The generic thesis structure that Murray (2011 p.144) provides does not have a ‘core’ though her methods, theory and literature review sections could be termed her ‘lead in’ section, whilst her analysis and results sections are her ‘core’. I feel that my theory chapter is central to my ‘core’, the three data chapters, so perhaps the distinction between parts of my lead in section and the ‘core’ are not as clearly

defined as might be the case with other theses. The only section of this thesis that has remained consistent throughout the writing process is the theoretical concern with sacred and profane knowledge. Dunleavy sees the thesis as an answer to a question (2003 p. 20) where both question and answer have been defined by the research student. But my approach has been less polemical than that and has arisen from a series of stages where ideas and research questions have been adopted and later discarded. This is more like the process Murray describes when she writes about ‘finding a thesis’ (2011 p.121) which is what I have done by working through a series of iterations which has allowed me to build a thesis over time.

In this chapter I begin by outlining in some detail the iterative development of the thesis since I first registered for my doctorate at UCL Institute of Education. I then give an overview of the data collection and provide more detail on each of my three cases, the Midwifery seminar, the Homer translation tutorial and the MA TESOL tutorial. In my presentation of the cases I focus on issues of being an insider or an outsider, and on how my reflexivity had a different focus in each case. The chapter ends with a brief account of the ethical processes for the research.

3.1 The Iterative Development of a Research Focus

As I have already indicated, the focus of this research has gone through several stages. In this section I provide an account of each stage of that development, drawing attention both to aspects that have stayed the same, and to how the focus and approach have changed quite significantly. The table below gives an overview of the four main stages in the development of this dissertation. The items in italics are ideas or activities that were thought significant but have been rejected or were not carried out. In the following sections I give a more in depth account of these stages.

Dates	Research Focus	Data	Theory
9/2008 - 12/2009	How do people with very limited knowledge of English communicate in the workplace in the UK?	Contact small voluntary organisations to make contact with members of other national groups such as Somali, Polish groups of workers and arrange interviews and possible workplace observations.	The first piece of work I completed for the dissertation, in March 2009, was on Bernstein's use of the Trivium and Quadrivium, sacred and profane knowledge, and the connection between the micro world of the medieval school curriculum and the macro world of the Catholic church.
1/2010 – 6/2011	Understanding and using the work of Basil Bernstein.	Set up six workshops to discuss Bernsteinian themes to be attended by secondary school teachers and students. I did set up a reading group for students at IoE on Bernstein in 2010-2011, but no one attended. I decided to record tutor/student discourse in universities to see if it would be useful to	I wanted to combine Bernsteinian code theory with Engestrom's activity theory. I stated in my doctoral upgrading paper: 'Activity theory will allow me to relate the teacher's construction of ideas about Bernstein to several different pedagogical features: the taught curriculum in the classroom, the division of labour within the school, curriculum structures within the school.'

		apply Bernsteinian code to these recordings.	
7/2011 – 10/2015	Researching Tutor/Student exchanges in university tutorial contexts within the United Kingdom.	In 2011 I contacted six different departments in six universities to record tutorials and seminars between tutors and students. I recorded twelve tutorials and two seminars in four universities.	Having rejected activity theory I thought to use Wenger's communities of practice, Bourdieu's ideas about habitus, and Bernstein's ideas about sacred and profane knowledge, singular, regional and generic knowledge and instructional and regulative discourse.
11/ 2015 – 3/2017	<i>Sacred and profane knowledge and the problem of identity.</i>	The final dissertation results from a combination of the data I collected from the tutorials and seminars I recorded in three universities, curriculum data from the three universities, background accounts of the development of three disciplinary areas in universities, together with some of Bernstein's ideas about knowledge and discourse in educational contexts.	

3.2 A consistent interest in self and language learning

My original research question which I submitted in my application to study for an MPhil asked the following question: ‘How do people with very limited knowledge of English communicate in the workplace in the UK?’

The aim of this question was to find out how people with very little English became employed in the UK, how they have maintained that employment and how they communicate with other workers and their supervisors in the workplace. I had written a research paper in March 2007 for the London Voluntary Sector Training Consortium based on this question, as part of my work for the Workers’ Educational Association, who were my employers at the time. For this paper I had organised interviews with sixteen people who spoke a variety of languages but very little English and who were employed in London across a range of trades, such as cleaning, van driving, construction, healthcare, office work, retailing, and

fruit packing. I was interested in how these people were using the workplace to learn English. It was clear from the interviews that the participants knew that they were learning some English at work. Carrying out work activities such as following instructions, or calling in late or taking time off for sickness required learning some English. Some of the participants said they had chosen a workplace because of the opportunities it offered to learn more English. I used Lantolf's distinction (2006 p. 138-142) between learning through instruction and learning through participation as a model to describe how people can learn English by going to work in England, using public transport and going about their day-to-day business . Learning a language through acquisition is associated with learning rules, with language as a commodity to be acquired and is the kind of learning carried out in college and school classrooms. Learning through participation is associated with gaining access to and engaging with communities which then can require a change in the perception of the self.

Participation in a new community, at whatever level and in whatever aspect, requires not just the learning of new words and new expressions, the new language, but also a decision, said Pavlenko and Lantolf, 'to initiate a long, painful, inexhaustive, and for some a never ending process of self translation (2000 p.170)'.

Learning a new language is not just about translating the language, but also about translating the self. Pavlenko and Lantolf refer to Eva Hoffman's account, called *Lost in Translation* (Hoffman 1998), of how she left her life in Cracow and acquired a new life in Vancouver. Hoffman describes this learning a new self in the following way:

I learn English through writing, and, in turn, writing gives me a written self. Refracted through the double distance of English and writing, this self – my English self- becomes oddly objective; more than anything it perceives. It exists more easily in the abstract sphere of thoughts and observation, than in the world. For a while this impersonal self, this cultural negative capability, becomes the truest thing about me. (1998 p. 121)

Hoffman, and following her, Pavlenko and Lantolf, make a clear relationship between self and learning. For Hoffman, learning a new language meant acquiring

a new self, quite different from the old self in Cracow. But, says Hoffman in an imagined conversation with herself, she preferred the Cracow self:

And you prefer her, the Cracow self

Yes, I prefer her. But I can't be her. I'm losing track of her. In a few years, I'll have no idea what her hairdo would have been like.

But she's more real, anyway.

Yes, she's the real one. (1998 p. 120)

Although the focus of my research has changed over the last eight years, and the context of that focus has switched from how people learn English in the workplace to students talking in university tutorials and seminars, on a conceptual level the interest has been fairly consistent. In both contexts I was interested in the relationship between learning and the self, and how, through learning, ideas about the self changed and developed. There are big differences between Hoffman's perception of her emerging self in Vancouver as she learns English and, for example, the student midwife on a BSc Midwifery course, learning to become a midwife, but in both cases learning leads to changing ideas about the self. Although I don't pursue this line of argument in the dissertation, it might be the case that Pavlenko's and Lantolf's idea of participative learning, a learning which leads to a revised sense of self, could also be used to look at the learning carried out by the student midwives on their clinical practice, where instructional learning gives way to participative learning. My interest was in how different kinds of learning, rather than one aspect of learning, can encourage the student to change her ideas about herself whatever the context might be for that learning.

Initially I had wanted to interview people who did not know English, or only a very little English, and who were working in a range of jobs in the UK, to discuss how they used English in the workplace. However there was a basic design flaw with my original question. If I wanted to find out how people with very little knowledge of English communicated in English in the work place then I would either need to understand the person's first language, or failing that, use a translator. I would never be able to understand the person's first language as I could be dealing with eight or more different first languages which would be impossible. If I used a translator, I would be relying on that translator for my data, and would have no

method for checking that the translations were accurate. It is true that Goldstein(1995), for example, did interview her participants in her research on bilingualism in the workplace through a translator, but this in itself was controversial. Eco (2015 p.50)said that using a translation of a primary source was like using a prosthetic device such as a set of dentures, by which he probably meant that whilst the translation might give the researcher limited access to the research data, that data lies outside the scope and range of the researcher. The translation might raise questions about the accuracy and authenticity of the translation, which, lacking knowledge of the original language, I would never be able to answer. It would also raise ethical concerns in relation to the use of translated material. The participants would not be able to read or understand the results of the research which would create and reinforce an imbalance of power between myself and the participants, an imbalance that was already reflected in the problems the participants had in finding time outside work to be interviewed. I could interview participants in English, if their English was good enough to both understand and express their own opinion about working in English, but if it was good enough to do that then it would be good enough to communicate in an English workplace with very few problems and little hindrance.

3.3 My development of a conceptual framework and research focus

One of the first pieces of writing I did when I started my thesis was on the theoretical framework I might use to embed the research findings within a set of ideas. Given that I was aiming to make connections between interactions within a social world and the language used for those interactions, I decided to use the ideas of two sociologists whose work consistently explored the relationship between language use and society, who were Basil Bernstein and Pierre Bourdieu. At the same time I felt that as my approach was more linguistic than sociological, I would need a theory of language to describe the way language was used in those interactions. For this I thought I would use complexity theory (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008) because of the way it could describe naturally occurring speech as distinct from a language of rules and norms, which was the kind of language that

might be learnt through participation in a social world rather than from instruction in an educational setting.

At the end of the first year of work on my thesis I found that I had an interesting research question which I was unable to research because I could not access any reliable research data to answer that question. I also had the beginnings of a rather cumbersome and over-complicated theoretical framework which might swamp any data that I might be able to gain access to in the research. In that sense the thesis might well have suffered from the criticisms Dunleavy had made about the focussing down method in thesis writing where too much time is spent on introducing the topic and too little time on its core elements. It was clear that in order to progress with the thesis I would have to change the focus of my research by throwing out what I could not research and retain what was possible to research. I decided to keep my interest in what was intended to be a theoretical framework, and my interest in the relationship between the self, which I could conceive of as identity, and learning. I rejected the interest in recording of interviews with people who knew little English in the workplace.

The second revised title of my research was: ‘Understanding and using the work of Basil Bernstein’. I wanted to explore how new readers of Bernstein both understood and made use of his work, given the often contradictory understandings of that work made by a variety of scholars in the past. I would support my argument by recording discussions with students who were new to, or just discovering, Bernstein’s work. I prepared a pack of Bernstein’s papers coupled with papers by scholars working in similar areas of interest such as social class. But there were a number of flaws with this approach as well, one of which was that it was almost impossible to find a group of new readers whose discussions I could record.

Both these research titles failed because it would have been difficult to decide on the right research method for each title. Without the data the Bernstein

dissertation might become an unfocussed account of how different scholars had made use of Bernstein's central ideas. It was reading Bernstein that encouraged me to focus on the problem of how student identities can be presented and constructed in the classroom. From this interest I developed a third research question to replace my second question, which was 'The construction and negotiation of student identities in student/tutor discourse in university seminars and tutorials.' Initially I was interested in how class, as a feature of identity, affected or influenced how students participated in their seminars and tutorials. I collected data in relation to this question in 2011, as it became clear that a dissertation focussing just on the work of Bernstein was no longer feasible. This data consisted of recording of ten tutorials and two seminars. As the focus of the thesis developed I selected three of these cases as the focus of my analysis and to be presented in this thesis. In the explanation of my research that I gave to the students and tutors I was recording I included a question asking them about their class background and to state the social class to which they felt they belonged. Asking this question raised difficulties with the students; they either were unaware of what class they might belong to, or, even if they were aware, they felt uncertain how to answer the question. This was one factor that made me begin to question whether class would remain the key focus of my analysis.

As I played back the recordings I had made of the university tutorials and seminars, I realised that students spent as much time, or more time than I had expected, talking about themselves in relation to the knowledge and understanding they were acquiring in the seminars and tutorials, as they did talking about the knowledge itself. This talking about themselves might be seen as an irrelevance or a distraction from the main business of the seminar or tutorial, but I felt that this talk was all part of the process of learning, and that learning seemed to require learners to carry out some negotiation of that sense of self, or their identity, in relation to the knowledge they were learning. This awareness led me to want to explore further the relationship between identity, knowledge and learning. I knew from the work of Bernstein(2000), Beck(2005) and Young(2008) that connections between different kinds of knowledge, learning and identities could be made but I

was not sure how they could be made and how that connection might feature in a classroom.

I decided that the focus of the dissertation would be on the relationship between student identities as presented in university tutorial and seminars, and the knowledge they were acquiring in those tutorials and seminars. I would also use ideas about sacred and profane knowledge that I had begun to develop when I first started working on a dissertation in 2009, with the data I had collected in 2011 to start analysing the relationship between identity and student discourse in learning contexts. The association between these ideas about different kinds of knowledge and identity was not worked out at that time, but they were sufficiently interesting for me to continue working on analysing that association. In the next section I provide an example of how my interest had moved away from analysing the language used in tutorials and seminars to looking at how knowledge was acquired and learnt by students in those tutorials and seminars.

My aim was to explore different possibilities for approaching the problem of the relationship between the students' identities and the knowledge they were acquiring in the classroom and tutorials. It was unlikely that I would be able to produce any definitive statements about this relationship. Hopefully I would be able to show that the approach I have taken in this thesis has potential for further development in future research.

3.4 Moving from a linguistic to a more sociological approach in my doctoral research and a rationale for the sampling of cases

When I first listened to the recording I had made of the Midwifery seminar I noted the use of quoted speech by the students. The students quote themselves, their past thoughts or past speech, and they quoted from the mothers they worked with on the placements. An example of quoted speech is this student's statement in reply to the tutor's question about how students might 'unlearn' an aspect of childcare that they had previously acquired, perhaps as a mother:

Student: It's the same you're not allowed to s—they, they don't recommend you swaddle the babies any more. And I did that with both mine and I actually found that really helped them sleep. And I found that quite frustrating and one of the mums said to me: "Can we do that?" And I said: "Obviously, you can do... what you like, it's your baby, but the midwives don't recommend it." And I found that really hard not to say "but I did it", (unclear)

In this exchange the student's authority seems derived from the authenticity of her own past experience and from her closeness to the group of which she was a part in her work placement. This authenticity is reinforced by the repeated use of quoted direct speech. The student gives voice to both her own voice and the voice of the mothers she met on her placement. At this stage in her role as a student, and as an apprentice midwife, she finds it difficult to leave behind her previous role as a mother and become a midwife. The ambiguity in her role is shown when she says "but the midwives don't recommend it." The student realises that she cannot just speak as a mother, but nor is she a midwife. She is a student midwife, learning to be a midwife and having to unlearn practices that she learnt as a mother. The student talk places emphasis on individual experience with the repeated use of "I" and "you" personal pronouns, and on group identities, whether that group is other students or other mothers. The authenticity of her experience seems to be important for the student here and she conveys this through the use of direct quoted speech and the unique quality of that experience as something belonging to her.

At the time I thought the proximity between the student's articulation here of her own previous experience, her feelings towards the mothers she was working with on her clinical practice as a student midwife, and her recognition that her past attitude was wrong, or not to be recommended, was an indication, in Bernsteinian terms, of restricted code, as opposed to elaborated code. But I also felt that identifying text just through the language used by the speaker was insufficient for the links I wanted to make between knowledge and identity. The connection made here by the student, and later by the tutor, between learning and unlearning and how that related to her identity, her changing ideas about herself, was more

significant for my purposes than to account for the language used to describe the event. This focus on what was learnt and what might be unlearnt led me to build up a picture of the kind of knowledge developed on the course. Describing the kind of knowledge being used on the course was of more interest to me than describing the language used to convey or acquire that knowledge.

3.5 Expanding the data to include written documents

This change of focus to curricula knowledge, rather than my previous focus on linguistic identity, required me firstly to examine the curriculum documents produced by the universities for the courses that contained the recorded seminars and tutorials. I combined this with historical material describing how the subjects had been taught in the past and other research data as well as information or research papers about teaching and learning issues related to the subjects of those courses. I included this material firstly to provide a context to the course. This was particularly helpful with the Midwifery seminars, because I felt that the approach taken in those seminars was partly explained by that history. But having seen the connection between the seminar and the history of the subject in that example, I then thought it would be helpful to do the same with the other two subject areas covered by the tutorials.

The focus on knowledge opened up a different source of data for the dissertation. It was now helpful to use personal biographies (Holmes 2014) to provide examples of how Midwifery education had changed over the last thirty years, as well as a range of other literary sources for the other disciplinary areas, the poetry of Horace or Chaucer's description of learning Latin in the Prioress's Tale. Drew (2011) describes how, in sociological analysis, documents have traditionally been viewed in terms of their accuracy in describing social matters and issues. He takes a more literary view of the documents and discusses how the document can be viewed as a text, asking for 'a close analysis of the language used in texts' (Drew 2011 p.63)

His example is taken from an analysis he made of newspaper reports of conflicts in Northern Ireland between 1968 and 1971. He realised that it was insufficient just for him to read those reports in terms of accuracy. A close analysis was required of the articles because they could be seen as both reports of the conflict, and therefore be viewed as accurate or inaccurate, but also as a part of that conflict, taking sides in the conflict. Close analysis was therefore needed to uncover topics such as blame, and the political dimension of each report.

I think I am using written documents to help me explore the social dimensions of knowledge. The students I recorded are learning social identities, the identity of the midwife, the teacher or the translator but in this case learning that identity also requires learning the knowledge to perform that identity. I use the curriculum documents, which like most curriculum documents undergo a process of continual change and review, as an indication of intent and purpose by the university at a particular time in the development of a course. I have assumed that they are accurate at that particular time but no more than that. I do not make any judgment about whether the tutorial or seminar accurately reflects the intention in the curriculum documents. They are part of a picture I want to build of the position of knowledge on a particular course, which then allows me to make further statements about the kind of knowledge that is taught and learnt on that course.

Schwartz and Schwartz (1955) describe in their discussion of participant observation processes the role of the observer in that process and, in particular, the act of retrospection made by the observer after the observation has been taken place. The act of observation ‘expands’ beyond the actual event as they state here:

Rather than finding a simple and direct connection between the occurrence of the event and its representation as data, we discovered that our observation began to expand the longer we thought about it. This expansion occurs by bringing into focal awareness those aspects of the event that were on the fringe of consciousness-certain segments of the event that are registered on the periphery of the observer's awareness. These may be brought to central awareness by permitting one's self to be open to their emergence through recollection,

r rumination, and free association around the event. (Schwartz and Schwartz 1955 p. 345)

I would associate this process of ‘recollection, rumination and free association’ with the way I have used the documentary evidence in this thesis. Certainly the literary texts, the curriculum histories and documents, the statements and guides from governmental sources which are listed in section 3.8 were all read after the observations were completed and transcribed. They were then used to fill out and understand statements made by the students in the recordings. In that way I could relate those statements to my understanding of student identities, an understanding that was built up over time and which was not apparent at the time of recording, either by the students or by myself.

3.6 Data collection and analysis in three universities: insider and outsider positioning and reflexivity

I started collecting data by writing to Heads of Department working in the broad academic areas of Humanities, Education and Social Studies in five universities in the Thames Valley and London areas, stating my research aims and requirements, and asking them to refer me to any tutors, or lecturers who might allow me to record some tutorials and seminars. Three universities replied to my request, and gave me the names of members of staff who I could contact. The choice of subject or curriculum area, as well as the choice of tutorial or seminar, would be made by the university member of staff, depending on their own availability and time. I had no specific requirements as to the subject chosen or the kind of tutorial selected. As well as recording the two tutorials I recorded two seminars on Reflective Practice from the first year of a BSc Midwifery course at another university. Two of these universities acquired their university status in 1992/93; the other university acquired university status in 1926.

I was present in the room for both seminars, but not for the two tutorials. I felt for the seminars I could be an unobtrusive presence in the room. I did not contribute to the discussion, though I did explain to the students and tutors how and why the seminar would be recorded. I was not present in the room for the tutorials as I felt my presence would be obtrusive, which would inhibit the discussion between the students and the tutors. I observed the seminars but did not participate in the seminar discussions as I did not want the students or the tutors to respond to anything I might have said. This was my reasoning at the time although on reflection, having completed the analysis, in order to make interpretations about student engagement and sacred moments in the classroom it might have been beneficial to have designed the study so that I was present in all sessions.

Table summarising the recordings made at different universities

University	Department	Subject	Type of meeting	No. of students/tutors
University A	Department of Community Services	BSc Midwifery	Reflective Practice Seminars	Two tutors for both groups. One group of fifteen students One group of sixteen students
University B	Dept Classics	BA course in Classical Studies	Homer Translation Tutorial	One tutor One student
University C	The School of Education	MA in Education, TESOL Pathway	Language Teaching: Methods and Approaches Tutorial	One tutor Two students

3.7 Observation, insider/outsider roles, and reflexivity

Merton (1972) discussed the relationship between the researcher and the activities or processes being researched in terms of the researcher's insider and outsider roles. He related insidership and outsidership to wider social categories within a society such as, in terms of race, black or white women, or black or white sociologists. To put it simply, insiders were members of a social group, and outsiders were non members of that group (Merton 1972 pp21-22). The paper concluded by putting the pursuit of knowledge, and the claim to truth, above insidership and outsidership. As he says, aphoristically, on the final page of the paper, 'Insiders and Outsiders in the domain of knowledge, unite. You have nothing to lose but your claims' (Merton 1972 p.44). Despite Merton's rejection of insider and outsider roles, other scholars have used this distinction in their own research. Hellawell (2006) discussed a range of views about insidership and outsidership, including Merton's ideas, and found that using the terms helped his own students to be more reflective about their research. His students could be seen not just in a binary relationship of either insider or outsider, but could describe themselves as having a range of insider and outsider qualities. Milligan(2016) argued for an 'inbetweenner' position, that is between insider and outsider, which allowed her to understand and bring in local perspectives to her ethnographic research carried out in the Kisii community in Kenya.

Creswell (2013pp 166-168) describes four different types of research observation ranging from observation where the researcher is a complete participant in the activity being researched , and so might be unnoticed by other people engaged in the activity because of that engagement , to where the researcher is a complete observer of the activity and also might be unnoticed because the researcher is outside the researched activity. Creswell includes instances where the researcher only participates as an observer and doesn't engage in the activity other than as an observer and where the researcher is a nonparticipant observer where the observation is carried out at a distance from the activity. Creswell doesn't refer to insider or outsider roles but he does mention the need for reflexivity (2013 pp214-217)and for the researcher to understand how their own stance and experience

might relate to the problem being researched in order to clarify how that experience might influence or bias the research. Wellington (2015 pp168 - 169) also draws up a scale, or what he calls a spectrum, of observational practice from complete participant to complete observer. Schwartz and Schwartz (1955) spoke of 'active' participants and 'passive' participants which also describes the extent of the researchers' engagement in the observation.

I think my position on that spectrum of observational practice is as a complete observer. It might have been the case that just by sitting in the same room as the student midwives during their reflective practice session I influenced the discussion but I have no evidence of that. Similarly just by giving a voice recorder to the tutor at the start of the Homer tutorial could be seen as an intrusion in that tutorial, and so increased my sense of possible participation. Certainly another student, on the MA TESOL course, did not want her tutorial recorded because she felt it was too intrusive, even though I was not in the room during the tutorial. I think my practice as an observer is helped by the idea of the insider and the outsider and it is to my position as both an insider and outsider that I now want to turn.

My role in the seminars and tutorial was very marginal. I was a silent observer in the seminars, and in the tutorials I was only present at the start and at the end of the tutorial. As a student myself, and as a tutor in the world of further and adult education, I was very familiar with the activities I was observing and recording. At one level, recording and listening to a recording of both the tutorials and seminars seemed to be an intrusion onto some ongoing business. The tutors and students knew each other, they had met before and would meet again after the tutorial and seminar. Each encounter will have an unspoken element to it when both tutor and student will be aware of items that have been addressed and talked about before, and maybe spoken about in the future, but were not addressed in the meeting I recorded. It might be the case that the seminar and tutorial I recorded will have no significance in the future for both tutor and student, and will be instantly forgotten. Just as I have no knowledge of what happened after the tutorials and seminars, so the participants, the tutors and students, have no knowledge of the

use I have made of their spoken words. I felt that there were degrees of insidership and outsidership in my role as a researcher recording the tutorials and seminar. I was an insider in terms of the mutual concern with education I shared with the tutor and the students, we were all inside education, and inside the same sector of education, which was Higher Education. I was an insider with the students as I also, like the students, was a Higher Education student and attended a university as a student. I was an outsider as I was not a member of the universities I was researching, because I was not a member of the courses the students were studying, and I was not a student of any of the subjects covered in the tutorials and seminars. In the following section I give a more detailed account of the research process for each of the disciplinary areas. I include in that section an account of my insider/outsider relationship within the disciplinary area.

There were differences in my past experiences and understanding of the subjects covered by these tutorials and seminars. I was familiar with the topic covered in the tutorial taken from the MA in Education course as it was on lesson planning, a skill that I had used in my previous work as a teacher, though I was not familiar with the approach taken by the tutor in the tutorial. I had no understanding or previous knowledge of the topics covered either by the Midwifery seminars or the tutorial on a translation of a section of Homer's Iliad. The Homer tutorial did include words in Homeric Greek taken from The Iliad. I asked a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, who was a Greek national and had studied Homeric Greek in Greece and in London, to translate these words for me. I did not want to make any judgments about how appropriate was the method of running the tutorial to the aims of the course, or to assess the quality of the tutorial for either the tutors or the students. It would be impossible for me to make such judgments for the Midwifery seminars and the Homer Tutorial as I had no knowledge of those subjects. I could then adopt the same approach of the ignorant bystander or observer for the Education tutorial, where I did have some prior knowledge of the subject.

Mauthner and Doucet (2003) suggest that, whilst reflexivity is recognised as important in data analysis, the complexity of all the underlying assumptions that might inform a researcher's analysis tends not to be brought out in the research. Given the full range of those assumptions and influences, they think it preferable to talk about 'degrees of reflexivity' (Mauthner and Doucet 2003 p.425) that can emerge over time, rather than aiming for an absolute measure of reflexivity. Their extended list of possible influences on the researcher, as well as their account of how taking a reflexive stance improved their own work as researchers, seems to indicate that their aim is to be more reflexive about their position, rather than less so. This seems different to the position taken by Denscombe (2010) in relation to reflexivity. He accepts that in some branches of physics, his example is the study of sub atomic particles, the process of watching these particles collide influences how they collide, so that the act of observation changes what is being observed. But he thinks there are many cases in both the physical sciences and the social sciences where this is notn't the case, so that it is, as he says 'worth keeping the impact of reflexivity in perspective.' (Denscombe 2010 p.91)

I think with the research carried out for this dissertation, my perspective would require me to be as clear as possible about my own position, firstly because I am working with quite general topics such as knowledge and identity which are fraught with ambiguity, and secondly because the world of education, of classrooms and tutorials, is very familiar to me. If the stance of the researcher towards social institutions is one of estrangement, and to be a stranger in the context, then maintaining that role needs some explanation if , as in my case, you have spent a lifetime in classrooms. The closeness and familiarity with education has allowed me to take on the role of researcher in the first place, so that I needed to estrange my familiarity from my own familiarity. In each section of Section 3.8 I include a section to address my own personal reaction to the activity to show how I maintain a reflexive stance towards the activity.

3.8 The three cases: a Midwifery seminar, a Homer translation tutorial and an Education Studies (TESOL) tutorial

Below I set out the specific process of data collection for each of the three cases. My account focuses particularly on relevant factors related to my insider/outsider position and reflexivity. It also includes details of the textual sources I used for that case and explains similarities and differences between these sources.

3.8.1 The process of data collection for the Midwifery case

Midwifery was based in the Department of Community Services which was located in the Faculty of Health and Social Services at University A. Now, in 2017, it is based in the School of Healthcare Practice alongside the School of Applied Social Practice and the School of Sports Therapy and Rehabilitation but within the same faculty. The two seminars I recorded were taken from the first year of a BSc Midwifery course and were part of a group of seminars aimed to encourage the students to carry out reflective practice of the time the students spent in Healthcare practice settings.

I had email contact with the tutor before the seminar to agree the times and dates of the seminar. The tutor had told me beforehand that the sessions were not run as a traditional academic seminar , with students giving papers or essays on a prescribed topic. The purpose of the seminar was to ask students to reflect critically on their experiences during their time in clinical practice. The university's course handbook for Midwifery contains a separate section on the course reflective practice strategy which describes the importance of reflective practice in Midwifery. Reflective practice is an important skill for Midwives to learn, as it is understood that this allows them to improve their own practice, the standard of care they have for their mothers, and the care provided by the organisation they work for.

I was present in the room with the tutors and students for both seminars. The seminars lasted for one hour each and ran concurrently, the one following the

other. The students in both seminars were in the first term of the first year of their course. The difference between the two groups was that in the first group, students were following a three-year course leading to registration with the Nursing and Midwifery Council. In the second group the students, who were generally slightly older, were following an eighteen month course because they had already worked as nurses and were registered with the Nursing and Midwifery Council as adult nurses. When I recorded the seminars there were fifteen students in the first group and sixteen in the second group. Each group had two tutors, and were the same tutors for both groups.

In an email exchange with the tutor I had explained that I had no experience of midwifery education or of healthcare education, and that my own background was in teaching English. I did explain that I had been present at the birth of my three children. The tutor told me that I was welcome to contribute to the seminar as a parent at the birth of his children. I did not take on this role in the seminar, and remained silent throughout. The reason for this is that I did not want to add anything to the seminar, either to challenge or support any views put forward by the participants. This did mean that I could maintain my stance as an outsider by keeping quiet about my position as a partial insider. If I had made a contribution then I would have felt uneasy about addressing that contribution as well as any other contributions students and tutors might have made in response to that contribution, when I analysed the seminar for the dissertation.

However the fact that I had been present at three births did, in my own thinking, move me, even slightly, from an outsider to partial insider. This affected how I viewed midwives in general, and made me want to investigate midwifery education more thoroughly. Although the fact of my recording a Midwifery seminar was quite accidental, I was offered the opportunity to record and I took the opportunity presented to me, it was my insider position that encouraged me to look more closely at the history of midwifery education and to then incorporate material from the Royal College of Midwives and the UKCC for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting into the dissertation. Remembering my experience at the birth

of my own children I could recall how the midwife, the nursing staff and the doctors related to each other, and wondering how they knew which role they should take in the delivery suite. The midwifery seminar did include phrases specific to the field, such as the midwife being ‘the expert of the norm’, which required further explanation by reference to other sources. This also broadened out the scope for knowledge in the seminar and made me want to read further into the subject. By moving the boundary as to what I could include in my description of the seminars, and so opening up new areas of knowledge to scrutiny, made me then reconsider the kind of data that I might include in my descriptions of the two tutorials.

A further point to make in relation to reflexivity in general, is that the midwifery seminar was itself on reflective practice. It was not then surprising that ideas about the self, about student identities, about the kind of person the students had been prior to the course and the kind of person the students might be after the course, were brought up in the seminar. The fact that a focus of the seminar was on student identities added to my sense that student identity could be a part of any kind of learning in many different learning contexts. Having found that student identity was featured in a seminar that required students to reflect on themselves as students, it was interesting to then find out how identities might feature, or just be articulated, in learning contexts which didn’t require such reflection as an element in the curriculum.

I had some contact with the tutors on this course after I recorded the seminar. I was invited to attend an end of year event for the students, and I also contacted the tutor for some data and references about the history of midwifery teaching. Attending the end of year event meant that I could explain to the students and tutors some of the main ideas that were coming out of the research, although at the time these ideas were changing and have been revised since. It did give the students an opportunity to question me about the research and to raise any ideas they might have about student midwife identities.

3.8.2 Documentary data for the Midwifery case

The Midwifery course handbook is a lengthy document, much longer than the Classics or Education course handbooks. A reason for that length is that the document is preparing the student to meet the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC) professional standards. The document focuses on looking outward to meet the requirements of the NMC , rather than just internal university requirements. The course is a preparation for a very specific area of work, with its own kind of knowledge, its own kind of practice and ethos. The importance the handbook gives to reflective practice is an indication of how the course is expected to make changes to the student's own sense of self, so that the student keeps her own ideas about who she is, at the same as she acquires ideas of herself as a midwife.

Midwifery is a comparatively new subject in terms of university qualifications and courses. Placing midwifery in the university was viewed with suspicion by both practising midwives and by the university itself. This is exemplified by the career of Professor Mary Renfrew, a profile of her is listed in the list of references, who was told not to disclose she had a PhD when she was offered her first job as a midwife. Given the history and background of midwifery degree courses, acquiring midwifery knowledge challenges ideas about what is learnt through practice and what can be learnt through academic study. The relationship between 'theory' and 'practice' can always be problematic on any professional course but the dilemma this presents for midwifery students and tutors seemed to be particularly critical.

3.8.3 List of texts used to discuss the Midwifery seminar

In the texts listed here there are standard-setting texts issued by the university, and the national organisations responsible for Midwifery education and Midwifery practice; there are texts providing theoretical discussions of different approaches to midwifery and nursing education as well as texts describing the history of midwifery education. The most authoritative texts, the texts that directly influence Midwifery practice and education are the standard-setting texts, but they are also

the most transient and they change quite quickly to reflect changes in the institutions, or the context in which the institutions operate.

Of the academic papers I have included here, the most useful for my purposes were papers that included short accounts or descriptions by students, or ex students, or tutors, on their degree courses. The voices of these students had a similarity with the voices of the students I recorded in the reflective practice seminars. The list confirms the regionalisation of the knowledge presented and acquired on this course. It looks outward, away from the university to the lived-in world of the clinical setting, and to different forms of knowledge, to genetics or to the behavioural sciences, that combine to form the regional knowledge of midwifery education. The singular and sacred knowledge on this course, which is the knowledge the student midwife forms of her own self, her own identity, is echoed in the accounts given by the students in those other academic papers (McCourt and Thomas 2001, Rowan, McCourt et al. 2009) of their experiences in learning to become a midwife.

Documentation	Documents
Course documentation produced by the university and made available to students.	Department of Community Services (2012). Midwifery Course Handbook - BSc (Hons) Midwifery: Registered Midwife ,University of xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx: pages 1 - 293.
Historical accounts of the development of the subject and its position within university education.	Bradshaw, A. (2000). "Competence and British nursing: a view from history." <i>Journal of Clinical Nursing</i> 9: 321-329. Brooks, J. and A. M. Rafferty (2010). "Degrees of ambivalence: Attitudes towards pre-registration university education for nurses in Britain, 1930 - 1960." <i>Nurse Education Today</i> 30: 579-583.
Contemporary research into issues related to the subject itself and the teaching of the subject	Burst, H. V. (2005). "The History of Nurse-Midwifery/Midwifery Education." <i>Journal of Midwifery and Women's Health</i> 50(2): 129- 137. Alderton, J., A. Boylan, et al. (1995). Learning to Use Scientific Knowledge in Education and Practice Settings: an evaluation of the contribution of biological , behavioural and social sciences to pre -registration nursing and midwifery programmes. <i>Researching Professional Education</i> . London, English National Board for Nursing,

- Midwifery, and Health Visiting: 126.
- Eraut, M. (2000). "Non formal learning and tacit knowledge in professional work." *British Journal of Educational Psychology* **70**: 113 - 136.
- Evans, K., D. Guile, et al. (2009). Putting Knowledge to Work: The Exemplars - integrating work-based and subject-based knowledge in intermediate level qualifications and workforce upskilling. London, The WLE Centre, UCL Institute of Education, 20 Bedford Way, London, WC1H 0AL.
- Evans, K., D. Guile, et al. (2010). "Putting knowledge to work: A new approach." *Nurse Education Today* **30**: 245 – 251.
- Kirk, M. (2000). "Genetics, Ethics and Education:considering The issues for nurses and midwives." *Nursing Ethics* **7**(3): 215-226.
- McCourt, C. and B. G. Thomas (2001). "Evaluation of a problem-based curriculum in midwifery." *Midwifery* **17**: 323-331
- McIntosh, T., D. Fraser, et al. (2013). "Final year students' perceptions of learning to be a midwife in six British universities." *Nurse Education Today* **33**: 1179 - 1183.
- Miers, M. (2002). "Nurse education in higher education:understanding cultural barriers to progress." *Nurse Education Today* **22**: 212-219.
- Rowan, C., C. McCourt, et al. (2009). "Midwives' reflections on their educational programme: a traditional or problem-based learning approach ?" *Midwifery* **25**: 213-222.
- Skirton, H., S. Barnoy, et al. (2012). "Suggested components of the curriculum for nurses and midwives to enable them to develop essential knowledge and skills in genetics." *Journal of Community Genetics* **3**(4): 323-329.
- Skirton, H., N. Stephen, et al. (2012). "Preparedness of Newly qualified midwives to deliver clinical care:An evaluation of pre-registration midwifery education through an analysis of key events." *Midwifery* **28**: e660-e666.
- Thomas, G., V. Quant, et al. (1998). "The development of a Problem based curriculum in midwifery." *Midwifery* **14**: 261-265.
- Woodward, V. (2000). "Caring for women: the potential Contribution of formal theory to midwifery practice." *Midwifery* **16**: 68-75.
- Documentation produced by national statutory organisations and government
- UKCC for Nursing, M. a. H. V. (1999). Fitness for practice. London, United Kingdom Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery, and Health Visiting
- Chief Nursing Officers of England, N. I., Scotland and Wales (2010). Midwifery 2020: Delivering expectations,

departments, related to the subject	Department of Health, Social Services and Public Safety, Welsh Assembly Government, Department of Health, The Scottish Government. UKCC for Nursing, M. a. H. V. (1986). Project 2000: a new preparation for practice. London, United Kingdom Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting. UKCC for Nursing, M. a. H. V. (1999). Fitness for practice. London, United Kingdom Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery, and Health Visiting 88.
Narrative accounts of teaching and learning issues related to the subject	Holmes, D. (2014). "Profile - Mary Renfrew: researcher, reformer, midwife." <i>The Lancet</i> 384: 1089t http://www.thelancet.com/journals/lancet/article/PIIS0140-6736(14)61664-0/fulltext?rss%3Dyes

3.8.4 The process of data collection in the Homer translation case

Classics is taught in the School of Humanities at University B, which contains the departments of History, Philosophy and Classics. The School of Humanities is based in the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Social Science.

I had email contact with the tutor before the tutorial to arrange a date and time so I could record the tutorial. After the tutorial I emailed the tutor and asked him for more documentation about this course, which I then obtained from the university website. The recording was made in the tutor's office in the university. I knew beforehand that the tutorial would concern a piece of translation from Homer's Iliad. As with the Midwifery seminar, the tutor had volunteered to allow his tutorial to be recorded, having been contacted by the Head of School of Humanities. I had no idea why he had allowed his tutorial to be recorded and I didn't ask him about that when I met him to make the recording. I met the student and the tutor for the first time in the tutor's office just before the recording was due to take place. I wasn't present in the office for the recording, but I gave the tutor the voice recorder as well as the consent forms for him and the student to sign beforehand. When I played back the recording I found that the recording was clear, and I had no difficulty in deciding who was talking in the tutorial.

I was concerned about the use of Homeric Greek in the tutorial. When I gave the recording to someone to transcribe the recording she also could not understand words in Homeric Greek, so these were originally left out of the transcription. I asked a colleague who was studying for a doctorate at the Institute of Education, and who was Greek, if she would help me carry out the transcription. She had studied Homeric Greek in Greece and London and so was familiar with the language. She translated words in Homeric Greek, as used in the tutorial, into English. I decided that as I would not be making judgments about the accuracy or appropriacy of the translation, either as used by the participants in the tutorial or by the person who made the translations in the transcription, then I would be making a legitimate use of the translated material.

I felt this use was quite different from the way I intended to use translated material for my first rejected research question. In that situation I would have needed translations of all the statements made by the participants. In the tutorial on translating Homer the only words in the tutorial in Homeric Greek were words and phrases taken from The Iliad. All other statements were in English. I was only interested in the statements in English because it was those statements that informed me about the student's identity or about the forms of knowledge used in the tutorial. I was much less interested in the choice of words Homer used to describe the way Achilles looked or about the use of infinitives in Homeric Greek. But I was interested in how the student would approach making the translation, and how the tutor might encourage the student to make the most suitable translation.

Unlike my participation in the Midwifery seminar, my role in relation to the tutorial was as a complete outsider. I had never read Homeric Greek; I was aware of the story of the Iliad but had never read The Iliad even in English. I might have decided that, as a complete outsider and having had no contact with Homeric Greek, this tutorial lay outside my range and should be discarded from the dissertation. The reason why I retained this tutorial related to how it raised the problem of translation, and translation identities. There were three reasons for the interest in translation. Firstly there was the issue raised by Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) and Hoffman (1998) about translating the self which I had wanted to use in the first

initial stages of writing my dissertation. This had raised the problem of translator identities, and how the process of translation might require changes in the conception of the self. Secondly there was the issue raised by Ricoeur (1995 p.68-69) about the profane quality of translation, which I had referred to in my discussion in Chapter Two of the sacred and profane quality of Biblical translation. Thirdly, there was the discussion by Eco(2003) about the problem of finding the right word in translation, which also raised the issue of the context of translation and how a translator might show a preference for one word for a translation rather than another word. All three examples indicated that the process of translation was not just about selecting the most suitable words, but could also be influenced by the identity of the translator. I was therefore interested in how a translator identity might feature in the tutorial on translating Homer.

3.8.5 Documentary Data for the Homer translation case

Unlike the other bibliographies I drew up for the Midwifery seminar and the TESOL tutorial, the texts here are more drawn from the past and includes names such as Montaigne and Dante. The texts seem to be more self reflective, and more concerned with the past. At the same time, as the course documentation demonstrates, students on this course have to carry out work experience and are taught how to apply for jobs. The study of Homeric Greek also changes and develops as more knowledge is acquired about the Homeric world, and in that sense becomes more modern and up to date. What might appear to be a highly ‘singular’ form of knowledge becomes more regionalised and acquires more ‘generic’ qualities. These qualities don’t appear to detract from the singularity of the knowledge about Homer Greek. They seem to live quite happily together as separate entities, and enrich the education acquired by the learner. As shown by the tutorial, translating Homer is not diluted by the addition of other elements in the course, but retains its own integrity. The problem of translating how Achilles looks askance at Agamemnon from Homeric Greek to Modern English probably remains the same for the contemporary student sitting in a tutorial in a university in England in the twenty first century, as it would have been for previous scholars

such as Oscar Wilde in Oxford in the nineteenth century or Dr. Johnson in Lichfield Grammar School in the eighteenth century. Judging from the comments Matthew Arnold (1861) made of many of the previous English translations of Homer, the modern student translator might well be as successful as those translators in the past.

Although I am looking at the same problem, the problem of the relationship between sacred and profane knowledge and identity, in the recording of this tutorial as I did in the Midwifery seminar, my choice of texts is quite different. Both lists contain curriculum documents, but that is the only similarity. The texts (twelve out of fifteen texts) in this list are historical, in the sense that they were either written in the past or are concerned with the pre Twentieth century past. The list is also a list of literary texts, including names such as Montaigne, Dante, Matthew Arnold, or Oscar Wilde.

The only text concerning the skill of translation was written by Umberto Eco, a novelist as well as a scholar, and is concerned with literary translation, and not with, for example, the translation of governmental or institutional documents. The list confirms the singularity and sacrality of the knowledge that was acquired in the tutorial, which is the knowledge of Homeric Greek. However in this tutorial, unlike the TESOL tutorial or the Midwifery seminars, the student carries out the practical task of making a translation. In that sense the tutorial is concerned with the practical that demonstrates the application of a singular knowledge. In the other seminar and tutorial the task of delivering a baby, or of teaching a class, is addressed or spoken about, but not, of course, actually performed.

3.8.6 List of texts used to discuss the Homer translation tutorial

Documentation

Course documentation produced by the university and made available to students.

Documents

BA Honours Degree Handbook Classics 2013 - 2014

BA Classics Course Summary 2013 -2014

Historical accounts of the development of the at Oxford London, Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts.

subject and its position within the university	Jardine, L. (1975). "Humanism and the Sixteenth Century Cambridge Arts Course." <i>History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society</i> 4(1): 16 - 31.
	Orme, N. (2006). <i>Medieval Schools - From Roman Britain to Renaissance England</i> . New Haven, Yale University Press.
	Wallbank, M. V. (1979). "Eighteenth Century Public Schools and the Education of the Governing Elite." <i>History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society</i> , 8:1, 1-19, 8(1): 1 – 19.
Contemporary research into issues related to the subject itself and the teaching of the subject	Eco, U. (2003). <i>Mouse or Rat ? Translation as negotiation</i> . London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
	Farrell, J. (2004). Roman Homer. <i>The Cambridge Companion To Homer</i> . R. Fowler. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 254 - 271.
Documentation produced by national statutory organisations and government departments, related to the subject	Ball, F. (1979). "The Taunton Commission, and the maintenance of the classical curriculum in the grammar schools" <i>Journal of Educational Administration and History</i> 11(2): 8 - 12.
Narrative accounts of teaching and learning issues related to the subject	Boswell, J. (1970). <i>Life of Dr. Johnson</i> . Oxford, Oxford University Press.
	Dante (1933). <i>Inferno</i> . London, Macmillan and Co Ltd.
	Dante (1992). <i>Vita Nuova</i> . Oxford, Oxford University Press.
	Montaigne, M. d. (1987). <i>The Complete Essays</i> . London, Penguin Books.
	Woodward, W. H. (1904). <i>Desiderius Erasmus - Concerning the Aim and Method of Education</i> Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
	Wright, T. (2011). "The Difficult Art of Prose." <i>The Oxonian Review</i> 16 (2).

3.8.7 The process of data collection for the Education Studies (TESOL) case

The MA Education Studies TESOL Pathway at University C is located in the School of Education which is sited in the Faculty of Humanities and Social Science alongside five other departments and schools, the Department of Social Sciences, the Institute of Public Care, the School of Law, the Department of English and Foreign Languages, and the School of History, Philosophy and Culture. I had been to the building several times in the past as I had been employed by the university, though not in any teaching or research capacity. I was a member of a small external organisation that has since closed down but had briefly undergone a merger with the university, so the building and rooms in the university site were

familiar with me. This was not the case with the other two universities which I had never been to before.

The subject of TESOL was also familiar as I had taught TESOL in different contexts, though never at a university. I knew that the tutor I would be recording had published text books on teaching TESOL so I was familiar with her name though I had never met her previously. The contact with the tutor had been made through a mutual acquaintance, who was also a doctoral student at IoE, so again there was a familiarity with the context of this tutorial, which hadn't been the case with either the Homer tutorial or the Midwifery seminar.

I did not participate in the tutorial but gave the voice recorder and the consent forms to the students and tutor at the start of the tutorial and collected them at the end of the tutorial. For the Homer tutorial and the Midwifery seminar I also did not participate, but the fact that I knew very little about the topics, or the subjects discussed, meant that my non-participation seemed quite natural. For this tutorial my non-participation was quite different. I knew about the topic, and had performed the activity discussed, it was about lesson planning, many times before in my professional life. This meant my stance towards this tutorial was quite different. I was on home ground here, but still had to view the tutorial as an outsider or as if I was a stranger to the topic.

For this tutorial I think I was more of an insider than an outsider. I was an outsider in terms of the structure of the course and the context of the course. I had never attended the university as a student and had never taken an MA in Educational Studies. Switching from being the insider to taking on the outsider role was made easier by emphasising those elements where I was the outsider. Although I had, in the past, held meetings just down the corridor from the tutor's office, I had never met the tutor or held tutorials in those offices, so this gave me my outsider, external status. In this way I could become a stranger to the event I was recording and retain some degree of objectivity in my account of the tutorial.

As I listened to the recording of the tutorial, I had to refrain from interposing my own comments and ideas about lesson planning, and about using material from the students' own experiences in those lessons. It was necessary to focus on my research question, which was derived from a quite different context rather than engage with the topic of the tutorial as an ESOL tutor.

3.8.8 Documentary data for the Education Studies (TESOL) case

The pedagogy of Teaching English as a Foreign Language, or as an Additional Language or Teaching to Speakers of Other Languages is a very well known, global entity. There are a large number of academic papers devoted specifically to this pedagogy, and it is a pedagogy taught in a very wide number of institutions across the world. It is therefore a very public pedagogy which is quite unlike the pedagogy of Midwifery education , a Translation or Classics pedagogy. This meant that it was possible to look at TESOL pedagogies in other similar institutions and use them in my analysis of the documentation. It is also a pedagogy with a published history, in the sense that there are histories of TEFL or TESOL in the way that there is no published history of Midwifery education or Classics education.

I could draw on these histories as well as data from other institutions in my analysis of the tutorial and the knowledge that informed that tutorial. But this also affected my insider/outsider role, as I was, in a sense, an insider to that history and had worked in the past in the same institution as one of the authors of one of those histories. Again I thought it was important for me to acquire an outsider role, to estrange myself so that I was distanced from that history.

3.8.9 Documentation used to discuss the Education Studies TESOL tutorial

As with the both the Midwifery seminar and the Homer tutorial my list of texts contained both curriculum documents written by the university, a text written by a national standard-setting organisation, as well as texts written about the pedagogic history of the subject of the tutorial, which was second language learning. The difference in this list is that I have included texts by sociologists,(Bernstein 2000, Bauman 2010) (Young 2008) and an anthropologist

(Douglas 1966). Their work applies across all three settings, but in my analysis of this tutorial I needed more precision over the kind of knowledge that was being presented and acquired here, and for that I turned to these sociologists of knowledge. The pedagogic knowledge acquired by the students in this tutorial is about pedagogy, about how the students can learn how to teach. I decided that here there was a blending of different categories of knowledge, the singular, the regional and the generic.

Documentation	Documents
Course documentation produced by the university and made available to students.	Fundamentals of Second and Foreign Language Teaching www.XXXX.ac.uk/XXXX/courses/graduate-taught/teaching-english-speakers-other-languages-tesol-ma Materials development for Language Teaching Module www.XXXX.ac.uk/XXX/courses/graduate-taught/teaching-english-speakers-other-languages-tesol-ma The MA in Education: TESOL Course Handbook http://www.seed.XXXX.ac.uk/study/taught-masters/courses/list/tesol-ma/?pg=2
Historical accounts of the development of the subject and its position within the university	A.P.R.Howatt and H.G.Widdowson (1984). <u>A History of English Language Teaching</u> . Oxford, Oxford University Press. Rosenberg, S. K. (2007). <u>A Critical History of ESOL in the UK</u> . Leicester, National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education.
Contemporary research into issues related to the subject itself and the teaching of the subject	Beauchamp, C. (2015). "Reflection in teacher education: issues emerging from a review of current literature" <u>Reflective Practice: International and Multidisciplinary Perspectives</u> 16(1): 123 - 141. Clegg, S. (2015). Different times; temporality, curriculum and powerful knowledge. <u>Universities in the Flux of Time</u> . P. Gibbs, O.H.Ylijoki, C. Guzman-Valenzuela and R. Barnett. Abingdon, Oxfordshire, Routledge. Clegg, S. and S. Bradley (2006). "Models of Personal Development Planning: practice and process." <u>British Educational Research Journal</u> 32(1): 57 - 76. Freire, P. and D. Macedo (1987). <u>Reading the Word and the World</u> . London, Routledge Gee, J. P. (2008). <u>Social Linguistics and Literacies</u> . Abingdon, Oxfordshire, Routledge. M.A.K.Halliday and R. Hasan (1976). <u>Cohesion in English</u> . London, Longman.

Documentation produced by national statutory organisations and government departments, related to the subject	Spiro, J. (2013). <u>Changing Methodologies in TESOL</u> Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
Other accounts of teaching and learning issues related to the subject	Young, M. F. D. (2008) <u>Bringing Knowledge Back In</u> Abingdon Oxfordshire, Routledge.
	QAA Quality Code for 2014
	Bauman, Z. (2010). <u>44 Letters from the Liquid Modern World</u> . Cambridge, United Kingdom, Polity Press.

3.9 Conclusions about reflexivity and the possibility of maintaining a similar ‘outsider’ stance in 3 different settings

Acquiring knowledge and greater understanding of each course changed my response to that course. I have explained the different kinds of texts that I have used to increase my understanding of each disciplinary setting. As an insider familiar with the procedures of seminars and tutorials, I felt it important to leave aside my own personal judgments about the effectiveness or otherwise of these seminars and tutorials. My outsider stance changed in different ways in relation to each recording. Learning about midwifery and the importance of self reflection, made me less of an outsider and have more understanding of how the reflective practice was organised, but I never became an insider. With regard to the Homer tutorial I never stopped being the outsider. However much I might learn about translation pedagogy, or about Classical Greece, I would only become more of an insider if I learnt Homeric Greek.

The TESOL tutorial was slightly different. I also never became an insider, but acquiring more knowledge about the history of TESOL and TESOL pedagogy and practice made me more of an outsider. The subject of the tutorial and the building

in which the tutorial took place was familiar to me, but I could lose that familiarity by acquiring more knowledge about the pedagogy of that subject. In this tutorial knowledge had a distancing affect, in the Midwifery seminar it reduced that distance, whilst in the Homer tutorial the affect was more neutral as I would always remain an outsider.

3.10 The process of analysis: identifying the sacred in the data

I have already described a part of my process of analysis – when I explained how the focus of my thesis developed when I noticed the way students referred to themselves in the sessions. Following from this, I began to go back to the more sociological theories of identity and learning that I had been reading and in particular the work of Durkheim and Bernstein. I was attracted by the way both writers had used the categories of the sacred and the profane showing how these terms could combine ideas of the social with ideas about knowledge and so allow me to start making links between a sociology of identity and an epistemology. Durkheim had found that the sacred didn't reside in a rock or a piece of land used in a religious ceremony, but was only made sacred through the social element of that ceremony. Similarly Brown saw the sacred in the social gathering around the practice of the Medieval ordeal, a practice that persisted, and so maintained its sacrality, after the Catholic church stopped priests officiating in the ceremony (Lateran Council IV in 1215). In the research I carried out I think it would be wrong to identify a particular piece of knowledge with the sacred. There is nothing sacred about finding the correct word in a piece of Homer translation, or in a midwife assessing the width of a woman's cervix prior to the delivery of a baby. I want to suggest that the sacred may reside in the social aspect of how knowledge is learnt by the student, when the student in that moment of learning understands or gains insight into that piece of knowledge and when knowledge can be re-energised by the student's own interpretation of that knowledge. I came to this suggestion from my own process of interpretation of the data.

The moments of sacrality that I have identified in the data I collected occur when the student is questioning her own learning and the knowledge being learnt at the same time. An example of this occurs in the Homer translation tutorial when the student and the tutor query how a word that describes how Achilles looks at Agamemnon has been translated by the student. This discussion introduces the student to a more general skill in the process of translation, the skill of looking things up, which is emphasised throughout the tutorial. Here a specific piece of knowledge, finding the right word to make a translation, is linked to a wider more general area of knowledge consisting of all the other possible English words which could be used and can be coupled with an understanding of the original Greek. This is then linked to the student's own identity as she becomes a more skilled translator, which is then queried by the student who also wonders how this new skill fits in with what she already knows. A similar example occurs in the Midwifery seminar when the student reflects on her understanding of the relationship between intuition and knowledge; she recalls the time she observed a midwife in the delivery suite of a hospital and relates that to what she feels and what she knows. The tutor relates this to a more general question about the role of intuition and acquired knowledge in Midwifery practice. Both these examples show how student identities are related to wider questions about the knowledge that is being learnt in these classrooms.

I selected these and other moments in the seminars and tutorials because of what they show about the possible relationship between identity and learning and how this illustrates what can be conceived as sacred knowledge. The question then arises whether this relationship can be applied to other areas of knowledge, to other disciplines and subjects. Bernstein himself thought that the sacred was found in singular knowledge areas, rather than regional and generic areas, which rather counts out Midwifery. I do not have the data to answer this question, though if this approach can be applied to such disparate areas as Midwifery, Classics and Education Studies then it would seem plausible that this could be applied to other disciplines and subjects as well. The key feature in this analysis is the student's engagement with learning. If for whatever reason that engagement

is not forthcoming then it would be difficult to construct this kind of analysis. My feeling is that it is the student's engagement which is critical here, rather than the kind of knowledge being learnt, whether that is a traditional academic subject, such as Classics, or a vocational subject, such as Midwifery. This leads to my second question: what kind of evidence is needed to demonstrate the particular kind of engagement that indicates a sacred moment? In my analysis I was relying on transcripts of individual teaching sessions. This means my interpretations are based on my personal and subjective sense about a particular moment in the sessions. These are indicative of an approach for exploring the sacred, but would be greatly strengthened by additional data exploring the students' own experience of such moments.

3.11 Ethical Considerations.

I constructed two forms (Appendix 1) for the students to complete before the recording: a consent form, to be signed by the student and myself, and a student profile form which the student completed, describing the course attended, and background information about the student such as their previous education, age, ethnic group, and social class. I decided to use both forms with all other tutorial and seminar recordings to be completed by both students and tutors involved in the recordings.

When I approached universities to carry out the recordings, two universities asked me to submit my request and requirements to their own Ethics Committees, which I did using the university's ethics forms. I received letters from both universities stating that the research had been approved by the respective departments' Ethics Committees. One other university allowed me to make a recording without any further references.

I wrote an outline of my research proposal to give to all students and tutors. This outline stated the purpose and aims of the research, the methods of the research,

the probable results and possible benefits of the research. I explained in the outline that the research was self funded, that students and tutors could have access to the research at any time during the research, and that the names of the students, tutors and the name of the university would not be included in any material, transcriptions or accounts produced for the research. Tutors and students would be sent the final research report if they requested it.

I wrote a form (see **Appendix 1**)for both students and tutors to complete at the time of the recording, which included the course title, the length of time they had spent on the course and the kind of course they were following, whether it was full or part time, an undergraduate course, post graduate course, short specialist course. I asked them to declare the frequency of the tutorial and the average length of time taken for each tutorial. I also asked on the form for the students and tutors to tell me the highest level of qualification they had previously acquired, whether they were male or female, their age group, their ethnic group, and their social class. I included the question about social class, because I had thought this might have given me some data about a possible link between class and learning but I didn't continue with this line of research when I came to write the thesis.

I was aware that some of the exchanges in the Midwifery seminars covered quite personal matters, which was unavoidable given that students would be discussing their experiences in the delivery suite. This raised two issues for me. Firstly, would students be inhibited in the discussion knowing that I, as an outsider to their course, was present in the seminar ? Secondly, was recording a discussion covering these matters an invasion of the privacy that was due to the mothers who were the subject of those discussions ? I would expect the mothers themselves might be concerned if they knew that not only was their experience discussed in a student seminar, but that the discussion was also recorded and used, unknown to them, by a doctoral student in his thesis.

My answer to both these questions relates to the series of permissions that were obtained both before and at the seminar. The tutor would have gained permission

for the student midwives to be present in the delivery suite, so the mothers would have been aware that whatever was said at that time was part of an educational process for the students. I gained permission from the tutor and the students to record and transcribe the discussion and use the transcription in the thesis. I gave the students and tutor the option of stopping the recording at any time in the seminar. I was also in contact with the students and tutor after the seminar, so if they had second thoughts about the recordings they could have prevented me from using the material. The data also suggests that students were not inhibited by my recording the discussion, though it is difficult to make a judgment about this if a student does not, for whatever reason, participate in or contributes to the seminar.

The ethical concern I had with the Midwifery seminar was about the discussion between the students and the mothers during the students' clinical practice. In the TESOL tutorial the discussion only referred to the students' work, which was the subject of the tutorial. The students did refer to one of their own learners, Student M, but this learner was imaginatively constructed from the student's past experience as a teacher to meet a requirement of the course and was unknown to the tutor. I think there is a general ethical point that relates to both the seminars and the tutorials, which is that the act of recording the discussions is an intervention in the students' and tutors' work, which, simply as an intervention, could be seen as unethical. The intervention is made more ethical by the permissions gained from the students and tutors to make those interventions.

Chapter Four

Knowledge and identity in a Midwifery reflective practice seminar

"There definitely was a bit of an anti-intellectual culture around nursing and midwifery at that time [1982], and I think they thought that because I had a PhD I wouldn't be good at clinical practice."

Mary Renfrew, Professor of Mother and Infant Health,
University of Dundee

4.1 A reflective practice seminar – an introduction

If someone walked into the Midwifery seminar I observed, they would hear what seems like a rather rambling, unfocussed conversation between students and tutors about the students' recent experiences on their clinical practice, about why the students decided to join the course, about the students' own family backgrounds, interspersed with comments about different kinds of midwives, and the presentation of midwives on TV. The observer might wonder about the point of this discussion, nothing seems on the face of it to be actually learnt, knowledge seems not to be acquired, so they might ask the tutor about what was going on in this session. The observer would then find out that the session was a reflective practice session and that reflective practice was considered an essential part of the course.

But this presents a further epistemological challenge. In a formal educational setting acquiring knowledge usually follows some kind of pattern or structure, but this session appears unstructured. The lack of focus in this reflective practice session, where students are expected to question other parts of the course, seems to represent a challenge to that course. Students are encouraged to say whatever they want to say, whenever they want to say it. Judging from the programme documentation for this Midwifery course, there appears to be something about the knowledge that is acquired on a Midwifery course that requires reflective practice. The course has its own documented reflective practice strategy. Learning

any subject or discipline requires reflection, but learning does not always require a dedicated slot in the timetable called Reflective Practice. Midwifery courses require reflective practice to focus on the student midwife's identity. The course Reflective Practice Strategy requires students to become more self aware, to develop a 'philosophy of practice', and to observe how 'their own experiences and knowledge have affected their beliefs.' (Department of Community Services 2012 p.41-42)

Whilst the discussion in the reflective practice session appears unfocussed, the actual focus is on that identity in all its multifarious complexity. It is not just the acquisition of knowledge on the course that requires reflection, but that midwifery practice itself seems to demand a strong sense of midwifery identity. The students here are learning to develop that sense of identity by reflecting back on their own past experiences, on their clinical practice, and on the idea of the midwife identity as expressed through the concept of the midwife being the 'expert of the norm'³⁰, a phrase used in the seminar to refer to midwives.

At the same time, running through both the history of Midwifery education and the individual experiences of learning to be a midwife is the continual theme of the relationship between midwifery theory and midwifery practice. This can be expressed as a distrust of theory or of academic knowledge, as indicated by the quote by Mary Renfrew at the start of this chapter, and the difficulty in establishing Nursing and Midwifery degree programmes in the UK, though less so in Scotland than in England, and which I describe in the next section. But this

³⁰ The phrase 'the expert of the norm' has been long used to describe midwives.

Royal College of Midwives website (<http://www.rcm.org.uk/college/policy-practice/position-statement/>) offers a definition of normality and then uses phrases such as 'maximising normal childbirth', '....which promote normality', 'the potential to give birth normally', 'supporting and maximising normal childbirth' to explain further how this policy would work in practice.

Similarly the position statement issued by the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists to provide guidance on how to run maternity services for the new Clinical Commissioning Groups set up by the Health and Social Care Act 2012

(<http://www.rcog.org.uk/files/rcogcorp/Advice%20to%20CCGs.pdf>) states:

Commissioning groups within a federation will need to jointly agree at the outset, the principles underpinning local arrangements, which should include:

Emphasis on pregnancy and birth as **essentially normal physiological processes**.

theme is also found in the way Midwifery programmes are now set up so that the student midwife becomes, in the words of a Midwifery tutor, the ‘knowledgeable doer’ as someone who does not just know, but also does. For the midwifery student it is experienced as a concern over her own knowledge and whether that knowledge matches up to her experience in a clinical setting which then relates to the idea she has of herself as a student midwife and her identity as a midwife. By identifying both the sacred and the profane aspects of the seminar I recorded, it becomes possible, as I hope to show in this chapter, to highlight some of the significant features in the relationship between student identity and the different kinds of knowledge she is learning on her programme.

Part One Midwifery and Nursing - Knowledge and Education

4.2 Background information

Midwifery and nursing is, since 2000, a graduate profession. New entrants to midwifery and nursing in the UK now attend a degree course at a university. This was not the case before 2000. Bradshaw's study of pre 1970 nursing handbooks and guides describes a world where the nurses' personal qualities and characteristics were essential to the nurse's professionalism:

In all textbooks, the nurse's character was seen as the bedrock for competence. The personal was not viewed as separable from the professional, but as essential for the quality of patient care. The values and attitudes were specified as those which were considered to be requisite. What the nurse was as a person was inextricably tied to the manner of her work, and her attitude towards her patient.(Bradshaw 2000 p.324)

The knowledge and skills required for both midwifery and nursing were not considered as suitable for study in a university by both members of the midwifery and nursing professions, and by universities themselves. Although the General Nursing Council's (GNC) syllabus for nursing underwent changes between 1919, when the GNC was established, and 1977, when the last GNC syllabus was produced and the GNC was replaced, in 1983, by the UK Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting, the basic framework remained the same. It emphasised the moral character of the nurse as expressed particularly in hospital etiquette, and the practical knowledge and technical skills required for the bedside care of patients. Activities such as cleaning, washing and feeding were part of the 'sacred calling'(Bradshaw 2000 p. 324) of being a nurse. It was through carrying out these comparatively mundane tasks that the nurse could observe patient behaviour, develop trust with the patient, and, if required, report back to doctors on the patient's condition and treatment. Nurse training was carried out in the hospital, although it might be done in the community as well, under the supervision of ward sisters, who would call on visiting lecturers for specific topics. The Robbins report on Higher Education stated, accurately for the time, that nurse education was not part of Higher Education and so did not refer to it in the

Report³¹. The Royal College of Nursing and the University of London negotiated setting up a nursing degree course throughout the nineteen forties and 'fifties but nothing came of their discussions³² (Brooks and Rafferty 2010), though a nursing degree was set up by Edinburgh University in 1960. Miers confirmed evidence of Renfrew's anti-intellectualism in her 2002 study on barriers to Nursing degrees, finding both 'an anti-intellectualism within nursing and academic denigration of practice' (2002 p.212)

4.3 Nursing and Midwifery in the university

Between 1970 and 2000 the knowledge and skills required to be a nurse or a midwife were brought into the university. The numbers of students on the 3 year Midwifery degree programme in England increased from 125 in 1990/91 to 753 in 1997/98, though recruitment on to the Midwifery 18 month pre registration programme for students who already had a nursing qualification fell from 2371 in 1990/91 to 901 in 1997/98(UKCC for Nursing 1999). The 1999 UKCC Report 'Fitness for Practice'³³ gave the reasons why Nursing and Midwifery should become graduate professions through a list of twelve 'paradoxes' (UKCC for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting 1999 page 18) which it thought would affect future nurses and midwives, and would demonstrate the need for a graduate profession.

Examples of these paradoxes were:

³¹ Education, R. C. o. H. (1963). The Robbins Report on Higher Education. London.
see p. 3 section 9. 'We received evidence about training for nursing and some of the occupations associated with medicine. Since this does not form part of higher education as we have defined it, we have not specifically considered this wide area of opportunity for girls. But we are aware that at certain points contacts with universities and colleges are now being established.'

³² Brooks, J. and A. M. Rafferty (2010). "Degrees of ambivalence: Attitudes towards pre-registration university education for nurses in Britain, 1930 - 1960." *Nurse Education Today* **30**: 579-583. (see p. 582) show that it was both the nursing profession, particularly matrons who wanted to keep nurse training within hospitals and who thought that intellectual nurses lacked practical skills and would be slow at completing tasks on the wards, as well as university authorities who were suspicious of nursing degrees.

³³ The UKCC, United Kingdom Central Council for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting, was set up in 1983 and closed in 2002, when it was superseded by the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC)

Continuing need for 'human' qualities and the time to express them	AND	Demand for high technical competence and 'scientific rationality'
Continuation of old moral certainties	AND	New and challenging environments in which to apply them
The core expectations of nursing and midwives will be little altered	AND	Nurses and midwives are not immune to the other social changes outlined above [such as emphasis on prevention but greater need for cure and palliation, that is care for the terminally sick] (UKCC for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting 1999 page 18)

These paradoxes demonstrated that Nursing and Midwifery were no longer, as the Report stated, 'routinised and task-orientated' but, as with many other professions, were now:

faced with a rapidly changing knowledge base, new working practices and environments, and increasing public expectations. Nursing and midwifery are no longer routinised, task-orientated roles; they are patient and client-centred, based on holistic, partnership approaches to care (1999 p.17)

It appears that from the 1990s onwards, nurses and midwives would have to combine the traditional qualities of individual care and concern, with a more scientific approach to evidence-based clinical practice. These new challenges seemed, in the UK, to require a university education, which they had not in the past, although nursing and midwifery degrees had been available in the USA at Yale, Johns Hopkins and Columbia Universities in the 1950s(Burst 2005).

Yet there was, as we have seen, a demand back in the nineteen forties and fifties, before these wider societal changes had taken place, from within the Nursing profession, that nursing education should be delivered within the university. At the end of the twentieth century the arguments for including nursing and midwifery within the university curriculum had become more forceful both within the profession and in the university. Although nursing and midwifery degrees had been rejected by the universities and the profession on knowledge grounds, nursing was seen as mundane and task orientated even if those tasks were carried out as part of the nurses' sacred calling to alleviate the suffering of humanity

(Bradshaw 2000 p.324), its acceptance within the university was not based on ideas about knowledge but on wider societal changes and on changes within universities as they moved from the elitist institutions of the mid twentieth century to the mass higher education institutions of the twenty first century. However the problem over what might constitute nursing and midwifery knowledge did not go away, and in fact become more acute as the knowledge base for both professions widened and as more research capacity for these areas was developed in the universities.

4.3.1 The Knowledgeable Doer

The aim of midwifery university degree courses is never, it seems, knowledge as an end in itself, but the development of the 'knowledgeable, skilled and safe practitioner'. Knowledge is always related to use and practice.³⁴ Midwifery knowledge seems to require a very clear relationship with the real world, the world of the delivery suite and the maternity unit. Although midwifery degree courses do include modules in biology or pharmacology or psychology, subjects that might not be taught by midwifery tutors or health care tutors, it always seems necessary to make connections between the subject and the practical world of midwifery. One of the tutors on the Midwifery course I visited to record a Midwifery seminar gave me some documentation that she had written in preparation for the university's Midwifery Programme Handbook. She states quite clearly the importance of making sure that students on the course do not just acquire the relevant knowledge but they also know how to apply that knowledge in the appropriate settings:

As tutors we cannot just be concerned with what a student can demonstrate that they know, but how they apply that knowledge and what the experience of acquiring that knowledge and skills is for them. (Informal draft document)

³⁴ See for example p. 5 from Midwifery 2020:

Midwifery education will be rooted in normality whilst preparing midwives to care for all women including those with complex medical, obstetric and social needs. It will prepare and develop midwives to be skilled and safe, empathic and trustworthy with increased emphasis on the principles of autonomy and accountability within multidisciplinary and multi-agency teams Chief Nursing Officers of England, N. I., Scotland and Wales (2010). Midwifery 2020: Delivering expectations, Department of Health, Social Services and Public Safety, Welsh Assembly Government, Department of Health, The Scottish Government.

The course is required not just to assess the students' knowledge but also how that knowledge is used in the clinical setting. Later in the same document she describes how knowledge should include other areas of work, such as communication skills and team working and an understanding of providing healthcare in a multi-cultural society.

The programmes will acknowledge the complex nature of health and the various social and cultural factors that impact upon both the definition of the concept and the lived experience of health within a multi-cultural society. The programmes will facilitate the development of a range of skills and knowledge, not least of which will be those required for effective communication and team working. The acquisition of knowledge will be supported using a range of learning and assessment strategies. The relevant competencies and other educational goals required within the specific programmes will be achieved within a process that emphasises the importance of inter-disciplinary working and patient/client involvement. The central purpose of these programmes is to produce a knowledgeable, skilled and safe practitioner. (informal draft document)

On the Midwifery degree course, from which I recorded a reflective practice seminar, there is not a lack of knowledge but a wide collection of different kinds of knowledge, all of which need assessment, and all of which need to be related to the needs of the client/patient so that the student midwife becomes a 'knowledgeable, skilled and safe practitioner' , which is the main aim of the programme.

4.3.2 Knowledge and Practice in Midwifery Education

The UKCC's 1999 Report, Fitness for Practice, on nursing and midwifery education, which was a review of the Project 2000 Report (UKCC for Nursing 1986)and that had called for both nursing and midwifery to become graduate entry professions, regarded this combination of knowledge and practical skill as essential in nursing and midwifery education:

As some of our research showed, however, there is concern that newly-qualified nurses, and to a lesser extent midwives, do not possess the practice skills expected of them by employers, and public perceptions about levels of preparedness for practice are sometimes negative. We have, therefore, focused on the effective delivery and integration of theory and practice within the

programme, because we believe that the aim to produce 'knowledgeable doers' is right for the professions now and will continue to be so in the future.
(UKCC for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting 1999 p. 4)

As nursing and midwifery became graduate professions there immediately arose a concern that nurses and midwives lacked practical skills. Student midwives and newly qualified midwives certainly experienced this disjuncture between the knowledge learnt on midwifery courses and some of the practical skills needed in clinical settings, see for example (Skirton, Stephen et al. 2012) (Woodward 2000) (McIntosh, Fraser et al. 2013). To understand the relationship between 'theory' and 'practice', a relationship that appears so critical in nursing and midwifery education, the English National Board for Nursing Midwifery and Health Visiting³⁵, commissioned and published a series of research reports under the title of Researching Professional Education. These research reports had titles such as:

Practice and Assessment in Nursing and Midwifery: Doing It for Real. Researching Professional Education Research Series Report. 2000

Learning To Use Scientific Knowledge in Education and Practice Settings: an evaluation of the contribution of the biological behavioural and social sciences to pre-registration nursing and midwifery programmes. Researching Professional Education. Research Reports Series Number 3.1995

Education, Dialogue and Assessment: Creating Partnership for Improving Practice. Researching Professional Education. Research Reports Series. 1994

In each of these reports researchers visited universities providing Nursing and Midwifery programmes, interviewed tutors and students on the courses as well as practitioners in the clinical settings, reported on their findings and made recommendations as to how programmes could be improved. Two of these reports , *Practice and Assessment in Nursing and Midwifery* and *Education, Dialogue and Assessment* , examine the difficulties in assessing reliably both the theoretical work done in the university and the practical work carried out in the clinical setting.

³⁵ The National Boards were abolished in 2002 when the Nursing and Midwifery Council (NMC) was set up and, amongst its other duties, took on the responsibility for standards of education and training in the UK

To state that there is a relationship, and possibly some kind of opposition, between knowledge and practice or theory and practice, begs lots of questions about the nature of knowledge and the nature of practice. A newly qualified midwife (Skirton, Stephen et.al.2012) identifies the positive aspect of the relationship between theory and practice when she says:

I am more aware now of why I have been taught what I have been taught.... I can now see why that's important. There are lots of things now that are making more sense, although I had the knowledge before I can now see the purpose of that knowledge. (Skirton, Stephen et.al. 2012 page e663).

The midwife realises here that she is dealing with two different aspects of knowledge: the knowledge that she was taught at the university, and the recasting of that knowledge in the clinical setting, when she sees the 'sense' of the knowledge she acquired at university. Here there is no opposition between theory and practice, the one informs the other. But this seems quite different from the midwife (Woodward 2000 page 71) who says:

I don't know, you read about these things and you don't know if you're doing it without your knowledge, but it's not a conscious way of practising by someone's model, you just do it because that is what you do as a midwife, you know , it just comes naturally to do it like that, whether it's someone's model or not. [in the interview the midwife had been asked whether she was familiar with any models of caring in her work].

(Woodward 2000 page 71)

This midwife's idea here of doing what comes naturally, without a stated model or framework of care, might well be an example of Eraut's notion of 'personal knowledge' (Eraut 2000) which includes different forms of 'tacit knowledge' , the knowledge that perhaps allows for an intuitive response to a situation or is just 'taken for granted' as the way to act.

However I am not interested in this chapter about how it might be possible to make improvements to midwifery practice and performance through learning different kinds of knowledge. I am interested in how the knowledge as conceived and presented in the university, is related, from the tutor's and the student's perspective, to the professional world in which the tutor and the student seek to

operate, because it is this conjuncture of theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge that seems so critical in the formation of the student midwife identity. It is for that reason I now want to look at how attempts were made by one of these research projects to relate knowledge from the biological and social sciences, with the knowledge required to be a midwife in a clinical setting. By doing this I want to show some of the complexities of this relationship between 'theory' and 'practice' and how problematic it can be to relate a task, or a bit of practice, with a piece of theory.

The purpose of the ENB Report(Alderton, Boylan et al. 1995) is 'to ascertain how students learn to use important scientific knowledge in professional practice' (1995 p.10). This broad general question then produced five related questions about the nature of scientific knowledge, how that knowledge gets related to a curriculum, and how students and teachers use and respond to that curriculum. Answering these questions required dividing knowledge up into what was called scientific knowledge and professional knowledge, and then making further divisions between these kinds of knowledge. Scientific knowledge was divided into propositional knowledge, the knowledge of text books and research journals, and process knowledge, the knowledge of how to carry out routines and activities. Professional knowledge could also be divided up into propositional knowledge and process knowledge, but includes a further category called ' common knowledge' (Alderton, Boylan et al. 1995 p.13). Having developed these categories, the researchers then found, firstly, that propositional knowledge is not independent of process knowledge but that they overlap and inform each other . Secondly, although it was quite possible to conceive of an ideal situation where the practitioner confronts a clinical problem or difficulty, analyses the problem using her scientific knowledge, and then produces a solution, which can be reviewed later using professional knowledge, judging from the researchers' observations and interviews with practitioners, things very rarely worked out like that. The relationship between theory and practice was in fact much more diffuse and arbitrary.

It was found in the research that a practitioner's knowledge was not organised methodically into knowledge categories so the best way of accessing that knowledge was by asking the practitioner directly about a particular case, using direct questions such as: 'What knowledge did you draw on?' and 'How did you interpret that?' (Alderton, Boylan et al. 1995 p.19). The report states that this mode of questioning produced good results and gave the researchers:

good insight how the nurse's practical knowledge about pain [which was the case the researchers were observing] incorporated knowledge of physiology, psychology and sociology. (Alderton, Boylan et al. 1995 p.19)

The researchers also used a system called 'concept mapping' to record the results from these questions. Using this system they tried to get the practitioners to link concepts, for example the effects of pain, with practices, such as signs of infection in a patient, but they had to give it up because it was very time consuming. The idea of concept mapping, a technique to link features of scientific knowledge with process knowledge, was developed into the idea of a knowledge map, which was a matrix that related practice, presented in columns, with theory, presented in rows. The research team produced twenty one knowledge maps, seven of which were related to midwifery. The team found that it was not enough to just relate a practice with a theory, but it was also necessary to say whether that theory was understood in a way specific to a task (in which case a U was written in the box), or whether was just seen as relevant (indicated by an R in the box). At the same time it seemed necessary to state whether the practice required a simple application of that knowledge (recorded as a 1), whether the knowledge had to be adapted to a particular activity (recorded as a 2) or required a degree of problem solving (a 3).

The topic for one of these knowledge maps, on stress in pregnancy, produced a matrix of thirteen theory rows and five practice columns. A section of this knowledge map looked like this:

Stress Midwifery	Normal/ Abnormal	Acute/Chronic	Functional/ Dysfunctional	Risk assessment
Manifest responses to stress Physiological	U3	U3	U3	U3
Manifest responses to stress Psychological	R2	R2	U3	U3
Common sources of stress	R2	R2	U3	U3
Sources related to illness/hospital	R2		R2	U3

R	Appreciating the relevance of knowledge	1	simple application of knowledge
U	Understanding and interpreting knowledge	2	situational adaption
		3	problem solving

The matrix showed that there was a relationship between theory and practice. A midwife would need prior knowledge of possible sources of psychological stress in order to make a risk assessment, but she would also need, as the commentary on this particular linkage indicated in the report, an informed understanding of each particular mother's circumstances and history to make an assessment of the overall risk to a mother. The level of understanding and problem solving ability by the midwife seemed then to justify the U3 coding. But there were a lot of U3 codes in the matrix. It appeared from this and other matrices in the series that, although it was quite possible to relate theory with a likely piece of practice, the difficulty arose over the nature of that relationship. This gave rise to further questions about the degree of relevance of that theory and how that knowledge was applied in specific situations. Constructing these quite complicated matrices seemed useful from the point of view of the construction of knowledge and

curriculum design, but possibly less useful as an aid for midwifery practice in a clinical setting.

4.3.3 ‘Theory’ and ‘Practice’ - a practice based approach

If knowledge always has to be related to practice, which seems to be the case with midwifery, then one solution was to develop a curriculum based on finding solutions to real life problems that might occur in midwifery practice. Thames Valley University introduced such a curriculum in 1998, following a revalidation of their 18 month and 3 year midwifery programmes(Thomas, Quant et al. 1998). The university had found that previous students thought that their traditional, subject-based curriculum had not prepared them adequately for midwifery practice, and that also midwifery students preferred not to attend courses with other non-midwifery students, but wanted a curriculum specific to their own practice. The revised programme also had to follow the standards and regulations set down by the English National Board for Nursing, Midwifery and Health Visiting, as well as the advice and guidance provided by the ENB's research reports written for the Researching Professional Education projects, one of which I have just discussed - Alderton, Boylan et al. 1995.

A curriculum was constructed based on modules with titles like 'Having a Baby', which included psychological and physiological knowledge, and 'Transitions in Childbirth' focussing on sociological and anthropological knowledge. In this way, where the starting point for the course is the practice of midwifery, rather than the knowledge of midwifery, it was hoped to narrow the gap between theory and practice. In the 2001 evaluation of this problem-based curriculum (McCourt and Thomas 2001) the researchers found that mentors and examiners on the course thought that the level of subject knowledge on the practice-based learning (PBL) course was similar to the level of subject knowledge on the previous subject-based course. Students appeared to be more aware of 'gaps' in their knowledge, and were having to rely more on their peers in the practice groups for knowledge rather than learning the knowledge from their tutors. But this could have been for

any number of reasons: the way the practice groups were organised, different methods of knowledge retention, the unfamiliarity of a new method of learning, for example. The evaluation stated that:

We did not find any clear evidence of enhanced formal outcomes or improvements in students' ability to link theory and practice.

(McCourt and Thomas 2001 page 330)

There seems to be something quite intractable about 'theory', it keeps on getting in the way of 'practice' that is both challenging and unsettling for students.

In 2009 another review (Rowan, McCourt et al. 2009) was carried out of the practise-based midwifery programme, but this time the reviewers interviewed working midwives who had completed the practice-based learning (PBL) Midwifery course five years previously, and asked them about the course, five years later. Many of the students' comments were about knowledge and practice. One student said she would not take another PBL course, it was too 'wishy washy' and another said she felt 'the main principles should be discussed first, such as anatomy and physiology, then students can explore round the topic (PBL graduate 5).' (Rowan, McCourt et al. 2009 p.217)

The experienced midwives were still concerned about gaps in their knowledge, as they had been when they were students, even though there was no evidence of any lack of knowledge by the midwives. Both the PBL students and the students who had taken a subject-based course thought that most learning took place in the clinical practice sessions, particularly when informed by a helpful tutor or mentor. This review stressed the subjective nature of the midwives' comments and views, and the small number of participants in the review, but as with the earlier review, the relationship between what was called 'theory' and 'practice' remained a problem that needed to be constantly revisited. Theory always challenges practice; there will always be a doubt in the practitioner's mind about how much she knows and whether that knowledge is adequate to the tasks she has to perform. Reading the reviews and the ENB documentation it appears that the relationship between theory and practice remains problematic, but perhaps the issue here is not about how to resolve what appears to be two separate entities, classroom based theory and clinically based practice, through a complex

typology of different kinds of knowledge, but instead to regularly review and recast the basis for the separation of theory from practice.

4.3.4 Knowledge and Re-contextualisation

This process of regular review is taken up in a paper by Evans, Guile, Harris and Allan (2010) called 'Putting knowledge to work'. Although the examples in the paper do not refer to midwifery or nursing, the paper developed out of an observation by one of the researchers about the lack of integration between theory and practice on nursing courses, so that students on these courses have to learn within a 'disintegrated learning context in which opposing values of learning exist' (Evans, Guile et al. p. 245). Evans' solution to the problem of this apparent separation between theory and practice is to re-examine ideas about knowledge using Bernstein's concept of re-contextualisation. With this concept, knowledge can be seen to flow between different contexts; knowledge re-contextualises as it merges into a different context. Knowledge in the university, where it has already been recontextualised when it was placed into a curriculum for teaching, doesn't stop when it is used in the workplace, it is not a fixed entity or a chunk of knowledge, but is re-contextualised into different formats for different uses. The differences between knowledge subjects or fields are described by the Bernsteinian terms of verticality, which denotes degrees of abstraction, and horizontality, which refers to connections between different knowledge-based practices and procedures. Verticality and horizontality describe the characteristics of different kinds of knowledge rather than the duality between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge.

The example used by Evans to demonstrate these ideas, and where the research was carried out, is a Bachelor in Engineering course in Aircraft Engineering. Disciplinary knowledge, Physics, Maths, Law and Psychology, is re-contextualised with practice-based modules in subjects that had titles like Maintenance Practices or Aircraft Engines. The problem of the relationship between theory and practice

on the course was defined when one of the tutors on the course was quoted in the report as saying ‘A big problem is that without the basic information you can’t do the practical – and without the practical you can’t do the whole job at the end of it’. (Evans, Guile et al. 2009 p.38)

Recontextualisation emphasised the flow of different knowledge through the total system of aircraft design and engineering, a flow supported by the use of industry educators and increased learner participation evidenced by completing logbooks of the course practical activities. This is different from having a teaching block of theory, taught by one set of tutors and a block of practice taught by another set of tutors. The new approach also emphasised building professional work place identities through holding learning conversations, peer support, and confidence building . But with this new approach to learning, an approach of which some tutors were suspicious, new workplace identities were adopted:

The code of practice and conduct in the workplace requires particular behaviours from the learners. Safety and discipline are paramount. Learners reported that for safety reasons: ‘supervisors tell us from the beginning to put our hand up and ask questions’. Learners are monitored continuously in the hangar: ‘I watch over the students like a hawk’. If there is the slightest doubt about competence, supervision is increased and ‘we have a discussion’. Attitude is considered very important: ‘a student can get taken off the hangar floor if the attitude isn’t right’. The ‘right’ attitude lies somewhere between over- and under- confidence, both of which are frowned upon in the operational environment.

In terms of assessment, the industry requirement is that a simple feedback form is used in the hangar. The form includes criteria such as ‘time-keeping’ and ‘interest in the job’ with space for a ‘tick and a comment’. Thus, attitude, discipline and conduct are officially recorded. The disciplined use of manuals and log books was also emphasised as being of extreme importance for safety reasons (Evans,Guile et al. 2009 p.39)

As with midwifery, aircraft maintenance is an area where safety is absolutely critical so it is important that the right balance between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge is found. But it is also clear that in this context, as with midwifery, part of the solution to achieving such a balance was through the construction of the 'right' identity by both tutors and learners.

4.4 Part One Conclusion

In Part One I have looked at the history of Midwifery education, and some of the difficulties in establishing nursing and midwifery degree programmes because of a mutual suspicion from both some midwives and from academia. I also discussed how Midwifery courses aimed to combine the more theoretical and the more practical kinds of knowledge leading to the midwife who is a knowledgeable doer, as required by the national statutory body for midwifery standards and training (UKCC, but now NMC). I raised the issue of how these different kinds of knowledge might relate to the student midwife's sense of identity, and looked at one example of how theoretical and practical knowledge had been linked to Bernstein's vertical and horizontal knowledge structures.

In Part Two I want to develop my argument by looking further at the distinction between theory and practice, by viewing it in terms of the difference between the sacred and the profane. I also use Bernstein's distinction between singular, regional and generic knowledge to describe aspects of the Midwifery curriculum. Using these different knowledge categories, the sacred and the profane, the singular, the regional and the generic, allows me to show how a sense of student midwifery identity emerges from and is immanent within this knowledge.

Part Two - Student engagement with ideas about knowledge and identity

4.5 The sacred and the profane with singular, regional and generic knowledge on a midwifery course

The researchers in Putting Knowledge to Work recast the theory-practice gap with the idea of the movement, or re-contextualisation, of different kinds of knowledge through a total system, in their case the system of aircraft production, a movement supported by changes in workplace and academic pedagogies and learning. They saw the distinction between the different kinds of knowledge used in the system as a distinction between vertical knowledge and horizontal knowledge. It appears that Bernstein derived these ideas of vertical and horizontal knowledge from Durkheim's ideas of the sacred and the profane (Young 2008 pp 146 - 150). I want to continue with the sacred and profane categories because, despite Durkheim's views about the 'logical gulf' between the two categories (Durkheim 2001 p.39), a 'radical duality' which he said was constructed by people and not based on experience, I think it is useful, from the standpoint of the relationship between knowledge and identity, to see how the sacred and the profane continually relate to each other, the profane emerging from the sacred and the sacred entwined with the profane. Sacred knowledge, as stated in Chapter Two, tends to be abstract, inward looking, with a focus on the self, and related to a particular kind of knowledge. Profane knowledge is more diffuse, engaged with different kinds of knowledge, and more outward looking, more engaged with the real, practical world. Both categories can be used quite flexibly and relate to the context in which they are placed. Sacred knowledge in one context, might be profane in a different context.

Establishing a linkage between the sacred and the profane, though the midwife didn't use those terms, allowed her to see the sense of the knowledge she had been taught on her midwifery course when she became a practising midwife. In her case (Skirton, Stephen et.al. 2012 page 663), it was the profane, or the practice, that for her made sense of the sacred, or the theory. This relationship becomes

clearer when considering the place of new knowledge, such as learning about genetics, in a midwifery curriculum. Nurses and midwives accept that learning about genetics is important to how they provide their services to patients, and to mothers and their families. But learning about genetics is difficult(Kirk 2000), particularly if genetics is only approached through the biological sciences. Genetics within biological science might be seen as a sacred subject with its own logic, its own points of reference and its own language. For midwives the sacred needs to be linked more explicitly with the profane; genetics should be linked with subjects such as communication skills, ethics, and family awareness and understanding(Skirton, Barnoy et al. 2012) so that midwives can use knowledge about genetics in their practice.

The Midwifery Course Handbook (Department of Community Services 2012)stated in its Reflective Practice Strategy that it was through reflective practice that the linkage between theory and practice on the course was maintained. Reflective practice, it says:

Integrates theory and practice more constructively – the dissatisfactions of the students are given formal curricular time and become part of the learning process itself rather than being ignored. (2012 p.42)

On this course reflective practice both combines theory with practice, and brings in the student's identity to that learning process, when it speaks of the feelings of the students towards their course. The Nursing and Midwifery Council's (NMC) recent document (2017)on revalidation for nurses and midwives puts reflective practice at the centre of the process of revalidation. In order to revalidate, and so register with the NMC , the nurse or midwife has to engage in a reflective discussion with another registered nurse or midwife and to write five reflective accounts about the learning that arose from events, tasks, or professional development activities undertaken by the nurse or midwife. Reflective practice seems to be at the core of learning to be a midwife and, judging from the NMC's requirement for revalidation, of the midwife's professional status.

4.5.1 Singular, Regional and Generic Knowledge

In midwifery I suggest that singular knowledge is the knowledge the midwife develops of her own identity, of herself as the 'expert of the norm'. This singular knowledge relates back to the original sacred calling mentioned by nursing and midwifery educators in the early part of the twentieth century, where, as we saw earlier, 'the nurse's character was seen as the bedrock for competence.' (Bradshaw 2000). Bernstein associated the sacred with singular knowledge forms which, as they became regionalised turned their profane face to the tutor and the student³⁶. If genetics is a singular sacred subject, when it moves into a midwifery course it displays its profane side and is linked to other subject areas like ethics, so it can move out and be re-contextualised into the world of midwifery practice and the hospital or the community setting.

I would prefer to see these categories of knowledge, the singular, the regional and the generic as both challenging and as complementary to each other, part in fact of Bernstein's rich 'pedagogic pallet' (Bernstein 2000 p. 53) where different modes of knowledge and learning are combined and build on each other. Examples of these knowledge combinations can be found on the BSc Midwifery course, such as in the unit on Professional and Academic Practice. The regional knowledge in this unit is found in the requirements to possess knowledge of the statutory frameworks of midwifery practice and the knowledge of midwifery ethical standards. These require a detailed knowledge of midwifery codes of practice as well as the ability to relate those codes to actual midwifery settings and practice. It would be necessary to understand some of the theoretical aspects of midwifery to interpret those codes of practice but they would also require knowledge of midwifery practice as well. Generic knowledge is found in the requirement :

³⁶ 'However, despite these external linkages, singulars are like a coin with two faces, so that only one face can be seen at any one time. The sacred face sets them apart, legitimises their otherness and creates dedicated identities with no reference other than to their calling. The profane face indicates their external linkage and internal power struggles.' (Bernstein 2000 p. 54)

to research academic literature to find and retrieve relevant good quality evidence to support clinical reasoning behind practice (Department of Community Services 2012)

and also in this requirement:

to employ higher order thinking (beyond description) to practise asking insightful questions about issues in practice , using appropriate academic and professional language (Department of Community Services 2012)

Generic knowledge here doesn't seem be a lesser form of knowledge but rather covers the knowledge required to use research and critical thinking skills, which are generic as they might be linked to a range of subject areas, in a midwifery context.

In the next section I want to look at how these ideas of sacred and profane knowledge, and of singular, regional and generic knowledge can be traced in the recordings I made of two reflective practice seminars on a BSc Midwifery course at a university in the South of England.

4.6 Student engagement in Reflective Practice

From this account so far I have claimed that the sacred, singular part of midwifery knowledge is the midwife's own sense of herself as a midwife. Her knowledge about birth, and about the mothers she is working with makes up the regional knowledge that draws in knowledge from other sources, such as physiology, pharmacology, ethics etc . This combination of different kinds of knowledge provides the expertise for the expert of the norm. Midwifery, and maybe nursing as well, retains some of the older ideas of the 'sacred calling' of pre university midwifery and nursing, where the midwife's view of herself was the most critical part of her practice. When midwifery moved into the university, that singularity became regionalised with the addition of knowledge from other subject areas. The development of research skills, ICT, the use of databases to support clinical practice, on midwifery courses also added generic knowledge, the kind of knowledge that can be used on a wide range of other courses.

I now want to look at how student midwives discuss their own identities and the problem of knowledge on their courses. I have selected eight extracts from the recordings I made of two Reflective Practice seminars where the student midwives discuss three topics:

1. why they became midwives and other midwife identities (**Extracts One and Two**);
2. the relationship between intuition and knowledge as examples of different kinds of knowing (**Extracts Three, Four, five, Six and Seven**);
3. the problem of professional boundaries and boundary-making, showing a relationship between knowledge and identity (**Extract Eight**).

4.6.1 Why become a midwife ?

The following exchange occurred about ten minutes into the seminar. The students had been discussing a piece of video of a postnatal discussion between midwives that they had been shown the previous week at a student conference. The students had all expressed surprise about how much additional support the midwife had provided to the mother, and wondered whether that support was appropriate and whether they themselves would be able to provide such support, as midwives. The tutor had spoken about working with other professionals, such as health visitors, about the boundary between a midwife role and a health visitor role, and whether responding to a mother's need for support might lead her outside her own role as a midwife. She had also raised the issue of why someone would become a midwife in the first place, wondering why anyone would want to take on such a complex role. The tutor had opened up a range of possibilities for the discussion. She didn't seem to want, at this point, to lead the discussion in anyone direction but was encouraging the students to develop the ideas they felt they wanted to discuss.

In **Extract One**, Student A takes up the question raised by the tutor about why they wanted to become a midwife. She begins by stating a view that might well be

shared with many other student midwives, that she became a midwife because she wanted to care for women. But then she raises the question about what happens when ‘caring’ encounters a professional boundary, a boundary that can’t be crossed even if the student still wants to care. Meeting that boundary requires the student to question her own motivation, stating that her need is actually for people to need her. The student’s reply moves from a conventional response to a serious questioning of her own identity – ‘the type of person I am’.

Extract One

1.1	Student A :	I think we all came into this because we care and because we want to
1.2		care for women and want to do what we can for them. I mean... I
1.3		think it's... I think that's probably the hardest thing for me is... is... is
1.4		putting up that barrier and saying what is appropriate and what isn't,
1.5		and I think that probably makes me question a lot about the type of I
1.6		person I am, that I need people to need me. Does that make sense?
1.7	Tutor:	(Laughs) Yes it does... who recognises that? Thank you V... thank
1.8		you for contributing that, that's very courageous. Who recognises that?
1.9	Student:	Yeah.
1.10	Tutor:	(Laughs).
1.11	Student B:	In my previous... in my previous job I was um a pastoral support
1.12		worker for um vulnerable young adults and... when they were doing
1.13		our course... and I had... on a daily basis had to question myself and
1.14		my motives for what advice I was giving and what actions I was
1.15		doing, because there was a...there was a time when every single,
1.16		morning I would call, at about 7 O'clock five of our students to make
1.17		sure they woke up so they'd be in class, and then I just got to a point
1.18		where I was like ‘why am I waking up an hour early to wake them
1.19		up?’ It... it... it's a super hero complex that I can change their lives like
1.20	Tutor:	(Laughs) Yes.

The tutor’s role here seems to be to open up and encourage discussion, rather than to affirm a particular correct or incorrect response. The students describe quite personal features of their experiences which has led them to question their own sense of self, a questioning that is continued in the discussion. One of the students introduces a particular form of identity, the person with ‘the superhero complex’, an identity that informs later discussion and which the students might

need to resolve as it relates to their own knowledge of midwifery and their understanding of their role as student midwives.

4.6.2 The Burnt Out Midwife

Extract Two is an extract from a discussion on another midwife identity. This is not the midwife as superhero, or the midwife who needs to be needed, but the midwife who has ‘burnt out’. The tutor takes up a point made by student L_____ about midwives who burn out. She starts by asking how anyone might recognise a burnt out midwife (l12.4 - 2.5), but a student develops that point further by saying that burn out might not be about how someone looks, but how they are at home, unseen by anyone (l12.12 – 2.14). In response, the tutor develops the discussion by changing her verb from ‘looking’ (l2.15) to ‘seeming’ (l2.22). She clearly wants to extend the discussion, to get behind appearances and discover what might be going on beneath the surface.

2.1	Tutor	You just (lots of laughter) thank you— Um yeah, this... this thing
2.2		about guilt and you were referring... L_____ said something about
2.3		burnout. What do burnout... what do burnt out midwives look like?
2.4		Have you noticed any yet? Well here's one (laughter). Seriously..what
2.5		does a burnt out midwife look like? Or a burnt out anyone who's in a
2.6		caring role?
2.7	Student	Stressed!
2.8	Student	Stressed, yeah...
2.9	Student	Drained... you know, like not caring...
2.10	Tutor	(Laughs) Yes.
2.11	Student	...100%.
2.12	Student	See, I wouldn't depend on that. I think someone in a burnout doesn't
2.13		always look burnt out. You don't know what they look like when they
2.14		go home and take their make-up off and it's probably not until they
2.15		get into bed at night and go 'ohhh I can't do it any more' and that's it,
2.16		that's when the real thing comes out.
2.17	Tutor	OK.
2.18	Student	I mean obviously there will be some literal physical things with it, but I
2.19		wouldn't depend on that being an... a... a (unclear).
2.20	Tutor	Let's take them beyond... let's take them beyond the looking stressed
2.21		out bit, err and let's not just talk about how they look. How are they...
2.22		seeing how might they see? OK, so this... let's not get start getting
2.23		excited too strongly (laughs).How might someone who is burnt out
2.24		seem?

Both these cases seem to follow a similar pattern. The tutor takes an idea originating from one of the students, she develops the point further by relating that point to other ideas, which then leads the student to go further and develop her own more original insight into midwifery identity. The images of the student midwife needing someone to need her, the midwife who goes home, takes off her make-up and realises at that point that she cannot go on, have a literary quality to them, but they also demonstrate how the students are beginning to question their own identities and motivations as they learn how to become midwives. The students relate features of their experiences with different kinds of midwife identity, the burnt out midwife, or the midwife who is a superhero. This exploration of their own identities as student midwives comes out of the tutor's questioning and probing in this reflective practice seminar, a questioning that isn't looking for any clear cut answers, but for a deeper more thoughtful reflection by the students.

4.6.3 Intuition and knowledge

The following discussion, **Extract Three**, came half way through the seminar where the students were discussing with their tutor their recent experiences in the delivery suite and had watched a midwife working with a mother in the early stages of giving birth. One of the students had been observing a midwife making a decision about a forceps delivery. The tutor had earlier raised the issue of what the phrase 'expert of the norm' might mean and how they could relate that term with what they had observed in the delivery suite.

Extract Three

3.1	Student	Um I mean I was fascinated one time I was in the delivery suite and...
3.2		and the midwife sort of... you know, she sort of pointed to um a
3.3		forceps delivery... led... you know, I mean to me I... it was my first
3.4		experience of a labouring women and she seemed to be dealing with
3.5		it beautifully, and the midwife was just sort of... was showing me how
3.6		to do the... pass it round and things like this, and she just sort of

3.7	looked at me and sort of just... just touched where it says forceps,
3.8	and I was like... she did end up having a forceps delivery about five
3.9	hours later, and to me I just thought 'my goodness how could you
3.10	have... how could you have foreseen that... how could you'? You
3.11	know, and then was that a level of intuition that she knew that obviously she wasn't progressing ?

For the student, for whom this was a first experience, the midwife's decision seems to have been made intuitively, which leads the tutor to ask further about intuition. An action might appear to have been made intuitively, but it cannot have been made without previous learnt knowledge. The tutor wants the students to explore how knowledge and instinct, or intuition, relate to each other . At the same time she also introduces, in **Extract Four**, the idea of the midwife identity as someone who is an expert of the norm, and how that identity might relate to the midwife's intuition or knowledge. It does not seem right to dismiss intuition, in fact later the tutor talks about how she can also remember using her own sense of intuition when she came to making decisions about managing a delivery, but intuition on its own does not seem enough. A decision that appears to be made intuitively must also be supported by learnt knowledge, otherwise it would, at the least, be very difficult to decide about a normal delivery. The tutor then asks directly about intuition:

Extract Four

4.1	Tutor	What is intuition?
4.2	Student	Your own... that... yeah, your instinct, your um...
4.3	Student	Gut feeling.
4.4	Student	Gut... gut... yeah... from probably previous experiences really.
4.5		There's something you know without really knowing why you know it...
4.6		like my midwife was saying the other day we did... she did a couple of
4.7		sweeps in one session and she said the first one she thinks would end
4.8		up having a caesarean and the second one will end up having a vaginal
4.9		delivery and I actually think she was right, and she said 'you just get the
4.10		feeling, you just... when you do a sweep, just from doing it you just start,
4.11		to see a bit so I think it's like a... a knowledge base that you
4.12		gather without really ever cementing it. It's just like something you feel
4.13		rather than learn.
4.14	Student	But without being the expert of the norm and knowing what's
4.15		deviation, we wouldn't have that intuition, we wouldn't think 'ooh well

4.16		that might not be right', it could come to that... so that shows that it's
4.17		not just the norm that you're you know...
4.18	Student	And even the RCM [Royal College of Midwives] by definition and
4.19		promotion of normality do a list of a things that the midwife's
4.20		responsible for. It doesn't say the midwife is the expert or the norm
4.21		and it's not even the first thing on the list, it's like...
4.22		it's like bang in the middle.
4.23	Tutor	So you said about intuition being something that comes from
4.24		experience, but you were talking about having your own intuition
4.25		already? So do you think it...
4.26	Student	I think that grows.
4.27	Student	Yeah... yeah... and I think you're either an intuit... you be an intuitive
4.28		type of person, or not particularly intuitive, and it's you know.
4.29	Student	Your born with... I think most people are born with some sort of um
4.30		knowledge of when things go wrong, you sort of... hah I don't know,
4.31		like...
4.32	Student	You get that sense of impending doom (laughter).

In **Extract Four** the tutor and the students are discussing the differences between what is called 'instinct' and knowledge. The tutor has asked the students about what they mean by the word 'instinct' and in their replies they start to look at some of the differences between instinct and knowledge. Instinct can be a feeling, a student says 'gut feeling' (l 4.3) but then they start to consider how someone might obtain that gut feeling. In lines 4.5 - 4.16 the student wants to retain the idea of knowledge, when she says that it is a kind of knowledge that you know without knowing it (l 4.5). She refers to a midwife she observed on her clinical practice who explained the clinical judgments she made by saying that 'you just get the feeling you just... when you do a sweep, just from doing it you just start to see a bit' (ll9 - 10). But the students seem to know that it is more than just a feeling or instinct. The midwife is making informed clinical judgments which will affect how their mothers give birth. At the same time the student midwife is also using her own instinct, or feelings, when she says about her midwife's judgments that 'she actually thinks she was right'. But she does not provide any evidence that she was right, it seems to be an assumption made by the student midwife about her mentor midwife. The assumption here is that the intuition was right, but if it was wrong, would that be a failure of intuition or a failure of knowledge ? That

question is not raised in the discussion but it might have highlighted a difference between intuition and knowledge

But instinct is also associated here with the midwife's sense of self, her identity. The students discuss being, or not being, an intuitive type of person, in which case instinct, or intuition, could be linked to the kind of person you are. The idea of gut feeling, or instinct is also related by one of the students to the phrase 'the expert of the norm' The students know that they are learning to be experts of the norm, as one of the students says of the RCM statement , 'it's like... it's like bang in the middle' but they then wonder about how being an expert of the norm relates to their instincts. To be an expert of the norm means that you also have to know about deviations from the norm, a norm which might be obtained from gut feeling. The students then return to the idea of intuition, asking whether you might be born with intuition, or whether intuition is gained from experience.

In this passage the student has explained further about what her midwife might actually feel with her fingers when she carries out a sweep³⁷. They want to retain the idea of intuition but they realise that this is insufficient to account for the midwife's expertise, even though the speed and accuracy of the midwife's assessment suggests it is intuitive, and, as the student says ' just like something you feel rather than learn' (I 4.12) . The tutor then combines feeling and knowledge in **Extract Five** saying:

Extract Five

- | | | |
|-----|-------|--|
| 5.1 | Tutor | My hand knows what it feels like, um so it's... it's... we're calling it |
| 5.2 | | instinct, but that sort of suggests that it's um ephemeral, difficult to |
| 5.3 | | pin down, but I wonder if it is actually difficult to pin down. |

The phrase 'my hand knows what it feels like' indicates the paradox of the relationship between instinct and knowledge. By using that phrase the tutor is not dismissing completely the idea of instinct or feeling, hands can feel, but they cannot know what they feel, and she knows that there is no instinct for midwifery.

³⁷ A membrane or cervical sweep is carried out by a midwife or doctor to encourage labour by separating the membrane from the cervix or the neck of the womb. It can be done in about the 40th week of a pregnancy and increases the chances of labour starting spontaneously.

After this extract the discussion did not develop these specific ideas but moved on to more general ideas about instinct and how a person might feel something is not quite right, but lacks the evidence to support that feeling. Although there is no resolution to the paradox of how a midwife uses intuition and knowledge in her work, the tutor, in **Extract Six**, is working towards a position where both intuition and knowledge are defined together . The differences between the sacred, the midwife's own intuition, her feelings about how a baby will be delivered and which seem to have for these student midwives an almost magical quality, and the profane physiological knowledge of actual midwifery practice are discussed and questioned.

Extract Six

6.1	Tutor	Do you think your midwife would be able to explain to you why she
6.2		thought one woman would have a section and... ?
6.3	Student	Yeah, cos you do get a... she said you start to... she said you can't explain
6.4		it concretely, but you start to get an idea about resistance and the space
6.5		that's in there and whether things feel compact and small or whether
6.6		they feel you know, if the cervix is very resistant what are the chances of
6.7		it being able to gently flex, whereas if the cervix moves with pressure
6.8		it's all that kind of stuff... and she said although you can't feel
6.9		the (unclear 0:52:24) you can feel the space, whether it's big or small,
6.10		so...
6.11	Tutor	So she's actually assessing the physiological ability of the woman's body
6.12		to put...
6.13	Student	Yeah
6.14	Tutor	Which suggests that it's not...
6.15	Student	Intuition, it's just pure knowledge...
6.16	Tutor	Yeah... yeah... that what usually common sense...
6.17	Student	Calling intuition.
6.18	Tutor	Err yes, yes... but what she's calling intuition is very much based on a... a
6.19		very real... even though that tick box list in her head... not tick box,
6.20		that's the wrong phrase... even though those things that you were
6.21		talking about you know, how much space is there, err you know, what's
6.22		the subpubic arch like you know, and I sort of... I can... even after all
6.23		these years I can feel that too. My hand knows what it feels like, um so
6.24		it's... it's... we're calling it instinct, but that sort of suggests that it's um
6.25		ephemeral, difficult to pin down, but I wonder if it is actually difficult to
6.26		pin down. Um I suppose to decide that we need to think about what
6.27		sorts of things do we judge according to instinct. So what do we say we

6.28	have an instinct for... in midwifery? Does that make sense anyone? Bit
6.29	random.

The tutor wants to turn her instinct into knowledge that can then be used to find out more about how the midwife approaches different mothers. A student (II 6.3 – 6.9) then lists what it is her hand feels as she performs a ‘sweep’ that relates to ideas about space and resistance. It appears that the midwife is making an informed decision about physiological changes in the woman’s body, even though the midwife might call that decision-making process common sense or intuition. As with the extract about becoming a midwife, the tutor does not want to put forward a particular view or line of argument. She probes the problem by asking questions which then requires the students to come up with their own answers, even doubting her own pedagogic ability when she asks in I 6.26-6.27 whether what she says makes sense.

In **Extract Seven** the tutor decides that it would be helpful to explore the issue further in a small research project so she can unpick those decisions that appear to be made by instinct and those made through knowledge. She knows that midwives respond differently to different mothers, but she does not want to leave that at the level of instinct. She herself knows that instinct is used by midwives, and she knows she cannot dismiss it completely, so she needs to find out more about how much is instinctual and how much is knowledge in the relationship between midwife and mother. It appears to be an issue that can be discussed, but further research needs to be carried out with midwives to discover not only how they use instinct and knowledge but also how accurate or correct the initial instinctive response might be in making a diagnosis about a mother’s labour.

Extract Seven

7.1	Tutor	It would be interesting to actually record your instinct or your initial
7.2		response and to see what the outcome was, and to compare that with...
7.3		it... um because well you have to start thinking is are you responding to
7.4		what you’re picking up from the mother? Or are you responding
7.5		professionally and what you would offer every woman? Because we do
7.7		approach different mothers differently don’t we?

The tutor raises the possibility that if the midwife responds to the mother by instinct, she might actually, and unknowingly, be responding to some specific feature of the mother which the midwife might find sympathetic. This would take midwives outside their own professionalism, allowing instinct to influence knowledge. But it also raises the problem of identity, and the boundary between the midwife's identity and the mother's identity. The midwife who uses instinct is employing some sense of herself, her identity, that responds to the mother's identity which could challenge her own professionalism as a midwife.

4.6.4 Professional boundaries and boundary making

Extract Eight is taken from a discussion in the group about the feelings of guilt they experience when they have had to give a mother some bad news. The students are beginning to realise that their own identities as student midwives affects their relationships with other people such as their friends and their relatives. The student midwives have to observe their own professional guidelines to inform their work with their mothers, but the boundaries between themselves as student midwives and other people in their lives have to be navigated (I8.10) based on their understanding of those guidelines, their past experience as student midwives, the knowledge they are acquiring on the course, and their understanding of the needs of those other people in their lives, their friends and their relatives.

Extract Eight

8.1	Student	Mine's just had a... an early scan booked, um very high Down's risk, and
8.2		I've been told not to contact her but you so want to kind of just you
8.3		know... even if you just say 'sorry... I'm sorry you've had that news', but
8.4		you can't. You can't you know, until we know what she decides then we
8.5		just sort of... got to sort of keep...
8.6	Tutor	So you're learning, are you, to manage those relationships? Those caring
8.7		relationships um according to a set of guidelines? And I would suggest
8.8		that you've got your professional guidelines which you're using... and I

8.9	can tell that you're using them in the way that you're trying to um
8.10	maintain that boundary in the right place. Navigate actually... you
8.11	navigate that boundary don't you? That boundary of friend and
8.12	professional friend and... and all that sort of stuff... so you've got your
8.13	professional guidelines over here. You've also got your experience, your
8.14	growing experience, which is teaching you a whole new set of stuff
8.15	about what is usual... and going back to those words again... what is
8.16	normal... what you can fix and what is unfixable... um and the situations
8.17	in which you put yourself perhaps at risk of super hero complex. If you
8.18	don't attend to this – and I'm very encouraged to hear this discussion
8.19	this morning – if you don't attend to these issues, what might be the
8.20	outcome 20 years down the line?
8.21	Student Can I just throw something else into the picture? Um I've got a couple of
8.22	friends that are pregnant and I don't want to talk to them about their
8.23	pregnancies at all... because I don't want to become involved in it, I
8.24	don't want them asking me about 'what do I do if this happens' or 'what
8.25	do I do if this happens'
8.26	Tutor Hmm... that's...
8.27	Student And one of them actually said to me the other day— fortunately she
8.28	doesn't live in this area, so she won't be coming to B _____ (laughs)...
8.29	just um... she goes 'oh if I have any problems I'll just ask you' and I was
8.30	kind of like 'well I'm a student' (laughs), 'I'm not a midwife'.
8.31	Student Hmm I'm finding that as well.
8.32	Student And I... I'm just finding that I just don't want to talk to them about their
8.33	pregnancies.
8.34	Tutor So there you've got – as XXXXX's been talking about – professional
8.35	boundaries... you've now got personal boundaries to think about,
8.36	because do you want to get involved with that person as... as a client...
8.37	as a... as a mother that you're going to be looking after, um and... and
8.38	you know, it's quite personal care... um and look them in the eye
8.39	afterwards if things don't go the way they wanted.

There are no clear answers here, as to how each student midwife can navigate the boundaries between her own personal identity, her prospective professional identity as a midwife, as well as the boundaries between herself and her colleagues in her clinical practice. But the point seems to be that here in this reflective practice session, a space is opened up where these identities and boundaries can be discussed. The tutor seems clear that her function is to move that discussion forward, to pose questions and possibilities and not provide answers. In terms of the categories of discourse, the regulative and instructional discourses I discussed in Chapter Two section 2.3, the discourse is lightly regulated.

We know that reflective practice is a specific timetabled feature in the curriculum, but the tutor prompts, guides, questions and suggests throughout the session and does not provide solutions to the issues raised by the student. The solution might come, if at all, right at the end of the course when the student has become a knowledgeable doer and can then work in a maternity suite.

4.7 Conclusion

I began this chapter by outlining the importance of the midwife identity in learning about midwifery. In the early days of midwifery training, before Midwifery was taught in universities, this identity was associated with what was called the sacred calling of the midwife. This identity was not associated with academic or theoretical knowledge and there seemed to be a tension or conflict between learning the practical and intuitive skills of midwifery, and the more academic or theoretical knowledge that would become available on university courses. When Midwifery moved into the university, identities changed but it was still necessary to maintain the practical or clinical element of the training with theoretical or academic knowledge, creating the identity of the ‘knowledgeable doer’

But this newer identity is not a composite of different kinds of knowledge, it needs to be personalised so that student midwives can orientate or manage their own identity with the requirement to be the knowledgeable doer or practitioner. The location where some of this identity negotiation takes place seems to be in these reflective practice sessions. The student midwives were starting to carry out this process by describing elements of their own personal identity in the discussion about becoming a midwife, by exploring the relationship between instinct and knowledge, both of which are linked to identity, and by discussing boundary making and being aware of one’s own professional boundary.

Using the sacred/profane distinction to look at the relationship between knowledge and identity in this Midwifery course meant I could view the critical development of the midwife identity as sacred, and its association with the sacred

calling of an earlier generation of midwives, with the magical quality which one of the student midwives had identified when she observed her mentor midwife assessing the mothers in her care. The profane element, which contributed to the sacred knowledge of the midwifery identities, was the practical and scientific knowledge acquired in other parts of the course. The sacred here is both distinct from the profane but also develops from the profane, a transformation similar perhaps to Durkheim's moment that was 'touched by grace', (1977 p.29) or Douglas's pivotal switch to the sacred.

In the next two chapters I want to find out how this sacred and profane distinction might explain features of the relationship between knowledge and identity on two very different courses, a Homer translation tutorial and an MA in TESOL tutorial.

Chapter Five

Knowledge, Discourse and Identity in a Homer Translation Tutorial

5.1 Introduction

In the Midwifery reflective practice seminar the students often spoke about their own identities, the kind of people they are, their past experiences, and the kind of midwife they might want to be in the future. Student identity was a topic discussed in the seminar, and one of the aims of the seminar was to have that discussion. That was not the case in the Homer translation tutorial, which is the subject of this chapter. This tutorial is a discussion between the tutor and the student about a piece of translation the student has made of a section of Homeric Greek from Book One of The Iliad. The subject of the tutorial seems as far removed as it is possible to be from the world of the student midwife in the maternity unit. But I want to use the same ideas and concepts to analyse student identities as they emerge in this tutorial as I used in the Reflective Practice seminar.

As with that seminar, my analysis of the Homer tutorial uses the Bernsteinian concepts of singular, regional and generic knowledge areas alongside the concept of sacred and profane knowledge to locate the tutorial within a wider context of learning. At the same time I want to use the associated concepts of regulative and instructional discourses to help me examine the discussion in the tutorial. It is through the use of these concepts that I am seeking to establish the validity of my main argument which is that student identities can be understood to be constituted through complex combinations of the social history of the curriculum, the institutional relations that surround the transmission of knowledge, and the specialised intellectual practices that are recontextualised in university classrooms.

Student identities are not discussed in the Homer tutorial. Yet, as the tutorial progresses, aspects of student identity do emerge although they are not considered as such during the tutorial. The recorded transcript of this tutorial shows the student working with three aspects of her identity: (1) her identity of

herself as a good student, the student who wants to get a 'First' and whose aim is to put in the time and effort to gain that 'First'; (2) the identity of herself as a language translator, of someone who is learning the skills of translation; (3) the identity of herself as a scholar of Ancient Greek, an identity that goes back certainly as far as Cicero and Horace(Farrell 2004) in classical times, to the students in Erasmus' Ancient Greek class in Queens College in Cambridge in 1511(Woodward 1904), to the young Dr. Johnson at King Edward VI Grammar School in Stourbridge in 1726-7(Boswell 1970) and to Oscar Wilde translating Homer in 1876 (Wright 2011)when he was a student at Magdalen College, Oxford. But these identities are not fixed or acquired by the student as a badge or nameplate. This student, on that day in October 2011, and in that tutorial, saw herself as a good student. She tells her tutor that she wants to get a 'First', and her tutor then tells her what she needs to do in order to get that First. I have no idea whether the student thought she would get a First in her final exams on the day after this tutorial, or in subsequent tutorials. Perhaps the idea of getting a First was a fleeting thought, quickly forgotten by the student and never mentioned again. My interest in this claim is simply in the fact that she feels she wants to make a statement about her self, her identity, at that point in the tutorial. Similarly the identity of herself as a translator isn't expressed purposefully in the tutorial, she never says that she wants to be a translator. But she is learning the skills of translation, and acquiring, if only partially and perhaps only for a short period of time, the identity of being a translator. She might not be aware of the pedagogic history of learning and translating Ancient Greek, of being a scholar of Ancient Greek, but there is clearly such a history, and it is a history of which she herself is a part. She joined that history, or tradition, as soon as she signed up for the module in Ancient Greek at this university.

As a context for my analysis of the transcript of the Homer tutorial, I begin this chapter by setting out three different contexts for the interaction that I recorded and analysed. Firstly, I set out some features of the BA Classics course in which the student in the tutorial was enrolled, and I consider to what extent the degree programme might be considered an instance of singular or regional knowledge. I then discuss some historical and biographical texts to explore the way Homer has been included in the curriculum at different times, either in translation or in the original. In doing this, I suggest the power of the sacred face of Ancient Greek in maintaining the position of the children of prosperous middle class parents in the nineteenth university . Finally I draw on Umberto Eco's discussion of translation in order to foreground the way the tutorial I observed can also be understood as a recontextualisation of the practice of translation.

5.2 The Undergraduate programme: BA Classics

The tutorial I recorded lasted for an hour and was between a second year BA student and her Classics tutor at a university in the South of England. The student was studying for a BA Classics degree where one of the modules in the course was on Ancient Greek. The module description of this part of the course states:

The module aims to enable students to improve their skills in reading a range of Ancient Greek authors in different dialects and with greater fluency, and to develop advanced knowledge of grammar, syntax and vocabulary. In addition, students will gain practice in the analysis of the literary texts studied. Students will also practise unseen translation.(2013)

The learning outcomes for this module, as stated in the module description, are:

- translate lengthy prepared texts in Ancient Greek;
- show an advanced competence in all forms and structures of Ancient Greek grammar;
- show some appreciation of Greek dialect;
- translate an appropriate passage of Ancient Greek unseen;
- analyse the style and context of the texts studied. (2013)

The subject of this tutorial was a piece of translation the student had made of a section, lines 148 - 168, from Book One of The Iliad by Homer, so this activity clearly fits in with the learning outcomes in the module description. Teaching how

to translate Homeric Greek is an ancient pedagogy, at least over 2000 years old. Horace (65 - 8 BCE) writes about the brutal education in Homer translation he received from his teacher Orbilius - 'Orbilius of the many blows'

Which once Orbilius, old and not too mild,
Made me repeat by whipping when a child; Horace Epistles II.I. 70³⁸

The student on the BA Classics course focuses entirely on Classics, and specifically on Classical languages, Ancient Greek and Latin. Yet Classics itself is a broad domain and includes a very wide area of academic interest. A glance at the research interests of the academic staff in the Classics Department at _____ University covers areas such as Law, Politics, Economics, Linguistics, Art and Art History, Drama and Literature all within the Classical period of Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome. The student whose tutorial I recorded could study Ancient Greek, Latin as languages and take optional modules in a range of topics covering Roman and Athenian history , culture and politics. There are two short compulsory modules on possible careers and work experience topics related to Classical studies, together with two compulsory dissertation modules. If the student had opted to study a degree course called Classical Studies, as opposed to Classics, then she would have studied a more general course about Greek and Latin cultures and civilisations with less language input.

Using the Bernstein nomenclature it would be difficult not to call either the Classics or the Classical Studies degree courses a singular knowledge. Studying resource usage, that is the use and cost of resources such as water, olive oil and grain, in Ancient Greece, for example, might well use techniques from the field of Social Sciences, but such a study would enrich and deepen understanding of the Classical world, and so be part of the singularity of the subject Classics. Finding out that Zipf's Law on statistical distributions increases our understanding of city size and resource management in Classical times, which requires understanding of modern statistics and concepts taken from the field of geography, would not change Classics from a singular to a region, just because other singularities, in this case knowledge from the field of statistics and geography, have been added to the

³⁸ http://ancienthistory.about.com/library/bl/bl_text_horace_ep2.htm

singularity of Classics. The use of these other knowledge areas increases the singularity, the sense of inwardness and depth of knowledge, of Classical knowledge.

However alongside this singularity there is also a regionalisation of the knowledge on this course. The careers and work placement modules on the Classics degree course cover generic skills to make the students more employable, including topics such as 'employability' and reflexivity, which would make the students more reflective about their courses. The aims of the careers module state:

At the end of their first year of undergraduate study, this module gives students an opportunity to reflect on their degree programme so far and to make plans and set targets for the second year and beyond. The module aims to recognise and enhance the employability of our students. It develops knowledge of the career opportunities that are available to graduates in Classics and Ancient History, and the skills to make effective job applications.

With the addition of this module, and others like it, the social construction of knowledge on this Classics course is now more regionalised. The study of late twentieth century statistical techniques can help the understanding of the classical world, and so is part of the developing knowledge of the classical world. Understanding how to improve the student's employability and reflexivity, doesn't increase understanding of the classical world. These are generic skills that could apply across a range of other courses at the university. It is significant that these generic skills are still focussed on Classics and Ancient History. In that sense they are not completely regionalised and still retain a linkage with Classics. Bernstein thought that this increase in regionalisation changed identities³⁹. I do not have data on the decision-making processes that led to the introduction of this module in the Classics degree programme at this university. But it is the case that the

³⁹ see Bernstein 2000 p. 55 " Identities here are what they are, and what they will become, as a consequence of the projection of that knowledge as a practice in some context. And the future of that context will regulate the identity. The volatility of that context will control the nature of the regionalisation of the knowledge and this the projected identity."

With the Classics course it isn't that Classical knowledge has become regionalised. That remains as a singular. The knowledge across the course as a whole has become regionalised through the introduction of knowledge such a described in the Prospects for Classicists module.

Quality Assurance Agency's Framework for Higher Education Qualifications does require all undergraduate degree courses to show that:

Holders of a bachelor's degree with honours should have the qualities needed for employment in situations requiring the exercise of personal responsibility, and decision-making in complex and unpredictable circumstances.⁴⁰

An external agency, external to the university, requires the course to look outward to the world of employment. The same regionalisation occurs when the student studies the Work Placement module in which she has to find a placement in an area of work linked to the degree programme. The student switches from knowledge about, for example, 5th Century Athens, a singular knowledge area, to finding a work placement in the 21st century, which would be an example of regional knowledge. At some point in the past, perhaps ten or fifteen years' ago, learning the knowledge that came from taking a Classics degree would in itself have provided a student with the opportunity for finding employment, perhaps in the Civil Service as Bernstein suggested⁴¹. Now, because of the perceived demands of the job market or the requirements of the Quality Assurance Agency, a new area of learning on employability or reflexivity has been developed. Bernstein felt that these kinds of 'generic' courses relied on new market driven ideas about work and life which were very short term, and were constantly changing. He said that they were 'socially empty' (Bernstein 2000 page 59) establishing a new kind of identity which could only reflect back on itself, and so would exclude the acquisition of other academic identities acquired over long periods of study on degree courses.

In Chapter Four I provided an analysis of how student identities are articulated within these generic and more regionalised subject areas. I did not see, judging from the data I had assembled from two seminars on the Midwifery course, that these courses were socially empty, and required the development of what Bernstein called a 'specialised identity' that could only reflect back on itself. I

⁴⁰ see page 20 <http://www.qaa.ac.uk/en/Publications/Documents/Framework-Higher-Education-Qualifications-08.pdf>

⁴¹ See 'Classics provided privileged access to the administrative levels of the Civil Service.' Bernstein 2000 p.54-55

think the evidence does support Bernstein's view that these new regionalised subject areas can create a new identity which he describes as:

This identity rises out of a particular social order, through relations which the identity enters into with other identities of reciprocal recognition, support, mutual recognition and finally through a negotiated collective purpose.

(Bernstein 2000 p. 59)

This explanation, particularly the words 'reciprocal recognition, support, mutual recognition' fairly accurately describes the process of identity articulation in the reflective practice seminar on the Midwifery course. But I cannot recognise how that process then 'reproduces imaginary concepts of work and life', and they certainly do not 'negate the possibilities of understanding and criticism' (Bernstein 2000 p. 59).

I have no evidence as to how these new generic courses are viewed by staff or by students, so I cannot agree or disagree with Bernstein's statement that they are now constitute 'the fundamental pedagogic objective' on degree courses. But the simple fact that they are a compulsory element of the more traditional singular degree courses, shows that those courses do now share some similarity with more vocational and regionalised degree courses such as Midwifery. I am not sure how these generic courses might establish different identities from the identities articulated on courses related to singular knowledge areas, but there is a similarity across these courses, for example the emphasis on reflective skills, which suggests that they might project some elements of a similar identity. One of the aims of the Midwifery degree course was to produce the 'knowledgeable doer'. Whilst it is unlikely, but not impossible, that a knowledgeable doer would emerge from the Classics course, and it is not the main aim of the course, the vocational and generic elements on the course suggest some commonality between these two very different courses.

Bernstein felt that this increasing regionalisation of knowledge, through the influence of state structures, and the Quality Assurance Agency would be an example of that, and the increased influence of markets on university

departments, created a crisis in education⁴². I think the evidence from the data I have collected from this university is that an increasing regionalisation of knowledge is also matched by an increasing singularity of knowledge. Rather than a loss of singularity, there is, through the development of new research which enriches the development of knowledge, an increase in singularity as well as a widening of regionalisation. On this course the sacred and the profane go hand in hand and whilst the switch from one to the other might not be seamless or particularly smooth I think it probably enhances student identities rather than detracts from them.

5.2.1. The singularity of Classics as an area of study

The singularity of Classics as an area of knowledge is described through this brief account of the history and learning of Classics. Homer was not, it seems, read in the original Greek in the Middle Ages, though translations of Homeric Greek were available in Latin. Dante (1265 - 1321) , for example, refers to Homer in Vita Nuova, when he talks of Beatrice:

so full of natural dignity and admirable bearing that certainly the words of the poet Homer suited her well: "She did not seem the daughter of any ordinary man....."(Dante 1992)

But the quote, the notes explain, is in Italian and Dante knew Homer not from reading Ancient Greek but from references in Aristotle. When Dante(Dante 1933) placed Homer (Quelli e Omero poeta sovrano/ He is Homer who all poets hath surpassed. Inferno Canto IV l. 89) in Limbo along with the poets Horace, Ovid and Lucan, he knew of him from reading Virgil. Two hundred and fifty years' later, Michel de Montaigne (1533- 1592) regretted that he did not know more Greek to allow him to read Homer in the original, but he still made Homer one of his three 'most excellent of men',(Montaigne 1987p.850 - 853) along with Alexander the Great and Epaminondas (a 4th century BCE Theban general and statesman). Erasmus, who taught Greek at Queen's College Cambridge in 1511, thought that Homer should be studied by boys, along with other Greek poets, but not by princes who needed a more moral approach in their study of statecraft. Homer was on the

⁴² see Bernstein 2000 page 86.

Cambridge University book lists from the 16th century that were analysed in a paper by Lisa Jardine (1975). Dr Johnson learnt Greek when he attended Stourbridge Grammar School ; there is a translation of 30 lines from Book Six of the Iliad, written whilst he was at school, in the collection of poems included by Boswell in his Life of Johnson(Boswell 1970). In the eighteenth century Homer was certainly on the syllabi for Westminster and Eton public schools⁴³, as well as taught in nineteenth century grammar schools, such as Manchester Grammar School and Leeds Grammar School. Parents had strongly objected to the proposal in the Taunton Commission that Greek should be dropped from the grammar school curriculum, because they felt that would mean their children would receive a second class education. The universities of Cambridge, London and Oxford had refused Lord Lyttelton's request⁴⁴ that they waive the requirement for Greek and so allow pupils who had learnt modern languages and commercial subjects to gain entry to those universities. There is an early work by Oscar Wilde, which was never published in his life time, called The Women of Homer. It was written in 1876 when he was still a student at Magdalen College, Oxford. It is about 8,500 words long and is a series of translations from The Iliad and The Odyssey of descriptions of

⁴³ "In the extremely useful notes on the Eton curriculum left by the assistant master; Thomas James, the sixth and fifth forms are shown to have read, and learnt by heart, in regular lessons, Homer, Lucian, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius, an anthology of Greek poetry and a selection from the Roman authors." Wallbank, M. V. (1979). "Eighteenth Century Public Schools and the Education of the Governing Elite." History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society, 8:1, 1-19, 8(1): 1 - 19.

⁴⁴ "The first principle of the Taunton report had been that the grammar schools should be graded to meet the various requirements of the middle class. The Endowed Schools Commissioners, therefore, attempted to provide the grade of school most needed in each locality, and, in accordance with the Taunton recommendations, decided that if a school was to be classified as second grade, the leaving age should be set at 17 and Greek excluded from the curriculum. However, as they pointed out in their report of 1872 to the Education Department, there had generally been great opposition to this, especially to the dropping of Greek. This subject occupied a key position in the contemporary system of higher education. Knowledge of Greek was a compulsory requirement for entry to the universities and professions. The Chief Commissioner, Lord Lyttelton, had written to the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London asking them to waive, for scholars from schools where modern languages and science were to take the place of classics, the requirement of compulsory Greek in preliminary examinations. All three universities had, however, refused. For the moderately wealthy middle and professional classes who could not afford the public schools, but who yet wanted for their children an education leading to the universities and professions, it was a vital matter that their local grammar school should continue to teach Greek.' The Commissioners therefore found great difficulty in withdrawing it from the curriculum". Ball, F. (1979). "The Taunton Commission, and the maintenance of the classical curriculum in the grammar schools " Journal of Educational Administration and History 11(2): 8 - 12.

Homeric women. The work, says a source in the Oxonian Review(Wright 2011), was heavily influenced by John Addington Symonds, a classicist, renaissance scholar and poet who had studied Greek under Benjamin Jowett at Balliol College, Oxford. Teaching and learning Ancient Greek, which includes the study of Homer , has been an important part of English education certainly since the sixteenth century. As the middle class parents in Leeds and Bradford realised (Ball 1979), in the nineteenth century you could not get a university education in England without learning Ancient Greek. Those parents, it appears, as well as the lecturers at Oxford , Cambridge and London Universities, well understood the importance of preserving the singularity of Ancient Greek. The state authorities, as represented by the Endowed Schools Commissioners in their recommendations to the Taunton Commission, were keen to regionalise this subject area and encourage the study of modern languages, a move rejected by the prosperous parents of boys who attended Leeds and Manchester Grammar Schools.

5.2.2. Recontextualising Translation

In his book 'Mouse or Rat ?' , which is the book form of a series of lectures Umberto Eco gave in Oxford in 2002 (2003), Eco makes the case that translation is always a matter of negotiation and discussion. When a translator translates from English to Italian, line 23, Scene 4 from Act Three of Shakespeare's Hamlet 'How now, a rat ? dead, for a ducat, dead.', the line where Hamlet stabs Polonius, the standard translation is 'Cosa c'e ? Un topo'. The translator has rejected the Italian word 'ratto', which is the literal translation, in favour of the word 'topo' (which usually means 'mouse') because of the context in which the word is spoken in the play. Eco explains why the decision to use the word 'topo' is appropriate in this context:

In making my decision I have not only relied upon definitions , contextual selections or long lists of interpretants provided by dictionaries and encyclopaedias. We have negotiated which portion of the expressed content was strictly pertinent in that given context. (2003 p. 34)

The outcome of that negotiation was the selection of the word 'topo' rather than 'ratto', for the reasons Eco gives in his text. Apparently in everyday Italian the word 'topo' can be used for even a large rat, 'ratto' does not carry the implication, in Italian, of being a contemptible person, as it would in English, and it is more often found in technical texts. So the word 'topo' is preferred to the word 'ratto'. Eco thinks that this kind of negotiation is critical to the act of translation.

In the tutorial I recorded about translating a section of Homer's Iliad, there were several examples of this kind of negotiation where both the tutor and the student negotiate or discuss possible translations of certain words and phrases before deciding which word is the best translation. The difference between the process that Eco describes in his Oxford lecture and the process going on in the university tutorial is that Eco is talking about the real problems faced by real translators, as they carry out their translations of one published work into another yet to be published work. The translation made by the student has been made for educational reasons only. The student is not contributing her own translation of that section of the Iliad to all the other translations made over the last one thousand years. The student is learning how to translate a passage because of the requirements of a course she has decided is the right course for her. In learning how to translate she has to use some of the techniques of the professional translator, as well as her skills as a learner which she has picked up from other courses, the learning skills which have allowed her to start this course in Ancient Greek of which translating Homer is an important part.

In Bernsteinian terms, the process of translation carried out by the student constitutes a pedagogic device whereby the student and the tutor carry out their communication according certain pedagogic rules. In this way Eco's discussion over the choice of the most suitable words in the translation of Hamlet can be separated from the discussion over the most suitable word in the Homer translation between student and tutor. Eco's discussion is solely about the translation, but the student/tutor discussion is about translation and a lot more. It

is a pedagogic discourse where the student not only has to make the correct translation but also has to engage in learning how to make that translation. The tutor too is engaged in the process of translation but is also teaching about how to translate. The relationship between Eco's translation discussion, and the discussion in Homer tutorial can be expressed through a process Bernstein called recontextualisation (2000). Listening to the recording of the tutorial on Homer's Iliad it appears that the process of translation which includes the references to dictionaries, to Homeric Greek grammars, and to the context of what is going on in this section of the Iliad , is embedded within another discourse, a discourse of control by the tutor as to what can be said about the translation, a discourse of assessment, and a discourse of reflection by the student as to what she has read or not read in the past. It is these discourses that make up the pedagogic discourse through which the process of translation of a section of Homer's Iliad is recontextualised within an educational context. Bernstein maintained there is only one discourse, the pedagogic discourse. In this tutorial we cannot really distinguish between a translation discourse, that might conform to Eco's account of the translation discussion, and a pedagogic discourse between a student and a tutor, and which follows a different set of rules and practices, because the translation is part of a pedagogic process of teaching and learning. The student identity emerges from that pedagogic process, and not just from Eco's translation discourse, even though that pedagogic process shares some similarity with translation discourse.

5.3 New Knowledge in the Homer Tutorial: Regulative Discourse and Instructional Discourse

I now want to look at the structure of that discourse in such a way that I can identify and track firstly the new knowledge that has emerged out of the pedagogic discourse, and secondly how that new knowledge can be related to the identity of the student. I am not concerned with whether that new knowledge is correct, or relevant in any way to the needs of the student or the course, or is the

right knowledge to be developed at that moment on the course. I also do not know Ancient Greek, so I cannot comment on whether the translation is accurate or not. All that I am concerned with is whether that knowledge is new or unfamiliar to the student at that point in time. The acquisition of new knowledge will mean a change in the identity of the student in the tutorial. I can never know whether that change is permanent, or is quickly forgotten, because I cannot determine what might happen next after the tutorial has ended. I am interested in how the pedagogic discourse that is going on in this tutorial relates to the student's identity. I therefore need to refine what I mean by pedagogic discourse and to do that I want to use the Bernsteinian categories of a regulative discourse and an instructional discourse.

5.3.1 Regulative Discourse in a Homer Tutorial

I discussed Bernstein's account of pedagogic discourse in Chapter Two section 2.7. and suggested that the regulative discourse is a discourse of control and social order as expressed in the relationship between tutor and student in the tutorial. Instructional discourse is a discourse of the sequencing and pacing of what is being taught in the tutorial. There are three different kinds of statements in this tutorial which I think can be categorised as regulatory:

- statements made by the tutor about how the tutorial will be organised;
- direct questions where the tutor is querying the student's knowledge about the content of the text, and so displaying the hierarchical relationship between tutor and student ;
- statements made about the external assessment of the student's work, external in the sense that the assessment is made by or on behalf of the university, and not just by the tutor.

5.3.2 Tutorial rule setting

The first extract I am going to look at provides the basis for my argument about the first two of these points and demonstrates how the hierarchical relationship between tutor and student is maintained in the tutorial.

Extract One

1.1	Tutor:	Right, what I thought I'd do this year is um... I haven't marked it yet, I
1.2		shall mark it with you here
1.3	Student:	OK.
1.4	Tutor:	There's... there's only one of you so... we'll go through it together, I
1.5		think that's the best way to do it. So what's happened at this stage
1.6		In the Iliad, from what you remember?
1.7	Student:	From what I remember? Um Agamemnon is threatening to take
1.8		away Chryseis and Briseis is angry.
1.9	Tutor:	We may not have got that far yet actually.
1.10	Student:	Yeah I was thinking that, it seems pretty early...
1.11	Tutor:	Yeah...
1.12	Student:	So I'm thinking what is Agamemnon doing?
1.13	Tutor:	Err...
1.14	Student:	It's been a long time since GCSE (laughs).
1.15	Tutor:	(Laughs). So um a plague has been sent on the... the Greek Army by
1.16		Apollo...
1.17	Student:	Mhm.

The student has arrived at the tutorial knowing, at least I am assuming that she knows, that her translation of a section of The Iliad will be discussed in the tutorial. She finds out straight away that the tutor has not marked her work, even though she might have expected the work to have been checked before the tutorial. The student accepts this omission by the tutor, and does not raise any queries about it. The fact of not marking the piece of translation then guides the structure of the tutorial. The tutor states 'I shall mark it with you here' (Line 1.1-1.2) which indicates that the tutor will go through the piece line by line, starting from the beginning. This is confirmed when the tutor says in Line 1.4-1.5 'we'll go through it together, I think that's the best way to do it.'

In these opening lines the tutor has laid down, with no discussion, the rules of how the tutorial will be run, based on the fact that the piece has not been marked prior to the tutorial. The student accepts this approach and she says very little at this

stage in the tutorial other than to express agreement with the approach to be taken by the tutor. When the tutor says "I think that's the best way to do it" he is linking the method he has chosen for running the tutorial, his 'way of doing it', with his own identity, his 'I think'. For the student to disagree with that statement would be a challenge to both the tutor's identity and to his way of running the tutorial. Such a challenge would be a disruption to the relationship between tutor and student, and represent a challenge to both the student's and tutor's identities, which is why perhaps the challenge is never made. This regulatory statement about how the tutorial will be run, by which the tutor has created the rule for running this tutorial, is based on an acceptance of the tutor's identity as a rule maker, as someone who is allowed to make these rules. It would be quite possible to claim that this is not the best way of running a tutorial, that the tutor had been mistaken in not marking the translation before the tutorial, and the tutor could have selected from the marked work two or three key points which would have then been addressed in the tutorial, following a discussion about those points. There are clearly other ways of running a tutorial than the one selected here. But these are not addressed, the options are not presented to the student, and her opinion is not requested by the tutor. The issue for me here is not about the best way of running a tutorial, but how the method chosen is presented in terms of the tutor's identity, his 'I think'.

The tutor then opens the discussion by asking the student about the context for her piece of translation, to find out what's going on at this point in Book 1 of The Iliad. 'So what's happened at this stage in the Iliad, from what you remember?' (L1.5-1.6) It is a straightforward question, but by adding the phrase 'from what you remember' the question focuses on the student's own memory, so the student then answer 'From what I remember? ' (line 1.7)

This brief answer is also a slightly hesitant question. It does not get answered and the student herself probably was not expecting an answer, but it allows the student to link the answer she does give to her own rather faulty memory. As a question it is posed as a test of the student's knowledge, not to find out new knowledge or to inform the student about the Ancient Greek lexicon or grammar.

She refers to her memory, again in a slightly defensive way , in line 1.14 ‘It’s been a long time since GCSE (laughs)’. The student acknowledges that she doesn’t know the answer to the tutor’s question who then provides his own answer by referring to the plague sent by Apollo onto the Greek army in Line 1.12.

The tutorial opens with the tutor setting his own rules for the tutorial, and by carrying out a check of the student’s knowledge about the Iliad. It’s a piece of regulatory discourse where the identities of the student as student and tutor as tutor appear fixed in position by the role they occupy within the form of the tutorial. Towards the end of the tutorial there is a further piece of regulatory discourse. The student declares that she wants to get ‘a First’, and the tutor tells her what she must do in order to get ‘a First’. My analysis of this extract suggests how the assessment processes of the institution, referred to with different levels of expertise by the student and the tutor, are a part of the regulative discourse of the tutorial. The next extract begins with the tutor offering an assessment of the student’s work in terms of final degree classification.

5.3.3 University regulations and a regulatory discourse

Extract Two

2.1	Tutor	I’m quite sure that’s the work of someone who’s going to get a 2:1 or a
2.2		First in the summer.
2.3	Student	Oh I don’t want to get a 2:1 though.
2.4	Tutor	You want to get a First?
2.5	Student	Yes.
2.6	Tutor	Well, you’ll get a First by being closely familiar with the set text.
2.7	Student	Yeah.
2.8	Tutor	Yeah. The... the one thing you can’t control in the exam is the unseen
2.9		right? The unseen is one-third of the exam, so...
2.10	Student	And then... at least I know the... who the authors are going to be.
2.11	Tutor	At least you know who the authors are going to be, but if you get... let’s
2.12		say you get 66 for your unseen in the exam but you get a low First for
2.13		both the other two questions, you’ll get a First overall. So... so it... to get
2.14		a First your unseen doesn’t have to be the best average it just has to be
2.15		good enough not to pull the marks under, do you see what I mean?
2.16	Student	Yeah (laughs).

The tutor explains to the student how she might get a First in her final exams on the course. The student knows she wants to get a First, but she does not know, it seems, what to do to get one. For her it seems to be a goal, linked perhaps to her idea of being a student, and as a personal ambition. It does not seem to be the case that she is aiming for a First because she wants to be an excellent translator of Ancient Greek texts, or to be an Ancient Greek scholar. To get the First she has to perform well in the exam by making sure the most difficult part of the exam, the bit that is beyond her control, which is the unseen translation, is 'good enough not to pull the marks under' (line 2.15). The student now knows how to get the marks to achieve the First. The student is learning new knowledge here but it is knowledge related to the university's assessment procedures and the standards used for making the assessment. It is about social positioning and control rather than acquiring new knowledge about Homer translation, which would be instructional discourse. This example of regulatory discourse again emphasises the hierarchical ordering of the relationship here between tutor, as the rule giver, and student as someone who follows the rule.

Following this example, it might well be the case that in a learning context such as a tutorial, where regulatory discourse occurs, the identities of the student and the tutor remain fixed as student and tutor. It is the instructional discourse that leads to a change or transformation where new knowledge is acquired and the student's identity alters or acquires a different shade, or a new level of meaning. Moore's image(2013 p.114) that I referred to in Chapter Three of the two-headed God Janus, the God of changes and transformations, a figure or image for acquiring new knowledge which in the moment of acquisition, transforms the past into a new future as it switches its gaze from past to future. The contours or shape of the God seem described by a regulatory discourse, but the direction of the gaze is constructed by instructional discourse. Regulatory discourse describes the shape of the exchange set in place by the social order, which in this case is the order established by the university with its defined tutor and student roles as constructed in its policies and procedures, its opportunities and expectations. Instructional discourse is a more fluid construction, where new identity features

are added, tried out, developed and maybe rejected. I now want to look in more detail at instructional discourse in the Homer tutorial and how that affects identity construction.

5.4 Instructional Discourse in a Homer Tutorial

The next two extracts are examples of instructional discourse. Each extract demonstrates a continual act of evaluation by the tutor, as he moves, at his own pace, through the student's translation. The evaluation going on in these extracts is quite different from the evaluation referred to in the section on regulative discourse. In that section the tutor was explaining how the student could gain a First in her final exams, and how her current work could be assessed at a 2:1 level. This evaluation is the university's own standard and is a part of the social order of the university. It might be possible to make a judgment about the accuracy of a student's translation of an Ancient Greek text based on the fact that she has gained a 'First' for her Classics degree course. But, as the tutor suggested, she might well have got the First by performing very well in other papers in the exam which then pull up her marks for the whole exam, rather than providing an excellent translation of a piece of unseen Ancient Greek. The evaluation in the sections I am about to discuss is about the quality of the translation, about selecting the most appropriate word or interpreting the correct grammatical form, and is much more like the negotiation and discussion Eco described in his account of translating Shakespeare's Hamlet into Italian. The discussion in these extracts all concern problems to do with translating an Ancient Greek text into modern English and so are similar to the discussions a translator might have when working on this or a similar text. But it is instructional discourse because learning about how to translate a text is going on as the translation is assessed. The tutor and the student maintain their pedagogic identities as tutor and student, but at the same time they are both acquiring translator identities as they discuss this piece of translation. The shade of the translator identity passes over the tutor and student identities and so transforms, in Bernstein's terms, the unknown, or only partially known, into the known.

5.4.1 Translator identities and learning to translate

Extract Three

3.1	Tutor	"Addressed him", that's what I... yeah... for instance. So don't... don't miss out the little words, that's the thing yeah.
3.2	Student	OK, oh sorry, sorry, missed that didn't we.
3.3	Tutor	"And then swift footed Achilles looking askance..." Oh you got 'at him' there! I apologise. Yes I think probably... I think... I think the 'τον' should be taken with the 'προσεφε' rather than the 'υπόδρα ιδων'.
3.4		This "looking askance" is interesting isn't it? What does 'υπόδρα' mean exactly? 'Ιδων' is looking...
3.5	Student	I think... at least I'm sure it said 'looking askance at'...
3.6	Tutor	Oh did it? Is that what you got?
3.7	Student	Yeah.
3.8	Tutor	Ahh. I sort of imagine sort of dark looks, sort of furrowing his brow.
3.9	Student	Yeah, I also said that... like "looking grimly".
3.10	Tutor	Yeah.
3.11	Student	I wasn't sure (laughs).
3.12	Tutor	Err 'υπόδρα' askance fiercely. What's a 'δράκον' [looking it up in a dictionary] Oh really... 'δράκον' like a snake, some sort of thing,
3.13		without looking... a snake... δράκον... can't... can't be
3.14	Tutor	that.'δρά... κον.'.. yeah. Well I don't know, I need to look more... in a, bigger dictionary than this but this dictionary says... just connects the word δράκον meaning snake (laughs)... so looking... looking with snake eyes at him?
3.15	Student	Yes.
3.16	Tutor	Or... looking... υπό (δρα)... under the snake? Is it... it's a very... it's... whatever it is it's not nice... OK, askance will do, as you say, it's a standard translation. Oh the crafty minded of (...) you are throwing at me on my 'αναιδειην' shamelessness.
3.17	Student	
3.18	Tutor	
3.19	Student	
3.20	Tutor	
3.21	Student	
3.22	Tutor	
3.23	Student	
3.24	Tutor	
3.25	Student	
3.26	Tutor	
3.27	Student	
3.28	Tutor	
3.29	Student	

The tutor and the student are discussing the translation of the Ancient Greek phrase 'υπόδρα ιδων'; the tutor wonders whether 'looking askance', which is the student's choice, is the best solution. The tutor uses another dictionary to search for a more appropriate translation; he seems to be looking for a phrase that carries a sense of menace, of dark looks. The student suggests the phrase 'looking grimly' but the tutor then finds a reference to the word 'snake'; he plays with this

for a time, suggesting 'looking with snake eyes' or looking 'under the snake'. In the end he decides to stick with the student's choice - 'OK, askance will do, as you say, it's a standard translation'. The tutor here demonstrates one of the key points that he wants to make in this tutorial: the importance of looking everything up, of using several dictionaries and reference books, of questioning the standard translation to find the most appropriate word that fits the context and the characters. In this he's following a similar process to that taken by Eco when he rejected the word 'ratto', for the word 'topo', a mouse, when translating the phrase 'How now, a rat ?' from Shakespeare's Hamlet. The tutor is teaching the skills of translation, the skill of always looking everything up, of searching for the best word, of testing out ideas to find what might be the best fit for the translation, as well as assessing the translation itself. As the tutor says later on in the tutorial 'so for the time being look up everything you possibly can and really train yourself to take meticulous care over looking things up'

The student is encouraged, by both example and instruction, to acquire a new skill, the skill of looking everything up, of being a translator. Eventually this is a skill that becomes 'a skill which hopefully in six months' time will be sort of second nature' The tutor has put forward here an image of the future in which the student's identity has shifted and changed as she becomes a more proficient translator of Homeric texts, acquiring a second nature, an additional feature to her student identity, a new idea of herself as someone who always looks things up.

The evidence from this tutorial shows that as the tutorial moves from regulatory discourse to instructional discourse, so the student identity opens up , acquiring a further layer to that identity by taking on, if only for six months and maybe less than that and maybe more, some of the aspects of being a translator of Homeric texts. I am not saying that the student emerged from the tutorial a different person or had undergone a conversion so that she can now translate Ancient Greek texts with ease. But the tutor is aware that the student is acquiring a new skill, and that skill will become part of herself as a student, it will become like a 'second nature'.

5.4.2 The reflective, sacred skill of looking things up

In the next extract the student and the tutor discuss differences between infinitives and participles in Homeric Greek. The discussion in the previous extract looked at different possibilities of how to translate a particular phrase to find out which word might be the best fit between the modern English and the Homeric Greek, and the discussion ended with both the student and the tutor accepting the 'standard translation' as given in a dictionary. The discussion in Extract Four is quite different. Here the student's translation is wrong - 'the solution you have arrived at blatantly doesn't work'(line 4.39) says the tutor:

Extract Four

4.1	Tutor	Err because of course aedos means shame, so 'ἀναίδεια' is shamelessness
4.2		and it's a... aedos is a key Homeric value as you probably know so... so...
4.3		um 'πως τις προφρων επεσις πειθαιται Αχαιων η οδον ελθεμεναι
4.4		ανδρασιν ιφι μάχεσθαι'. "How can a willing king obey your words?"
4.5		'Τοις'"can any willing person of the" πειθηται Αχαιων'...
4.6		your words... good..."whether they go on expedition or fighting strong
4.7		men." "Either going on an expedition", Homeric infinitive 'ελθέμεναι'
4.8		or ανδρασιν ιφι μάχεσθαι' yeah,"strong men..." good
4.9	Student	What's a Homeric infinitive?
4.10	Tutor	Um if you look in this... this is just a thing I photocopied for you the other day and you'll get longer explanations than this of.... (unclear) but this will do. Da-de-da-de-da... active infinitives end in '-μεν' or the extended form '-μενι' So instead of 'ἀκουεμεν' you get 'ἀκουμεναι' and instead of (Greek) you get (Greek)...
4.11	Student	Oh right, OK.
4.12	Tutor	Yeah, yeah, yeah... so um... now as... as with many aspects of Homeric dialect that's not to say he always does it that way, cos Homeric dialect...
4.13		dialect... Homer's language is a jumble, it really is, it's a mish-mash, so...
4.14		so it... it means he sometimes does it in that way, so... for instance there
4.15		'μάχεσθαι' it's a perfectly regular um middle infinitive isn't it? Err...
4.16	Student	Well I don't know what I did there. I must have just assumed it wasn't
4.17		sort of um...
4.18	Tutor	Oh you translated it as a participle?
4.19	Student	Yeah.
4.20	Tutor	Yes, err to obey you... I suppose it's an implied indirect command... if
4.21		they're your words... either to go on an expedition or to fight against

4.27		strong men, and I think um... I think this infinitive, because we're
4.28		implying the words are telling people to do something, which in Greek
4.29		you would use an infinitive for... not in Latin, but in Greek you would,
4.30		wouldn't you? Err but in fact going on an expedition, if that was a
4.31		participle it wouldn't work. Why not? Obviously (laughs)... 'ελθέμεναι'...
4.32		It's... it's fairly... come on think about it... look at the ending...
4.33	Student	Um it's... (pause) mmm...
4.34	Tutor	Well it's not 'ελθέμενοι' is it?
4.35	Student	No, oh so it's... feminine
4.36	Tutor	It would... if... if that was a... a middle participle it would be feminine and
4.37		it just wouldn't work.
4.38	Student	Right yes... mhm...
4.39	Tutor	So the... the solution you have arrived at blatantly doesn't work and
4.40		that's where you stop and start again and look for a different solution
4.41		and make sure you keep looking... keep looking. Read every single page
4.42		you know, look everywhere... every dictionary, every grammar book you
4.43		can find until you find (laughs)...
4.44	Student	It was... it wasn't that I thought it was a participle, I just thought it was hmm (laughs).
4.45	Tutor	No you... you... there's a good instinct to think it might be a participle,
4.46		but if it is a participle why's it alpha 'α' then 'ι'?

The student has made a mistake in her translation by interpreting an infinitive as a participle in the Homeric Greek. She realises her mistake in line 4.21

4.21	Student:	Well I don't know what I did there. I must have just assumed it wasn't
4.22		sort of
4.23	Tutor:	Oh you translated it as a participle?
4.24	Student:	Yeah.

But the solution here is not just to correct the mistake, and substitute the correct word for the incorrect word. The student is encouraged to further refine the skill that should become 'like a second nature' (line)

4.41	Tutor	and make sure you keep looking... keep looking. Read every single
4.42		page you know, look everywhere... every dictionary, every
4.43		grammar book you can find until you find (laughs)...

There are five references to looking things up in this tutorial, and the practice of looking things up is performed by the tutor throughout the tutorial. Looking things up in this context does not just demonstrate a skill in choosing the right dictionary

and then using that dictionary, though of course that has to be done correctly. It also shows an attitude towards knowledge, and the acquisition of knowledge, that entails a particular pedagogic stance that is related to the identity the student is constructing in this tutorial. She wants to do well on the course, she says she wants to get a 'first' which, the tutor says, she will get if she looks things up. Looking things up is a moment of reflection, when new knowledge is created and old knowledge is confirmed. The tutorial demonstrates several of these reflective moments when doubt or uncertainty about a word or a piece of grammar is replaced by a new interpretation and a more definitive consideration of the text. Translation, in this case, seems to develop through these bursts of insight that grow out of looking things up. It appears that there is always a question mark over knowledge in terms of the best translation, and knowledge about the process of translation; both the student and the tutor are always on their guard, armed with the best dictionaries and source material, against possible error that might be contained in the smallest word. In fact the tutor even says, at the end of the tutorial, it is with the little words that the student has to take the most care:

Tutor	But what I would take away from this is don't forget the little words, um look things up even if you don't..... think you don't need to (laughs)
-------	--

The tutor is not just pointing out the error but models the process whereby the student can find the right translation. In this way the relationship between tutor and student becomes more collaborative by using the process of looking things up, which, as shown in the previous examples, is a method of questioning, of introducing doubt, and then showing how to resolve that doubt. It is not just a method of finding the right answer. It is also a way of doubting the right answer, of querying one's own thought processes in order to arrive at a better solution to the problem. Looking things up requires a change in the student's identity from the person who knows and can produce the answer, to the person who knows the answer but can also always challenge that answer and then produce a more suitable answer to the problem. As the student gets more engaged in the discussion, and provides her own solutions to the problems she raised through her

translation, the tutorial becomes more collaborative, and the student's identity as a translator, becomes more prominent.

5.4.3 Modelling translation as instructional discourse

Extract Five

5.1	Tutor	Oh no, never mind, err it's just... you probably just thought it was
5.2		err... it was a first declension, that was, yeah... just why... it's worth
5.3		looking things up...
5.3	Student	Yes.
5.4	Tutor	Even if you think you know them, because you might want to work
5.5		out what the...the form is... you know, like I just did with um
5.6		'πολυαῖ', just to check if the nominative was actually 'πολυάικος'
5.7		and it's a third declension adjective,not a first, second declension
5.8		adjective, so... err now 'κάμω' I think means to tire of or to um... if
5.9		you look it up you'll find it... 'κάμ-'... to toil... that will do.

This exchange has similarities to the earlier exchange over the difference between a participle and an infinitive. The tutor again provides his own answer to a translation problem that the student has herself identified concerning her use of plural forms, saying "you probably just thought it was err... it was a first declension ". He repeats his request that she should always look things up, and then, in his second statement, looks up the word and finds a better translation, the word 'to toil' which he thinks is correct. Again the tutor is engaged in a process of modelling, instructing the student to look things up and then looking up the Homeric Greek word for 'to toil'.

Extract Six

6.1	Tutor	Because it... it's... you could easily get err you know, like the last
6.2		time. I think there's so much to work on because all you need to
6.3		do is just include the little words and look up things a little bit
6.4		more and you're going to get better marks.
6.5	Student	I still don't - I'm looking up everything in the grammar and it's not
		..
6.6	Tutor	Are you find it... if you... are you finding it frustrating?
6.7	Student	Mhm.

For the first time in this tutorial, and this comes towards the end of the tutorial, the student, having been told for most of the tutorial to look things up, now says that she does look everything up. This suggests that there might be more to this activity than the tutor thinks, though he does recognise that it can be frustrating. It is at this point that 'looking things up' changes from just using a reference material to becoming 'a sort of second nature' so that the student can make a better choice over what to look up and what not to look up. In doing that the student acquires the sacred knowledge of the translator, which requires a different view of both herself and of the profane knowledge, the grammar and vocabulary of Homeric Greek she is learning on this course.

What is apparent in this tutorial is not any clear statement by either the student or the tutor about the student's identity. She never says 'I want to be a translator' or 'I want to be a scholar of Ancient Greek'. She does describe the kind of student she wants to be, and at this stage of her course, there does not seem to be any doubt about that, as expressed by herself or by her tutor. Instead this tutorial offers what Moore here described as an 'unfurling' of identity features:

The coexistence of the sacred and the profane within the same individual (and in every moment of any social encounter) and in the *modalities of identity* is the deep structure, the essential tension and generative power, of pedagogic discourse (regulated by the pedagogic device) that is unfurled within the pedagogic process, in the scrolling of pedagogic discourse. (Moore 2013 p. 112-113)

In this description of the Homer tutorial I have traced some of the 'modalities of identity' as embodied in the identity features I have located in the tutorial. I think it is appropriate to see these features not as fixed elements of any one identity but as part of an unfurling process of identity formation, a process that might never be complete or fixed at any one time. So although the student will be able state, at some point in the future, that she was a good student and the evidence for that is in the degree she was awarded on the completion of her studies, she might never consider herself a translator of Ancient Greek or an Ancient Greek scholar because she never considers she has reached the level of competence required to justify giving herself that title or that identity. In this tutorial I am not looking for the fixed identity, the title or the name badge acquired by the student, but in how identity

features are located and developed within the pedagogic discourse of the tutorial. There is nothing in the tutorial that proclaims an identity, other than the recognition of certain identity features related to the student and the tutor. But I think it is the movement towards an identity that is significant, the way the tutorial can start to construct an identity, so that the tutorial becomes in part a process of identity formation.

I have tried to show that in this tutorial there is a relationship between different kinds of knowledge, singular and regional, the sacred and the profane, with different kinds of discourse, the regulative and the instructional. By locating the tutorial within the wider context of the course it is possible to identify singular and regional knowledge areas and to show that there is an increase in singularity, the depth of knowledge, and in regionalisation, the breadth of knowledge. I wasn't able to see how an increase in regionalisation was disruptive or challenged the singularity of the Classics. To describe the discourse used to present and explore those different kinds of knowledge I used the Bernsteinian concepts of the regulative and the instructional, which allowed me to identify certain key differences in tutorial discourse. Certain features of the tutorial are sacred and profane, both singular knowledge and regional knowledge have their sacred aspects and their profane aspects. On the Classics course and in the Homer tutorial it appears that regulative discourse is associated with both the profane and the regional, but instructional discourse is linked with the singular knowledge of Homeric translation. Here though the sacred knowledge acquired by the student is the process of looking things up, the central point of the tutorial, which is raised continually by the tutor throughout. This might not be the case with a very different, more vocationally-orientated course such as Midwifery, where the sacred was associated with self reflection, a generic form of knowledge, or Education as I suggest in the next chapter. Opening up these different aspects of knowledge and discourse provides a method for showing how student identities are articulated when learning occurs.

5.5 Conclusion

In Chapter Two I discussed Bernstein's ideas, derived from Durkheim, of the distinction between the sacred and the profane (2000). He had said that in the modern university there was a separation between knowledge and the person who knows the knowledge, the knowledge and the knower. But I think if Bernstein had walked into the Homer tutorial in November 2011 he would have seen a close relationship between knowledge, the acquisition of knowledge and the identities of the tutor and the student, who are creating and acquiring that knowledge. Bernstein said that the current separation between, as he sees it, knowledge and the knower is a second dislocation, following a first dislocation that occurred in the medieval period, which led to the distinction between trivium and quadrivium. I think, as I stated in Chapter Three, that this is a misreading of ecclesiastical history and does not take into account, for example, the very fundamental changes that occurred in Lateran Council IV in 1215. My view is that identity, and a sense of self, is probably as important now, for a student in a tutorial in a modern university in 2011, as it was for a student in medieval Oxford. In fact I would find it quite difficult to conceive of knowledge without the knower. Despite this, I think it is still possible, as I hope I have indicated in this chapter and the previous chapter, that Bernsteinian concepts of pedagogy, discourse and knowledge can be used to relate different aspects of identity with different kinds of knowledge.

Chapter Six

Knowledge and Identity in an MA TESOL Tutorial

6.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is, in a similar way to the previous two chapters, to analyse how a relationship is constructed between the identities of the students attending a tutorial in a university in the Southern area of the UK, the kind of knowledge that is being transmitted in the tutorial and the discourse used by both tutor and students to transmit and acquire that knowledge. The chapter aims to establish a connection between knowledge, identity and discourse.

My analysis is based on a recording I made and transcribed of a Language Teaching tutorial that took place on a course called MA in Education, TESOL Pathway at _____ University in Southern England in 2011. The two students in the tutorial were studying a module called Language Teaching: Methods and Approaches. Both students were studying full time at this university, although one of the students was on the course for one semester as part of an Erasmus funded exchange programme with her own university outside the UK. The MA in Education: TESOL Course Handbook states that the course provides:

a dedicated pathway for TESOL practitioners that gives them the opportunity to develop as a TESOL professional and as an educational researcher. Students will already have experience teaching ESOL; the course makes use of that experience in the learning modules on the course.

One of the programme aims is to: ‘create a learning environment that draws upon the divergent intellectual and practice backgrounds of the students.’

The students will, it seems, be asked to refer to and use their previous teaching experiences on this course. Students are not engaged in any teaching practice as they study for this MA, so they need to have previous teaching experience to inform their learning on the course. The course appears to create a clear trajectory between the student's past, present and future experiences and

learning as TESOL practitioners. Although the university's MA Education course handbook does not mention student identities, five of the course learning outcomes contain elements of self reflection, which relates to the students' own ideas about themselves and to their own identities.

6.2 Self reflection and identity

The MA Education programme is organised into four sections called Literacies, with a further area called Global Citizenship. The four Literacies are:

Academic literacies	Five learning outcomes, one of which states that students should: Achieve a comprehensive understanding and critical awareness of theories of personal development and learning across the lifespan and the impact of social, cultural and economic factors on well being and achievement.
Research literacies	Three learning outcomes, of which one states that students should: demonstrate self-direction and originality in the application of advanced research skills in the design and undertaking of research projects;
Critical self awareness and personal literacy	Three learning outcomes two of which state that students should: increase effectiveness in performance within a team environment and be able to recognise and mediate individual learning and working styles; and: evaluate their own performance and personal learning strategies using formal and informal approaches, making appropriate use of feedback from peers and student;
Digital and information literacies	Four learning outcomes, none of which refer to self development or self direction
Global Citizenship	Three learning outcomes, one of which states that students should: monitor and critically examine the way they respond to academic, pastoral or administrative issues, taking into account the multiple dimensions of diversity

Judging from these learning outcomes it is a fair assumption that the student's own identity, or at least the student's own understanding of their identity and sense of self, is an explicit focus on this course. It is at least as clearly focussed on this course as it was for the BSc course in Midwifery and certainly more than on the BA course in Classics. Looking at the table of the programme learning outcomes, out of a total of eighteen outcomes, five are related to self development, self understanding or self direction. Of course a list of learning outcomes related in some way to self development does not explain much about what is done by the student for their self development. There are a number of ways this might be tackled by the student, or indeed not tackled at all and just treated as an imposition from elsewhere⁴⁵. Clegg and Bradley suggest in their review of personal development planning(2006) that generally staff in universities were developing their own models of personal development planning in a way that made sense for their own curriculum area and their own university. Beauchamp's review (2015)of the literature on reflective practice in teacher education also suggests that:

Reflection has become accepted as an integral part of the preparation of teachers in university contexts, both in terms of the theoretical background necessary for understanding teaching and the practical approaches to classroom action (2015 p.123)

Although neither of these papers states very clearly what actually a student does when they do personal development or self reflection, other than to say that there are a variety of different approaches, something at least seems to be done and that it is useful for both students and staff. Clegg in her study used the Bernsteinian concepts (Bernstein 2000)of singularity, genericism and introjection and projection, finding that personal development planning was most problematic in those areas of the curriculum that could be characterised as singular and introjected (that is inward looking with a focus on the subject studied, as opposed

⁴⁵ Indicator 6 in Chapter B4 of the UK's QAA Quality Code for 2014 - Enabling Student Development and Achievement, refers to personal development planning as a useful method of encouraging student achievement. However, following Clegg, the use of that particular tool might actively work against the requirement in Indicator 3 that universities should take into account the diverse backgrounds of their student when promoting achievement and progression. Asking students to reflect on what might have been traumatic or difficult past experiences could detract from their current academic achievements. But see the comments from Freire (page 9) who calls for a 'critically conscious presence' of the student's own history in literacy work.

to projected, which looks outward to areas of practice (Bernstein 2000 p.55). In a later paper (Clegg 2015) she confirmed her view that personal development planning limited students' access to what she called powerful knowledge⁴⁶ because it concentrated students' attention on a limited view of their own past learning experience. The Classics degree course I looked at in Chapter Five was seen as a singular, but the module, on Careers for Classics students, did include self reflection⁴⁷, which provided evidence of the increasing regionalisation of singular areas of knowledge, such as Classics.

However, I want to establish a view of identity in this dissertation that is wider than the idea of self development and self reflection, although both can be part of the rolling out, or unfurling, of student identity on a course. In the reflective practice seminar in Chapter Four self reflection and development was encouraged, but this wasn't the case in the Homer tutorial. My view would be that identity features in all learning and is related to how that learning is organised and acquired by the student. As I aim to show in the analysis of this MA tutorial, identity plays an important role in learning about practices, such as lesson planning, even where identity is less explicit than it was in, for example, the reflective practice seminar on the Midwifery course.

6.3 Singular, Regional and Generic Knowledge

Alongside the focus on the self on the MA Tesol course, there is also an emphasis on learning sets of skills such as the skills of exploring, debating, evaluating, critically examining, presenting material, developing confidence in, and developing theoretical, methodological and analytical skills. This emphasis on both self reflection and skills development seems, judging from the course handbook, to

⁴⁶ see Clegg 2015 p. 113 for example: 'Far from extending their horizons, the curriculum [of personal development planning] did not extend students' epistemic access to powerful more abstract knowledge with its lower semantic gravity and the potential to grasp the world and its possibilities.'

⁴⁷ The module description states that "this module gives students an opportunity to reflect on their degree programme so far and to make plans and set targets for the second year and beyond". This might not be entered in a personal development plan, but it does indicate that personal development, or self development was a part of this course.

have reduced the time for acquiring curriculum knowledge rather than the knowledge required for these skills. Only three of the fifteen course learning outcomes relate specifically to knowledge. Under Research literacy there are two learning outcomes relating to knowledge:

- apply knowledge of research findings to enhance professional practice;
- and demonstrate a comprehensive knowledge of appropriate research and evaluation strategies for particular enquiries;

Under Digital and information literacy there is one outcome related to knowledge:

- demonstrate knowledge of digital tools to enhance research and evaluation strategies and analyse and present data;

Most of the other outcomes, excepting the four outcomes related to self development, are concerned with acquiring skills. These skills, as well as being a practical form of knowledge, at some point must involve a form of curriculum knowledge, something has to be analysed or evaluated or presented. But the emphasis here seems not to be on acquiring knowledge but on the development of particular skills.

In the BA Classics course, and specifically in the Homer translation tutorial, it was quite easy to identify the knowledge that students would acquire on that course. It was primarily the knowledge of certain key classical texts, for example Homer's The Iliad, and how to translate those texts from Ancient Greek to modern English. The knowledge on this course was, in Bernsteinian terms, becoming more regionalised, with a range of modules offered in areas such as Bronze Age civilisations in Anatolia and Crete , or Work Placement modules, but the core of the course was still about the knowledge of Ancient Greek and Roman texts. In that sense the BA Classics course was a singular not a regional form of knowledge. The BSc Midwifery course was, again in Bernsteinian terms, a regional form of knowledge, although with the addition of singular and generic items. The curriculum for this course included areas such as biology, pharmacology, physiology, psychology and research skills and was a grouping of different forms of knowledge or subjects. Different kinds of identity were associated with the singular and regional forms of knowledge. The singular knowledge of the Classics course was inward looking; the student was intently focussed on the Ancient

Greek text, using a range of reference books to find the best translation of the Homeric word or phrase. There was a sacred quality to this inwardness which was perhaps uninterrupted or challenged by the outside contemporary world, although profanity, looking outward to the world of work, was present in the Work Placement and Careers modules on that course.

The Midwifery course was very different, more profane, more regional and more outward looking in the way the students had to spend time in the world of work on their clinical practice in the hospital delivery suites. The curriculum for the MA TESOL course appears different again. This course seems to be, in the Bernsteinian sense, more generic than either just singular or regional. Bernstein used the word 'generic' to describe those courses where the 'underlying features necessary to the performance of a skill, task, practice or even area of work' have been defined and are then made the content of the course. But another feature of generic courses was that they were often linked to UK government agencies of the time such as the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) (1973 - 1988) and the Training Agency (TA) (1988- 1991). Bernstein thought that genericism was catastrophic for the idea of education. It lacked any idea of knowledge, substituting for knowledge the idea of trainability, and, because learner identities were related to the knowledge acquired by the learner, they also created identities that could only be associated with the products of the market, which Bernstein called 'the materialities of consumption' (Bernstein 2000 p.59).

The generic category created a new pedagogic identity unlike both the singular and regional forms because it is based on an idea of learning and knowledge that has to be continually acquired in order to meet the contemporary demands of modern work and life. The generic mode seems to be a pedagogy that is well adapted to Bauman's idea of liquid modernity. Bernstein describes 'trainability', which is the main characteristic of this generic mode, as 'the ability to profit from continuous pedagogic re-formations and so cope with the new requirements of "work" and "life".' (Bernstein 2000 p, 59)

Trainability seems similar to Bauman's description of the ' current cult of "lifelong education" ' (Bauman 2010) where what is needed is not knowledge but inspiration provided by counsellor figures, rather than teachers. These counsellors:

proffer a 'how to' kind of knowledge, *savoir etre* or *vivre* rather than *savoir faire*, 'know that' kind of knowledge which orthodox educators wished to impart and were good at transmitting to their pupils (2010 p.98)

Bauman's 'know that' kind of knowledge could be contained within Bernstein's singular and regional forms of knowledge, whilst his 'how to' kind of knowledge might be found within the generic form of knowledge. Generic modes says Bernstein 'realise a flexible, transferable potential rather than specific performances.' (Bernstein 2000 p.59). These modes do not provide, and again to quote Bauman, 'the knowledge and skills "ascribed to the job" and already demonstrated by others who did the work before or are applying for it' (2010 p.97) The new learners need the potential or the ability to be creative, to provide unusual solutions, or develop a 'catlike inclination to walk one's own solitary way.' (2010 p.98) I think that it is possible to see evidence of this genericism in the MA TESOL Language Teaching tutorial, even if it is not expressed as feline individuality. Generic learning is also an approach to learning and whilst it is an approach that started with subjects like Key Skills or 'Working Together' in Further Education colleges it might be an approach that could be linked to either singular or regional knowledge in the Higher Education curriculum.

Bauman did not share Bernstein's pessimism about education, seeing these changes as, at the worst, just one more crisis in the crisis-strewn field of education where there have always been successive crises, though he did say he found it difficult to see how it was possible to educate people in such a fast changing world saturated with information, a 'mind bogglingly difficult art' (Bauman 2010 p. 100). I'm also not convinced that genericism is such a socially empty construction, although it appears to be a helpful term to describe some courses in both Further and Higher Education in the UK⁴⁸. As the 'pedagogic

⁴⁸ See Young's discussion (Young, M. F. D. (2008). *Bringing Knowledge Back In*. Abingdon, Oxfordshire, Routledge.) on genericism. He says (p. 157) that although genericism started with subjects such as key

'pallet' (Bernstein 2000 p.56) becomes richer and more varied so these categories of knowledge and learning might become more blended as different colourings within the pallet take on different shapes and patterns

6.4 Varieties of knowledge on MA TESOL courses

Other MA Education TESOL courses seem not to share this focus on skills knowledge of the Southern university's MA TESOL course, so it does not appear to be the case that all MA TESOL courses emphasise skills learning. A compulsory module called Fundamentals Of Second And Foreign Language Teaching on an MA TESOL course at a university in London states that it is:

designed to enable language teachers to inform their practice through an enhanced understanding of language knowledge and processing, of pedagogical grammar and of language teaching methodologies. Students learn to describe and analyse the language systems (i.e. grammar, lexis, phonology, discourse) for pedagogic purposes, examining concepts such as the noun phrase and the verb phrase, discourse, lexis and lexico-grammar, and explore elements of phonology using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Students additionally enhance their understanding of processes involved in comprehending and producing language. The module also addresses common language teaching methodologies, with reference to form focused instruction, communicative language teaching and task-based instruction; and considers various approaches to teaching productive and receptive skills.

www.XXXX.ac.uk/XXXX/courses/graduate-taught/teaching-english-speakers-other-languages-tesol-ma

The example here seems much closer to an applied linguistics course with its emphasis on phonetics, language forms and systems and the knowledge of different kinds of language use. The course appears, like the BA Classics course, to be more singular than either regional or generic and has less on skills development, though it does include 'productive and receptive skills' in the last sentence. These skills are skills that the student will develop in their learners as

skills on low level work-based schemes it can now be found on university courses and doctoral programmes.

part of their teaching, and are not skills that the student will perform or develop on the course.

Other modules on this particular MA TESOL course maintain a similar emphasis on knowledge and 'theory', rather than skills and self development. A module called Materials Development For Language Teaching does not look at the student/practitioner's own skills for material development, which might have been the case on the MA TESOL course in Southern England, with its emphasis on the teacher's own creativity for developing teaching materials, but rather on theory, stating that:

This module examines critically the theoretical orientations which underpin print and non-print language teaching materials designed for a range of contexts. It explores the processes of production and adaptation of materials. The circumstances in which materials design takes place and the criteria for the selection, creation and sequencing of texts and tasks are considered. There will be group and individual opportunities for evaluating, adapting and creating materials, and for discussing the process and products of these tasks.

(Materials development for Language Teaching Module

www.XXXX.ac.uk/XXX/courses/graduate-taught/teaching-english-speakers-other-languages-tesol-ma)

The module requires students to look at 'theoretical orientations', which could be the knowledge behind teaching material production. Individual creativity is only mentioned in the last sentence when creating is part of a possible response to teaching material along with evaluation and adaption. This is very different from the MA TESOL course from which I made my recording where language learning is seen as a creative process for both the teacher and the student, and requires understanding of theories of creativity as applied to English Language Teaching pedagogy.

Another TESOL MA course, from a university in a large city in NW England, takes a different approach to either the London MA TESOL course or the Southern England MA TESOL. The emphasis on this course is on career development and enhancing the job opportunities for the TESOL practitioner:

The MA TESOL course aims to enable experienced TESOL practitioners to: further their careers with regard to obtaining positions of seniority, undertaking new areas of professional activity, embed practice within a research dimension,

contribute to the professional development of other teachers, and act in advisory capacities to teaching and associated agencies. It also aims to help participants to develop advanced knowledge and deeper understanding of TESOL-related research, theory, and areas of debate; understand more deeply their roles as TESOL practitioners given the international currency of English and the developments in the educational environment afforded by technology access and global networking; develop their advanced professional skills such as conducting needs analyses and evaluating, adapting and designing teaching and learning resources; develop their academic literacy so that can complete their MA course and thereafter undertake further academic studies; and develop their research competence so that they can complete their MA dissertation and thereafter undertake further research in both academic and professional settings.

<http://www.seedxxxxxxxx.ac.uk/study/taught-masters/courses/list/tesol-ma/?pg=2>

The course description states in its first sentence the kinds of work that would be available to the student who completes this MA TESOL course. All MA TESOL courses contain a statement about the job opportunities available to successful students. This MA TESOL course does more than that by stating the kinds of jobs that will become available to students, such as taking on more senior positions in an organisation, developing new areas of work, linking practice with research, and acting in an advisory position not just to teaching agencies, and a teaching agency might be a school or college or an organiser of schools and colleges, but also 'associated agencies'. It also locates TESOL within a global market - place, whilst the Southern MA TESOL looks at Global citizenship. In this course description there is always a sense of looking outwards, away from the knowledge on the course to the wider world, the world of work or the globalised world or, through the development of what it calls 'research competences', the world of further research. Of course knowledge about 'TESOL - related research, theory and areas of debate' is included in this course, it would not be a TESOL course without some TESOL knowledge. But, judging from this course description, which is very different from the other two MA TESOL courses, the emphasis does appear to be on TESOL careers, rather than TESOL knowledge.

Using Bernstein's knowledge categories it appears that the London MA TESOL course with its clear emphasis on a linguistics based approach to TESOL pedagogy and its analysis of "language systems (i.e. grammar, lexis, phonology, discourse)"

could be seen as an example of a singular knowledge and the MA TESOL course from the Northern university an example of a regional knowledge, with its emphasis on TESOL practice and careers opportunities out in the world of work. The MA TESOL course from the Southern university, which is the course I have used for my tutorial recording, appears to be an example of generic learning with its emphasis on pedagogic skills. These web-based course descriptions only provide a general overview of the whole course but they do show differences in emphasis in how the courses are run. I want to explore further the problem of knowledge on TESOL courses that can inform my account of the relationship between student identity and knowledge.

My comparison between these different MA TESOL courses is not to make any judgment about which of these different approaches is the best, whatever best might mean in this context, or the most suitable for any group of students. I wanted to show the variety of different approaches that can be taken in providing an MA TESOL course. I now want to look at the background of how TESOL has found its way into university learning, which will also explain more about the relationship between knowledge, skills and TESOL. That history is very different from that of Ancient Greek, which has always been on the syllabi of the UK's oldest universities, and Midwifery which, like TESOL, is a comparatively recent addition to university curricula.

6.5 Skills and knowledge in English language teaching - some background

In 1935 there was one university course in the UK for teachers of English as a foreign language, held at the same university as the London based MA TESOL course which I categorised as having singular knowledge. In 2015 at least fifty universities in the UK offered MA TESOL courses. According to the standard

history of English Language teaching in the UK⁴⁹ TESOL was, at the beginning, widely seen as a practical based activity, different and separate from other teacher training courses, and carried out by amateurs on a seasonal basis, a bit like hop-picking (Howatt and Widdowson p. 245). As TESOL became more professionalised through the development of teacher associations such as IATEFL and other organisations took on more responsibility for English language teaching such as the British Council and the BBC, there also developed, at the same time, courses in applied linguistics, firstly at Edinburgh University and then elsewhere. Halliday and Hasan(M.A.K.Halliday and Hasan 1976), perhaps more than anyone else at a university level , brought together the practical side of English language teaching, including its concern with teaching grammar and vocabulary in a manner appropriate to the requirements of learners, and the more theoretical demands of language study as would be found in courses on applied linguistics.

English Language teaching has also, traditionally, been divided between the kind of English teaching required by people living in countries outside the UK, and ELT started originally as a pedagogy in schools in Commonwealth countries, and the kind of English required by people who also did not know English, but who had migrated to the UK in the 1930s and later up to the present day. The English curriculum provided by teachers for these two groups was different: the curriculum for people living outside the UK tended to be more grammar based; for those living in the UK the curriculum was more linked to the requirements of daily living. Another factor, which is critical in these differences (Rosenberg 2007), is that people living in the UK who do not know English want to learn English quickly; they do not have much time to spend learning English along with all their other activities such as working, looking after their children, managing their lives in often difficult circumstances. It was assumed they needed a very practically-based English to help them carry out these activities. The divisions in English Language teaching between the more academic approach of applied linguistics, and practical skills-based approach of teacher training courses, between the grammar-based approach of English teaching outside the UK, and the everyday activities approach

For this I have used A.P.R.Howatt and H.G.Widdowson (1984). A History of English Language Teaching. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

of those learning English for the first time within the UK, are now largely historic, but the remains of those divisions can still be found in the MA TESOL course descriptions. The title of that compulsory English Language teaching module on the London MA TESOL course, Fundamentals Of Second And Foreign Language Teaching referred to both traditions in ELT: second language teaching (ESL - English as a second language) was the English for students who lived and worked in the UK, whilst foreign language teaching (EFL - English as a foreign language) was for people learning English as a foreign language outside the UK.

Judging from the history of English teaching in the UK, it is perhaps not too surprising to find that Bernstein's categories of knowledge, the singular, the regional and the generic , can be applied to courses that have very similar names, though apparently quite different content. In fact these different kinds of knowledge seem to describe quite nicely the different strands in the ELT curriculum. The applied linguistics strand could be seen as a singular, whilst courses which included areas such as technology or digital learning, Business English or Language and Politics, could be seen as more regional. Courses that emphasise skills development, and I think the MA TESOL in the Southern university, which is my focus in this chapter, fits this category, seem to be both singular, because of the focus on language teaching and acquisition, but also as generic, because these skills are seen to be applied across different contexts and courses. They are not strictly free of curricula knowledge, because of the language element, but it occupies a smaller element of the course than generic teaching and learning skills.

6.6 Knowledge, personal development and self reflection

On this MA TESOL course at the Southern university, self reflection and personal development are placed within the context of lifelong learning . One of the course learning outcomes listed under Academic Literacy relates to both Bernstein's and Bauman's ideas about lifelong learning when it asks students to 'achieve

comprehensive understanding and critical awareness of theories of personal development and learning across the lifespan' (England 2014) This kind of understanding could be required within a generic mode because learning in this mode can never end, there is no final conclusion, only a 'continuous pedagogic reformation' (Bernstein's words), that enables the learner to meet the never ending demands of the market. Generic learning, said Bernstein, equips the learner for a 'pedagogised future' where the student is always retrained and might need to understand theories of 'learning across the lifespan'.

The use of the word 'literacy' in these course learning outcomes clearly has a significance. As a term it is often associated, and probably in the minds of students who, even if they did not receive their schooling in the UK, might well remember literacy programmes aimed at lower achieving students in primary and secondary school, with learning a limited range of reading and writing skills at an elementary level. Literacy has also acquired a much wider meaning through the approaches adopted under the heading of New Literacy Studies. In the work of Freire and Macedo(Freire and Macedo 1987) and Gee(Gee 2008), literacy is part of the individual's community and societal engagement and is 'grounded in a critical reflection on the cultural capital of the oppressed.' (Freire and Macedo p. 157)

Gee makes a similar point when he says that a better term for New Literacy Studies might be 'integrated social-cultural-political-historical literacy studies' (p.150). Literacy can now cover a wide number of courses, and different approaches to learning, related to the individual learner's political, social, cultural and economic experience. A similar breadth is found on the MA Education course where the term 'literacy' is used to cover a wide range of academic and research skills. For a TESOL course this makes a useful connection between the course and the teaching experience of the TESOL practitioners who quite probably have been teaching 'literacy' in its more restricted sense, that is the skills of grammar and vocabulary learning.

A further connection between this MA course and New Literacy Studies relates to the position of subjectivity, by which I mean the status of the learner or student

on a Literacy course, guided by Freirean principles, and this MA Education course. I have already said that the identity of the learner is made explicit in the curriculum as witnessed by the five learning outcomes related to self development and self direction. Similarly Freire, when he asks the question 'What are the roles of educator and learner?' replies by saying 'the educator has to stimulate the learners to live a critically conscious presence in the pedagogical and historical process.'

(Freire and Macedo 1987 p. 140) Freire requires learners to be aware of, or to be encouraged to be aware of, their own history, language and experiences through an act of critical self reflection (1987 p.148). The use of the word Literacy in the MA course carries an echo of Freire's requirement for the literacy learner to be the 'critically conscious presence' in their own pedagogic practices. In this sense the use of the word 'literacy' both broadens out the course to include a wide area of activities, and at the same time calls for a focus on the learner's own experiences through critical self reflection. But I would doubt whether Freire's 'critically conscious' learner is the same person as Bernstein's and Bauman's learner, always ready for more training and development . A pedagogy, whether it is Freire's or Bernstein's, probably needs an idea of the learner who is the subject of that pedagogy, so the Freirean learner responds to a Freirean pedagogy, just as a Bernsteinean learner reflects a Bernsteinean pedagogy.

In his description of generic learning, Bernstein referred (2000 p. 59) to a 'specialised identity' which seemed to result from the way the student, or worker on a training course, relates to the course, or context in which they are placed.

This identity [in generic learning], which is the dynamic interface between individual careers and the social or collective base, cannot be constructed by lifting oneself up by one's shoelaces. It is not a purely psychological construction by a solitary worker as he/she undergoes the transitions which he/she is expected to perform on the basis of trainability. This identity arises out of a particular social order , through relations which the identity enters into with other identities of reciprocal recognition, support, mutual legitimisation and finally through a negotiated collective purpose. There seems to be an emptiness in the concept of trainability, an emptiness which makes the concept self referential and thus excluding. (2000 p.59)

I think it is possible to see on this course evidence of this new identity that arises through 'reciprocal recognition, support and mutual legitimisation' and by 'a negotiated collective purpose'. This kind of individual identity, with the mutual support that it seems to require, runs through the course learning outcomes that I have just quoted. The outcomes under the heading 'Critical self awareness' require the student to 'mediate', which might mean to reconcile or arbitrate in some way between different learning styles with the student group, within a 'team environment'. The next outcome in this section calls for the 'appropriate use of feedback from peers and students'. In both cases the sense of self which derives from the evaluation of the student's own performance, is achieved by working together with other students, all of whom are engaged in that reciprocal recognition and support. No one remains outside the loop of mutual support, because all are judged by the extent to which they provide such support.

6.7 Knowledge, TESOL and Regulative Discourse.

In my account of the website information about three different MA TESOL courses in the UK I assigned one of Bernstein's different knowledge categories to each course. The knowledge I was referring to in these examples was knowledge about language. The course where language itself, with all its multifaceted differences, was the subject of the course I said was a course with a singular knowledge. A course, such as the MA TESOL course at the university in the North West of England, used a regional knowledge because its focus in the course description seemed to be on the careers and job opportunities open to successful students; it looked outwards to the world of work, rather than inwards to the study of language, though it must have contained some of that kind of knowledge on the course. The course at the Southern university that took a generic approach to learning, in that it focussed on developing the skills of teaching, seemed to show an absence of knowledge; it was in Bernsteinian terms socially empty, an emptiness caused perhaps by the emphasis on skills.

All courses must, when the course is offered to students, be regulated in some way. There has to be a regulative discourse establishing the moral order of the course. The course accords with the university's rules and standards, and the tutor must, generally speaking, follow those rules and standards. At the same time as following the university's standards, the subject itself establishes its own rules and standards. In this way the student studying chemistry acquires the rules and standards of doing chemistry, which have been established over time through the history of chemistry. As the student does her chemistry so she acquires the identity of a chemist, in the same way as the student on the Classics course became, if only for a few hours, or days, or weeks, an Ancient Greek scholar and a translator of Homer. There was a relationship between the knowledge on the course, the regulative discourse on the course and the identity of the student on the course.

6.8 Language Learning and Regulative Discourse

This extract is taken from the start of the tutorial where the tutor is correcting the student teachers' pieces of work. The work relates to a 'Professional Project' the student teachers have to complete for this module. The Professional Project should be about 3000 words long, and includes their analysis of five lesson plans the student teachers have completed for a defined student, as one of six taught modules for the MA in Education Studies TESOL Pathway.

Extract One

1.1	Tutor	And... and my... my general feedback, but K_____ you haven't,
1.2		so um let me just um, sharewhat I've done is I've marked
1.3		some of the individual. language groups There was still some
1.4		language issues which I've tried to summarise... kind of... some
1.5		of the core um language points for you to sort of think about.
1.6		They're... they kind of classify along these... yeah... so um I think
1.7		these are classic ones about using the article... the... where to
1.8		use it, when... when to use it... if to use it... whether to use the
1.9		different definite or indefinite, so I've marked a few of those.
1.10		Um still... have... some of the... sometimes
1.11		where you sort of reverse the subject and the verb in a

1.12		sentence...
1.13	S.	Mhm... yeah, OK.
1.14	K.	Mhm... I know I have problem with this.
1.15	S.	Maybe it's because of your mother tongue?
1.16	Tutor	Yes, I mean...
1.17	K.	(Laughs).
1.18	S.	Maybe that's a problem of the...
1.19	K.	Mhm... mhm...
1.20	Tutor	You may have had that, definitely... that interference... so it's...
1.21		it's with the... the subject, verb, object structure. Do you... do
1.22		you... have you come across that term SVO? Which is sort of
1.23		like?that subject, verb, object
1.24	S.	Very important.
1.25	K.	Mhm
1.26	Tutor	Um, I say sometimes you've... you just kind of move them
1.27		around a little bit, so I've marked those as well. Um so um
1.28		sometimes um the joining of verbs like 'to enjoy doing
1.29		something', you've put 'to enjoy to do something',
1.30		so I've marked that... some of those... and sometimes, this is
1.31		another classic... just... I think it can be resolved with proof
1.32		reading, but where noun and verb need to agree with each
1.33		other,so a singular noun with a singular verb...
1.34	K	Mhm... yeah, OK.
1.35	Tutor	But there's some nouns which are collective nouns and take a
1.36		singular verb, like 'research...is'... um so um I've marked some of
1.37		those, and sometimes some of the vocabulary. So if you just
1.38		kind of look at the detail there and see if you can correct
1.39		some of those yourself
1.40	K	OK
1.41	Tutor	But don't... um and maybe take that away and think about it,
1.42		and use the list as a editing list for you in your next pieces
1.43		of work to see have I... have I... how... am I all right on these six
1.44		points?
1.45	K	Mhm...
1.46	Tutor	So that's that, but let's look at the content now for both of you.
1.47		Um so um if I was to ask you, from your learner profile which
1.48		key area of need would you like to now specialise in.....

The tutor points out grammatical items such as English sentence structure, subject verb agreement, and singular verbs that go with collective nouns. She does not want to develop this discussion so (line 1.42) she refers the students to a checklist she has made of the students' errors which they can use when they are looking back at their own written work. The tutor's use of a checklist indicates the kind of knowledge that is being transmitted here. It is knowledge in the form of a

checklist that will be applied later by the students when they write another essay or project, a knowledge that will support practice and is acquired over time. This exchange occurs right at the beginning of the tutorial, but it appears as a bit of preliminary business and not as part of the main tutorial. It is clear that the tutorial is related to this piece of work, which will become part of the student's Professional Project. The tutor herself does not want to spend time correcting her students' grammar but prefers to concentrate on the content, on what the students have written, rather than on how they have written it. Her priority here is with the students as student teachers, not with students as language learners. The tutor says she wants to 'share' (line 1.2) her comments with her students, she is not instructing or informing her students or even telling her students about these items of English grammar. Although subject-verb agreement might be considered, as the tutor says, a 'classic' error, in that it is an error often made by people learning English at any level of attainment, she is not going to turn the tutorial into a lesson about subject/verb agreement.

The students accept these corrections not as language learners, as students who need additional tuition about subject/verb agreement, but as competent users of English who can make errors. The new knowledge that is being acquired in this extract isn't the fact that the English language requires the subject and verb to agree in terms of whether the subject is singular or plural, or the fact that the order of English sentences follows a Subject-Verb-Object pattern. The students know this as a pattern or rule, and they also know they break this rule. As K. says: 'Mhm... I know I have problem with this.' Line 1.14 . The tutor here appears to be acting as a teacher because she is correcting the students' work and pointing out grammatical errors such as subject-verb agreement. It would be possible to interpret this as a piece of instructional discourse. However, looking at the tutorial as a whole, and in the context of other curriculum materials, it seems more productive to interpret this exchange as the basis for establishing the moral order in the tutorial, a moral order that is related to the student not as a learner of the English language, but as a learner who is learning how to teach other English learners. By providing a checklist for the students to read later, the tutor is both modelling the actions of the language teacher, by pointing out grammatical errors,

but does not herself engage in any language teaching, she is not teaching subject-verb agreement. The moral order for the world of the English language teacher is constituted by the right and wrongs of the English language. This is the moral order by which the identity of the student English language teacher is maintained, an example of which is provided by the tutor in this extract at the beginning of the tutorial. Throughout this exchange both students are in complete agreement with the tutor but they are agreeing not only with the tutor's grammatical corrections, but with the moral order that is being laid down here in this section of regulative discourse.

It is also clear that the tutor is in complete control of this exchange. The student never disagrees with the tutor, she agrees with the tutor's assumption that she has made mistakes and so does not need extra tuition in subject-verb agreement. The overall structure of this exchange almost precludes further advice from the tutor. To disagree at this point, to challenge the tutor or to ask for more tuition would be to upset the moral order which is not in the interests of either the student or the tutor who both want to maintain that order. In terms of the Bernsteinian categories of regulative and instructional discourse then this exchange can be seen as part of a regulative discourse at two levels. It establishes or restates within the tutorial, the social and moral order constituted by the relationship between tutor and student and it provides an exemplar of the moral order of language instruction by pointing out the grammatical rights and wrongs in the student's writing. In doing so, the exchange both re-affirms the students' identities as student language teachers, not as student language learners, and, by focussing on the grammatical skills of the students rather than on grammar as a specific knowledge content, on the generic nature of the knowledge to be acquired here.

6.9 Regulative Discourse and Instructional Discourse

I now want to look at how regulative discourse changes to instructional discourse. The switch from regulative discourse to instructional discourse occurred in Extract One Lines 1.45-47. The tutor ended the regulative discourse by asking the students whether they agree with her about the grammatical points she has just outlined. Of course they do agree with her, they want to maintain the moral and social order of the tutorial, and then the tutor moves into instructional discourse and a discussion about lesson planning, which takes place within the moral order established by the tutor at the start of the tutorial. Instructional discourse begins in Extract Two with the student teacher describing her own student, whose name is M_____, about whom she will be writing her Professional Project. But the exchange moves quickly on to discuss how to plan a lesson for this student, using information she already knows about M_____. The student raises the problem of specificity (Extract Two Lines 2.10 – 2.16) and the tutor replies to her query, giving her the reasons why the student needs to be specific in her lesson planning. This is a different kind of exchange to the exchange about grammar in Extract One. The student makes more of a contribution, she owns more of the exchange in that she is talking about her own learner, a learner whom the tutor has never met, and whose needs the student has already identified for herself.

Extract Two - Lesson Planning and Instructional Discourse.

2.1	S.	and... and all her skills plus vocabulary and grammar, and I
2.2		would like to... to focus on listening mostly, but the... what I...
2.3		what I actually thought was to... through um... through the
2.4		development of listening skills to practice other skills as well
2.5		because I'm thinking of developing the professional part later
2.6		on, but have exercises and have err projects for her for speaking
2.7		listening, or listening and writing, or reading and listening, so
2.8		that's why I mentioned on my project...on here... the learning
2.9		profile... about all the areas
2.10		I didn't know that I had to be so specific from the beginning.
2.11	Tutor	Right, yeah, so the... the reason for being specific is that if I was
2.12		to ask you 'can you teach one of those lessons tomorrow'
2.13		you would need to be able to say 'this is what I'm going to teach
2.14		in that lesson', um so to have a topic like reading, writing,
2.15		speaking, listening... if I was to say 'go and teach that tomorrow
2.16		morning'...

- 2.17 S. Yeah it's big...
 2.18 Tutor It's hard.
 2.19 S. It's hard, yes.
 2.19 Tutor You would think... but where do I begin?
 2.20 S. Yes.
 2.21 Tutor What do I do? What materials? So you... it needs, in the next
 2.22 stage, to be precise enough so you could give it to a teacher...
 2.23 so you give your idea to K_____, and she could...
 2.24 S. A lesson blank.
 2.25 Tutor Right, I know what you'll have to do.
 2.26 K. Mhm.
 2.27 Tutor Which means that um we start to need a much more precise
 2.28 way of understanding 'what does the learner need' and 'what
 2.29 skill am I really looking at', and 'even what sub skill am I looking
 2.30 at', so um... so let's just look and start with listening again.
 2.31 You've identified listening, and you've also identified that
 2.32 M_____ had motivation problems.
 2.33 S. Well, yes, when she... when she stopped studying...
 2.34 Tutor Yes
 2.35 S. She did have motivation problems, but now that she wants to
 2.36 sit for the exam err she is very determined and she want to... to
 2.37 succeed.
 2.38 Tutor Mmm, right... right...
 2.39 S. So that's... that's very advantageous
 2.40 Tutor Mmm very advantageous. What's interesting is that um it's not
 2.41 engagement with English music or you know, kind of her peer
 2.42 group speaking English that has motivated her, it's the
 2.43 instrumental motivation of passing the exam... so in some ways
 2.44 that's...
 2.45 S. The needs... the learning... the learner needs.
 2.46 Tutor Yes, but um it's... it's a kind of combination of... cos what you
 2.47 kind of predicted was that you would want to give her lots of
 2.48 motivating, fun, exciting things that engaged her with the
 2.49 English-speaking world, but for the moment her wish is
 2.50 instrumental, which is 'I want English to do something, to pass
 2.51 an exam, to go, onto the next stage' so what would be
 2.52 interesting— how can you... how can? you draw on that
 2.53 motivation That thing that's inspired her? To now plan a lesson
 2.54 or a series of lessons focussing on, I think you're saying,
 2.55 the spoken word rather than the written word... so what would
 2.56 be your focus say tomorrow morning? You're going
 2.57 to meet her tomorrow morning, you've got a one hour lesson.

The tutor is telling her student how to construct a lesson plan. The plan has to be precise, and it has to be workable so if it was given to another student teacher then she too would be able to teach the class. The lesson plan cannot be vague, so it cannot just teach listening for example, and it has to be based on what she knows about her student. Constructing the lesson plan is presented as a work skill; the tutor makes this very clear when she says in lines 2.55 – 2.57 ‘so what would be your focus say tomorrow morning? You’re going to meet her tomorrow morning, you’ve got a one hour lesson.’

It is a task that the student would have to do if she was at work, teaching her learner. The student is not being asked to construct a lesson to teach a specific grammatical construction, subject-verb agreement for example. The lesson has to be written as if she was at work and it has to be based on her own understanding of her learner’s needs and choices, on her learner’s lifestyle. It is these two factors, that the lesson plan the student is constructed as if she was at work, and that it is related to her ideas about her learner’s identity, which makes the learning in this particular tutorial an example of generic learning. The learning is not a reflection of linguistic knowledge but relates to a work contingency, and the imagined identity of the student’s learner.

The tutor and the student now have to work together to plan the lesson; the tutor gives her approval and encouragement in response to each one of her student’s ideas in order to generate more ideas from the student about her note-taking class. The tutor is guiding the conversation, leading the student to an answer or a solution, and at the same time adding her own point of view. There are similarities here in terms of the way the discourse is presented with the instructional discourse in the Homer tutorial (see Extract 3 here in this section), though not in terms of the content. These direct but informal question and answer exchanges can take place because the regulative discourse which has established the social and moral order for the exchanges has already taken place. The rules have been agreed, or rather they haven’t been disagreed with by the students, so now the exchanges in the instructional discourse can take place building on the trust between tutor and student established in the regulative discourse.

Extract Three - from the Homer tutorial

- | | | |
|------|----------|--|
| 3.1 | Tutor | Yeah, so what's going on? |
| 3.2 | Student. | I don't know |
| 3.3 | Tutor | It tells you actually, here. |
| 3.4 | Student | Mhm. |
| 3.5 | Tutor | Do you use this dictionary or... ? |
| 3.6 | Student | Oh no, no I've not got it yet. |
| 3.7 | Tutor | OK, ahh it's absolutely brilliant... it's just... just such fun. |
| 3.7 | Student | It's not in the bookshops. |
| 3.8 | Tutor | Oh isn't it? OK, so 'κάμες' it gives you the second person
because presumably you never see it in the non... in the first |
| 3.9 | | person... in 'καμε' but in the dictionary form should be |
| 3.10 | | 'καμνω'. Aorist 'εκαμον' it's got a strong Aorist without the |
| 3.11 | | 'v' yeah? |
| 3.12 | | |
| 3.13 | Student | Mmm. |
| 3.14 | Tutor | Subjunctive 'κάμω' |
| 3.15 | Student | Yes, that's an easy one. |

By comparing lines 3.1-3.15 in the Homer tutorial with lines 2.40 – 2.57 in the Language teaching tutorial, where both exchanges are using instructional discourse, it is possible to see similarities in tone, in the style of questioning and in the tutor's responses to the students' answers to those questions. The questions are quite direct - "so what's going ?" (l. 3.1) or "so what would be your focus say tomorrow morning?" (lines. 2.55-2.56). The tutors' responses to the student's answers are informal - "OK, ahh it's absolutely brilliant... it's just... just such fun." (l.3.7) or " Yes, but um it's... it's a kind of combination of... cos what you kind of predicted was...." (l. 2.46-2.47). Just as there are similarities between the two sections of instructional discourse, so there are also similarities between the two sections of regulative discourse. Both pieces of regulative discourse are setting out the rules for the tutorial. Although the regulative discourse in the Language Teaching tutorial is less directive than the Homer tutorial, the Language tutor never says anything as directional as the Homer tutor's statement "we'll go through it together, I think that's the best way to do it" , the Language tutor's directives are done off stage. They are contained in the checklist of grammatical corrections the tutor gives to the student, and which was written up before the

tutorial started, and so cannot be challenged by the student , and which the student is asked to consult later after the tutorial.

Both tutorials start with regulative discourse, which establishes how the tutorials will be run, the aims of the tutorials, and the content of the tutorials. Regulative discourse also confirms the identities of the tutors, carrying out their tutorial role, and the identities of the students as learners accepting instruction from the tutor. When the tutorials move towards instructional discourse the tone changes; the tutorial becomes more collaborative and the identities of the students change. In the Homer tutorial the student takes on the identity of the student translator, working on finding the right word for her translation, whilst in the TESOL tutorial they change from being student learners to becoming student teachers working on their lesson plans.

6.10 Singular Knowledge , Generic Learning and Creativity

Two years after I recorded the Language Teaching tutorial in 2011, the aims for this module changed. The title was revised to 'Language teaching: learning and creativity'. The main aim of the module was rephrased, the focus of the module was still on the language learner, but two new secondary aims were added on creativity. These aims with the two additional aims in italics are stated here:

The module is designed for the early career or pre experience English language teacher, and aims to develop a principled, research-informed and practice-based understanding of:

- the language learners' needs and learning contexts
- language learning/teaching approaches and the beliefs and values underlying those
- *theories of creativity inside and outside language learning contexts*
- pedagogic approaches to language skills: reading, writing, speaking and listening
- *pedagogic approaches to learner creativity in language learning*
- teaching materials, course books, resources and tests and their impact on learning and teaching

(2014 p.16)

The focus still seems to be on the language learner, which means that learner identities are as important as they ever were, but now there is a greater emphasis on the idea of creativity, and 'creativity' is included in the title. Creativity needs to be covered both 'inside and outside language learning contexts' , which is very broad and suggests that general theories of creativity needs to be covered as well as creativity in teaching in a classroom, in the language learning context. This addition seems to echo Bauman's idea about the kind of knowledge required by liquid modernity, where creativity and new, unorthodox approaches, a rejection of the tried and tested methods, are now needed by people looking to learn and acquire knowledge. If Bauman and Bernstein are right then the marketplace of learning providers and consumers, of teachers and students , where these new demands are made, will feature this need for creativity.

There is of course nothing new in associating creativity with teaching. Teachers were always expected to be creative in their teaching. But in 2013 this module description did change to place a greater emphasis on creativity. I do not think these MA students were not creative in their teaching before 2013. Creativity might have been introduced for all sorts of reasons: student evaluations of the course might have required a greater emphasis on creativity, academic tutors on the course might have decided that they just wanted to add a greater creative input. The actual local reasons as to why creativity is now emphasised on the course are not as important, for my analysis, as the fact that creativity was introduced in this module. This increased emphasis on creativity fits in with the general conditions required for generic learning. I now want to turn to the transcription of the tutorial to find out how the new requirement for creativity might work in practice, and see how this might confirm or challenge the ideas about generic learning I have put forward in this chapter. I also want to see how this approach adds to my understanding of how student identities are projected and articulated in this tutorial.

The tutor has asked one of the MA students to plan a one hour lesson with a fictional language learning student, the student they have already discussed in the

tutorial. The MA student (See Extract Four) has started to describe some of the ideas she will use in her lesson, and the tutor has approved these ideas:

Extract Four

- | | | |
|------|-------|---|
| 4.1 | Tutor | Oh yes... yes... don't... sometimes isn't it... yes, yes as a starting point. |
| 4.2 | S. | Alright, so it could be, for example, first day in err learning the |
| 4.3 | | strategy of taking notes |
| 4.4 | Tutor | OK. |
| 4.5 | S. | For listening radio programme |
| 4.6 | Tutor | Right, yeah |
| 4.7 | S. | And then maybe writing a summary. |
| 4.8 | Tutor | OK, so taking notes, that's great. |
| 4.9 | S. | OK |
| 4.10 | Tutor | That would be good |
| 4.11 | S. | Example... taking notes (laughs). |
| 4.12 | Tutor | Yes, lovely. Any other... ? |
| 4.13 | S. | Or maybe err to listen to something, to a lecture, and err present |
| 4.14 | | the main topic of the lecture |
| 4.15 | Tutor | OK to sum... to... to summarise it? To explain it to other |
| 4.16 | | students, maybe. |
| 4.17 | S. | Summarise, yes |

The tutor's response here is very positive. She wants to support her student's ideas which she does by praising them: 'that's great' , 'that would be good' , 'Yes lovely'. The tutor then introduces, in Extract Five a method of linking together these ideas when she says later in Line 5.3 that the student is creating 'a chain of activities', which will indicate to her language learning student that these different language skills, the note-taking and the summarising, are connected together. It also provides a method that the MA student can use in order to generate more ideas that she could use in her lesson planning. It is at this point that she introduces the idea of 'information transfer' in Lines 5.7 – 5.8.

Extract Five

- | | | |
|-----|-------|---|
| 5.1 | Tutor | Well one can lead to the other so listen to the lecture, take |
| 5.2 | | notes and then use your notes to tell your friend about the |
| 5.3 | | lecture, so you're doing a sort of chain of activities and you're |
| 5.4 | | showing... demonstrating to the students how the skills are all |
| 5.5 | | connected. Absolutely. So um I think... so there are two sets of |
| 5.6 | | things. Firstly what sort of stimulus, what's your starting point |

5.7		stimulus...and secondly do you know the concept of
5.8		information transfer? How can you transfer it into something
5.9		else? Transfer it into notes, transfer it into a talk, transfer it into
5.10		a conversation, transfer it into a...
5.11	S.	A letter or...
5.12	Tutor	A letter... transfer it into a memo, transfer it into an email... so...
5.13	S.	Mmm, so the stimulus is a skill... the main skill... or where...
5.14		where do I start?
5.15	Tutor	No the stimulus is where you start.
5.15	S.	Where I start?
5.16	Tutor	So it's the lecture, it's a piece of music, it's a radio
5.17		programme, so let's brainstorm stimulus that is the listening
5.18		material that you start with. K____ can you suggest some that...
5.19		things you listen to in English?
5.20	S.	Maybe programme (unclear) so...
5.21	Tutor	Some other things
5.22	S.	Err the TV news
5.23	Tutor	TV news, yeah
5.24	S.	Movie
5.25	Tutor	Movie, yeah
5.26	S.	Songs.
5.27	Tutor	Songs... lovely.
5.28	S.	OK, that's a stimulus?
5.29	Tutor	That's the stimulus, and then the activity... the information
5.30		transfer is how are we going to change that?
5.31		What are we going to do with it? So um what can we turn it
5.32		into? Turn... turn them into notes?
5.33	S.	OK.
5.34	Tutor	Turn it into a summary?
5.35	S.	Example notes, summary... what else? Um err conversation.
5.36	Tutor	Conversation... where you tell your friend about the song.
5.37	S.	Err a letter of asking questions?
5.38	Tutor	Letter, yeah, you write to the author.

This section starts with the tutor explaining the difference between providing a stimulus for a language activity, which she does in line 5.6 when she says the stimulus is the starting point for a classroom language activity, and the concept of information transfer. In fact the student's confusion at this point is understandable, because it does not seem to matter, with information transfer, where the teacher starts. The tutor recognises this when she suggests in line 5.16 a number of different starting points 'So it's the lecture, it's a piece of music, it's a radio programme' (L5.16)

The important element with information transfer seems to be how the teacher moves on from that starting point to another activity, how the information is transferred to another medium. The medium used is not, in this example, and maybe not ever, related to the information content. There is no discussion here of whether the medium is suitable for a particular content. The emphasis is on making the transfer from one medium to another. This can be seen quite clearly later on in the tutorial in lines when the MA student attempts a further definition of the idea of information transfer, understanding the phrase as a method of transferring what is taught, 'what we want to teach' (lines 6.7-6.8) to the student. The MA student is still thinking in terms of content, but what she is being taught here is content-less, there is no content. The tutor then provides the correct answer in line 6.10. 'It's much simpler than that really, it is just changing information from one medium like writing, into another.' She continues with a few more examples in order to clarify the point she is making about changing from one medium to another, regardless of the content of the medium.

The reason for doing this, in terms of the pedagogy used in the proposed lesson, is to encourage the MA student's language-learning student to produce language, which is the real function of her lesson. Information transfer is a creative tool that a teacher can use to generate more language, irrespective of content. When the MA student creates a lesson, based on dance because she knows that is where her student's interest lies, using the idea of information transfer, she will be looking at her student's work not as if she was a dance teacher, but as a language teacher. She will not be interested in whether the dance is correct or not and in fact she probably will not know much about dance. The MA student, as a language teacher, is being advised to use dance as a stimulus for information transfer, so that she can construct a skills-based lesson that will help her student to learn more language. The goal here is to use a simple idea and generate a rich sequence of language activities, as the tutor suggests 'So this has what's come out of one topic, right... dancing... all of these possibilities' L 6.26 – 6.27

Information transfer appears then as a way of maintaining creativity within generic learning. The approach to language learning on this MA TESOL course is as a skills based pedagogy, where learners needed to be given a wide range activities to practice their language skills. Acquiring this technique of language teaching, and being able to use it as a technique rather than as a way of acquiring knowledge, about dance for example, is part of the language teacher's identity. It is for that reason that the tutor in these extracts is never critical, and is always reassuring; she explores possibilities and makes suggestions for development. When the student attempts a description of information transfer, the tutor does not say the student is wrong, but instead says 'It's much simpler than that really' I.6.10. The tutor is encouraging, providing methods for improving her student's creativity, but at the same time, as an expert in generic learning, wants to preserve and develop her student's identity as a language teacher.

Extract Six Information Transfer

- | | | |
|------|-------|--|
| 6.1 | Tutor | Can you explain it S_____? |
| 6.2 | S. | It's when we... we have err the main um... the main skill... |
| 6.3 | | for... not the main skill... we have the focus, the main |
| 6.4 | | target, and then we... we use different kind |
| 6.5 | | of err exercises, activities so we can um err... we can... |
| 6.6 | K. | Stimulate? |
| 6.7 | S. | Not stimulate... that... actually to transfer what we want to |
| 6.8 | | teach to the actual activity, and we can transfer it to the |
| 6.9 | | student. Am I right? |
| 6.10 | Tutor | It's much simpler than that really, it's just changing |
| 6.11 | | information from one medium like writing, into another. |
| 6.12 | | So the information started as a map, you turn it into |
| 6.13 | | a diary entry. It started as a radio programme, you turn it |
| 6.14 | | into a set of notes. It starts as a set of notes, you turn it |
| 6.15 | | into a conversation... so you change the way the um |
| 6.16 | | information is transferred... transmitted. You change |
| 6.17 | | it in some way... and it's a really useful principle to just ask |
| 6.18 | | 'how can I change that information into something else'? |
| 6.19 | | So I see a wonderful dance on the television, I change that |
| 6.20 | | by telling you, just talking about the steps to you, then |
| 6.21 | | I draw the steps, then I label the steps. Everything I've just |
| 6.22 | | um suggested as... as umm possibilities to go from the |

6.23	dance are examples of information
6.24	transfer and changing the dance into other things... other
6.25	ways of transmitting. information, so it's a really useful
6.26	principle So this has what's come out of one
6.27	topic, right... dancing... all of these possibilities.
6.28	Just before we unpack any more of the listening things...
6.29	of the speaking things...we talk about speaking...
6.30	I want to ask a really important question which is you're
6.31	preparing the student for the A-Level oral exam, what is in
6.32	the oral exam? What does it consist of? What does she
6.33	have to do?
6.34 K.	Err she has to describe a picture...
6.35 Tutor	OK.
6.36 K.	And it's the first part... the second part is um... describe
6.37	the situation, for example

Information transfer as a teaching technique is described in a TESOL text book(Spiro 2013) and is a recognised part of TESOL methodology, along with items such as using text organisers, which could be flow charts, or Venn diagrams, in the teaching of what is called integrated skills, that is a lesson that teaches a combination of skills such as reading, speaking, listening and writing. Spiro offers an Information Transfer framework (2013 p. 147) which provides a list of starting points for a language activity against a list of possible transfer activities. In this framework an advertisement for a particular product can be transferred into a role play between two students where one student takes the role of the customer and the other takes the role of the retailer. In all of these activities, the content is always secondary. It does not really matter too much if the advertisement is for an item of jewellery or for a computer. The topic could be selected in the same way as the students in the MA tutorial chose the topic of dance: it was a topic that would interest their students. It is for this reason, because language teaching is always looking at the skills being used by the students, that I categorised the learning on this course as generic learning.

However, in lines 6.7, Student S assumes, mistakenly here, that information transfer is concerned with content, the transfer of the content or information and not with the skill of putting the same content into a different medium or context.

Student S_____ says the transfer is of ‘what we want to teach’ but the tutor reminds her that the transfer is of the same content from one medium to another. Perhaps this is an example of how the student is more focussed on the content of her lesson, the knowledge that she will impart to her student, than the tutor who is more focussed here on the skill of making the transference.

At the same time, as I suggested in the brief over view of other MA TESOL courses at other universities, I think it is possible to see language teaching as an example of a singular knowledge. As we have seen Language teaching has its own history , its own language and its own content. Language teaching lessons might derive some of their content from a wide variety of different sources, but they are still language teaching courses. A course on English for Engineers does not become an engineering course, it remains an English course with similarities to other English courses, even if some of the teaching material is taken from Engineering. The Language Teaching - Methods and Approaches module provides an example of a singular form of knowledge with generic learning. For example students are asked to look at the relationship between digital and non digital learning resources and their learners' needs, or to carry out a small research project using research skills. Both requirements could be seen as generic, whereas the linguistic parts of the course are more singular. Although much of the learning is generic, it can be applied in many different contexts, student identities are derived from the singularity of the knowledge about language teaching provided on this course. The examples of generic learning provided by Bernstein (Bernstein 2000) and Young(Young 2008) such as key skills, core skills, problem solving, appeared emptied out of any sense of a student identity, so that identities were derived from other sources, the mutual support and recognition provided on the course. Language teaching has a powerful sense of identity which I think is derived from the strong singularity of its knowledge content as well as from the large number of language teaching courses available in universities, which was not the case forty years ago. As with other singulars the boundaries around language teaching are guarded by quite an elaborate collection of professional qualifications. The language of language teaching is supported and extended by a wide number of

academic journals. The singularity of the knowledge content and the strength of the identity that singularity engenders can I think be seen in the relationship between regulative and instructional discourse in the tutorial. There is evidence in the tutorial of the tutor acting as both a teacher and as more of the counsellor figure, the role that Bauman had said was a defining feature of contemporary education. The tutor uses a regulative discourse when she is in her teacher role, and an instructional discourse when she is in her counsellor role.

6.11 Conclusion

The singular knowledge of this Language Teaching module contains a strong sense of learner identity, that is maintained on the course, alongside the MA student's self reflection and self development. Bernstein said that generic learning was empty, devoid of a sense of identity, because it could float to wherever it was felt it was needed, attaching itself, like a Work Placement module, to any course in any subject area. But this Language Teaching module is not empty. The tutorial contains a clear idea of the students' identities both as students on an MA TESOL course and as student teachers who are also TESOL practitioners working with their own learners of English. Generic learning, thought Bernstein, led to a separation between knowledge and the knower. On this MA TESOL course it does appear as if the student, the knower, becomes frustrated with the emphasis on skills, 'how to' knowledge, rather than 'know that' knowledge, to use Bauman's terms(2010 p.98), as the student showed in her misreading of the concept of information transfer in Extract Six. Rather than any clear separation between Bernstein's knowledge categories, or his categories of discourse, or of learning, I would prefer to see a blending between these categories, depending on the circumstances of the tutorial or seminar or class. Bernstein's image of the pedagogic palet illustrates how the colours or categories can remain distinct and yet can be built up to a greater whole. In that way the regulative and instructional discourses, the singular and generic forms of knowledge, with the sacred knowledge and the profane knowledge, are placed together to construct a

relationship between a pedagogy and the identities of the students who are the object of that pedagogy.

Douglas (Douglas 1966 p.26) was critical of Durkheim for creating a sharp division between the sacred and the profane based on the idea of contagion. The sacred always has to be treated as contagious and so kept separate from the profane, but she felt that this undermined his ideas about religion. However Durkheim did think that it was possible, and necessary, for the profane to metamorphosise into the sacred, in fact initiation ceremonies from childhood to adulthood were where this metamorphosis was carried out. A metamorphosis demonstrates both the separation of the profane and the sacred but also the linkage through change between these two states. A pedagogy could then be seen as a process of change where the profane is transformed into the sacred, and the sacred to the profane, which I think is the process observable, on a very small and local scale, in the MA TESOL tutorial.

Chapter Seven Conclusions

‘Doing’ education and ‘being’ a tutor or student involves more than a simple transaction of knowledge, but a subtle negotiation of a range of sometimes conflicting identities.
(Benwell and Stokoe 2002 p.450)

7.0 Introduction

This thesis has analysed the kinds of knowledge transacted in certain university tutorials and seminars and has linked those transactions with the kinds of identity that the students are trying to establish through the acquisition of that knowledge. Benwell and Stokoe (2002), in their study of tutor-student interactions in university tutorials, found students rejecting academic identities, keeping an ironic distance between themselves as students and the intellectual endeavour of the tutorial or seminar. They offered a tentative explanation (2002 p.249) for this ironic stance by referring to an anti-elitism, a kind of ‘dumbing down’, a distrust of intellectualism, that they thought can be found in modern popular culture. In the research I carried out for this thesis I never saw any evidence of this anti intellectualism, but rather an enthusiastic participation by the students in tutorial and seminar work. I agree with Benwell and Stokoe that ‘doing’ education and ‘being’ a student requires both an exchange of knowledge and a negotiation of student identities but I think there is a positive, rather than an ironic linkage between the knowledge interaction and student identities. With the case of student midwifery identities, I quoted the case (Skirton, Stephen et al. 2012) of the newly qualified midwife who became more positive about the midwifery knowledge she acquired on the course, as she became more positive about her own identity as a midwife. My observations of midwifery seminars provided evidence that issues of identity are explicitly addressed in the midwifery curriculum and are seen, certainly by midwifery tutors, as a necessary aspect of university learning. Identity was not specifically addressed in my other two examples, the Homer tutorial and the TESOL tutorial, but was nevertheless implicated in the

observed interactions. The aim of the thesis was to explore this issue in greater depth, in order to develop a rich understanding of the ways in which identity is implicated in the curriculum of higher education courses.

In this thesis I have discussed the relationship between knowledge and identity as an expression of a relationship between sacred and profane knowledge. In Chapter One I asked three specific questions:

- 1 How might learning have an influence on student identities as viewed through the categories of sacred and profane knowledge ?
- 2 How could this learning relate to past and current states of knowledge in these three unrelated disciplinary areas ?
3. How might the idea of immanence assist in my exploration of the relationship between learning and identity ?

I now want to look at how these questions might be answered in the light of my reading described in Chapters Two and Three, and my discussion of the recordings I made of the seminar and tutorials.

7.1 Identity as immanent across different academic fields

Taking the third question about immanence as my starting point, I want to look at how immanence can be used to understand some features in the relationship between knowledge and identity. I do that by looking at the use of the first person pronoun, the “I” in a conversation, changes in the recorded discussions. The use of the first person pronoun was an important indicator in Harré’s positioning theory and his associated idea of immanence so it seems appropriate to use this indicator here. In the Homer translation tutorial discussed in Chapter 5, the “I” statements at the start of the tutorial are quite hesitant, ‘So I’m thinking what is Agamemnon doing?’ asks the student unsure about how to reply to the tutor’s question. Later in the tutorial as the tone becomes collaborative the student becomes more assertive, perhaps more confident in her role as translator as shown when she says ‘Yeah, I also said that... like "looking grimly".’ As the tutorial has moved from

regulatory discourse to instructional discourse, and rule-setting has given way to learning, so the profane has swung over to the sacred and the student's identity becomes more pronounced as a translator identity. I would not want to claim that only singular knowledge, such as Homeric Greek, is sacred or that regulatory discourse is always profane. I do want to suggest that using these different categories, the sacred and the profane, the regulatory and the instructional, can clarify the relationship between learning and identity.

This can also be seen in a very different piece of learning, the learning that occurred in the Midwifery seminar on reflective practice. Here the regulatory practice wasn't stated at the start of the seminar but emerged as the tutor made suggestions and commented on the students' talk. The students themselves felt their way into the seminar as they begin to question their newly acquired identities as student midwives, querying the relationship between knowledge and intuition, between what might be known and what might be felt. As they test out the knowledge they have acquired on their clinical practice so their identities as student midwives become clearer, as show by how they respond to their friends' requests for advice on their pregnancies.

It is clearly the case that if I had observed tutorials on different modules in each of the case study programmes, or if I had identified a different set of documents to contextualise these cases, it is possible that I might have found slightly different examples of the sacred identities offered by each discipline. However, this does not invalidate the conceptual argument about the immanence of identity, and the empirical suggestion about the shifts in what counts as sacred or profane within each field.

As I stated in Chapter One, Harrè used the idea of immanence to allow him to analyse statements people made about themselves, unencumbered by any previously acquired ideas about those people. Immanence suggests that identity can be interpreted within the data, as immanent to discourse, rather than in relation to external sociological categories that are transcendent to the discourse. Different identities emerged throughout Durkheim's *Evolution of Educational Thought* from his account of Charlemagne's exhortations to his clergy to be

scholarly and eloquent (1977 p.43) to his description of pupils in the Jesuit colleges in France (1977 p.272). I referred, in Chapter Two, to Chaucer's pupil in The Prioress Tale who could only recite Latin verse and not understand it, an identity that seemed to challenge Bernstein's account of the Trivium and the Quadrivium, both categories appearing as more transcendent than immanent in the discourse. In the Midwifery seminar the tutor raised the spectre of the 'burnt out' midwife and asked the students how such burn out might feature in their own work. Within the curriculum documents that describes Classics as a subject of study, there emerges the idea of the Classics student as a target setter and a careerist applying for work in Archaeology or in the Heritage industry, a long way from the nineteenth century student classicist at Oxford, such as Oscar Wilde writing an unpublished work on Homer's women. Similarly, Howatt and Widdowson's account (1984) of the history of English Language Teaching demonstrates how the identity of the English Language teacher developed from the amateur status acquired in the 1930s to the technically proficient, professionalised teacher of the late Twentieth century.

By concentrating on the here and now of discourse, immanence allows us to prioritise both the sacred and the profane and to show how closely they are allied within tutorial and seminar practice. I think the metaphor of the hinge, see Chapter Two section 2.7, is useful here, though perhaps not in the way that Harré originally intended (2009) when he wrote about hinges as the most fundamental ideas which guide all other ideas. I've already noted how the midwifery student constructs a hinge between theory and practice in her reflective practice, but we can also see this as a hinge between the profane and the sacred where the profane world of course documentation and education strategies is then illuminated by tutorial and student insight into a sacred moment in the construction of student identities.

7.2 Sacred and profane knowledge across three different academic fields

I now want to look at Question 2 on past and present states of knowledge, from my original set of three questions. I began my discussion of the sacred and the profane by referring to the work of Durkheim, who used both terms as a central theme in his history of French education(1977), and in his earlier anthropological work on Australian religious life(2001). I took certain features of the sacred and the profane from my reading of Durkheim for use within an educational context. These were, firstly that the sacred is universal, anything can be sacred, as long as it has been made sacred by some social process; secondly the sacred is always related to the profane , even though they are opposites they are linked together; thirdly Durkheim's sense of a moral order , a moral order that was sacred, and which informs all groups and relationships within society. This was particularly important for Blommaert (2017) who emphasised the idea of a moral order in his discussion about identity and language when he described identity as a 'microhegemony' that combines a set of what he called 'moralised behavioural scripts' located at a particular time and place.

My analysis has explored disciplinary fields with very different histories. Midwifery has only recently been brought into the university. Classics has a long standing position in the university but has more recently come to be associated with employment and the job market. The third field, TESOL is also a new discipline that has strong links to both the more singular field of linguistics and the more applied field of teaching. It is also notable that while curricula for Midwifery and Classics are relatively standardised, there is significant variation in the TESOL MA curricula available in different universities today. These different histories are part of the story of the shifting meaning of sacred and profane knowledge in each field, and in the particular seminars that I observed. I will try to summarise these shifts in each field to demonstrate how the thesis contributes to our understanding of sacred and profane knowledge in the contemporary university.

Sacred and Profane Knowledge on a Midwifery course

As I indicated at the start of Chapter Four, prior to the establishment of university-based courses, midwifery was not seen as an academic discipline. It was clear that the sacred element of midwifery related to the personal or moral qualities of the practitioner, and to the way moral character elevated apparently mundane tasks such as cleaning, washing and feeding, to a ‘sacred calling’ (Bradshaw 2000 p. 324). At this point it might be possible to suggest that more abstracted and scientific knowledge was in the field of the profane. However, the demand for midwifery training to be brought into the university can be related to developments in medicine and perhaps also to a more general opening up of higher education, and a valuing of graduate professions. There was a perception that midwives needed greater technical and scientific knowledge to meet the needs of a changing medical context. Implicit in this was the claim that the very nature of midwifery work had changed and now required more explicit academic training, and an understanding of ‘evidence based practice’. The documents supporting the move into the university no longer seemed to recognise the sacred element of the moral qualities associated with the tasks of the midwife. There is, then, a question about how the sacred element of midwifery would be transformed when it was brought into the university.

I discussed the ongoing debate about how different university courses in Midwifery have combined theory with practice. In the course data I collected there were both theory units in areas such as the knowledge of child – bearing physiology, a unit on pharmacology, and a unit on professional codes of practice and the statutory framework for midwifery practice as well as practice-based units, such as the unit about working in a multi-disciplinary team. The aim of the course is to create a midwife who is a ‘knowledgeable doer’. Knowledge on its own is insufficient without the ability to apply that knowledge in a clinical setting. It was through personal reflection that the student midwife constructs a hinge between theory and practice so that the one informs the other, when in Durkheim’s words, the self ‘does a right about turn’ and is informed by a new way of looking at the

world, a moment which he said ‘was touched by grace’. These ‘hinges’ are moments of significant insight, when teaching and learning are combined, providing new knowledge for the student and a change for the student’s identity.

An example of this moment came for one student midwife when she observed a midwife in the delivery suite making a decision about a forceps delivery. The student midwife knows the midwife has acquired the knowledge to allow her to make an informed decision about the delivery but that knowledge has become, for the midwife making the decision, an intuition, a feeling, which is how she describes her own practice. The differences between the sacred, the midwife's own intuition, her feelings about how a baby will be delivered and which seemed to have for these student midwives an almost magical quality, and the physiological knowledge of actual midwifery practice are discussed and questioned in the seminar. The students discussed the relationship between knowledge and intuition in terms of their own identities, whether someone could be a more or less of an intuitive person and how that might affect their practice.

The tutor then makes her contribution to the discussion by adding the following comment:

My hand knows what it feels like, um so it's... it's... we're calling it instinct, but that sort of suggests that it's um ephemeral, difficult to pin down, but I wonder if it is actually difficult to pin down. (Extract Five)

The phrase 'my hand knows what it feels like' indicates the sacred nature of the physiological and practice-based knowledge that combines in the identity of the midwife.

It appears, from the research carried out into problem-based learning on midwifery courses, along with the course documentation and classroom observations I have analysed, that while there is an ongoing debate over the position of ‘theory’ and ‘practice’ in midwifery training, notions of practice and intuition are still prioritised over theoretical knowledge. However, the discussion in the reflective practice seminars that I observed showed the tutor supporting the students to reflect critically on the meaning of intuition, its relation to personal experience, and the risks involved in failing to establish professional boundaries. In

this way it is possible to suggest that the move into the university has brought a shift in the sacred element of midwife identity.

Sacred and Profane Knowledge on a Classics Course

Classics has a very different history to Midwifery. It is one of the earliest university disciplines, and, in addition, was a required knowledge for entry into university. Whereas for Midwifery there were debates in the twentieth century, about its introduction into the university, for Classics the debates centred on whether it would remain an entry requirement for all students. At this point, it might be suggested, the sacred element of Classical knowledge related more to forms of social and cultural capital than to a specific professional identity.

My analysis of the course documents and observed tutorial suggest that there has been a significant shift in the sacred aspect of Classical Studies. The curriculum documents, including references to ‘qualities needed for employment’ and a Work Placement module, suggest that this at risk field is having to adapt to a context where Classical Studies is no longer a passport to privilege. The analysis of the Homer Tutorial revealed an alternative sacred element, which recasts Classical Studies as an induction into an identity as a translator. Looked at more closely, it was possible to identify the moral qualities of the translator, which include curiosity and a desire to chase down the best possible interpretation. Just as in midwifery, the apparently mundane tasks of cleaning and feeding were elevated to a sacred calling by the moral virtue of the midwife, so the apparently mundane activity of checking in dictionaries and grammar books is elevated to the sacred via the endless curiosity of the translator.

In the Homer tutorial the sacred moment of significant insight, though it is not one moment but a succession of moments, occurs when the tutor tells the student to look everything up. The student is encouraged to use a range of source material and different dictionaries, to find the most appropriate word to construct a translation. Knowledge of the Homeric text is combined with this practical skill of

looking things up, which the tutor says is ‘a skill which hopefully in six months’ time will be sort of second nature.’ This translator skill, of finding the most appropriate word, was highlighted by Umberto Eco in his discussion (2003) on translation and is now being taken up by the student on this Classics course, so that it now will become part of her identity, her second nature. The sacred element involves using a dictionary because there is always uncertainty in the process of translation, the process requiring constant curiosity driving the student translator back to the dictionary to check again.

Sacred and Profane Knowledge on a MA TESOL course

Like Midwifery, ESOL has a relatively short history as a field of study in the university. Unlike Midwifery, though, ESOL as a profession is also relatively new, developing alongside the gradual professionalization of language teaching in the twentieth century. As I noted in chapter six, in 1935 there was only one university course for teachers of English as a foreign language, by 2015 there were at least fifty. Also in contrast to Midwifery, there is no one professional body overseeing or regulating the curriculum for TESOL at Masters level. Because of this, as my review of courses showed, there is wide variation in the content of Masters level TESOL programmes, with some more closely affiliated with more traditional or singular fields, such as linguistics, and others, such as the case study I looked at, apparently conforming more closely to Bernstein’s definition of a generic mode of knowledge, with an emphasis on skills and on building from the students’ experience, rather than on the introduction of linguistic theory. This approach, I have suggested, might be understood as incorporating the moment of transformation from profane to sacred knowledge into the pedagogy of the classroom. The students bring their experience, and through the process of discussion, this experience is directly transformed into the sacred. However, I have also argued that this is not, as Bernstein suggests, ‘empty knowledge’. Against this, I have suggested that such a pedagogy can be aligned with New Literacy Studies and a Friarian understanding of learning as the development of a negotiated collective purpose. However, it is possible to reframe this contrast in approaches between different sectors, in

English Language Teaching. The curricula that are more closely aligned with the singular discipline of applied linguistics is perhaps more closely associated with the field of TEFL whilst programmes that want to prioritise students' experience might be more associated with the field of TESOL, language teaching for speakers of other languages, often migrants and refugees living in a new country. These courses, as I noted in chapter 6, have very different student profiles, are often taught in different institutions, and are associated with different values and politics – and thus have different forms of sacred knowledge.

Shifts in Sacred and Profane Knowledge

Taken together these three cases demonstrate how the sacred and the profane shift along with social, economic and technological changes. They also suggest that the existence of institutional authority influences the stability of particular forms of the sacred. The Midwifery course has its own reflective practice strategy which is embedded in the university's 5-year Education Strategy which is then linked to certain common themes which run across all university courses at this level such as employability and inclusivity. The sacred feature of the Midwifery course, located in the reflective practice session I recorded, is placed within broader institutional structures. The fact that midwives now have to write reflective accounts of their practice if they want to revalidate with the Nursing and Midwifery Council seems to emphasise the significance of this reflexivity, although I am uncertain, because I do not have the data, whether such workplace practice could be seen as either sacred or profane. The presence of a unitary external regulating body seems to provide some stability across different university courses. Neither Classical Studies nor English Language teaching has this kind of unified external regulation of curriculum content.

7.4 The position of knowledge in university curricula: a crisis in knowledge?

In Chapter One I set out debates about the way changes in the university associated with marketization, increased regulation and expansions in numbers can be understood to have transformed what counts as knowledge within higher education. A series of authors have argued that there is a ‘crisis of knowledge in the university’. I began my thesis with a sense that this was not right. I wasn’t sure if this was a crisis of knowledge because of epistemological doubt about the nature of knowledge , or whether it was a crisis in the curriculum, that is how knowledge was organised and constructed in university courses for students, or even, following Bauman, whether it was a crisis in the whole of education, education having to exist in a world ‘saturated by information’ (2010 p.101). The question that I need to address now is whether my analysis of the way the nature of sacred knowledge has shifted in the three disciplines I have examined helps us to understand the question of knowledge in the university in a different way.

The concept of sacred and profane knowledge can be helpful because it is about the production of knowledge in human societies throughout history. All human societies appear to have some form of sacred knowledge associated with belonging, identity and hierarchies within that particular society. When the sacred changes, so also knowledge changes. My analysis has suggested the way sacred identities in three different disciplines have been shifting as a result of changes beyond the university: but there is still always a notion of the sacred, even if we don’t usually name it that way today.

It seems to me, then, that arguments that there is a crisis in knowledge are trying to make a separation between the idea of the sacred and knowledge itself. The crisis could rather be seen as a rebalancing between the sacred and the profane where the profane seems to become more dominant. Durkheim thought that the sixteenth century was a period of educational and moral crisis (1977 p.225), lacking an idea of the sacred in educational thought and was only concerned with appearances and externalities. Bernstein too thought that contemporary education lacked the idea of the sacred and had become dominated by ideas of

monetary value and a marketisation of learning and teaching. His evidence for this was the decline in singular knowledge forms and the increase in regional and generic knowledge. My case is that both sacred and profane knowledge will change over time, but that does not mean that new approaches and identities are less valuable forms of knowledge than those we are more familiar with. I found that the sacred could be identified within a singular subject such as Classics as well as in generic and regional forms of knowledge.

My final point and in relation to my first question of my three initial questions on how learning influences on student identities, is that it can be helpful to see that both sacred and profane forms of knowledge are necessary for learning to be achieved and for student identities to be developed in relation to that knowledge. This is a different emphasis from that placed by Durkheim, and by Bernstein, on the relationship, the hinge, between the sacred and the profane, where the profane seems often to drown out the sacred. From any of the cases I have discussed here I find it difficult to conceive of a sacred without the profane, although I am aware that it might be the case that the profane appears to be the more dominant form at certain times, as Durkheim found in the sixteenth century. I also think it true that whatever the relationship between the sacred and the profane, and however that relationship is defined, education needs a sense of the sacred, of those moments of significant insight, in order to make sense of the profane and to further develop the identities of the students carrying out their learning.

7.5 Some limitations of my approach

There are several difficulties with my approach to the problem of the relationship between learning and identity, but three key problems are the problem of sufficiency, the problem of categorisation and the problem of method. The problem I am addressing in this thesis is very broad and very general and it could be tackled in all sorts of different ways. I have focussed on two vocational seminars and two tutorials which is a very narrow empirical base from which to

address a very wide ranging issue. However, I would suggest that I am introducing an issue, and not in any way providing an answer to that problem. I am making a suggestion as to a possible way forward based on my own reading of certain classical texts in the sociology of knowledge, supported by some empirical evidence taken from classroom practice.

With regard to the categorisation problem this was raised by Stanner, and separately by Douglas and Lukes, in the criticism of Durkheim's concept of the sacred and the profane when they queried his definition of the profane. The terms seem to be too inexact and are made to cover too many different kinds of learning and knowledge. I would answer that by saying that the inexactitude and ambiguity of the term is one of its strengths because at a time when knowledge changes and grows very quickly the ambiguity could mean that it can cover a wide area of knowledge and learning. I aimed to show this by covering two very disparate fields of knowledge, including very old knowledge, the translation of Homeric Greek, and very new knowledge, current Midwifery practice.

Finally the problem of method relates to the specific data collected and its relation to the notion of sacred knowledge. In carrying out the analysis, I was using transcripts of teaching sessions and then relying on my own subjective sense of moments when student identities were transformed through engagement with new knowledge. I did not have additional data that would have enabled me to check in any way how my interpretations might have lined up with either students identities or their perceptions of moments when those identities might have, even just temporarily, been transformed. A more ethnographic approach, for example, might have enabled me to draw on a range of different data – informal conversations, writing, and/or interviews – to compare with my data and to support or revise my interpretations of those moments.

7.6 Implications for practice

Tutors might often be concerned about the current state of knowledge in their own field, and they will also recognise the significance of their students' responses to that knowledge. I wanted to find a way of putting the knowledge that was being taught together with the identities of the students who were being taught that knowledge to show that there might be a possible linkage between the two entities, the student entity and the knowledge entity. I thought it was possible to combine them together so that the question of what is taught, the knowledge question, and the how of what is taught, the pedagogical question, might be related to the receptor question, which is the effect that knowledge might have on the identity of the student acquiring knowledge. It is unlikely that tutors would conceive the knowledge they are teaching in terms of the sacred and the profane but looking at knowledge in those terms could highlight some of the significances in that knowledge for their students.

7.7 Future research

I think there are four areas that could be developed for further research from this thesis. It would be interesting to use the Harrè/ Bernstein methodology and apply it to other fields of knowledge. This could be done in relation to traditional academic subjects, which Bernstein called singulars, such as English or Philosophy but it could also be carried out with more vocational courses such as Engineering or Medicine. It might be better if a cluster of similar courses in an area like Healthcare, or the Social Sciences was selected rather than an adhoc choice of courses. It might also be preferable if a particular context was used, such as a seminar or a small group tutorial, to see how the categorisation could be applied within a field.

The second area that might be developed concerns Durkheim's concept of moral order. This idea was important for Blommaert's research project on Durkheim and the Internet. Although I did mention this in Chapter One I never developed the idea in the thesis. It could be related to Bernstein's account of regulative and

instructional discourse, and Durkheim's conception of sacred knowledge. I feel there has to be an idea of moral order in learning and I feel it would be interesting to relate that to sacred knowledge.

The third area for possible future research could be to develop the idea of the sacred and profane in relation to reflective practice. I was interested in the idea that I mentioned earlier (Phillips and Haye 2008) that reflective practice had in some cases become a fixed part of the curriculum and lacked vitality. Using the sacred and profane categories might help in analysing different reflective practice sessions in different university courses.

The fourth area concerns digitised and online learning. The sacred and profane categories are quite literary constructions and they appear to belong to a previous era. I have approached them only through the student's spoken discourse so it would be interesting to apply ideas of the sacred and the profane to online learning which is by and large a written discourse carried out on a phone or computer. I cannot see any reason why a tweet or a blog or other form of online communication should not be considered as either sacred or profane knowledge.

Appendix One



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XXXXXXXXXX University's Ethical standards for research involving human participants

Researcher: Nick Melliss
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1. Title of the study

Researching Tutor/Student exchanges in university tutorial contexts within the United Kingdom.

2. Purpose of the study

The reasons for carrying out this research are :

- Understand how both tutors and students use language to construct meanings within university tutorial sessions.
- Understand how a particular language setting influences the talk within that setting.
- Understand how factors within the social and educational background of the participants might influence language used in tutorial sessions.
- Construct an analytical framework for this research, making use of a scheme such as 'systemic functional linguistics', for analysing talk within university tutorial sessions.
- Understand how features within Basil Bernstein's code theory might contribute to that analytical framework.

The evidence gained from the research will be used in a dissertation to be submitted to the Institute of Education, University of London, in examination for a PhD.

The evidence might also be used in articles and papers submitted to academic journals either in collaboration with academics from other universities or as solely written by the researcher, Nick Melliss.

3. Why participant was selected

The participants in this research are students aged over twenty one at the university, and tutors employed by that university.

Participants are selected at random, following email contact made between the researcher and XXXXXXXXXXXX. Students themselves will not be contacted by email or phone or in any way except by contact with XXXXXXXXXXXX. Participants should be working in the arts or humanities areas, education, or in healthcare or social care. Participation or non participation in the research will not affect in any way marking, grading or assessment of the student's work. Students and tutors are free to participate in the research as they think fit

4. Description of procedures, purpose, length of time required and how participants will be involved

Tutorial sessions, as identified by the student, tutor and the researcher, will be recorded using a voice recorder. Data from the recording will be transcribed and stored on the researcher's PC. The tutorial selected will be a part of the student's ongoing tutorial programme. Recordings will be made of tutorials that are expected to last between half an hour to an hour, though there is no time limit to the recording.

The recorded tutorial will be academic and not cover any personal or pastoral matters. The tutor and the student can stop the recording at any time, should the tutorial move onto any personal matter, or any issue that either the tutor or the student does not wish to be recorded .

The researcher will carry out a short background interview of both the tutor and the student, asking questions to identify previous qualifications obtained, gender identities, age, ethnicity, social class membership, frequency and length of tutorials.

Any information given to students in relation to this research will always state that the research has been seen by the XXXXXXXx University Research Ethics Committee. If any student or tutor has any concern regarding recruitment for this research then they should raise that matter with the Chair of the Research Ethics Committee at xxxxxxxxxxxx.ac.uk

5. Discomforts, inconveniences expected

The tutorial will take place in the same location as is the case for the student's other tutorials. A tutorial that caused discomfort or inconvenienced either the student or the tutor would not be a satisfactory tutorial, and would not be recorded.

6. Risks, if any

There are no risks to either the student or the tutor in this research. Participation or non participation in the research will not affect in any way the assessment or grading of the student's work.

7.Benefits, if any

All participants in the research can obtain transcripts and recordings of tutorials and interviews from the researcher for their own benefit and the benefit of their university.

8. Withholding standard care/treatment or an alternative, if any

This is outside the scope of this piece of research.

9.Compensation to be expected, if any

No compensation can be paid to either the student or the tutor. The research is not publicly funded. The researcher is a self-funded part-time postgraduate student at the Institute of Education.

10.How confidentiality, anonymity and privacy will be maintained

Participants in the research are not asked for any personal information, contact details, apart from the tutor's email address.

The student's and tutor's names, and it can be just a first name, do appear on the interview form, so that the form can be related to the recording. Following the recording the names of

the student, tutor and university are deleted and a code substituted. Any chance occurrence of a name in the recording will be deleted.

The recordings will be transcribed. Voice recordings will not be used in any publicly available media related to this research.

Transcriptions, or any subsequent publication of this research in any format, will not make any reference to courses, modules offered by XXxxxxxxxx University.

The researcher will abide by the conditions and requirements of the Institute of Education's own submission under the Data Protection Act.

Any data relating to this research kept on memory sticks or lap top computers will be security encoded and encrypted, and returned to the Institute of Education for safe keeping.

11. Right of participant to refuse to participate or withdraw at any time for any reason.

All participants, both students and tutors, can withdraw from the research at any time, either before, during or after recording takes place. Recordings will not be used for the research if the participant withdraws from the research.

Both students and tutors can receive copies of the recordings, and transcripts of the recordings from the researcher at any time.

12. Sources for information and assurances that researcher will provide further and ongoing information (e.g. name and contact phone number of the researcher)

The researcher can be contacted at any time, by phone, email or letter.

My email address is nmelliss@ioe.ac.uk

Mobile phone no

Address:

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Institute of Education, University of London

20 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AL

My supervisor is:

David Block - Professor of Languages in Education
Department of Learning, Curriculum and Communication
Institute of Education, University of London
20 Bedford Way
London WC1H 0AL
e-mail:
tel:

13. Signature of the researcher and the participant or the participant's representative

The researcher, student and tutor will sign a research consent form indicating they have understood the purposes of the research, that they recognise their own role within the research.

Other contacts

If anyone, either tutor or student, has any concerns about the conduct of the research they should contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Committee at XXxxxxxxxx University on xxxxxxxx.ac.uk

In addition any students' concerns related to the research can also be referred to xxxxxxxxxx at xxxxxxxxxxxx University, xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx.ac.uk

Student Consent Form

Researching Tutor/Student dialogue in university tutorial contexts within the United Kingdom.

Purpose of the research

1. Understand how both tutors and students use language to construct meanings within university tutorial sessions that serve their own and each other's purposes and requirements.
2. Understand how a particular language setting influences the talk within that setting.
3. Understand how factors within the social and educational background of the participants might influence language used in tutorial sessions.
4. Construct an analytical framework, based on systemic functional linguistics, for analysing talk within university tutorial sessions.
5. Understand how features within Bernstein's code theory might contribute to that analytical framework.

Research Methods

Tutorial sessions, as identified by the student, tutor and the researcher, will be recorded using a voice recorder. Data from the recording will be transcribed and stored on the researcher's PC.

The researcher will carry out a short background interview of both the tutor and the student, asking questions to identify previous schools and colleges attended, qualifications obtained, gender identities, age, ethnicity, social class membership, previous employment.

Research outcomes

The evidence gained from the research will be used in a dissertation to be submitted to the Institute of Education, University of London, in examination for a PhD.

The evidence might also be used in articles and papers submitted to academic journals either in collaboration with academics from other universities or as solely written by the researcher, Nick Melliss.

Benefits from the research

All participants in the research can obtain on request transcripts and recordings of tutorials and interviews from the researcher for their own benefit and the benefit of their universities.

Access to research findings

All participants in the research will have access to final research papers, as and when required by the participants and the universities where they work or attend.

Ancillary costs

This research is not publicly funded and any cost of the research will be met by the researcher himself.

Ethical considerations

All recordings, and any interviews carried out in relation to those recordings, will be conducted with due regard to the confidentiality and the dignity of the participants. All recordings and interviews will be anonymised, both with regard to individual students and tutors and the institution in which the tutorial has taken place. All recordings and interviews will be carried out according to the Institute of Education's guidelines on research ethics and as overseen by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee.

Students and tutors can raise with me directly at any time, by email or phone, any concerns they might have over the conduct of the research activities, interview and recording techniques, the presentation of the data in any public forum or media, and the storage of that data.

Signed

I understand the reasons for carrying out this research and the purposes for which the research might be used. I have freely agreed to take part in the research which will be undertaken for the reasons stated here. I also understand that I can withdraw from participating in this research at any time.

<i>Student</i>					
Name:		Signature		Date	
Course Title		Length of course		Time spent on the course so far	
<i>Researcher</i>					
Name	Nick Melliss	Signature		Date	
University	Institute of Education	Faculty	Children and Learning	Dept	Learning, Curriculum and Communication

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