A PEDAGOGY OF MULTILITERACIES

LEARNING BY DESIGN

Edited by Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis

A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies

Also by Bill Cope

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A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies

Learning by Design

Edited by

Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis
University of Illinois, USA

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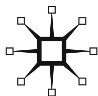

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Notes on Contributors

Sandra Schamroth Abrams is an associate professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at St. John's University in New York, USA. Her research of digital literacies and videogaming provides insight into agentive learning, layered meaning-making, and pedagogical discovery located at the intersection of online and offline experiences. Her recent work appears in the *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Education*, *Journal of Literacy Research*, and *Educational Media International*. She is author of *Integrating Virtual and Traditional Learning in 6-12 Classrooms: A Layered Literacies Approach to Multimodal Meaning-Making*.

Eugenia Arvanitis is an assistant professor in the Department of Educational Science and Early Childhood Education at the University of Patras, Greece, on issues of *Interculturality & Otherness in Education*. Arvanitis has lived for a decade in Australia gaining valuable experience in intercultural education and ethnic language maintenance policies and practices. She is Research Partner of the Common Ground & Learning by Design project team and a teachers' professional learning framework for school-based training trialling the *Learning by Design* approach. She is also the author of several research papers and one book, *Greek Ethnic Schools in Australia in the Late 1990s*: *Selected Case studies*. Arvanitis is the co-editor of three books: *Memories of Bonegilla: Recollections of an Insider*, *New Learning: Elements of a Science of Education*, and *Intercultural Mediation in Europe: Narratives of Professional Transformation*.

Shanthi Balraj Baboo is an associate professor at the School of Arts, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. She has conducted research on new media literacy, youth media and is working on a project that aims to cultivate productive media practices among Malaysian students in secondary schools. She is keen in adopting the *Learning by Design* model in developing learning modules on media literacy for Malaysian schools.

Murray Bruce has taught in elementary schools in New Zealand and in various Australian States and Territories. He has extensive experience in school leadership, having served as principal of five schools, and on the executive of the Lanyon Cluster of Schools. Bruce is also keenly interested in applying the ideas of Total Quality Management in educational settings, particularly where the focus is on personalised learning, optimising student ownership, and ensuring quality learning for every student.

Anne Cloonan is Coordinator of Language and Literacy Education at Deakin University, Australia. With a preference for working in collaborative

partnerships with teachers, students and parents, her qualitative and mixed methods research explore complexities of literacy education in the digital age. Cloonan's projects include: literacy education in one-to-one contexts (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development Victoria); e-literature in classrooms (Deakin University); the impact of professional learning on literacy teachers and learners (Catholic Education Office); innovative learning environments (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development); Asia literate teaching (Asia Education Foundation/Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership); Intercultural Understanding in Schools (Australian Research Council); Creative, Critical, Digital: Connecting home and school literacies (Catholic Education Office Melbourne).

Bill Cope is a professor in the Department of Educational Policy Studies at the University of Illinois, USA. He is Principal Investigator in a series of major projects funded by the Institute of Educational Sciences in the US Department of Education and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation researching and developing multimodal writing and assessment spaces. From 2010 to 2013 he was Chair of the Journals Publication Committee of the American Educational Research Association. His recent books include *The Future of the Academic Journal* (with Angus Phillips, eds) and *Towards a Semantic Web*: *Connecting Knowledge in Academic Research* (with Kalantzis and Magee).

Marion Drew, at the time of writing the chapter in this book, was a lecturer in the Department of Audiology, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. She runs "Paleng" (place of stories), a children's centre in a village in rural Lesotho. Her interests are emerging literacy, children's stories as a support for early literacy acquisition and the interaction between text and image in children's picture books. "Paleng" is also a pilot site for the African Storybook Project which aims to provide context-appropriate reading material in mother tongue Sesotho for children at the emerging literacy stage across Africa (www.africanstorybook.org).

Prue Gill is Executive Teacher of Professional Practice at Lanyon High School, Canberra, Australia. She works closely with teachers as a coach and a mentor, focusing on pedagogy, particularly on implementing *Learning by Design* and Scholar in the classroom. Her interests include English, literacy and technology in education.

Shane Gorman is Principal of Bonython Primary School, Canberra, Australia. He has worked in a variety of educational settings including elementary, secondary and an outdoor education centre. His current work is leading learning methods and structures to improve outcomes in literacy and numeracy through individualised learning targets for every student.

Sue Gorman is a literacy and numeracy coach, working at Gordon Primary School, Canberra, Australia. She has extensive classroom teaching experience

in elementary and secondary settings. Formerly a Reading Recovery teacher and Quality Teaching coordinator, she now spends her working day coaching other teachers to build their capacity to make a difference for every child in literacy and numeracy.

Peter Henry has more than 30 years' experience in Australia and internationally as an educator and curriculum consultant. He has also had 15 years' experience as an educational leader in settings ranging from a small rural school to schools of 400 students. In 2001, he was awarded both the Australian Excellence in Teaching Award and the National Excellence in Teaching Award. Henry was a foundation member of the Lanyon Cluster of Schools and still works closely with the cluster.

Kathryn Hibbert is Associate Professor of Adolescent Literacy and English Language Arts at the Faculty of Education, Western University, London, Canada. She is also a centre researcher at the Centre for Education Research and Innovation at the Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry. Her research explores new literacies practices in interdisciplinary settings including schools, clinics, and communities. Her most recent co-edited book is *Negotiating Literacy Learning*: *Multimodality and Governmentality*.

Denice Ward Hood is an assistant professor in the Department of Education Policy, Organization & Leadership in the College of Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA. She is an affiliated faculty with the Center for Culturally Responsive Evaluation and Assessment at the College of Education. Hood's research interests include program evaluation and student learning outcomes assessment. Her work also involves exploring teaching and learning in online environments.

Luigi Iannacci is an associate professor in the School of Education and Professional Learning at Trent University, Canada where he coordinates and teaches Primary/Junior language and literacy and special needs learners' courses, as well as the Intermediate/Senior drama course. Iannacci is the co-editor (with Pam Whitty, UNB) of *Early Childhood Reconceptualist Perspectives* (2009) and co-author (with Rachel Heydon) of *Early Childhood Curricula and the De-Pathologizing of Childhood* (2008).

Mary Kalantzis is Dean of the College of Education at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, USA. She was formerly Dean of the Faculty of Education, Language and Community Services at RMIT University in Melbourne, Australia, and President of the Australian Council of Deans of Education. She is co-author (with Bill Cope) of *New Learning*: *Elements of a Science of Education* and *Literacies*; and co-editor (with Bill Cope) of *Ubiquitous Learning*.

Robyn Kiddy is Deputy Principal at Bonython Primary School, Canberra, Australia. She has worked as a classroom teacher for 15 years in Victorian

and ACT schools. Robyn's main focus is to build teachers' capacity in teaching literacy and numeracy through a coaching and mentoring model, embedding cooperative structures and formative assessment strategies to increase both student engagement and accountability, and to improve learning outcomes for all students.

Pierpaolo Limone is Associate Professor of Media Education at the Department of Humanities, University of Foggia, Italy. His scientific work is primarily concerned with applied research in the area of digital media and education. Founder and director of the laboratory for "Educational Research and Interaction Design" (ERID Lab) of the University of Foggia, he coordinates a team of researchers and designers working on projects and services related to digital educational environments. He is a founding member of SIREM (Italian Society for Research on Media Education), for which he served as National Secretary until July 2012. Among his most recent publications related to learning innovation and digital environments: *Ambienti di apprendimento e progettazione didattica. Proposte per un sistema educativo transmediale*; *Educazione, scuole e musei. Un progetto collaborativo di innovazione didattica* (ed.); *Media, tecnologie e scuola* (ed.).

Kathy A. Mills is Senior Research Fellow (Australian Research Council) of literacy at the Queensland University of Technology, Australia. Her research publications address multimodality, digital composition, literacy, race, and social disadvantage. Mills is Associate Editor of the *Australian Educational Researcher*. She serves on the editorial review board of the *Journal of Literacy Research*. She is the treasurer of the American Educational Research Association, Writing and Literacies SIG, next Program Chair and future Chair, and serves on the Review Board of the *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*. Mills also serves on the review board of the *The Reading Teacher*, International Reading Association, New Jersey, USA.

Walkyria Monte Mór is an associate professor at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, and an adjunct researcher at the Center for Globalization and Cultural Studies, University of Manitoba, Canada. She co-directs the National Project for Teacher Education in Brazil "Literacies, Multiliteracies and the Teaching of Languages," aiming to broaden relationships and engagement between State and Federal Universities and Public Schools. Her recent research focuses on: new literacies, multiliteracies, critique and meaning-making, critical pedagogy, teacher education. She is co-author of the *National Curriculum Orientations for the Secondary Schools: Foreign languages* (English), published by the Brazilian Ministry of Education in 2006 (Orientações Curriculares Nacionais para o Ensino Médio: Línguas Estrangeiras, MEC/2006).

Mary Neville is an Australian educator who has worked as a classroom teacher, researcher, professional development provider, curriculum manager and director in both government and university sectors. Her areas of

expertise in education include the teaching of literacy in the curriculum (including multimodal literacy) from Prep to Year 12, quality standards-based assessment design and the alignment of assessment, curriculum planning and pedagogy for whole school, year level and individual classroom contexts.

Mary Ott is an elementary teacher with the Thames Valley District School Board based in London, Ontario, Canada. She is conducting master's thesis research on teachers' use of video in making formative assessments of literacy.

Rosaria Pace is a research fellow in Media Education in the Department of Humanities, University of Foggia, Italy. Her scientific work is primarily concerned with theoretical and applied research on digital learning environments for formal and informal learning contexts. Digital Humanities is the umbrella theme she is investigating in her current research projects. A member of SIREM (Italian Society for Research on Media Education), she is Vice-President of the spin-off enterprise TINADA, and a team member of research projects related to ICT and learning innovation.

Ambigapathy Pandian is a professor at the School of Languages, Literacies and Translation, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia. His main research areas focus on literacy, reading, higher education and multiculturalism, especially researching on action projects that engage teachers as change agents. He has completed a project on developing a literacy index for Malaysian schools. He has recently co-authored two books, *Language Teaching and Learning*: *New Dimensions and Interventions* and *Multiliteracies in Education*: *Forms of Literacy in English in Schools in Malaysia*.

Luke Rowland is an assistant professor in the Department of English at Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan. His research interests include social semiotic enquiry, linguistic landscapes, and Multiliteracies pedagogy. His current focus is the use of English in the linguistic landscape of Japan.

Kathleen Stoop has worked as an audiologist in South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. She has experience in a variety of settings, including tertiary education, diagnostic and rehabilitative audiology and management. From 2002 to 2006, Stoop worked as a lecturer and clinical educator in the Discipline of Audiology at the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa.

Rita van Haren is a curriculum resource developer at Common Ground Publishing, curating material and creating learning designs in Scholar. From 2004 to 2013, Rita worked with teachers and leaders in the Lanyon Cluster of schools, focusing on curriculum and pedagogy. She has had policy and leadership roles in the Australian Capital Territory Department of Education as a literacy consultant, and has over 30 years' experience in education,

including more than 20 years as a classroom teacher in elementary and high schools.

Chryssi Vitsilaki is Professor and Chair of the Department of Pre-School Education and Educational Design of the University of the Aegean, Rhodes, Greece. She is also the Director of the Department's post-graduate program "New Forms of Education and Learning" and has, for the past ten years been Director of the post-graduate program "Gender and New Educational and Employment Environments in the Information Age" – the only master's program in Greece offered through e-learning, and which received the European Commission's "2009 Award for Quality in e-Learning." Her academic work has focused on the issues of gender and new forms of education, new pedagogies and the role of technology in learning processes, on which she has published 10 books and some 50 articles. She has served as elected Dean of the School of the Humanities for a two-year term and also as elected Vice-Rector of Finance and Development for a four-year term, at the University of the Aegean.

Nicola Yelland is a research professor in the School of Education at Victoria University in Melbourne, Australia. Over the last decade her teaching and research has been related to the use of new technologies in school and community contexts. This has involved projects that have investigated the innovative learning of children, as well as a broader consideration of the ways in which new technologies can impact on the pedagogies that teachers use and the curriculum in schools. She is the author of *Shift to the Future*: *Rethinking Learning with New Technologies in Education*. Yelland is the founding editor of two journals, *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood* and *Global Studies of Childhood.*

1
The Things You Do to Know: An Introduction to the Pedagogy of Multiliteracies

Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis

After a brief history of the context and evolution of the idea of Multiliteracies, this chapter focuses on its pedagogy. Originally framed as Situated Practice, Overt Instruction, Critical Framing, and Transformed Practice, these four orientations were subsequently translated in the Learning by Design *project into the 'Knowledge Processes' of Experiencing, Conceptualizing, Analyzing and Applying. The chapter explores the roots of* these *orientations in what it characterizes as 'didactic' and 'authentic' pedagogies.* Learning by Design *is by comparison 'reflexive', combining elements of each of these traditions into a new synthesis. The chapter goes on to spell out the pedagogical specifics of each of the Knowledge Processes, then their epistemological basis as distinctive kinds of 'knowledge-action'. We conclude by contrasting the cognitive emphases of both didactic and authentic pedagogy with the epistemological theory of learning that underpins* Learning by Design. *Its focus is on action rather than cognition—not what we know, but the things we do to know.*

Towards a pedagogy of Multiliteracies

The short history of a word

'Literacy' is a term that presents itself as emphatic and singular. The emphatic part accompanies the modern insistence that everyone has at least 'basic' levels of competency in reading and writing. 'Literacy' in this sense means some quite definite things to be acquired: to read the ordinary texts of modern society—newspapers, information books, novels; to be able to write using correct spelling and grammar; and to appreciate high-cultural values through exposure to a taste of the literary canon. The singular part arises when literacy is presented as a single, official or standard form of language, one right way to write, and an idealized canon of authors conventionally considered 'great'.

By the mid-1990s, the emphatic and singular connotations of the term 'literacy' were beginning to work not-so-well. The mass media and then the internet spawned whole new genres of text which meant that narrowly conventional understandings of literacy were fast becoming anachronistic.

Also, the forces of globalization and manifest local diversity increasingly juxtaposed modes of meaning making that were sharply different from each other. The challenge of learning to communicate in this new environment was to navigate the differences, rather than to learn to communicate in the same ways. Besides, it was becoming obvious that traditional literacy pedagogy was not working to achieve its stated goal of providing social opportunity. Inequalities in education were growing, suggesting that something needed to be done in literacy pedagogy to address this.

It was in this context that the New London Group came together to consider the current state and possible future of literacy pedagogy. Convened by Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope, the group also consisted of Courtney Cazden, Norman Fairclough, Jim Gee, Gunther Kress, Allan Luke, Carmen Luke, Sarah Michaels, and Martin Nakata. The group's initial deliberations—a week-long meeting in September 1994—produced an article-long manifesto (New London Group 1996), and then an edited book (Cope and Kalantzis 2000) which included the original article. In 2009, in consultation with other members of the group, Cope and Kalantzis published a paper reflecting on subsequent developments (Cope and Kalantzis 2009); then in 2012 they produced a book outlining the theory and practice in greater detail (Kalantzis and Cope 2012a).

To capture the essence of the changes that the group felt needed to be addressed, we coined the term 'Multiliteracies'. A Google search 20 years later shows 196,000 web pages that mention the word. Google Scholar says that 12,700 scholarly articles and books mention Multiliteracies. Amazon has 193 books with the word in their title. At the time, we never imagined that the idea could become this widely used.

The broader context for the Multiliteracies work was the development at the same time of the New Literacy Studies, prominently involving Brian Street (Street 1995), James Gee (Gee 1996), and David Barton (Barton 2007). The idea of Multiliteracies also represents a coming together of related ideas developed before and since by members of the New London Group: Courtney Cazden (Cazden 1983; Cazden 2001; Cazden 2006; Luke et al. 2004), Mary Kalantzis and Bill Cope (Kalantzis and Cope 2012b; Kalantzis and Cope 2015a; Kalantzis and Cope 2015b), Norman Fairclough (Fairclough 1995a; Fairclough 1995b; Fairclough 2001), Jim Gee (Gee 2003; Gee 2004; Gee 2014), Gunther Kress (Kress 2003; Kress 2009; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), Allan Luke (Luke 1994; Luke 1996a; Luke 2008), Carmen Luke (Luke 1995; Luke 1996b; Luke and Gore 1992), Sarah Michaels (Michaels 2005; Michaels et al. 1993; Michaels et al. 2005), and Martin Nakata (Nakata 2001a; Nakata 2001b; Nakata 2007).

In short: the Multiliteracies thesis

The 'Multiliteracies' argument has three components, framed as the 'why' of Multiliteracies, the 'what' of Multiliteracies, and the 'how' of Multiliteracies.

This book is only about the 'how' or the pedagogy of Multiliteracies. By way of background, here is a quick summary of the first two parts of the argument.

In the 'why' part of the argument, we outlined the dramatic changes occurring in everyday life in the realms of work, citizenship, and identity. These changes render older practices of literacy pedagogy increasingly anachronistic. This argument is expanded in Chapter 2 of our *Literacies* book (Kalantzis and Cope 2012a), and Chapters 3 to 5 of our *New Learning* book (Kalantzis and Cope 2012c).

On the subject of the 'what' of Multiliteracies, we add two 'multis' to 'literacies': the 'multi-' of enormous and significant differences in contexts and patterns of communication, and the 'multi-' of multimodality. In the case of the first of these 'multi-'s, the Multiliteracies notion sets out to address the variability of meaning making in different cultural, social or domain-specific contexts. This means that it is no longer enough for literacy teaching to focus solely on the rules of standard forms of the national language. Rather, communication and representation of meaning today increasingly requires that learners become able to negotiate differences in patterns of meaning from one context to another. These differences are the consequence of any number of factors, including culture, gender, life experience, subject matter, social or subject domain, and the like. Every meaning exchange is cross-cultural to a certain degree.

The other 'multi-' response to the question of the 'what' of Multiliteracies arises in part from the characteristics of the new information and communications media. Meaning is made in ways that are increasingly multimodal—in which written-linguistic modes of meaning interface with oral, visual, audio, gestural, tactile, and spatial patterns of meaning. This means that we need to extend the range of literacy pedagogy so that it does not unduly privilege alphabetical representations. Supplementing these, the Multiliteracies approach suggests bringing multimodal texts, and particularly those typical of the new, digital media, into the curriculum and classroom. This makes literacy pedagogy all the more relevant and engaging for its manifest connections with today's communications milieu. It also provides a powerful foundation for synesthesia, or learning that emerges from mode switching, moving backwards and forwards between representations in text, image, sound, gesture, object, and space. A burgeoning literature has emerged in the area of multimodality, most prominently in the work of Gunther Kress (Kress 2009; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996), Theo van Leeuwen (van Leeuwen 2008), and Ron Scollon (Scollon 2001). Our own account of multimodality is to be found in our forthcoming book, *Making Sense: A Grammar of Multimodality*.

This book is about the third part of the Multiliteracies argument, the 'how' of a pedagogy of Multiliteracies. In the original formulations of the New London Group, the following major dimensions of literacy pedagogy

were identified: *situated practice*, *overt instruction*, *critical framing*, and *transformed practice*. In applying these ideas to curriculum practices over the past decade, we have reframed these ideas somewhat and translated them into the more immediately recognizable 'Knowledge Processes': *experiencing*, *conceptualizing*, *analyzing,* and *applying* (Kalantzis and Cope 2010). Whichever terminology is used to categorize learning activity types, the essential idea in the Multiliteracies approach is that learning is a process of 'weaving' backwards and forwards across and between different pedagogical moves (Luke et al. 2004):

- *Situated practice/experiencing*: Human cognition is situated. It is contextual. Meanings are grounded in real-world patterns of experience, action, and subjective interest (Gee 2004). One key pedagogical weaving is between school learning and the practical out-of-school experiences of learners. Another is between familiar and unfamiliar texts and experiences. These kinds of cross-connections between school and the rest of life Cazden calls 'cultural weavings' (Cazden 2006).
- *Overt instruction/conceptualizing*: Specialized, disciplinary knowledges are based on finely tuned distinctions of concept and theory, typical of those developed by expert communities of practice. Conceptualizing is not merely a matter of teacherly or textbook telling based on legacy academic disciplines, but a Knowledge Process in which the learners become active conceptualizers, making the tacit explicit and generalizing from the particular. In the case of Multiliteracies teaching and learning, overt instruction/conceptualizing involves the development of a metalanguage to describe 'design elements'.
- *Critical framing/analyzing*: Powerful learning also entails a certain kind of critical capacity. 'Critical' can mean two things in a pedagogical context—to analyze functions, or to be evaluative with respect to relationships of power (Cazden 2006). In the case of a pedagogy of Multiliteracies, this involves analyzing text functions and critically interrogating the interests of participants in the communication process.
- *Transformed practice/applying*: This entails the application of knowledge and understandings to the complex diversity of real-world situations. In the case of Multiliteracies, this means making texts and putting them to use in communicative action.

The evolution of this pedagogical framework has occurred through a number of stages. A significant focal point in this evolution has been the *Learning by Design* project. This project commenced in Australia in 2000 when we were at RMIT University in Melbourne, with the support of a series of grants from the Australian Research Council. As part of this project, we developed a Microsoft Word lesson documentation template in which teachers

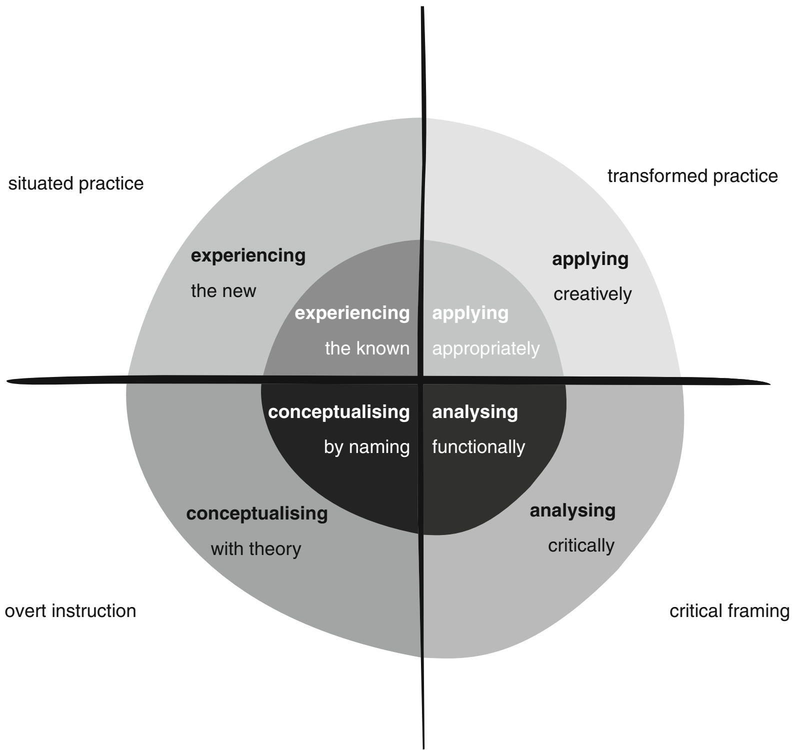


Figure 1.1 Mapping the original Multiliteracies pedagogy against the 'Knowledge Processes'

collaboratively mapped out teaching plans around the activity types identified by the Knowledge Processes, taught to these plans, revised them based on their teaching experience, and shared them as a lasting record of their pedagogical experiences. Since we moved to the University of Illinois in 2006, we have received a number of grants to continue this work from the Institute of Educational Sciences in the US Department of Education and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. In 2008–2010, we created a new online web planner in which many hundreds of Learning Modules were created in the US, Australia, and Greece. Then, with the development of our *Scholar* online learning platform since 2010, Learning Module development and publication has moved there. This book includes the work of colleagues who have been engaged in the Multiliteracies pedagogy since the beginning of the *Learning by Design* project, as well as others who have come to explore the pedagogy more recently.

Figure 1.2 Learning Modules in the Scholar Bookstore (www.cgscholar.com)

The question of pedagogy

Mass-institutionalized schooling is a relatively new thing in human history. As a social project, it is barely a century and a half old, and to the extent that not every child goes to school, still incomplete. While its visible manifestations (school buildings and classrooms, teachers and students, curriculum plans and learning resources) are ubiquitous, its underlying pedagogies have been a source of continuous dispute. For the sake of argumentative clarity in this chapter, we name the two poles in the dispute 'didactic pedagogy' and 'authentic pedagogy'. Elsewhere in our writings, we make some finer distinctions (Kalantzis and Cope 2012a: Part B; Kalantzis and Cope 2012c: Chapters 2, 8), but for the purposes of this chapter, we characterize these two, archetypical positions. We do this in order to characterize Multiliteracies or *Learning by Design* pedagogy as 'reflexive'—neither didactic nor authentic, but both. When both come into play, each of the constituent parts and the whole becomes something different.

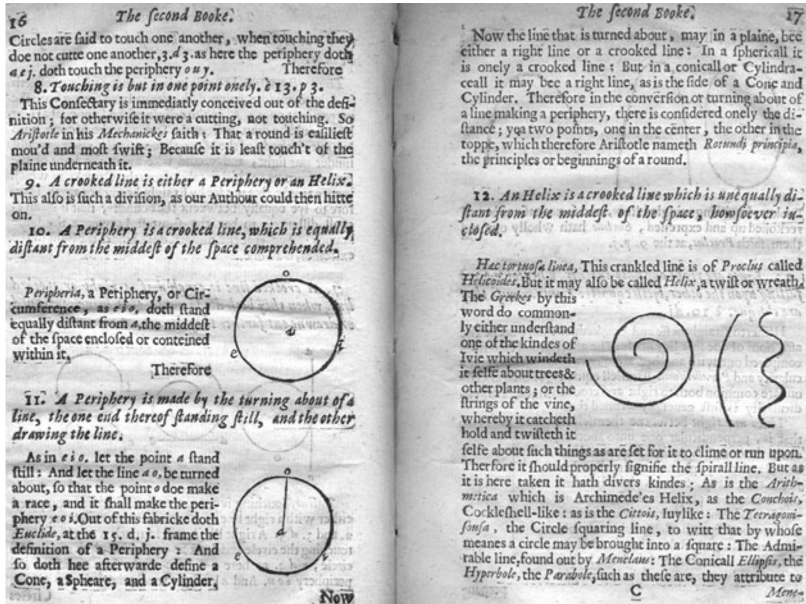
Didactic pedagogy

'Didactic' in English carries semantic loadings that it does not carry in other languages, where 'didactics' is a neutral term equivalent to 'curriculum', 'instruction', and 'pedagogy' in English. When we use the word 'didactic', we use it to capture some of its peculiar connotations in English. It means to be told things rather than to find them out for yourself. It positions the teacher as an authority figure and the student as a beneficiary of the knowledge they convey. It involves the transmission of knowledge from the knowing expert to the as-yet-unknowing novice. And of course, in a certain perspective education is, inevitably and always, all of these things. However, the critics of didactic pedagogy seize on its peculiar emphases that position students as passive recipients of knowledge and compliant objects of authority.

The distinctive mode of didactic pedagogy lies deep in the traditions of the societies of writing. St Benedict set the discursive rules of the relation of the teacher to the taught in these terms: that it 'belongeth to the master to speak and to teach; it becometh the disciple to be silent and to listen' (St Benedict c.530 (1949)). This later becomes the genre of the lecture in didactic pedagogy, a one-to-many relation of knowledge authority to knowledge recipient. In didactic pedagogy, the silence of the student may be broken by the teacher via the traditional classroom discourse structure of Initiation—Response—Evaluation (Cazden 2001: 28–30). Initiation: teacher asks a question which anticipates an answer. Response—students put up their hands and the teacher selects one to respond, as a presumed proxy for all in the class. Evaluation: 'That's right', or 'That's wrong, can someone else answer?'

Modern education also introduces the written textbook as a source of authority. If the symbolic founder of oral classroom discourse was St Benedict, the founder of the modern textbook was Petrus Ramus, a professor in the University of Paris in the mid-sixteenth century. Ramus took the texts of classical knowledge—Euclid's geometry, Aristotle's rhetoric, for instance—and rebuilt these as textbooks. The differences between textbooks and source knowledge are revealing. The textbook is a digestible synopsis, divided to manageable chunks, and with ideas ordered from those that are more elementary to more complex, composite ideas (Ong 1958). Knowledge so acquired can subsequently be tested in examinations. The rewards of school success were then in the scores and the rankings achieved, extrinsic rewards less than intrinsic pleasures of coming-to-know. Other written traditions make parallel pedagogical innovations, such as the system of scholarship that went into the making of the mandarin class in imperial China.

The tradition of didactic pedagogy remains alive and well in the 21st century. Two symptomatic examples will suffice. One is Direct Instruction, which has since the 1970s offered curriculum that not only scripts the teacher-initiating dialogue, but correct evaluative answers. Teacher initiation: 'Say the next group of words that are a sentence'. Anticipated



16 *The ſecond Booke.*

Circles are ſaid to touch one another, when touching they doe not cutte one another, 3. *d* 3. as here the periphery doth *a e j.* doth touch the periphery *o u y.* Therefore

8. *Touching is but in one point onely.* e 13. *p* 3.

This Conſectary is immediatly conceived out of the definition; for otherwiſe it were a cutting, not touching. So *Ariſtotle* in his *Mechanickes* ſaith: That a round is eaſilieſt mou'd and moſt ſwift; Becauſe it is leaſt touch't of the plaine underneath it.

9. *A crooked line is either a Periphery or an Helix.*

This alſo is ſuch a diviſion, as our Authour could then hitte on.

10. *A Periphery is a crooked line, which is equally diſtant from the middeſt of the ſpace comprehended.*

Peripheria, a Periphery, or Circumference, as *e i o*, doth ſtand equally diſtant from *a*, the middeſt of the ſpace encloſed or conteined within it.

Therefore

11. *A Periphery is made by the turning about of a line, the one end thereof ſtanding ſtill, and the other drawing the line.*

As in *e i o*. let the point *a* ſtand ſtill: And let the line *a o*, be turned about, ſo that the point *o* doe make a race, and it ſhall make the periphery *e o i*. Out of this fabricke doth *Euclide*, at the 15. d. j. frame the definition of a Periphery: And ſo doth hee afterwarde define a Cone, a Spheare, and a Cylinder.

Now

The ſecond Booke. 17

Now the line that is turned about, may in a plaine, bee either a right line or a crooked line: In a ſphericall it is onely a crooked line; But in a conicall or Cylindraceall it may bee a right line, as is the ſide of a Cone and Cylinder. Therefore in the converſion or turning about of a line making a periphery, there is conſidered onely the diſtance; yea two points, one in the center, the other in the toppe, which therefore Ariſtotle nameth *Rotundi principia*, the principles or beginnings of a round.

12. *An Helix is a crooked line which is unequally diſtant from the middeſt of the ſpace, howſoever incloſed.*

Hac tortuoſa linea, This crankled line is of *Proclus* called *Helicoides*. But it may alſo be called *Helix*, a twiſt or wreath. The *Greekes* by this word do commonly either underſtand one of the kindes of Ivie which windeth it ſelfe about trees & other plants; or the ſtrings of the vine, whereby it catcheth hold and twiſteth it ſelfe about ſuch things as are ſet for it to clime or run upon. Therfore it ſhould properly ſignifie the ſpirall line. But as it is here taken it hath divers kindes; As is the *Arithmetica* which is Archimede'es Helix, as the *Conchois*, Cockleſhell-like: as is the *Cittois*, Iuylike: The *Tetragoniſonſa*, the Circle ſquaring line, to witt that by whoſe meanes a circle may be brought into a ſquare: The Admirable line, found out by *Menelaus*: The Conicall *Ellipſis*, the *Hyperbole*, the *Parabole*, ſuch as theſe are, they attribute to

C *Mene-*

Figure 1.3 Ramus's geometry: the invention of the modern textbook

student response: 'She started to go home'. Teacher initiation: 'What's the last word in the sentence?' Anticipated student response: 'Home'. Teacher initiation: 'So, what do you write after the word home?' Anticipated student response: 'A period'. (Engelmann 2014: 9). Direct Instruction also comes with textbooks that outline the conceptual content of literacy and mathematics in the mode of analytical exposition developed by Ramus centuries before. These remain a staple for poorly-resourced schools in disadvantaged neighborhoods, along with related programs of 'explicit instruction' (Goeke 2009) and 'response to intervention' (Buffum et al. 2009).

For another contemporary example we can explore certain kinds of technology-mediated learning. In the 'flipped classroom' (Bishop and Verleger 2013), the teacher records a video of their lecture and distributes it online. However, the student remains in the same discursive relation to the teacher and knowledge as originally prescribed by St Benedict. Electronic tutors put the machine in the position of teacher in the traditional initiate-respond-evaluate pattern of didactic classroom discourse. With the electronic whiteboard, all students' eyes still need to be directed to the board, a prop for the directive teacher that is not fundamentally different from the chalkboard. And e-textbooks reproduce the textbook form, summarizing, chunking, and sequencing the world in which the students are still positioned as knowledge consumers—absorbers of information to

be remembered, routines to be replicated, or definitions to be applied (Cope and Kalantzis 2015).

Be its mode of delivery old or seemingly new, didactic pedagogy has several distinctive epistemological features. Its core constructs are facts that can be remembered and concepts that can be applied as analytical constructs, rendering correct answers in specific instances. Its principal epistemological precepts are cognitive—memory and logical reasoning. And its theory of the ontogenesis of knowledge is mimetic—knowledge authorities (teachers, textbooks) transmit knowledge which is acquired by learners.

And for as long as didactic pedagogy has been around, whatever its practical utility, it has also been hated and parodied. Charles Dickens makes Mr. Gradgrind the representative teacher:

> Thomas Gradgrind, sir. A man of realities. A man of facts and calculations. A man who proceeds upon the principle that two and two are four, and nothing over, and who is not to be talked into allowing for anything over … [He] … swept [his] eyes over the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim … [H]e seemed a kind of cannon loaded to the muzzle with facts, and prepared to blow them right out of the regions of childhood at one discharge. He seemed a galvanizing apparatus, too, charged with a grim, mechanical substitute for the tender young imaginations that were to be stormed away. (Dickens 1854 (1945): 15–18)

Authentic pedagogy

For centuries, the critics of didactic pedagogy have proposed alternatives, beginning with Jean-Jacques Rousseau:

> Teach your scholar to observe the phenomena of nature; you will soon rouse his curiosity ... . Put the problems before him and let him solve them himself. Let him know nothing because you have told him, but because he has learnt it for himself. If ever you substitute authority for reason he will cease to reason, he will be a mere plaything of other people's thoughts. (Rousseau 1762 (1914): 126)

The case of these critics has been moral, political, and at times utopian, anticipating that a new and better world can be forged through educational reform. Their case has also been practical, experimenting with new arrangements in laboratory schools and advocating a progressive curriculum, with the aim of demonstrating that their progressive pedagogy achieves the ends of education more effectively than traditional, didactic pedagogy.

The word we will use to name this alternative pedagogy is 'authentic', representing a certain kind of relevance and trueness-to-life. Authentic

pedagogy is true to what-practically-needs-to-be-known in the world, rather than the abstract facts and theories of didactic pedagogy, its academic discipline for discipline's sake. It is also true to student interest and motivation, rather than knowledge that is imposed, or students being cajoled by external motivations such as test scores and beating one's peers.

John Dewey, expressed the spirit of his philosophy of pragmatism in the idea that education should be grounded in experience, not abstract disciplinary schemes, imposed by teachers upon students:

> To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning from experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as a means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world. (Dewey 1938 (1963): 19)

For Dewey, the objectives of progressive education were also political—in the true spirit of democracy to develop practices of active social participation on the part of learners, rather than passive acquiescence to the commands of authority figures (Dewey 1928 (2008)).

Maria Montessori also framed her variant of progressive education politically, in terms of the idea of a learning environment that afforded students greater freedom:

> The school must permit the free, natural manifestations of the child … [T]he true concept of liberty is practically unknown to educators … The principle of slavery still pervades pedagogy, and therefore, the same principle pervades the school. I need only give one proof—the stationary desks and chairs … We know only too well the sorry spectacle of the teacher who, in the ordinary schoolroom, must pour certain cut and dried facts into the heads of scholars. In order to succeed in this barren task, she finds it necessary to discipline her pupils into immobility and to force their attention. Prizes and punishments are ever-ready and efficient aids to the master who must force into a given attitude of mind and body those who are condemned to be his listeners … Such prizes and punishments are … the bench of the soul, the instrument of slavery for the spirit. (Montessori 1912 (1964): 15–16, 21)

The 20th century is full of attempts to realize the objectives of authentic pedagogy. Rugg and Shumaker proposed the 'child-centred school', whose articles of faith were freedom rather than control, child versus teacher initiative, child interest instead of imposed curriculum, creative experience rather

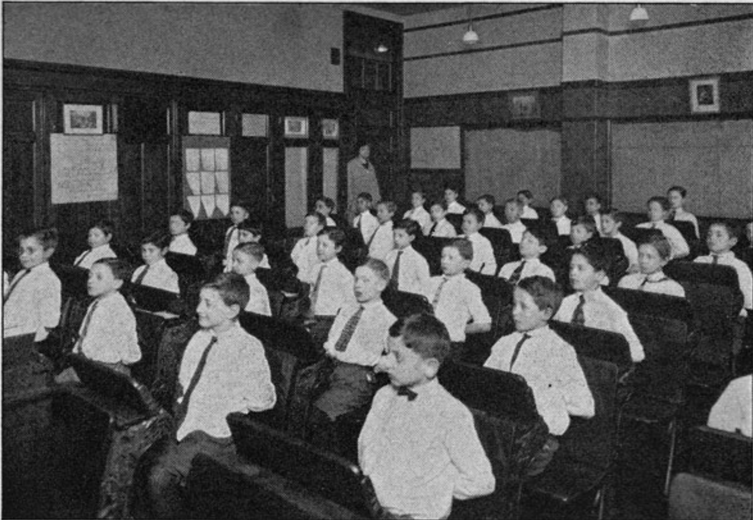
than formal academic discipline (Rugg and Shumaker 1928: 54–64). William Heard Kilpatrick developed the project method, now known as project-based learning, where in the spirit of democratic society, instead of 'servile acceptance of others' purposes' students engage in 'wholehearted vigorous activity' in projects where the learner was in control—creating a school newspaper, or a girl making a dress (Kilpatrick 1918; Waks 1997).

As the 20th century moved on, progressivism developed a new strand, under the banner 'critical pedagogy'. Among its leading lights was Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. He used the metaphor of 'banking education' to characterize didactic pedagogy, 'in which the scope of action allowed to the students only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits'. In contrast, Freire proposed a pedagogy of liberation focused on problems of justice in the world. 'Problem-posing education bases itself on creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of [people] as beings who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation' (Freire 1972: 56).

With the turn to identity politics in the last quarter of the 20th century, critical pedagogy came to be overlaid with the claims for the recognition in curriculum of differences in ethnicity, race, gender, and sexuality (Aronowitz and Giroux 1991; McLaren 2007). Whereas didactic pedagogy ignored or over-wrote diverse identities, assimilating (or failing) others on the measure of mass society and the homogenizing forces of modernity, critical pedagogy gave authentic voice to different identities in the classroom and curriculum.

Another strand in 20th century authentic pedagogy is 'constructivism'. Tracing the microdynamics of children's learning, Jean Piaget argued that learners incorporate new experiences through processes of assimilation, and accommodate these experiences by framing them into mental representations (Piaget 1923 (2002)). Learning, in this conception, is a process of active meaning-making. Translated into a pedagogical framework, constructivism is a process whereby teachers immerse learners in experiences and help them to build mental models that make coherent sense of these experiences (Windschitl 2002). The learner is a cognitive agent, building mental models of the world for themselves.

What has been the consequence of this long history of advocacy for authentic pedagogy? Historian Larry Cuban concludes that over the course of the 20th century, in American education, notwithstanding the vociferous calls for reform, didactic pedagogy has remained the norm (Cuban 1993). More recently, it has been argued that computer-mediated learning environments herald the long-awaited widespread realization of constructivist or authentic pedagogy. Cuban's analysis is again skeptical that anything much changes when computers are brought into the classroom (Cuban 2001). Our own analysis shows that technology-mediated learning can be as didactic as ever, indeed, even more didactic when the machine becomes proxy for the teacher (Cope and Kalantzis 2015).



Courtesy of Miss Elizabeth Irwin, Public School 61, New York

THE NEW AND THE OLD IN EDUCATION

Above: Freedom! Pupil initiative! Activity! A life of happy intimacy — this is the drawing-out environment of the new school. *Below:* Eyes front! Arms folded! Sit still! Pay attention! Question-and-answer situations — this was the listening régime.

Figure 1.4 Rugg and Shumaker's child-centred school, 1928

It must remain an open question whether authentic pedagogy failed to gain ground as a consequence of its own failings, or as a result of the conservative institutional and social inertia, or the effectiveness of its critics. For its critics were certainly vociferous from the start. Boyd Bode and William Chandler Bagley were two contemporary critics of Dewey's progressive education, Kilpatrick's project method and Rugg's child-centred school. Bode argued that learning incidental to projects was:

> ... too discontinuous, too random, too haphazard, too immediate in its function, unless we supplement it with something else. Perhaps children may learn a great deal about numbers from running a play store or a bank, but this alone does not give them insight into the mathematics that they need to have ... [A]ll this emphasis on 'pupil activity,' on the one hand, and hazy 'practicality' on the other, has operated to make present-day education an intolerably superficial kind of thing. To advocate curriculum construction on the basis, not of subjects, but of pupil activity, easily results in neglect of logical organization. (Bode 1927: 150, 38)

William Chandler Bagley, a contemporary of Dewey at Teachers College, Columbia University, criticized what he called 'the doctrine of interest' underpinning progressive education. He said, it 'lends a specious sanction to neglecting tasks that lack an intrinsic appeal'. He contrasted this with the hard work of learning, including 'warming up to work' even when you don't feel like it, 'practice', repetition, overcoming obstacles, and the travails of mental discipline. Moreover, 'the present tendency in education is toward earlier and earlier differentiation of curriculums ... the basis upon which is the doctrine of interest. ... [However] the function of public education ... [is to lay a] *common* basis among *all* the future citizens of the land'. (Bagley 1915: 239–52)

Later critiques of authentic pedagogy reflect and refract these themes. Leading light of the 'back to basics movement' in the 1980s, E.D. Hirsch, started his comprehensive and best-selling attack with an assault on Rousseau and Dewey. He went on to advocate a return to didactic pedagogy which taught facts, built coherent disciplinary knowledge, and as an antidote to diversity, provided all students with basic knowledge of the traditional canon of a common culture. His concern, he claimed, was as much for disadvantaged students as any:

> To withhold traditional culture from the school curriculum, and therefore from students, in the name of progressive ideas is in fact an unprogressive action that helps preserve the political and economic status quo. Middle-class children acquire mainstream literate culture by daily encounters with other literate persons. But less privileged children are denied consistent interchanges with literate persons and fail to receive