A Historical Analysis of Senior Cycle State Examinations in the School Subject English from 1878-2016: A Longitudinal Study.

by

Olive Chute Burke

Thesis presented to Mary Immaculate College (University of Limerick) in fulfilment of the requirements for the PhD in Education

Supervisors: Dr Angela Canny, Professor Teresa O'Doherty and Carmel Hinchion

External: Professor Kathy Hall

Submitted to Mary Immaculate College, 2 February 2021.

<u>Abstract</u>

This study is a historical analysis of the senior cycle examination for English. As a high-stakes examination, the Leaving Certificate has dominated the landscape of Irish education at second level. This thesis spans the years 1878, when the Senior Grade syllabus was first introduced by the Intermediate Education Board, to 2016. As such, it spans four eras of syllabi change. These eras developed organically and arose from political and social moments that led to the introduction of new syllabi. The first era spans 1878-1924, from the introduction of the Senior Grade to the inception of the Leaving Certificate under the Free State government's new Department of Education. The second era is 1925-1970, which tracks the Leaving Certificate up to the introduction of free education. Era 3, 1971-2000, explores the Leaving Certificate as student numbers increased up to the adoption of the Education Act (Ireland) 1998. The last era focuses on the examination of the new syllabus that was introduced after this Education Act (Ireland) 1998 and spans the years 2001-2016. The study reflects on the origins of terminal examinations and how English has developed as a school subject. This forms a base from which the structure of both examinations and the subject English that developed in Ireland can be interrogated. The thesis explores the paradigm between policy, syllabus design and the resultant examination which assesses it. It also considers the implications that cultural and social shifts have for state examination. Four themes have emerged which form part of the historical narrative of the examination papers. These are gender, the Catholic Church, British Colonialism and the role of English as a school subject in citizen formation.

Although documentary analysis was the main focus of the study, the research utilises a mixed-method design. The study utilises historical inquiry to investigate the main policy documents and quantitative methods have been used to interrogate the English examination papers across the eras. Data analysis was conducted using AntConc, the corpus analysis toolkit for concordancing and text analysis. This analysis seeks multiple data points and triangulates potential findings.

This study emphasises the importance of examination papers as primary sources. The English senior cycle examination papers are important portals of social, cultural and political change. They document imperialist, nationalist, globalist and universal sentiment. The examination papers record the varying and altering values of society and the skills students throughout the

period under study were to achieve. The findings of this study illustrate the connectivity between political, social and cultural movements, government policy, syllabus design and examinations. The fact that change over a 120-year period can be defined into four eras, reflecting the key periods of curricular change, highlights the continuing dominance of the terminal examination process.

.

<u>Acknowledgments</u>

<u>Declaration</u>

I, Olive Chute Burke, declare that this doctoral thesis is entirely my own work and that all sources that have been used have been referenced. Any mistakes or oversights within the work are entirely my fault and will be corrected.

Signed:

Date: 28th April 2021

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Key to Abbreviations

EEC   European Economic Community

EU   European Union

ICS   Indian Civil Service

TDs   *Teachtaí Dála* (A member of the Irish Parliament)

NCCA   The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment

NATE   The National Association for Teaching of English

ASTI   The Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland

BNC   British National Corpus

GAA   Gaelic Athletic Association

INTO   The Irish National Teachers' Organisation

UCD   University College Dublin

UN   United Nations

UCG   University College Galway

OEEC   The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation

OECD   The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

RTÉ   Raidió Teilifís Éireann

CSO   Central Statistics Office

CAO   Central Applications Office

PISA   Programme for International Student Assessment

ICT   Information and Communications Technology

STEM   Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics

G7   The Group of Seven

G8   The Group of Eight

SNA   Special Needs Assistant

SEC   State Examinations Commission

SSE   School Self-Evaluation

Chapter One: Introduction

As a first world country only recently decolonised; as a colony which is ethnically and racially similar to its coloniser; as the only colony to achieve representation at Westminster; as a country whose response to linguistic castration was a return of the repressed in terms of a panoply of distinguished writers in the language of the coloniser, Ireland has always been aberrant in terms of the British context.

(O'Brien 2005, p. 7)

1.1 Introduction

This thesis critically examines senior cycle examination in Ireland for the school subject English from colonial to modern times. It explores the development of examinations as a method of senior cycle assessment and, in light of the cultural, political, economic and social changes of each era, documents the main themes that dominate the English examinations. These themes and examination items provide significant insights into the cultural ideologies that have shaped senior cycle examinations since the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board in 1878. The main themes were identified through the analysis of the examination papers across four eras between 1878-2016, and this thesis explores whether or not the content of what was examined mirrored the political and cultural perspectives of successive eras. The research utilises a mixed-method approach, using both historical analyses of the documents, allied with a quantitative analysis of the examination papers. The theoretical framework explores the impact of policy on the syllabus, and how this was reflected in the examinations. Finally, the examination papers are recognised as important social and historic records which have documented social and cultural change in Ireland.

1.1.1 Research Aims

The primary aim of the research was to investigate how cultural, social and political realities in Ireland have impacted on, or are reflected in senior cycle examinations in the school subject English. Mullins (2000) carried out a detailed study on the development of the Higher Level English syllabus for senior cycle in Ireland and the research gave vital insights into the relationship between policy and syllabus design. This thesis seeks to acknowledge the

importance of that research because Mullins highlights the political interplay and vested groups involved in syllabi design. In Ireland the formal assessment of the syllabus, that was designed for senior cycle, has been a terminal examination known as The Senior Grade and after independence, The Leaving Certificate. This thesis adds to existing knowledge by seeking to fill the deficit of research around these senior cycle examinations. It should be noted that throughout the thesis the term "English teacher" refers to a teacher of English language and literature in Ireland or throughout the world. The "English examination" refers to the examination of English language and literature. The reference to "Irish schools" refers to schooling in Ireland.

The formation of the school subject English has been problematic across the colonialised world. The research aimed to understand the complexity of issues that contributed to the design and evolution of English as an examinable school subject and to determine if possible, the extent to which the colonial legacy has impacted on English as a school subject and how it was examined. The complexity of such research is underpinned by the interpretation of both education and society at any given time. The relationship between government policy and syllabi design is at times defined by periods of stagnation which are followed by great moments of change. It is at times promoted and at others resisted. It is not fixed or easily defined (Silver 1990). For instance, a substantial longitudinal study of the history of education in America highlighted the interconnected relationship between power, policy and education over time (Butts and Cremin 1953; Cremin 1970; Cremin 1980). As a teacher of senior cycle English for almost twenty years, the researcher had a vested interest in exploring these issues from an Irish perspective. The researcher was particularly interested in examining the research questions outlined below and how these questions changed over the duration of the thesis.

1.1.2 Research Questions

Several research questions underpinned the study. The focus was on culture and how it has influenced or been reflected in examination papers. Hall *et al.* (2013) refer to culture as an analytical tool for how we frame success, competence, failure and how we research learning. The investigation of culture is something that teachers, researchers and policymakers can make use of (Hall *et al.* 2013). Therefore, the first research question to be investigated is:

1. How has culture affected or been reflected in examination in Ireland at senior cycle English?

To determine how culture might or might not have changed, the literature and authors who dominated the eras were investigated to establish if a particular set of values espoused by such literature could be identified. This research question prompted a deeper investigation into how government policy relates to the examinations that are produced, whether or not they are connected, and if they are, in what way. Therefore, the second research question is:

2. What is the connectivity between government policy, syllabus design and examinations?

This sub-question considered syllabi design as a vital component in the interconnectivity between government policy and examination. This research question is a vital aspect of this thesis as content for examination reflects this relationship.

The next area to be explored surrounded the language of the examination questions that have been assessed over the different eras. Whether the emphasis of questioning is of a higher or lower order questioning standard is an important indicator of culture as teaching styles may have changed over the historical period. The most common or well-known hierarchy of questioning since the 1950s is Bloom's Taxonomy (see Anderson *et al.* 2001), with its six levels: knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation, However, higher and lower order questioning is a two-level system and defined as:

> Lower order questions are those that require responses either recalled directly from memory or cited explicitly from text. Higher order questions, on the other hand, are defined as those that require more than simple recall to produce an answer.

> (Barden 1995, p. 423)

While the initial investigation began with question words it highlighted the important issue of inclusion. Therefore, the next sub-question to be considered is:

3. How has inclusion been represented at senior cycle English examination since 1878?

For this purpose, an analysis of the question words in examination papers was carried out. However, inclusion proved to have a wider scope than just question words. The content of examination papers provided vital insights into inclusion over the period. Access to education and gender were also investigated as a part of inclusion.

The last sub-question relates to meritocracy. The system of examinations that was introduced was based on a meritocratic system where those who performed best were promoted on merit. This was a system that was deemed fair and unbiased. Therefore, it warrants consideration and consequently, the last question is:

> 4. What impact has meritocracy had on the examination system at senior cycle English?

The investigation of these research questions brought the challenges of historical research into focus. At the core of the research lies the inextricably linked triangle of policy and decisions formed around syllabi design and examination content. The relationship and tensions that lie between these aspects dominate the discourse.

1.2 The Political and Educational Context

The influence of colonisation on the current education system in Ireland must be addressed from the outset. As a colony of Great Britain up to 1922, Ireland's political, cultural, social and economic fortunes must be positioned within the context of and analysed under a colonial lens. This is because, as the quote above demonstrates, Ireland's colonial paradigm was unique in many ways. When the British government sought to introduce a series of examinations that would award candidates on merit, instead of patronage as had been the tradition, it determined to introduce these examinations to the colonies (O'Toole 2006; Heffer 2013). This system, it was considered, would provide the civil service in the colonies with loyal, efficient, and hard-working individuals who would thrive on being promoted by merit (O'Toole 2006). Therefore, the system of examination that was introduced to Ireland was one that was deemed best by the British Empire. The complexity of the relationship between the coloniser and the colony has played out in a myriad of distinctive ways in Ireland. The concept of Irish culture has even become difficult to define as one distinctive idea for all the eras and for all time. For the purpose of this research, culture is understood as an "amalgam of values, meanings, conventions and

artefacts that constitute daily social realities" (Hall *et al.* 2013 p. 48). Therefore, it is important to state that it is not fixed, but rather subject to change depending on the amalgam of values, meanings, artefacts and conventions that constitutes daily social realities at any given time.

A brief outline of the history of the preceding years is necessary to understand the political and educational context of the 1870s. Church involvement in education in Ireland can be traced back as far as the early monastic settlements where education was based on poetry, oratory, local history, law and philosophy (Walsh 2011). By medieval times monastic schools were run by Irish monks not just in Ireland but in Britain and across Europe. However, these centres of learning in Ireland were quashed after the Tudor invasion and the introduction of the Protestant faith. The Penal Laws were passed which forbid Catholic ownership of land, use of the Irish language and practice of the Catholic faith. Catholic education was also forbidden, as was the training of Catholic teachers and the use of the Irish language in schools. Schools of the Anglican faith were supported by the state and supported cultural subjugation (Ryan 2014). The Penal Laws resulted in the development of the 'hedge school', where Catholics teachers would continue schooling in secret for those children whose parents refused to send them to Anglican run schools. Teachers were often sourced by the Church and paid by Catholic parents (Raftery 2009). Wealthy Catholics sent their children abroad to be educated in Spain or France although this was also forbidden (Coolahan 1981). The Penal Laws had two significant effects on Catholics that were long-lasting. Firstly, they resulted in Catholic mistrust of state education, parents wanted their children to be educated by the Catholic Church, and secondly, they solidified the relationship between the schoolmaster and the Catholic Church (Inglis 1998). By the time the Penal Laws were retracted in the late 18th and early 19th centuries religion in Ireland was an important and contentious political and educational issue. The schools that did exist were managed by the churches and were *de facto* denominational. The Catholic Church established schools for the Catholic faithful, while the Anglo-Irish community attended Church of Ireland schools. By the time the state-funded national school system was introduced in 1831, the vast majority of schools were Catholic (Inglis 1998). State-run interdenominational national schools were vehemently opposed as it was feared that these schools would be:

> (…) a massive brain-washing operation, obliterating subversive ancestral influence by inculcating in the pupils a proper reverence for the English connection, and proper deference for their social superiors, defined according to the exquisite English concept of class.

The idea of state-run interdenominational schools was dropped in favour of state-funded national schools which allowed the Churches' control to persist. National schools were established in parishes around the country so that there was a good network of schools. While a state-funded national school system had been established no such provision existed at second level which remained solely the responsibility of the Churches. When the British administration introduced intermediate education to Ireland it was outside the remit of many poor agrarian Irish people as secondary education was fee-paying. The distribution of intermediate schools was sporadic which was unlike the national school system. Intermediate schools were mainly located in larger towns and cities where there was a sufficient population to support the religious brothers or sisters who provided the schools (see section 2.5). Access to second-level education in Ireland therefore provided unique challenges. It was the Catholic Church's control over education and the vital role it played in the relationship with the parents and the teachers, that made the Church one of the most formidable voices in educational reform by 1870 (Ó Buachalla 1998; Ryan 2014).

There are also other issues to consider that were of historical importance. The Great Famine in Ireland (1845-1849) highlighted deep divisions in Irish society and the lack of opportunity afforded to the poor, predominantly Irish language speakers, who were marginalised, Catholic and often illiterate (Logan 1990). Over one million people emigrated which made parents more aware of the growing need for engagement with education and the English language. Circumstances converged in the twenty years after the Famine that prompted the development of intermediate education and the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board. These included the work of the Newcastle Commission in England whose remit was to examine and suggest an efficient system of education.

A second factor was the growing nationalist sentiment. Separate geographical and ideological events converged to create an atmosphere of change. There had been growing concern in Britain that their nearest neighbour, Ireland, had a population of almost seven million uncouth peasants who displayed a violent and passionate hatred of the Empire (Inglis 1998). Uprisings had occurred sporadically since 1798 including the Fenian Rising in Ireland in 1867. The Fenian Rising is significant as part of the contextualisation of this thesis, as it led to the adoption by the British Prime Minister of a policy of 'pacification' of the Irish people. Gladstone, British

6

Prime Minister (four terms of office between 1868 and 1894), introduced several important legislative measures in Ireland. Gladstone's 'pacification' policy was based on three platforms: religion, land ownership and education. Education was both considered as a way of improving the lives of Irish colonists and controlling the nationalist elements of the colony. English as a school subject played an important role in this regard. O'Brien (2007) argues that language was an important underlying factor in the politics of identity. The English language became synonymous with affluence and ambition which made learning English attractive to the mainly disenfranchised Irish-speaking population. The subject 'English' became one of the tools of 'Anglicisation' where the coloniser could control the moral instruction of the colonised (Ó Súilleabháin 1971; Mangan 1978; Logan 1990; O'Donoghue 2000a, b; O'Brien 2007). Ryan (2014) argues that education is not created in a vacuum separate from the specific political context, and English as a school subject is embroiled in politics of a colonial perspective.

As opposition mounted to multidenominational state-run schools, what was introduced at second level was not so much a system of education but a system of examination. The introduction of intermediate examinations provided an opportunity to standardise and assert a degree of control over what was being taught in schools. Reading material and topics to be questioned became political. The examinations that were established and will be discussed in more detail in chapters 2 and 4, were terminal examinations. At Senior Grade English there were two examination papers, Paper One and Paper Two. Senior Grade examinations were set for students finishing their secondary education, around the age of 17 or 18 years. It is important to note that in the early years following the establishment of the examination processes, the number of students completing Senior Grade examinations was very low and the system only served the needs of the elite (Intermediate Education Board 1881).

Throughout this thesis, Ireland's political landscape is traced from being a colony to being a Free State, until a Republic was declared in 1949. Ireland joined the European Economic Community (EEC) and then the European Union (EU). The prevailing culture and societal demographic has simultaneously shifted from being a homogenous, Catholic one to a diverse, multicultural, and in many respects, a secular society. Intermediate examinations were replaced by the Irish Free State in 1924 and the new Leaving Certificate was examined for the first time in 1925. However, initially, the Irish Free State made very few changes to the structures intermediate education had introduced. Access to secondary school education was limited up

to 1969, as under the Free State government secondary education continued to be private and fee-paying. This ensured that secondary education remained in the remit of the Churches and it was outside the capability of many parents financially. After 1969 student numbers increased year on year with the introduction of free secondary education. This period also saw the introduction of comprehensive and community schools which were nondenominational.

Today, students at the end of their formal second level education take the Leaving Certificate examinations at approximately 17 or 18 years of age. It is an examination system that is highly regarded nationally and internationally, and the integrity and fairness of the system is much celebrated. The Leaving Certificate is a high-stakes examination which determines the career trajectory of candidates, and the results of the examination serve to satisfy the admission needs of higher education providers. As such, students' grades in the Leaving Certificate are translated into a points system, which then is used to select students for individual tertiary programmes. The English examination retains a position of status within the examination process and is always the first examination scheduled each year on the Leaving Certificate timetable. The content and approach of the English examinations is often used as a litmus test of the quality of the entire Leaving Certificate process. Hall *et al.* (2013) ascertain that such cultural patterns have endured because certain aspects of schooling in Ireland are entrenched and go unquestioned. As such, the Leaving Certificate English examination has remained a terminal examination, comprising two examination papers, both of which are subject to much media attention and analysis. Several publications have been produced in recent years on the Leaving Certificate examinations as there is a growing discourse around the predictability of the examinations and concern surrounding their terminal nature (see, e.g., Smyth *et al.* 2011; Baird *et al.* 2014).

Taking the political and educational content of the period of study into consideration there are four distinct areas that have been identified for research. These are:

- Era 1   1878-1924
- Era 2   1925-1970
- Era 3   1971-2000
- Era 4   2001-2016

These eras are distinctive because each one assesses a new syllabus. With the exception of the first era, all of the eras begin with the first year the new syllabus was accessed. This is because

the focus of the research is on the assessment of the syllabus and not on the syllabus design. In contrast, the first era is marked by the introduction of the Senior Grade syllabus and tracks how a terminal examination was introduced in the first incidence.

1.3 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into nine further chapters. These are outlined below.

Chapter two considers the origins of examinations as a method of assessment. The research traces back to Imperial China where a system of Imperial Examinations was introduced that were considered impartial. Through the description of how this examination system was adopted by the British Empire, this chapter traces how examinations of this kind were introduced to Ireland as a colony. While a summary of the system of schooling as it existed in 1870 in Ireland was outlined in this chapter, it is explained in more detail here and the implications such a system had for the introduction of the intermediate examinations, The Senior, Middle and Junior Grade.

Chapter three describes how English as a school subject developed. The three theoretical models of English as a school subject are presented, namely, the Great Tradition, the Skills Model and the Growth Model. The tensions that lie between them are also discussed. The composition of English as a school subject, the inclusion of valued aspects of the subject content and relevant literature surrounding same are examined. The literature provides the researcher with a lens through which the complex nature of English as a school subject and its connection to colonialism can be viewed.

Chapter four discusses the complexity of writing historically and outlines the research design. A schedule of the data collection and analysis is outlined. The data collection procedures and research tools are discussed, the dependability of the research design is defended and the challenges it presented explored. Brief consideration is given to the topic of readability and the preliminary research conducted into readability is outlined. Finally, the limitations of the research methods adopted are examined.

Chapter five outlines the background to Era 1 (1878-1924), the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board and the introduction of intermediate examinations. The analysis

of Senior Grade examination papers of this era is presented. In addition, the four themes which emerged from the data are discussed and links are made to the cultural, political and societal situation in Ireland in which these examination papers are embedded. The findings for this era are examined through the lens of the policy-syllabus-examinations.

Chapter six discusses how independence and the establishment of the Irish Free State affected intermediate education and the intermediate examination structure. It outlines how these examinations were eventually replaced by the new government and the Leaving Certificate was introduced. The Honours Leaving Certificate examination papers of this era are analysed and themes which emerged are discussed in relation to the cultural, political and social change which occurred in Ireland post-independence. Conclusions are offered in relation to the theoretical framework on the aspects of culture and society which are reflected in the examination papers.

Chapter seven provides insight into the considerable adjustments that occurred in Irish education, specifically the English Leaving Certificate examination after free secondary level education was announced. The examination papers are analysed against the backdrop of significant social and cultural change. Conclusions are also drawn as to how the examination papers reflect the dynamic between policy, syllabus design and examination content.

Chapter eight outlines how the significant cultural change that had begun in Era 3 continued as Era 4 developed. This chapter traces the economic situation, as well as the considerable impact that the introduction of key legislation has had on Irish education. The impact of globalisation and digitisation are identified as key factors in the emergence of new cultural and societal narratives. The analyses of the examination papers of this era shows that they reflect these new narratives. Readability is briefly discussed in relation to inclusion.

Finally, chapter nine brings together the key findings of the thesis which form the main conclusions. The research aims and research questions are reconsidered, and conclusions drawn from the substantive chapters are interrogated in light of the changing contexts during the evolution of the examination. This chapter provides the thesis with its key conclusions. It outlines the relevance of the research and its overall contribution to the existing literature. Finally, this chapter discusses the limitations of the research and the possible scope for further study.

Chapter Two: The History of Examinations at Senior Cycle in Ireland

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the historical context that formed the backdrop for the development of a system where public national examinations have retained their prominence and currency. This chapter is divided into three distinct parts. The first of these is an investigation into the rise of meritocracy and how examinations were introduced to determine promotion by merit. The importance of meritocracy to this study cannot be understated. Up to the introduction of the meritocratic system in Britain, positions often were appointed on heritage or were linked to patronage. With a meritocratic system, candidates would compete against each other for these positions regardless of heritage. The second part of this chapter examines the system of examinations up to 1878 in England and Ireland, the introduction of Payment by Results and access to schooling. The final part of this chapter explores the standardised syllabus that was introduced for study in 1878 by the Intermediate Education Board, with particular reference to the syllabus specified for English.

2.2 Meritocracy

To understand the importance that has been afforded the examination structure in Ireland historically, it must be established where the system developed. The first known reference to a wide scale, competitive examination system occurred in China. We are told that examinations were held with both regularity and rigidity from 165 BC until their abolition in 1905. They were divided into three levels: Higher level, Intermediate level and Lower level based on age. The levels corresponded approximately to B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. in the Western system. In theory, anyone holding an office in the military or civil service had to pass these examinations (Têng 1943). Therefore, positions were awarded by merit. Meadows (1847) praised the system, maintaining that at the very least it attempted to establish an equal playing field where those with talent succeeded.

This situation contrasted starkly with the European tradition of patronage, where positions of importance were awarded to those who held the favour of patrons at court. However, the politics of court meant that once a patron lost his influence, the servant in the civil or administrative position also lost his position. This process, it has been argued, often led to inconsistencies and a lack of long-term planning in civil servant projects (Heffer 2013). According to Murray's *New English Dictionary*, in Europe the word 'examination' was not used until modern times, first appearing as the word 'test' in 1612 (Têng 1943). 'Examination' and terms like 'examination paper' were not commonly used until the 19th century. Written examinations did not exist until the 18th century and candidates who were pursuing degrees at Cambridge and/or Oxford Universities were assessed through oral vivas or examinations (Têng 1943). The expansion of the British Empire drew attention to the need for fair and impartial examinations. Over time missionaries to China had brought word of the Imperial Examinations back to Europe. The word 'integrity' was used in describing the Chinese system of examinations in *A Sketch of Chinese History* in 1832. Têng (1943) mentions that there were some problems with grand scale, high stake examinations, for example, cheating. However, *A Sketch of Chinese History* maintained that examinations were worth introducing in other countries and Prussia was the first state in Europe to introduce examinations for the purpose of entering the civil service (Fitzgerald 2020).

In 1806 the East India Company College was established in London by the East India Company, to train suitable employees. In India, administrative positions were being filled by candidates who received high grades in these examinations. This model was based on the civil service examinations in China (Kracke 1957). It was the first acknowledgement that positions should be rewarded on merit rather than nomination. In England, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report was produced in 1853/1854. The report expounded the idea of examinations for admittance to the civil service and appointment by merit be introduced in Britain (O'Toole 2006). Although the system was not put in place at that time, it led to the establishment of the Civil Service Commission to investigate the concept further. Meanwhile in India, modelled on the East India Company, the Indian Civil Service (ICS) was founded in 1857.

The ICS continued to hold the examinations the East India Company had been organising, which signified their satisfaction with the process. The examinations focused on a general education and included subjects such as the classics, political economy, history, mathematics,

natural philosophy, law and humanity and philology (Mangan 1978). The examinations encouraged students to learn English Language and Literature. In addition, Englishmen were encouraged to compete in these examinations and as such many candidates originated from England (Moore 1964). The underlying concept was that candidates would have a broad knowledge of many subjects and would not be specifically trained for professions. They would instead be trained to deal efficiently with the varied challenges that they might face in public office. The examinations were designed to test the candidate's knowledge of the core elements of a liberal education (Price 1957; Moore 1964). These examinations were modelled on that of the Mandarins, the term given to senior civil servants in China, who were recognised as scholars (Meadows 1847, 1856). The examinations were open to 'all-comers', up to the age of 22 years (Moore 1964). Adding to this, Mangan (1978) notes that these examinations also attempted to bestow certain cultural norms and values, or 'gifts of character', from England to the wider Empire. It seems that the Victorians felt a moral responsibility to do so, especially when they perceived India to be 'degenerate' and 'cruel'. A similar sentiment is echoed by Mullins (2002), who states that teaching English as a subject was designed to ensure a certain level of faithfulness or allegiance to the British Empire and as such its interests throughout the world at the time.

By 1870 Gladstone was convinced of the value of introducing a complete civil service examination structure in England (Têng 1943; Heffer 2013). Apart from the apparent success of the ICS and its examination structure, there were other motivations for introducing this system. Successive wars and uprisings such as the Crimean War (1853-1856), the rebellion in India (1857) and the Irish Fenian Rising (1867), demonstrated the difficulty of ruling nations. The importance of appointing men of capacity to the British Army also became apparent during the Crimean War, where many officers had purchased their commissions. Their mishandling of the war and the excessive death toll, which was a direct result of disease and mismanagement, clearly highlighted the need for an alternative approach (Heffer 2013). The idea that military promotion could be earned and both merit and loyalty would be rewarded was attractive to some of the citizens of the colonies. Meadows (1847) had warned that Britain would lose all its colonies if it did not introduce impartial examinations that were seen as fair and equitable across the colonies. Given this, the 'integrity' of the Chinese system was considered very appealing.

When civil service examinations were finally introduced in Britain, the structure of the civil service itself was also set out. It was divided into three sections and shaped like a pyramid. The top level of the pyramid would have the least number of employees, have a high standard of education and receive a high salary with pension and tenure. Candidates were also selected from open competition of a 'high class' (Heffer 2013). The second level would have an intermediate level of education, receive lower salaries, a pension and tenure and also be selected from open competition, though of a lower kind. The lowest level would be made up of writers earning 30 shillings a week without tenure, pensions or prospects of any kind (Heffer 2013). To be considered for the top grade, the candidate had to achieve high results in English composition, language, literature, English history, Constitutional history, Latin, Greek, history and literature. These subjects carried the most marks. The history, language and literature of France, Italy and Germany were also tested, as were mathematics, natural sciences, moral sciences, jurisprudence and political economy (Heffer 2013). The rationale was that those who had the highest level of education would succeed to the highest level of the civil service. It was also argued that it was up to society to implement reform and for the universities to widen their admissions policies to more schools and students of more varied backgrounds (Heffer 2013). In 1855 the Civil Service Commission was appointed to organise examinations for entry into the service. Although candidates could still be nominated, entry by examination performance was the norm by 1871. The introduction of competitive examination for recruitment transformed the Irish Civil Service in the following years (O'Doherty 1997).

Oxford had introduced their local examination system in 1858 and Cambridge followed in 1859. The purpose was to provide an opportunity for students to sit examinations upon completing school, despite not attending the universities. They could sit the examinations locally without having to travel (The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES 2019)). This marked the beginning of the modern secondary school system of examination in England (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). When the Cambridge Local Examinations began there was a syndicate of thirteen people to oversee regulations and the procedure of examinations, setting and marking papers and awarding the results. From the beginning, the examinations were well organised and were available across the Empire. By 1864 six candidates completed the Cambridge Senior Exams in Trinidad (UCLES 2019). In Britain and Ireland, schools could affiliate themselves with one of these bodies. Students attending secondary schools could sit these examinations to gain college entry. Irish schools

were particularly drawn to the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations, but there were other examinations available also. Both the Catholic University and Queen's University, in 1854 and 1860 respectively, established Local Examinations (McElligott 1981). By 1875, boys leaving school in Ireland and England could choose between seventeen different examinations and Irish students were performing well at all levels of these examinations (McElligott 1981). It must be noted that this route to education was not available to all, as the vast majority of Irish young people left school early to begin employment. Secondary school was fee-paying and attending university was beyond the means of many. Therefore, the students availing of these examinations were privileged, of wealthy background and few in number.

Concurrent to the introduction of the examinations in the elite schools in England, there was the concern that although literacy levels had improved among the general population since 1800, the overall improvement was slow (West 1978). Rapid growth in population, immigration and a poor school structure all played a role in this slow development. The difficulty with the school structure pertained to the haphazard nature of English industrial towns at this time and the working-age and working hours for children. School attendance was difficult to achieve and to monitor. Despite the introduction of The Factory Act 1833 the issue rumbled on until eventually, The Newcastle Commission was set-up in 1859 to investigate the standard of education. This investigation pertained mainly to national schools which educated the children of the poor and not to the public schools, which educated wealthy children. Importantly, West (1978) notes that the immigrants from Ireland were coming from the poorest areas of Ireland with the lowest level of education.

2.3 The Introduction of Intermediate Education

Education within Great Britain was scrutinised during the 1850s and 1860s. The Newcastle Commission produced The Newcastle Report in 1861. The Newcastle Commission's remit was to investigate and report on the resources required to provide a basic and financially viable, or 'cheap', elementary education to all classes of people (Maclure 1979). The Argyll Commission also reported on the standard of education in Scotland in 1864. Both recommended to Westminster that accountability and standards within the education system would be improved if a system known as Payment by Results was introduced. Concentrating on the primary level education, a system was introduced which focused on educating people to a measurable point

and government could see a measurable return on its investment (Sutherland 2014). Robert Lowe introduced *The Revised Code* (1862) which linked the grants schools received to the examination performance of the students. However, this was only applicable to primary level education. *The Revised Code* introduced a system that focused on educating people to a measurable point, providing the government with a return on the investment made (Johnson 2013). Societal change and increased interest in education aligned with a growing population would inevitably lead to increased expenditure. This was to be avoided as the population grew, therefore the emphasis was placed on efficiency and productivity. Within a decade, the Powis Commission was commissioned to review standards in Irish education.

The Powis Commission presided over by Lord Powis, was established in 1868 and completed its final report in 1870. Similar to that of England, the report recommended a system in Ireland of Payment by Results, whereby children's performance on examinations would earn a premium for teachers to supplement their meagre salaries. It proposed that in addition to their salary, teachers would be rewarded for individual student success. However, and most attractively, this would be paid directly to teachers. This offer of additional funding was welcomed, largely by national school teachers, which contributed greatly to its successful introduction. There were uncertainties related to the scheme, as it relied on student performance and the numbers of students taking the examination (O'Connell 1968). Given this, the amount which a teacher could earn varied significantly each year. However, a good year could see teachers being rewarded handsomely. Cardinal Cullen, whose influence will be discussed in a later chapter (see section 5.2.1), supported the new scheme and recommended that a teacher's focus should be on the three Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic) just as it was in England, as these were measurable tasks.

The Payment by Results model was introduced by the Resident Commissioner Sir Patrick Keenan to the national school system in Ireland in 1872. Since its inception, the emphasis on measurable assessment has been a feature of the Irish Education System. It was met with relative success as teachers supported the plan. Teachers would now get their salary and a bonus based on students' examination performance. This provided a huge incentive for teachers to encourage students to perform well in examinations and to stay longer in the education system as schooling was not compulsory at this time.

The new system also enabled the government to meet the challenge of funding educational reform in Ireland while not appearing to support denominational education (Hyland and Milne 1987). The churches in Ireland owned the schools (see sections 6.2.2. for more) but the system of Payment by Results gave the government a clear path out of the brambles of religious entanglement. Teachers were encouraged to work harder for the incentive without the state being seen to get too involved in school administration (Hyland and Milne 1987). The Commissioners of National Education identified the programme to be taught at each class level. For example, Hyland and Milne (1987, p. 127) outline the programme for 3rd class pupils:

1. Reading: (a) To read with ease, correctness and intelligence […] and to answer simple questions on the words and phrases of the lesson read; (b) To repeat correctly about 120 lines of the poetry contained in the Reading Book.
2. Spelling: To write from dictation, on slate or paper, an easy sentence from the Reading Book
3. Writing: To exhibit in copybooks […] at least 100 pages in round hand […] written on one hundred different days […] and to write, with careful imitation of the head-line, in the presence of the Inspector.
4. Arithmetic.
5. Grammar: To be well acquainted with the definitions of the Parts of Speech, and to distinguish the Parts of Speech in an ordinary sentence.

Up to this development, there seems to have been little coherence across the country on what was taught. For example, Logan (1990) highlights that some schools focused more on reading rather than writing, arguing that more people would need to be able to read than to write well. Payment by Results created a core curriculum and identifying examinable subjects had the positive effect of streamlining the system and pedagogy.

However, there were some problems. Payment by Results also highlighted the issue of Anglicisation. As pay was now linked to pupil performance, whether it was an intentional government policy or not, English was to be learned, spoken, read and written by every student in the country if they wanted to progress through the examination structure (O'Donoghue 2000a). This disadvantaged students whose native tongue was Irish. Sir Patrick Keenan stressed the fortunes of students in the *Gaeltacht* (areas in Ireland where the Irish language is the main language spoken) and later in 1883 the government-sanctioned teaching through Irish but this was only so students might learn English faster (O'Donoghue 2000b). This sentiment

is echoed by Mullins (2002) when he says that the priority for the Empire was to have its citizens reading and writing accurate Standard English.

In Ireland, students could attend national schools and for those who had the financial means to further their education, they could attend intermediate or 'Superior' schools. 'Superior' schools were so-called because they offered the opportunity to study a foreign language. However, the difficulty was access. The 1871 Census, states there were 9,495 national schools in Ireland but there was only 574 intermediate or 'Superior' schools. While the national school had an attendance rate of 615,785 students, only a little over 21,000 attended intermediate schools (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1871). It is evident that while the majority of Irish children attended national schools, very few transferred to second-level education. The vast majority of people could not pay fees to attend these schools. The poor populace was concerned with competency in oral and written English which they considered a vital skill for economic improvement or emigration. Therefore, secondary education was a luxury, the preserve of those who had money and could afford to stay and pay. The 1871 Census also commented on the exclusivity of the system by criticising:

> (…) the little private school where two or three boys waste their time over Latin grammar […] or the little private school where two or three girls waste their time equally in the supposed acquirement of French.
>
> (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1871, p. 163)

This census identified that as few as .05% or seventy eight students in total advanced to university which the census refers to as a 'shame' and 'miserable' (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1871). After the Fenian Rising (1867), Gladstone made it his mission to 'pacify' Ireland. In the context of greater imperial issues, the reorganising of the civil service and the introduction of Payment by Results, a uniform system of examinations was the next step in government policy as it would streamline schools into a standard to be reached.

2.4 The Intermediate Education Act (1878)

As previously discussed, there was a system of examinations in place which Irish students could complete to progress to university (see section 2.2). However, it was not a unified system

and there was a need for one to be developed. As such, the Intermediate Education Bill was drawn up to create a unified system of examination. As the Intermediate Education Bill was proceeding through the House of Lords, Lord O'Hagan argued that the people of Ireland had:

> Ceased to a large extent, to know or care for a high and wholesome literature. Bookshops are vanishing from the towns. The publishing trade which, in the last century, was large and flourishing, is almost extinct. Once the presses of Dublin teemed with expensive works-encyclopaedias, dictionaries, classical […] And others-such as an educated community demands and will procure. But the production of these works has almost ceased.

(O'Hagan 1878, pp. 12-13)

It is obvious from the progression of the Bill through the Houses of Parliament that change was welcomed by the vast majority. The Bill was passed without any noticeable opposition. This resulted in the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board.

2.4.1 The Intermediate Education Board

The Intermediate Education Board constituted of seven unpaid commissioners and two full-time paid assistant commissioners. The commissioners were appointed by the Lord Lieutenant and would "hold office during his pleasure" (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1878, p. 5). The Intermediate Education Board, as established by the Intermediate Education Act 1878 (Ireland), would oversee a system of public examinations, and reward schools and students for their success by way of payment (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1878). The Board would have responsibility for devising guidelines, setting examination papers and overseeing the publishing of them. This responsibility was placed in the hands of the two paid assistant commissioners. They would hire staff to supervise examinations and to correct them (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). Confidentiality was to be given prominence in all aspects of planning and executing of the examinations.

There were limitations to the reach of the Board. For example, it had no funds for capital projects such as school buildings or equipment. More importantly, it did not oversee pedagogy, curriculum or monitor teachers. There was, therefore, no inspectorate function attached to the Board. They did not control teacher's pay and conditions, they did not create an exact syllabus

to be followed and crucially they did not prescribe textbooks. It was limited to producing programmes, organising examinations and awarding the prizes. The fee for applying to sit an examination was 2s 6d (2 shillings and 6 pence) (Hyland and Milne 1987). The Intermediate Education Act 1878 (Ireland) imposed age limits to those seeking to sit examinations. The maximum age would be sixteen, seventeen and eighteen years to sit the three levels of examination (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1878). As schools had been used to various age groups in the same classrooms, the Board did allow students as old as eighteen for Junior Grade, nineteen for Middle Grade and twenty for Senior Grade to complete examinations. However, they were excluded from receiving prizes and had to pay 5 shillings for the privilege of sitting their examination. They would nevertheless, receive a certificate if they were successful (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). The Board allowed for these exceptions for several years to enable students to avail of examinations, having possibly missed out on the opportunity or having been unsuccessful in the past.

The Intermediate Education Board did draw up a syllabus. However, it was more of a list of texts than a syllabus as it did not give any indication of a mission statement or general direction on what it was hoped students would learn. The reading material listed in the syllabus will be discussed later in the chapter (see section 5.3.1). The syllabus was introduced in 1878 and assessed at Senior Grade for the first time in 1881. Much of the minutes of the Board surrounded the organisation of the examinations. It is clear from the detailed minutes the Board, that the integrity of the examination structure was of vital importance to them (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). Each year the examination was allotted a named examiner. In the case of 1886, it was William F. Bailey (B.A.) for The First Paper and Rev. Henry Evans (D.D.) for the Second Paper. The fact that the examiners themselves and their qualifications are named points at the intention of the Board to display the integrity of the examination process. Additionally, the Board left detailed reports on all aspects of the examination process, lists were created of gender participation at all levels, students passing with or without merit, all levels of prizes, student participation by county, all of which again highlights the important place the examinations were given in the education process (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888; Intermediate Education Board 1881). From the beginning, the integrity of the Imperial Examinations was echoed in the intermediate examinations that were established.

2.5 The 'Secondary Tops' Solution

W.J.M Starkie, the Resident Commissioner of National Education in Ireland (1899-1920), proposed a state-run system of higher or second-level schools which would allow students to transfer from national schools to continue their education (O'Doherty 1997). He saw access to second level as 'one of the most pressing needs' in Irish education (Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction 1907). Access to secondary school was unevenly distributed across the country as the Churches established the vast majority of their fee-paying secondary schools in Leinster. Although his proposal was denied by the Treasury, he did succeed in establishing two new grades into the national schools, seventh and eighth grades (O'Doherty 1997). These classes, especially where there was a lack of secondary school provision, provided an opportunity for exceptional students to remain in their local school and prepare for the intermediate examinations such as The Junior or Middle Grade. This led to a system which became known as 'Secondary Tops', where students stayed on in national schools to complete some of their Intermediate Education (Hyland and Milne 1987). Its most valuable achievement was improved access to intermediate examinations which were now open to a greater number of student's countrywide as the national schools had infiltrated almost every townland and parish in the country. The downside of this solution was that there was no onus on the government to create a state-run system of second-level education and the system remained in the control of the Churches. The location of secondary schools remained uneven right up to the 1960s. In 1962 Dr Hillary, the Minister for Education defined the 'Secondary Tops' as being "(…) an extension of the national school in which a secondary curriculum is followed" (Dáil Éireann Debate 1962). In 1962 there were still 3,509 pupils between the ages of fourteen and sixteen attending 'Secondary Tops' in the country.

2.6 The Syllabi over the Eras

To analyse how the examination papers have reflected cultural, economic and political change in Ireland it is imperative to first discuss the varying syllabi that have been introduced throughout the period 1878-2016. Parkes and Harris (2002) tell us that the word 'syllabus' was first noted in 1656 to mean a table of contents. They go on to explain how a syllabus is a form of a contract, which sets expectations and guides 'the behaviour of both parties' (the teacher and the student). If this is the case, then a clear insight into what the syllabus highlighted in

any given era is crucial to this study. An in-depth study of the syllabi is not within the scope of this study. The eras were chosen to align with the first year of examination of syllabi and not the year of syllabi design. The exception to this is Era 1, where the first examinable year was 1881. The reason for this is that it was deemed crucial to the research that an in-depth analysis of the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board be conducted. This is due to the critical decisions that were made by the Board concerning examination design and scope. Consequently, the four eras to be discussed are as follows:

- 1878-1924.
- 1925-1970.
- 1971-2000.
- 2001-2016.

A more detailed historical context for each period will be discussed in later chapters and the impact this had on the assessment of the syllabi through examination. The circumstances under which each syllabus was introduced in Ireland will be briefly outlined and the syllabus itself for each era discussed later chapters.

2.7 Conclusion

From the above, we can see that the examination structure that is in place in Ireland is not unique to this country. It has evolved and been shaped by many factors. The early phase of this chapter explored the significance of meritocracy to the Irish situation. The British government wished to introduce a system of examinations that would reward effort and hard work. It was deemed necessary to shift away from the patron system of promotion that had been in place since medieval times. As Ireland was a colony of the British Empire these policy changes also affected the Irish. The Imperial Examinations in China provided a foundation for the emergent system of meritocracy that developed in Britain in the 19th century. The structure that was implemented across the British Empire, including Ireland, brought with it an inherent principle that examinations promoted confidentiality, fairness and integrity. One of the main research questions of this study pertains to the long term impact meritocracy has had on examinations at senior cycle in the school subject English since it was introduced in 1878. Therefore, it is important to trace the development of meritocracy throughout the period of study.

The second section of this chapter explains how the education system was introduced in Ireland. After the Newcastle Report introduced impartial state examinations to England, the Powis Commission was established. The purpose of this commission was to launch a similar system of examination in Ireland. Another aspect of the research was the question surrounding how the zeitgeist affected or was reflected in examination. Although access to intermediate education really reflected the cultural and social divides at the time, "secondary tops" sought to provide some limited measure of inclusion although it is true that this affected the lower levels of examination more than Senior Grade.

The system that was introduced was highly competitive as the teacher's salary was linked to student performance under the Payment by Results scheme. The connectivity of government policy, syllabus design and examinations is also a vital part of this research. The decisions made by successive governments to alter or introduce new policies must be considered in order to understand the system as it currently exists and informs future developments. The Payment by Results system and the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board examinations have had a singular legacy in Irish society. State examinations hold extraordinary power in modern Ireland as they determine progression to tertiary level. The English examination at Leaving Certificate is summative, terminal and external. The reliability of the assessment and the fairness of the examination itself are often highlighted. Coffey (2000) refers to the sophistication of assessment required for Leaving Certificate English. This is evident in the wording of the questions themselves, which are often discursive and open to interpretation. Adding to this, examination assessors required a high level of training to be able to deal with the range and breadth of answers under an agreed marking scheme. Nevertheless, fairness has remained paramount. The next section of this thesis will investigate how English developed as a subject. This is deemed necessary to determine why certain topics are covered in English examinations. In later sections of the thesis, an analysis will be carried out into how the syllabi were assessed over the four eras outlined above and how this assessment reflected the culture of each period.

Chapter Three: The History of English as a School Subject

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on the development of examinations in Ireland. Due to Ireland's colonial status and the growing acceptance of meritocracy, the examinations that were introduced into Britain and across the Empire also became commonplace in Ireland. They were deemed impartial and their apparent success was linked to their integrity and standardisation. Given this, this chapter discusses how English developed as a school subject. This exploration of the development of the subject generally is then followed by an exploration of the development of English as a school subject in Ireland. The different models of English as a subject will be explained and later in the chapter, the various aspects of the English syllabus and topics for examination are examined.

Bernstein (1977) maintains that, "How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control" (Bernstein 1977, p. 85). Considering this, what is included in the syllabus is important as it reflects the societal and political zeitgeist at any one time. Mullins (2002) makes the point that research in the development of school subjects in Ireland has historically been lacking. He identified the static nature of the curriculum which had remained unchanged and unchallenged for much of the history of the subject since its inception in Ireland. For many generations, English studies have been dominated by a group of writers who came to comprise The Canon of literature and have shaped the development of English as a subject within second-level education. The Canon, for the purpose of this research, refers to a group of British writers, namely, Shakespeare, Blake, Shelley, Wordsworth, Pope, Bacon and others, whose work was considered the best of literature. Their work was included in English as a school subject in order to both control the working classes at home and familiarise the colonists with English values (Morgan 1990). Green (1990) states that English as a subject, and English teaching specifically, has utilised literature as a cultural commodity, with specific ideologies and which has political effects. Literature is not a given, and the teaching of it is constructed for a specific purpose. In this way, literature in education mobilises, controls and maintains social divisions. Students read what is prescribed and are thought certain

values through this selection (O'Carroll 1993). Colonialism played a role in this regard. Subjects in Ireland, and the other colonies, developed as they had in Britain and as the examination system was developed in Britain, Irish schools adapted the same system. Mullins (2002) utilises Bourdieu's (1977) term the 'doxa' to describe the dominant literature and authors selected to populate the English syllabus. Here Mullins defines 'doxa' as the accepted norm or "what goes without saying" (Mullins 2002, p. 6). This relationship had not been challenged as it was the way things had always been (Goodson 1983). Given Ireland's colonial past, and the purpose and the orientation of second-level education in the 19th century towards the humanities, the Great Tradition and classical skills such as oratory were considered to be at the apex of a student's programme of study. For example, scholars have noted that the great works are considered great because they can cut to the essential ideas that persons from all backgrounds consider salient such as truth, beauty, goodness, liberty, equality and justice (Adler 1991; Schubert 1993). The curriculum in Ireland, which at the outset prepared students to enter universities in Britain, contained much of the same literature as that in Great Britain. The acceptance of this literature, with its taken for granted status, has allowed for a persistent ideology in the subject English (O'Carroll 1993).

Marshall (2013) questions if the nature of English studies is changing. She considers that the knowledge that educators hope students gain from studying English in schools has transformed. This alteration may have resulted from a changing society and cultural experience. It is clear that the traditions and accepted norms are changing and as Andrews (2001) points out, schools are now "social and political contexts which both shape and are affected by literacies [and governments need to] be strong as neutral arbiters of difference: the acceptance and/or resolution of difference, with the help of literacies [in order to affect change]" (Andrews 2001, p. 11). Ryan (2014) asserts that contemporary social reproduction analysis acknowledges that while education does transmit traditional values and social conformation, it is also a site of contestation. Power struggles, contradictions and conflict occur, and transformation is instigated. It is in this environment that change occurs. However, where societies are post-colonial and unused to democracy of opinion, such as Ireland, voices of dissension are slow to come forward (Ryan 2014). Yet, as Gutmann and Ben-Porath (2014) state, everyone pays a high price for not listening to the alternatives and being aware of the improvements that can be made to make school a better place for students.

The next section explores how the subject of English developed in England and consequently in Ireland. This is followed by a discussion relating to how English as a subject was shaped in Ireland and to what extent the development of the subject reflects Dixon's (1967) evolving model of language curriculum.

3.2 Models for English as a Subject

Ball *et al.* (1990) note that even at the end of the 19th century:

> English did not exist as a separately identifiable school subject at either elementary or secondary level. There were certainly very few teachers who could be called or would have called themselves teachers of English.

(Ball *et al.* 1990, p. 53)

It was only in the colonies that the subject title 'English' actually existed. English developed as an independent subject as a mechanism to subdue or civilise colonial cultures and thereby ensure Britain's economic and capitalist needs (Mullins 2002). Initially, as Eagleton (2008) notes, English struggled to compete on equal terms with other more established subjects. Rhetoric, Oratory and the Classics had all been part of the educational tradition. Even the study of the structure of a language, Philology was established. The issue for English as a subject was that it drew from all of these and was difficult to define as distinctive. For the subject to succeed in carving out a niche in England, where it could take its place among academic subjects and hold its own, it had to reflect, "the immutable truths of the human condition" (Morgan 1990, p. 208) and to move away from being a subject 'fit for women' (Eagleton 2008). To meet these expectations, literature was selected for study which would challenge its readers to think about these higher truths and the Great Tradition emerged.

Dixon's (1967) theory of how English has developed creates three areas for reflection. He surmises that we can divide English into three models which are explored below, namely the Cultural Heritage Model, the Skills Model and the Growth Model. Later, other models emerged, notably that of The Cox Report (1989) which identified five models of English teaching (see Table 3.1 below (adapted from Andrews 2001, p. 6)).

Table 3.1: The Cox Report's Five Models for the development of English as a subject.

1	The personal growth of the child was developed through their interaction with literature.
2	The cross-curriculum dimension reflected the importance of English for good communication skills in all subjects.
3	A focus on the needs of the workplace and what students should know leaving school in order to enter the world of work.
4	The Cultural Heritage Model emphasised the responsibility of the teacher to introduce the child to The Canon.
5	The importance of teaching the child to read for meaning and to give the child an appreciation of the values espoused in print and other media.

The language of the models has altered over the years as new modes of communication were introduced and more cognisance to the person was considered. For this discussion, the models are broadly explained using Dixon's (1967) terms, while acknowledging that more scope is given to these terms now than when he was writing.

3.3 The Great Tradition: The Cultural Heritage Model

The history of English as a school subject has become synonymous with the work of Matthew Arnold. Arnold was a school inspector and social critic who wrote extensively on numerous social topics including the development of English as a school subject. He advocated for the benefits of a liberal education. Arnold proposed that students in the junior years of second-level school should study the elements of Latin, the chief modern languages, of history, of arithmetic and geometry, of geography and have some knowledge of the natural world. In doing so, Arnold believed that students would be introduced to the first phase of a liberal education or the best of what had been said and thought (Arnold 1911). Arnold (1911) too believed that:

> The aim and office of instruction, say many people, is to enable a man to *know himself and the world*…To know himself, a man must know the capabilities and performances of the human spirit; and the value of the humanities […] but it is also a vital and formative knowledge to know the world, the laws which govern nature, and man as a part of nature.
>
> (Arnold, cited in Conway 2010, p. 49)

Reference is often made to Arnold's work *Culture and Anarchy* (1868) as the seminal work in the development of the Cultural Heritage Model. Central to this model, English would be taught

27

to develop the minds of young people by introducing them to great works of literature that would be chosen to civilise and increase students' cultural awareness and English national identity.

Fundamental to societal change at the end of the 19th century was the concern of how to educate and perhaps control the new elements of society, specifically, the emerging middle and working classes. However, education, and particularly teaching students to read and write proficiently was a double-edged sword. To empower people could erode the power of the upper aristocracy. As such, it had to be approached with caution. The loss of ideological control by the ruling classes and the demise of religion left a void. To develop a subject around the national language and culture was a way of unifying, if not controlling the masses (Andrews 2001). The idea began to circulate that English could educate all these people, who were not classically trained, to an acceptable standard and out of this would emerge a new sense of togetherness, a sense of Britishness at home that had been lacking (Baldick 1983; Andrews 2001). The contemporary Professor of English Literature at Oxford, George Stuart Gordon, voiced concern at his inaugural lecture for his Merton professorship in 1922, stating the following:

> England is sick…English Literature must save it […] English Literature now has a triple function: still I suppose to delight and instruct us, but also, and above all, to save our souls and heal the State.

> (Baldick 1983, p. 6)

The argument to develop a national subject, English, in England, coincided with the debate surrounding the continued need for studying the Classics (Greek and Latin) in the late 19th century. Various educationalists and educational institutions wrote extensively on the issue (see, e.g., University of Northern Iowa 1820; West 1884; Bartlett 1912; Hull 1917; Aley 1920; C.K. 1920; C.K. 1921; Coolidge 1921). Eventually, it emerged that English literature could take over this mantle of educating the values and traditions that the Classics had extolled (Hull 1917; Mullins 2002). The North-American Review published many articles of this nature. For example, in October 1820, an article titled "The Study of the Classics" was published. Even at that early date, an unnamed author called for more English texts to be studied and questioned the value of learning the Classical languages in order to be able to reap the reward of their literature (University of Northern Iowa 1820).

In response to this need for a High Culture in the subject English, a list of respectable British writers emerged, those whose work was deemed appropriate to inculcate British values. These authors were mostly English but sometimes Scottish or Welsh, and included Shakespeare, Milton, Wordsworth, Blake, Shelley, Scott and Bacon. These writers made up what is now known as The Canon, whose function was to pass on the great tradition of English literature.

F.R. Leavis and the English School at Cambridge College became vital in implementing Arnold's beliefs in the world of academia. Leavis determined that close analysis and detailed study of texts should be the method of learning, as this mirrored the Classical education. The Great Tradition as espoused by Leavis and his colleagues alienated some students, and not all students experienced the 'organic social unity' displayed in George Eliot's rural settings or Henry James's quite city squares. Crucially, Charles Dicken's brand of social reality was not included within The Canon (Mullins 2002). Arnold's educational ideas proved hugely influential in England, and subsequent major educationists suggested only slightly altered versions of his ideas. Additionally, and as a result of colonisation, Arnold's influence was felt not only England but in all English-speaking countries. Similar national curricula were developed in numerous countries many of which placing High Culture at their core. The Great Tradition model has been difficult to replace and is reflected across the colonies in all aspects of English studies.

Shakespeare's position both within The Canon and in general in the study of English must be considered. This is because Shakespeare has remained a compulsory element of the Leaving Certificate course in Ireland since the development and introduction of examinations in 1878 (Intermediate Education Board 1878; Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). His inclusion has almost been above question by successive syllabi committees. In 1994 when the most recent syllabus was under design there was some debate about retaining Shakespeare as a compulsory element. The Minister for Education at the time, Niamh Breathnach, insisted on the retention of Shakespeare as a compulsory component for the new course. However, her intervention caused unease. Mullins (1996b), who was involved in the design stage, commented that the directive issued by Minister Breathnach resulted in a serious imbalance in the syllabus that had been carefully constructed to meet the needs and interests of a diverse range of students studying English.

Coles (2013) also discusses the dominance of Shakespeare in The Canon. For her, Shakespeare is seen as being so iconic, so synonymous with British culture and a sense of Englishness that it is assumed that a knowledge of his works is both a transformative and democratising process. The compulsory study of Shakespeare in the United Kingdom could then be explained as cultural heritage. This puts the spotlight on the countries of the Empire like Ireland (Mullins 1996b). Shakespeare's introduction to Ireland through colonialism might be explained as a sharing of the cultural heritage of the Empire. However, the real debate lies after 1922, when upon gaining independence the government of Ireland retained the study of Shakespeare. This debate is both complex and multifaceted.

A search of *Dáil Éireann* debates shows that William Shakespeare has been quoted over 400 times since 1922 (Dáil Éireann Debates 2019). In the 1930s, when the Irish language policy was being promoted by the Irish government, *Teachtaí Dála* (henceforth TD(s)) or members of *Dáil Éireann* (Assembly of Ireland), frequently quoted Shakespeare to win their arguments in the Houses of the Oireachtas. In a heated debate on the 16th May 1939, General Richard Mulcahy asked that Shakespeare not be quoted in the House, only to be told by the Minister for Industry and Commerce Seán Lemass that, "I intend to quote Shakespeare as often as it suits me" (Dáil Éireann Debate 1939). Lemass also mentions that he was not aware that he had been quoting Shakespeare. Shakespearean drama also became paramount when forming a bond with other English speaking nations (Engler 1991). Mullins (1996b) calls this Shakespeare's 'mythical power' and observes that it is a sentiment that has continued both in Ireland and England. For example, Michel Gove, the then British Education Secretary (2010-2014), declared that to remove Shakespeare as a compulsory component of the curriculum would leave students 'disadvantaged' and left in 'the shadow of ignorance' (Coles 2013). In 2011, Gove stated that "I am unapologetic that all children have a right to the best. And there is such a thing as the best" (Coles 2013, p. 54). Given this, it is clear that the cultural heritage approach is strongly defended by some. Importantly, the decisions made by policymakers impact an entire generation (see, e.g., Bernstein 1977).

Coles (2013) says that there were references made in Britain when the new curriculum was being discussed, to Great Writing, Universal Truths and tradition which affected culture. Moreover, government records show that many debates on the topic finished with "almost everyone agrees" before reinstating Shakespeare as central to the English programme (Coles

2013, p. 52). The difficulty with this is that since 1922, successive Irish governments have been loath to deprive the Irish student by excluding Shakespeare. Shakespeare, we are told, had iconic status and was seen to be essential study for the cultural and moral development of students (Mullins 1996b).

However, Mullins (1996b) contends that we must challenge the notion that Shakespeare, or The Canon in general, are 'for all time' and have 'stood the test of time'. Mullins (1996b) also questions the compulsory teaching of Shakespeare because studying what the best of English culture is does not instigate a sense of 'Irishness' or advance the state of being as Irish citizens. Steiner (1984) adds that Shakespearean drama may be 'moving beyond our reach'. In this sense, studying Shakespearean language can prove difficult for many and the current generation may need extensive historical knowledge and an understanding of classical mythology to comprehend the works of Shakespeare. Steiner (1984) adds that, as the footnotes lengthen and the glossaries become more elementary, ultimately the poetry loses immediate impact for the student.

Many Shakespearean plays for secondary schools now have so many explanations written into the margins that the area on the page given over to the text of the play is decreasing. These are offered not only for the student but for the teachers as well because few teachers of English have classical backgrounds (Mullins 1996b). This is not a new phenomenon. An advert in *The Secondary Teacher* (1969), an Irish journal for second-level teachers referenced this issue. The journal comments that teenagers would find it most difficult to 'probe deeply' into the issues raised by the play (Edition 1969). This point was made some fifty years ago and yet Shakespeare is still studied in our schools.

Nonetheless, Shakespeare does have his champions. Strauss (2015), quoting an English teacher from Washington DC, writes that, "Shakespeare is more than just a long-dead British guy and I believe he has *much* to teach us about the modern human condition" (Strauss 2015, para. 11). Strauss (2015) goes on to comment that part of Shakespeare's allure is his ability to connect with the reader. We see Othello treated as 'the other' or 'different' and it reminds us of our insecurities. We understand Shakespeare's characters because they succeed and fail just like we do (Strauss 2015). Moreover, drama in the classroom has a wider kinaesthetic and creative function. O'Brien (1969) says that the teacher's job is to keep the dramatic experience alive, arguing that the direction of drama studies in schools should take the form of the creative

experience it offers rather than the question that came up in last year's examination. She advocates for a change in pedagogical approach towards the study of theatre rather than thematic approaches. McCarthy (1996) also focuses on ways to make Shakespeare more accessible to students. She offers pedagogic approaches to get students more involved in the dramatic experience.

However, the debate surrounding the total elimination of Shakespeare from English studies in Ireland is largely silent. There are those like Mullins (1996b) who argue for the removal of the compulsory study of Shakespeare. As it stands, in 2020, Shakespearean drama is compulsory for study at Higher Level Leaving Certificate English. It carries a weighting of 60 or 70 marks out of a possible 400, depending on the section of the examination chosen by the student to answer. However, it is not compulsory at Ordinary Level Leaving Certificate English. The Great Tradition as a model is still evident in large sections of prescribed literature although its absolute dominance has waned.

3.4 The Skills Model or Language Model

A major aspect of understanding and implementing the discussed models is the central question of culture itself. Mullins (2002) alerts us to this in his argument, questioning whether culture is 'high culture' and the teaching of 'great literature' or if culture is perceived as the society in which the student lives. For this thesis, culture is seen to represent the values and norms of the time. Therefore, the nuances of culture change over time and the needs of students change with it. By the 1930s, complaints about the standard of English became frequent (Stockley 1936; Thompson 1940) and the Skills Model emerged. The Skills Model espoused that English should be taught like the Classical languages. There should an emphasis placed on philology, accuracy and grammar. In addition, there was also a focus on communication (Cox 1991; Mullins 2002). The emphasis on communication and clear, accurate language skills was the cornerstone of the Skills Model. This skill was vital as preparation for life, not just for the world of work (Devitt 1978). The inclusion of essay writing or composing on the English curriculum was not without controversy. The very nature of an 'English Course' was seen as an encroachment on the classical subjects of Rhetoric and Oratory which had long been part of traditional school life. Consequently, composition writing came from a classist base. Quintilian's *Institutes* makes the point that "Language is based on reason, antiquity, authority

and usage" (Miller 1993, p. 23) which links it very much to Latin. Miller herself includes composing in the list 'history', 'literature', 'rhetoric', 'composing', as if they are all inextricably linked (Miller 1993). Canby (1920) also notes that:

> 'English' means something with reasonable definiteness when literature is in question; but what 'English' means in the field of composition is always puzzling. Is it a study of good books, which incidentally may serve as models for writing? Is it a potential production of literature? Is it merely adequate expression of anything? Or is it a compulsory drill applied to the word and the sentence? No single answer satisfies.
>
> (Canby 1920, p. 368)

Fifty years later Emig (1978) raised the same issues when he questioned, 'What is English?', 'What is writing?' and 'What are the basics?'. Reflecting on her own experiences, Miller (1993) notes that she left the validated academic field of literary criticism for what she labels the 'decidedly non-serious' world of composition teaching. Adding to this, Emig (1978) also questions whether academics like Hirsch consider writing as a recognised branch of English studies, as many of his peers in the academic world do. Canby (1920) argues that the core issue of accepting writing was related to its utilitarian function. As such, in a world dominated by rote learning, students must approach writing with the same diligence but a different method, with a dedication to practice. Canby (1920) states that a student must complete drills in spelling, punctuation, syntax and development in the discipline of writing in order to learn how to write. It was the idea of training as opposed to studying that worried academics and as such gave the subject a utilitarian function. Additionally, Freedman (1981) asserts that the teaching of writing and the teaching of thinking are connected. This is because students need to link thoughts and arguments in a logical and reasonable fashion. In linking this to George Orwell's essay *Politics and the English Language*, Freedman (1981) adds that language and politics are intrinsically linked. Similarly, Shen (1989) claims that English writing is not an isolated classroom activity but rather a social and cultural experience.

Therefore, English composition writing has a complex and multidimensional nature. It has a long historic association with the Classics and is often considered a skill, with a utilitarian function. Additionally, it is linked to argument building and thinking. Consequently, English composition writing can often reflect the issues of the world of the writer. It is highly influenced

by political and cultural environments and backgrounds. This is reflected in both the syllabus and in the assessment where essay titles often capture the mood and reflect the world of students at any given time. Essay writing or 'composing' as it is now referred to, has consistently held the highest weighting of marks for many years. Currently in Ireland composing carries a weighting of 100 marks out of a possible 400 or one-quarter of all examination marks available at Leaving Certificate Level.

Ultimately, with the Skills Based Model, teaching the basics of reading, writing and grammar on their own did not seem to go far enough. This is because it was limited to teaching the form and structure of language. The Skills Based Model included none of the moral fibre of the Cultural Heritage Model. This led to the search for a more comprehensive model.

3.5 The Growth Model

James Britton was one of the central educationalists who proposed a child-led model. In his work *Language and Learning* (1970), he argued for language skills to be taught so that students would be able to effectively communicate their experience of the world around them. He maintained that the purpose of a subject like English was to give students the tools to communicate and express their understanding of their culture and daily life. Britton's work was important because he refused to see language teaching and literature teaching as separate, but rather two branches of the same tree (Britton 1970; Mullins 2002). Unlike the Cultural Heritage Model, all literature and language experience would be included, and unlike the Skills Model, utilitarianism and functionality were not the main focus. In its place, English as a subject was given an influential role in the development of students' awareness of and ability to make sense of the world that they lived in. In this way, Britton's work stood out from that which had gone before, as he did not see culture as static but rather something that was in a constant state of flux (Mullins 2002). However, this model inevitably came under fire in England. The Thatcher administration scrambled to find balance among the models, often alluding to the lack of emphasis on grammar and spelling. Wilby (2013) maintains that Prime Minister Thatcher wanted to focus only on the basics of English, mathematics and science. In line with this, the content of school subjects, and even the methods of teaching, became politicised. Issues relating to what, and how, children were taught were debated in Whitehall, Westminster and the media rather than in school staffrooms. Wilby (2013) adds that Thatcher developed a hatred

of trendy teachers who did not conform and who failed to teach the basics. Under Thatcher's guidance, the Skills Model was mixed with the Cultural Heritage Model to form a new version of the school subject English.

As educationalists have become more aware of child development, they have identified different values to be gained from literature (Greene 1993). One of these is the need for quiet time, which reading provides. Here a child learns to think, feel, imagine and make meaning of their world in a way that is private and strictly his or her own. Mullins (1980) states that "literary experiences are of fundamental value in education as they disclose possibilities of Being to the individual" (Mullins 1980, p. 13). Oser (2007) quotes both Yeats and Eliot on the importance of literature on the development of one's personality. In Ireland, a similar attitude was adopted. The current syllabus for Leaving Certificate notes in the preface that an interest in literature is a central component to the study of English (The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA 1999). Both of these poets have appeared for study in Leaving Certificate English with regularity since 1970. Additionally, various scholars note that the difficulties of living are largely moral and value-laden. Given this, society must focus on the moral development of students and students make meaning of their lives by reading of the possibilities around them (Murphy 1973; Schubert 1993; McKernan 2008). We see this in the Leaving Certificate syllabus, where the subject English is not meant to mean just the written word, but also visual, aural and print media. This, it is hoped, allows students to make meaning of their world (NCCA 1999).

McKernan (2008) also makes the point that imagination is vital to the development of an 'educated mind'. This is insofar as it allows students (and later citizens) to be free-thinking and creative. Responding to literature in schools, to pedagogy, to assessment and the study guides available, the British author Philip Pullman, posits there is undue stress placed on analysing of texts, theme, and character development, rather than giving students time and the opportunity to ignite their creativity (Brittain 2003). It is a democracy within the curriculum that would allow students to be their own person, to diverge, to stand out from the crowd to reach past themselves and to become (Greene 1993). There is also the argument that reading provides a cultural awareness for students that helps them to understand and evaluate their own world, which opens them up to other worlds. Unlike the Cultural Heritage Tradition, cultural awareness allows students to develop an awareness of difference and multiculturalism. The

teacher of English must encourage an awareness of cultures and guard against ignorance (Martin 1966). Hinchion and Hennessy (2009) also state that reading literature can assist in the development of cultural awareness, where through class discussion students can develop the skills of listening, tolerance, respect, reflection, critical thinking, empathy, communication and self-awareness. Hinchion and Hennessy (2009) conclude that literature has the potential to teach cultural awareness and at the same time demonstrate that across the globe, human beings have the same difficulties, fears, desires, triumphs and upsets. Consequently, there has been a significant shift in curricula to allow students to experience and enjoy reading. This is reflected in the syllabus for Leaving Certificate English where it states as an aim:

> An awareness of the value of literature in its diverse forms for enriching their perceptions, for enhancing their sense of cultural identity, and for creating experiences of aesthetic pleasure.

(NCCA 1999, p. 7)

It is also hoped that students are fostered to develop opinions, debate, engage with and speculate on topics. In Ireland, since 2000, the list of prescribed reading for the Leaving Certificate has allowed for diverse and modern themes to be studied. Although The Canon is still represented, and Shakespeare, Bronte, Austen and Eliot all appeared on the list for study for Leaving Certificate English in 2019, there is far greater diversity. The syllabus clearly promotes the Personal Growth Model as it is hoped that students develop an awareness of their responses and can justify and generate meaning from the various forms of language and text that they encounter (NCCA 1999).

The aforementioned three models have formed the base for the subject English that developed in Ireland, as it did in other countries. Other models have since sought to dig into the sections further as analysis has developed. Language accuracy, contextually appropriate language use, expression of feelings, thoughts and needs, and the use of literature to present cultural awareness are all vital components of English of a school subject today. Mullins (2002) refers to the final syllabus as 'a settlement', that is, what emerges as agreed on after negotiations are passed. Therefore, throughout the years all three models are evident in the senior cycle English syllabi that were produced in Ireland. By the end of the research period a mix of all three models is evident with the Growth Model enjoying more dominance in Era 4 than any other period.

36

3.6 English as a Subject, Definitions and Assessment

Part of the challenge associated with the assessment of English is the very nature of the subject is not as identifiable or as fixed as the history curriculum or science curriculum for example. It is not content-driven. Devitt (1978) describes this relationship between English and assessment as being 'notoriously problematic'. Thus, there are many areas to be considered.

The knowledge required in English is hard to define. Marshall (2013) says that writing requires knowledge of social value and social judgement and this makes it difficult to define and therefore assess. Devitt (1978) also raises the issue of knowledge acquisition for a subject like English. He argues that Bloom's Taxonomy (see Anderson *et al.* 2001) focuses on the knowledge of facts, definitions and statistics. However, this is difficult to apply to the study of English. For example, Mullins (2000) notes that language change is not only inevitable but also unstoppable. This is because language is a living cultural entity that is in a constant state of change and development by its users. While Standard English must still be taught in schools and students must still be given the guidance to acquire the skills to communicate in it, there is an increasing awareness of the many literacies that students encounter.

Peim (2003) argues that English as a subject can worry some and invigorate others, stating that English is very different from the way it was in 1950 because English "is of no firmly founded and singular identity" (Peim 2003, p. 5). Peim (2003) goes on to argue that English will always be subject to change, even from classroom to classroom and from teacher to teacher. The subject:

> Is an ever-shifting thing. English has no strictly definitive content, has no strictly delimited boundaries and can claim no universal, foundational set of practices. No one can claim to have the one true doctrine of English.

> (Peim 2003, p. 5)

This sentiment is echoed by others (see, e.g., Protherough and Atkinson 1994; Robinson 2000). Through his investigation into the theories of changing philosophies and changing attitudes to literacies, Peim (2003) concluded that despite the subject's apparent openness, there are underlying values that are unconsciously sustained. What is placed on the prescribed list by the

Department of Education, what is then selected from the prescribed list by the teacher and how these are taught are all part of a decision-making process. The values that underpin these decisions are often deeply historical and post-colonial. After all, the beginnings of the subject were born from arguments of national identity, the state of the nation in a cultural sense, the functions of education in general, what was hoped students would learn while in school and how English could further this (Peim 2003) (see section 1.2).

The difficulty of defining English as a subject is therefore a concern for examination. Marshall (2013) questions what is it that students need to know after studying English. The National Association for Teaching of English (NATE) conference in 1999 titled *The Future of English*, sought to address Kress's (1995) question, 'What is English for?'. It was determined that English is not one discipline but many, and as such the English teacher must bring coherence to these many disciplines (Hodges *et al.* 2000). Given the difficulties in defining the subject, the question of the progression of students was also discussed. Hodges *et al.* (2000) argue that:

> The vision the commission held of a successful student of English was of someone who had developed a multi-layered understanding of language and texts, and acquired an ever-increasing capacity to enjoy 'intertextuality' and 'interlingualism'.
>
> (Hodges *et al.* 2000, p. 8)

A student who is progressing well becomes increasingly independent in their thinking and can function in a variety of social situations as citizens and human beings (Hodges *et al.* 2000).

O'Brien (1969) comments that examinations are a 'way of killing interest'. She highlights the focus on memorisation for examination and the preoccupation with aids and editorial matter. She also says that students need to be aware that the examination only features a small part of the learning that has been achieved and should not be permitted to control the work of senior cycle schooling. It is neither representative of the beginning or end of a student's education. Moreover, O'Brien (1969) highlights the fact that examinations can dominate what is happening in the classroom. This is echoed by Weaven and Clark (2013) and Young (2016), who discuss the tendency in some Australian states to avoid teaching poetry altogether as it does not score well when tested. This decision has been explained by the fact that poetry is too difficult to teach in a limited timetable when examinations dominated the narrative.

Coles (2013) also explored examination dominance, which she sees as reducing the curriculum to a list of learning outcomes, processes, standardised testing and management style techniques to teach the English curriculum. She argues that texts are reduced for students to be able to pass their examinations. Another issue with set assessment for English is the constant revision of knowledge concerning the texts themselves. Each student, class and teacher will read a text with a different lens, depending on the experiences they bring to the literary process (Devitt 1978). This makes standardised, terminal assessment particularly challenging. It is a unique issue for English, which is what makes it so difficult to define what students should know by studying the subject. The NCCA (2004) suggested that short courses be introduced for creative writing as a way of filling the gap between examination expectations and the syllabus aspirations. In 2018 the NCCA asked parents, teachers and students what opportunities should senior cycle education afford students. The conclusion was that senior cycle education in Ireland should provide opportunities to develop personally, to cultivate skills, to prepare students to contribute as citizens and to promote diverse career paths (NCCA 2018). The English syllabus in its current format aligns with many of these aspirations. However, the digital world, and particularly social media, is now changing how we use language. The question we must concern ourselves with now is how the examination of English reflects the cultural, political and social changes in Ireland when what we want students to know is prone to change. Given this, Coles (2013) questions whether the lists of learning outcomes and expansive standardised testing can incorporate this rapid linguistic change.

3.7 Conclusion

If we consider the following from a letter from Sir John Cheke to Sir Thomas Hoby written in 1561it demonstrates the tension that lies within English as a subject:

> I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, unmixt and unmangeled with borowing of other tunges.

(Nordquist 2019, para. 2)

The above quote illustrates the tension that lies within English as a school subject. For some, the Great Tradition is a model that offers all that is needed for a sound education. In Ireland, the friction between what subject purists want, what the utilitarian Skills Model advocates seek

and what students need is a constant battleground (Mullins 2002). Syllabi designers have sought to seek a middle ground, where students grow through their language use in self-discovery and at the same time are prepared for the world of work. This means that syllabus design by its nature is a compromise (Goodson 1983).

Therefore, the English Leaving Certificate final assessment still comprises of two examination papers. In the earlier eras, the models were the Great Tradition, through the Reading Comprehension and the Skills Model through the punctuation, grammar and composing sections. All three models are evident throughout the two examination papers. The Great Tradition lost its prominence in the Reading Comprehension section by Era 3 but remained prominent in Paper Two as evidenced in Shakespearean studies, novels and poets. The Skills Model has grown in prominence as the Great Tradition declined in visibility from Paper One. Letter writing, newspaper articles, diary writing, reports, memos and blogs are now all common aspects of Paper One. Speech writing and discursive writing is also prominent. In 2013 the most answered Part B question was to write the text of a talk (State Examinations Commission 2013a). In Era 4 there is more transparent preparation for students to form opinions, to live competent lives and express their needs clearly. In Era 4 students are also being prepared more clearly for the world of work. In this regard, the aspirations of the syllabus are largely being met. Students are encouraged to offer their experience of studying texts, for example, poetry in Paper Two and personal writing is a major feature of composing since 2001. It is the most popular composing style in 2013 (State Examinations Commission 2013a, p. 8). All five language genres are taught by the English teacher, along with the required literature for Paper Two. Time restraints are an issue as there is no dedicated class timetabled for composing or creative writing. English classes typically are timetabled for five or six class periods in a week. It is important to note that the composing section has remained at approximately the same percentage of the overall grade over the four eras and as such composing is a valued skill that students should develop.

However, the Great Tradition has not disappeared. The retention of argumentative writing is reminiscent of Oratory and Rhetoric. It is also an indication that the values of Era 1 have not been abandoned and that mechanics of writing such as punctuation, grammar and spelling are still an important part of the success criteria for examination. This is not something that was highlighted in the first report by the Chief Examiner on the new syllabus (2001). However, by

2013 the importance of writing correctly is highlighted in the Chief Examiners Report of that year (State Examinations Commission 2013a). The report is reminiscent of Orwell's essay which described the 'slovenliness' of students' writing (Orwell 1946, p. 221). The two documents are almost seventy years apart, yet the Chief Examiners Report of 2013 displays the difficulty with terminal written assessment in the new digital world. Although correct and accurate English is important for clear communication the possibilities the digital world has to is yet to be considered. Modern digital devices have an autocorrect function or predictive text. Organising and building logical arguments is a vital skill in today's society. Teachers need to focus more on developing clear communication, organisational and interpersonal skills, team-work and digital skills so that students advancing to university or work can express themselves clearly (Smyth *et al.* 2018, p. 17-18).

However, the persistence of the Great Tradition is most obvious with the retention of The Canon. Shakespeare, who dominated the early eras, was retained. Shakespeare can be studied across two sections of the examination, increasing teacher autonomy, but a Shakespearean play from a prescribed list is still compulsory for all Higher Level students. The first half of this chapter discussed the difficulty in defining exactly the purpose of English as a subject and the very nature of the subject is constantly changing. McKernan (2008) has referred to this as the 'problem of curriculum'. Three models of English were introduced, and while acknowledging that there are now other models, links were made between these models and the content taught in Irish schools under the various syllabi. Some conclusions were drawn in light of the models in relation to this content and what was deemed valuable for students to learn from English as a school subject. The final section of the chapter investigates why English as a subject is difficult to examine. Goodson (1994) notes that the tension between curriculum, learning intentions and measurable progress is a major battleground, concluding that "each subject's examinable knowledge […] ultimately takes priority" (Goodson 1983, p. 35).

Due to the spread and nature of the British Empire, Mullins (2002) maintains that English as a subject is inevitably bound up with politics. Goodson (1983) concurs when he says that subject design rarely follows a single pattern of ideology but rather subjects are susceptible to political and historical influences. We see this with the retention of The Canon, a group of British writers that are still studied throughout the world.

The first phase of this thesis concentrates on the history of examinations and the history of English as a school subject. This background is vital to the research as it lays the foundations for the longitudinal analysis of examination at senior cycle English in Ireland. It explains why terminal examinations developed as they did and why certain aspects of the subject English have been valued. The next chapter will focus on the research methodology and explain how the analysis of examination papers was carried out.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodological framework applied and the practical techniques used for data triangulation in this thesis. This study charts historical, cultural and social changes to provide a framework from which examinations at senior cycle English could be viewed. As a teacher of senior cycle English in Ireland for the last twenty years the researcher is deeply invested in the delivery of the curriculum and the preparation of students for terminal examinations in Ireland known as the Leaving Certificate. The researcher selected the methodology to enable the research questions to be realised; to determine the societal and cultural issues reflected in examinations, the impact meritocracy has had on examinations in Ireland at senior level, how inclusion has been represented over the period of study and what is the connection between government policy, syllabus design and examinations in Ireland. The methodology chosen moves to the practical application of the research questions and is a vital component of this investigation.

From the outset, it must be acknowledged that teacher bias as a consideration in this thesis. Alexakos (2015) states this is because teacher-researcher subjectivity may be an issue. Consequently, consideration must be given to the nature of teacher epistemology as it is a complex system of power and values (Kincheloe 2011). The researcher began this investigation with certain biases with regards to this discourse. The researcher had been influenced by recent research such as the gaps that have been identified between the syllabus and the examination (Baird *et al.* 2014). Although the researcher has only been teaching within the years of the last syllabus (2001-2016), it was decided that a longitudinal study of the Leaving Certificate examination for English was necessary. Such an approach was required to answer the question of how the culture over time is reflected in the examination papers and therefore, has the English examinations examinable material changed.

Taking teacher bias into consideration the data produced had to be triangulated with care. The main data collection techniques used in this research were divided into two phases. A detailed investigation into how English as a school subject has changed in Ireland between the years

1878-2016 was conducted. This chapter is divided into five sections. The first section discusses the two distinct phases of research. These are as follows:

- Phase one consisted of the researcher's manual investigation and charting of examination topics, The Canon and rubric.
- Phase two consisted of the examination papers at senior cycle English. These papers were analysed by the linguistic computer software AntConc for the verification of data.

The second section of this chapter describes the research methods, approaches employed and research design in this study. This section also describes the research questions. The next section deals with the collection of primary sources, for both phase one and phase two of the research. It covers the limitations and challenges of such data collection techniques. The fourth section explains in detail how the data was analysed using corpus linguistic methods and why this was deemed appropriate. The fifth section outlines researcher bias. The last section of the chapter describes and explains the research that was carried out on the readability of the examination papers and why this was considered an important aspect to address.

4.1.1 The Focus of the Study

This research is a mixed-method in nature, where documentary analysis was the main focus of the study. The study utilises historical inquiry to interrogate primary sources, to seek to understand what is going on (Silverman 2005; Creswell and Poth 2018). Biggam (2015) discusses the various tools and techniques available to describe and analyse research data, from both qualitative and quantitative paradigms. He also makes the point that research without a detailed layout of research methods employed are "worse than useless and cannot be trusted" (Biggam 2015, p. 147). He discusses the importance of both the *what* and the *why* in research methodology. The *what,* therefore, the main data for analysis was the senior cycle examination papers of English Language and Literature since the introduction of the examination in Ireland in 1878. The data had to be collected first with the Intermediate Education Board system of examinations the Senior Grade. Post-independence, data was collected from the new Department of Education, *An Rionn Oideachais.* The data under *An Rionn Oideachais* spans

the political periods of the Provisional Government, the Free State and the Irish Republic up to 2016. The *why* is addressed throughout the chapter.

Making meaning of the data required the use of quantitative research tools in order to undertake a micro-analysis of the documents. Reppen (2010) makes the point that sometimes our assumptions about language use are simply not accurate. She goes on to state that questions which concern themselves with how language use varies over time is best investigated through corpus research. Hence, to elicit the necessary information for a thorough and constructive analysis, this particular information was essential. AntConc was chosen as the tool for information acquisition.

Thus, the nature of this investigation is both quantitative and qualitative in nature. This is because it seeks to explore the meaning underlying the assessment content and construction of examination. Yet it also seeks to map the links between changing political, social and cultural landscapes in Ireland with this process. Therefore, the pivotal hypothesis reflects how the examination content and structure relates to changing policies and syllabi and how these are related to the changing political and social landscape in Ireland from 1878-2016. The purpose of this investigation is to determine these links as the outcome of such a study could have an important impact on the experience of students studying senior cycle English and would also impact the focus of future planning for assessment in Ireland.

4.2 Research Strategy

The theoretical framework in chapter two demonstrated the importance of the relationship between government policy, syllabus design and assessment of these syllabi. In Ireland, formal assessment at senior cycle English currently revolves around the Leaving Certificate. Therefore, the reference is to terminal written examination as the sole method of assessment.

While Mullins (2002) researched syllabi design for the subject English since 1878, there is a lacuna in the research that has been conducted into assessment. In particular, this research displays a gap in research on any substantive examination of English in Irish State Examinations. Curriculum and assessment considerations, therefore, have shaped the design and approach to this study.

4.2.1 Research Design

Research began in September 2015 and was split into eight stages, with three distinct methodological phases. Table 4.1 below sets out the time frame involved in each stage.

Table 4.1: Research Timeframe.

Time Frame	Stage of Research
Stage 1: Autumn 2015	Research of the literature exploring the historical, political and cultural events in Ireland between 1878-2016. This would eventually become the bases for the historical framework of the research.
Stage 2: Spring/Summer 2016	Collection of Examination Papers in the National Library of Ireland (archival/primary sources).
Stage 3: Autumn 2016	Accessing primary documents and data collection.
Stage 4: Spring/Summer 2017	Theoretical research, data collection, initial data analysis (Phase 1).
Stage 5: Autumn 2017	Digitising the corpus
Stage 6: Spring/Summer 2018	Data analysis Phase 2. AntConc. Eras 1 and 2.
Stage 7: Autumn 2018	Data analysis Phase 2: AntConc Eras 3 and 4.
Stage 8: Spring/Summer 2019	Conclusions from Phase 1 and Phase 2 of the data analysis.
Stage 9: Autumn 2019-2020	Write-up.

The most significant elements of this timeframe were the data collection and the analysis of the data. Both aspects demanded substantially more time than was allocated and delayed the research at intervals. Although the timeframe was extended neither delayed the progress excessively.

4.2.2 Initial Decisions

Through historical research, eras emerged, where the curricular change occurred and where government policy changed. These eras are listed in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Examination Eras.

Dates and Name of Era	Description of Political or Educational moments which define the Era	Name of Examination and Level where applicable
Era 1: 1878-1924	From the beginning of the Intermediate Education Board until the Irish Free State was introduced (1922).	Senior Grade.
Era 2: 1925-1970	From the establishment of the Free State until free secondary education was introduced at the end of this era.	Leaving Certificate Honours.
Era 3: 1971-2000	From free education and soundings to the new Leaving Certificate English Syllabus (2001).	Leaving Certificate Honours.
Era 4: 2001-2016	The new English Leaving Certificate syllabus to the present time.	Leaving Certificate Higher Level.

The eras described above determined the grouping of examination papers for analysis. Initially, all examination papers for the subject English across all levels were collected for Era 1, the first period 1878-1924. Preparatory Grade, Junior Grade, Middle Grade and Senior Grade were all collected. After the initial investigation and charting of trends, it was determined that a study of this magnitude would not be suitable across all eras. Some decisions of elimination would have to be made due to time constraints. Moreover, the volume of primary sources available was too large to include in one study. Therefore, the decision was made to focus on the senior cycle examinations only, with the possibility of returning to the corpus at a later stage to carry out a similar analysis on the junior cycle examinations.

Therefore, the researcher came to the decision, in consultation with supervisors, that an analysis of only Senior Grade and Higher Level Leaving Certificate Examination papers would be included in this thesis. This choice allowed for continuity throughout the study, as the Senior Grade examinations were later identified as the English Honours Course for Leaving Certificate and ultimately as Higher Level Leaving Certificate. Equally, the researcher has taught this level programme for many years and has a particular affinity for the programme. This decision presented limitations which are important to acknowledge from the beginning; Leaving Certificate Ordinary Level English, Intermediate Certificate Examinations and Junior Cycle English examinations were omitted from the study, which leaves scope for future researchers to study these levels.

The research was divided into two phases. 'Phase one' is where the manual thematic analysis of examination papers was carried out. It was initially hoped that this would provide the overall view. However, as the research progressed it became increasingly clear that to draw conclusions from the data, additional evidence would be needed. Themes, which will be discussed in more detail later, begun to emerge and it was decided using a mixed method of evidence gathering would test and enrich the initial findings, as well as supporting the validity of the findings. The linguistic programme AntConc was used for triangulation purposes, which will be discussed later in this chapter (see section 4.5.1).

4.3 Phase One of the Research

The initial research phase, or Phase One of this project, was carried out in Year One (2015-2016). This involved visiting the National Library of Ireland at regular intervals and gathering the examination papers from across the years. Several decisions had to be made in Phase One. As mentioned, one of the first decisions to be made were the parameters of the research. For example, decisions were made depending on the availability of actual papers (years, levels etc.). Questions emerged regarding Leaving Certificate or Senior Grade papers, would the research begin in 1924 with the Irish Free State's Leaving Certificate or would it take a longitudinal study across the senior cycle examinations since their inception, thus including Senior Grade. Initially, consideration was given to an investigation into junior cycle examinations. For this reason, time was also given to consider Middle Grade and Preparatory Grades. Much time was spent making this decision and defining the parameters of the thesis. Initially, examination papers across all of these examination levels were gathered for the initial Era (1878-1924). These papers were analysed, themes tracked, and cultural references explored. It was then decided to limit the study to senior cycle Higher Level English examinations. The remainder of the examination papers for this level only were gathered from 1924-2016.

This manual investigation took two years. It emerged that certain writers featured more prominently on the papers than others and varying social and cultural issues were focused on across time. However, amongst the charts that were produced, there was, in certain areas, a lack of concrete evidence of the themes that emerged. Conscious of teacher bias the researcher

embarked on a research path to discover how best to create an analysis that would be more independent and have greater objectivity.

4.3.1 Methodology and the Historical Framework

Political and cultural change is central to the research questions in this thesis. A large number of primary historical documents were accessed. These included legislation for education in Ireland under both *Dáil Éireann* and the British government, the Constitution of the Free State (*Bunreacht na hÉireann* (1937)), the workings of the Intermediate Education Board, minutes of meetings and annual reports, the annual report of the Department of Education, the Department of Education Statistical Reports and Chief Examiner's Reports. *Dáil Éireann* debates were accessed from 1922, with a focus on debates surrounding educational issues that were deemed important enough to take up Parliament time. Much of these sources were only available in the archives and the National Library of Ireland. However, some articles, such as published debates, were available online.

4.3.2 Data Analysis: Phase One

Initial analysis was carried out manually, tracking each use of a Canon writer and the use of question words to determine higher or lower order questioning (see section 1.1.2). From a statistical point of view any comparisons made across the eras provided challenges, as the eras were not equal in length and allowances had to be made for those years when examination papers were unavailable. This challenge has been discussed and analysed from various angles and it was decided that the best approach to take would be one of ratio or relative frequency. The scale of the categorisation of themes emerging was also difficult to track and it was clear that a digital tool would be needed.

4.4 Methods and Tools Employed

This section will outline the methods and tools employed in this research, it will discuss the primary sources and how the corpus was digitised. The challenges that the corpus presented are discussed and the many other documents that were accessed are highlighted.

4.4.1 Primary Sources

Data collection was complicated by the fact that these documents are not digitalised and are housed in the National Library of Ireland reading room. Access to these documents is restricted to three documents an hour per reader. Opening hours are also restricted with the desk closing for lunch and a short opening day of three hours on Saturdays which limited the researcher's access. There were 138 examination years to access. A large portion of year one and year two of this study was spent accessing these documents in the National Library.

4.4.2 Digitalising the Corpus.

Once the documentation had been accessed, the corpus had to be digitalised in order to be analysed electronically. This took several months, with the researcher typing each individual examination paper. Examination papers are available online from 1995 onwards. As O'Keeffe *et al.* (2007) remind us, written texts either need to be retyped or scanned. As the typeface was too old to be read by computer programmes the corpus had to be retyped. Once typed, each document had to be converted into a plain text file. The initial data analysis period of winter 2015-spring 2017 had to be extended to ensure all available papers had been included in the corpus. An unintended, yet significant consequence of digitising the corpus is that it is now available for further research.

4.4.3 Challenges with the Corpus

As is common with historical documents a multitude of challenges presented themselves. Stanford (1994) notes that "What gives the status of historical fact is the consensus of historical judgements" (Stanford 1994, p. 125). Often items were not catalogued, were stored in the incorrect place or were missing from the records. For example, one examination paper was found among the subject Latin examination papers. Every attempt was made to recover as many examination papers as possible. Twenty one out of 138 years of examination papers at senior cycle were not sourced despite every attempt to locate them. They can be presumed missing or may have never been filed in the first place or misplaced in the multitude of examinations and other government documentation that to date have not been catalogued or digitalised. Some examination papers were leather-bound by year, while some, especially those of the 1970s are

held together with twine in a box with examination papers from all subjects. Several older school institutions were contacted to cross-check with their libraries for missing papers, but this method yielded no results. In addition, Junior and Middle Grade papers have been catalogued for a year, but no Senior Papers evident for the same year. These challenges were discussed at length with supervisors and a corpus analysis expert. Two different statisticians were also consulted for advice on how to statistically authenticate results without 100% of the corpus. The advice received was that uneven sample sizes cannot easily produce comparable statistical results and as such can be confounding variables that compromise the results. It was considered that proportional results could be compared but given the uneven number of years within an era and including the unaccounted examination papers it was deemed too compromising to compare data statistically across the eras. As such the statistical data is presented as absolute and stands alone within its era. No statistical data comparisons are graphed across eras for this reason. The only exception to this is readability where one sample from each decade was taken and this will be discussed in section 4.8 more fully.

4.4.4 Other Documents Accessed

Within the scope of the research other documents were accessed from the National Library of Ireland. These documents were considered important to provide a more complete picture of the examination process. They included multiple copies of the following:

- Proposed rules and programmes for schools.
- The outline of the curriculum.
- Text lists or poetry guidelines given to schools.
- Past lists of results.
- Regulations regarding Curricula, Certificates, Examinations and Scholarships with Programme (annual).
- NCCA guidelines, teachers' resources and examination marking schemes.
- Junior and Middle Examinations (for initial comparison).

Historical policy documents were also accessed online through the Department of Education, the State Examinations Commission and the NCCA websites or were posted in hardcopy to the researcher from the agencies in question. ASTI (Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland)

documents accessed included journals and teacher correspondence regarding curriculum or assessment issues. Other related documentation and policy publications which are available to the public online were also sourced. The dominant nature of assessment in Irish society means that wide reporting in the media is the norm. Updates were monitored via newspaper articles online or supplements offered in newspapers at certain times of the year. A wide variety of newspaper articles were also accessed.

4.5 Phase Two of the Research

From April 2018 onwards the researcher sought the advice of linguists to determine the best tool to analyse texts with large volumes of words that required the extrapolation of factual results. It was determined that a computer programme would be the best indicator of what has been influenced by culture and what has been asked in the examinations. The researcher was keenly aware at all times of bias, subjectivity and the role the researcher must play. It has been argued that it is not the role of the researcher to think what nobody else has yet thought, but instead to contemplate what has possibly been seen but not considered (Stake 2005). However, the issue of bias was a consideration. For instance, few could refute that Shakespeare has been a major figure in terms of Literature in English Education in Ireland and yet it was vital to impartially deliver the evidence to back up this claim. Advice was sought and several possibilities were considered, yet it was felt that linguistics was the only field of study that could offer the kind of programme needed. AntConc is a linguistic tool that records word Keyness, but while doing so it also records frequency. This means that AntConc can record how many occurrences any word experiences in a document. This was key to recording patterns.

There were many reasons why AntConc was chosen for this analysis, namely, it is widely available, free to download and user friendly. Its founder Laurence Anthony conducts a forum online to answer any difficulties researchers may have. He has also posted several videos on YouTube to give a step-by-step guide on the functions of the programme and how to use them. Several other programmes, for example, The Lexile Power V™ Word Selector and MetaMetrics®, The Lexile® Framework for Reading, were considered, however, they were not deemed to be as useful as AntConc for the purpose of this study.

4.5.1 The Research Process (Phase Two): Using AntConc

This phase included an analysis of the examination structure and the process of examination. Moreover, guidelines and directions given to teachers surrounding content, prescribed texts and factors that influenced pedagogy all had to be considered. Indeed, conclusions relating to the culture of examination of English at senior cycle in Ireland and the philosophies and ideologies underpinning that process cannot be made without data and information directly related to the content of the examination papers.

Concordancing is a central method used by corpus linguists and "simply means using corpus software to find every occurrence of a particular word or phrase" (O'Keeffe *et al.* 2007, p. 9). This is useful as AntConc allows for several words to be recorded on either side of the keyword search. In this way, entire quotations could be traced. For example, in the 1878-1924 results one might recognise several quotations, not least "Let us be jocund, will you troll the catch?" as being from Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, or the latter half of Mark Anthony's speech in Julius Caesar "the good is oft interred with their bones". Or further, The Merchant of Venice; "How many then cover that should stand bare! How many be commanded that command!" (see Appendix 4.1 for example). Any word of uncertain origin can be searched in this way. Quotations not immediately recognisable to the researcher were then searched through Google until all references were accounted for. This included names of rivers, historical battles, classical references, Biblical references and place names. As far as the researcher is aware, the use of AntConc to interpret examination papers is a unique methodological avenue taken in this study.

4.6 Methodological Challenges

As AntConc is normally used in corpus linguistic analysis there were challenges in using it for the unique purpose of tracking question type or frequency, cultural and political issues in examination papers. On loading the examination papers into the programme by era, the programme measured words by Keyness for linguistic purposes. The researcher was not in this instance interested in the Keyness of words but rather the frequency. The loaded programme produced a list of words based on Keyness and this list had to be investigated manually by the researcher. For example, the Keyness list began with the letter 'x' in one case and a frequency

count of 105. However, this information was not important to this study, and so it could be 'cut' or deleted. This was because it was determined that 'x' was a number for a question. Likewise, 'xa' and 'oideachais' could be deleted so that the final raw data sheet had 'thy' as the first meaningful word for this study. Each era list had to be manipulated like this as a variety of Latin numbers appeared in the list which were not meaningful to this study. All data generated from AntConc was imported into Microsoft Excel where this elimination took place as the lists could not be manipulated in such a way in AntConc.

Following this, the list was interrogated and sub-divided into seventeen different categories. This meant that the raw data from the main worksheet page were categorised into subcategories to create results. The frequency of the word use, as well as the Keyness was copied across. These frequencies were counted and tracked across the word sheets. Problems arose when large numbers of words appeared of Latin, Greek or had Biblical origins because these all had to be researched separately in order to categorise them into one of the subheadings. For example, for Era 1, there were names of battles, rivers, mountain ranges among these Biblical or Latin references, as the early English papers included history and geography as part of the examination (see Appendix 4.2).

4.6.1 Data Analysis: The Sub-Sections

Many months were spent dividing the data into the separate sections. The researcher did not decide on these subcategories in advance, rather they emerged organically as a result of the frequency lists provided by AntConc. Originally there were eleven sub-sections, then seventeen sub-sections and eventually twenty six (see Table 4.3 below).

Table 4.3: Sub-sections of Data Analysis.

Rubric	Other Country	Geographical
Gender	War, Politics	Historical Writers or Figures (global)
English language types	Careers	Possessive Pronouns
Canon Writers	Celtic/Irish Historical References	Age/Youth/Time
Old English	Biblical References	Sport Related

Religion	Industry, Commerce, Technology and Science	Technological Advancements
Royal	Human/Humanity	Lifestyle related
Moralistic	Cultural/Foreign	Wealth related
Classical References	English Political or Historical Figures	

The sub-sections grew as new words and themes were detected. Six new sub-sections were added for Era 4 alone, which indicates a large number of new words and themes emerging in the examination papers from 2001. Each word was checked and rechecked several times to ensure the integrity of the categorisation process as words appeared that could have come from several sources. For example, Domhnall Corcorca appeared on the final datasheet for Canon, as one of the most frequent writers. However, on further investigation, it appeared that in the early period of 1925-1970 the name of the examiner appeared on the paper, which meant that Domhnall Corcorca had to be eliminated from the list as it was not important to this research.

Similar challenges arose with the poem *The Scholar Gipsy* by Matthew Arnold. The Phase One manual research had placed Arnold high on the list for Canon, appearing in examinations several times over the years. However, when AntConc was used in Phase Two Arnold did not appear to have a particularly prominent place. On further investigation, it appeared that 'scholar' had been categorised as a career and the name of the poem had been missed. After this, each writer, text and poem appearing in Phase One was loaded into AntConc separately to corroborate and check that the data coming from the programme was reliable. This was a vital exercise in ensuring the integrity of the study.

4.6.2 The British National Corpus (BNC) and the Research Corpus

When working with AntConc, the British National Corpus (BNC) had to be loaded to work through the data and this acted as a filter. It is a 100-million-word collection of British English words. There are three filters: the BNC Spoken, the BNC Spoken and Written and the BNC Written. Using the BNC Spoken and Written originally, it emerged that the writer Francis Bacon was not appearing in the data collected by AntConc. Francis had appeared, but Bacon had not. The researcher sought advice and it was suggested that because AntConc does not recognise capital letters and as such 'bacon' had been filtered out. It was noticed and searched

for in AntConc, so that the frequency would be tracked without the filter. Again, rechecks of other writer's names were carried out. Charles Lamb was another writer that could possibly have been missed but was not due to this cross-checking. This highlights the importance of triangulation in the case of this study. It was also decided that as the examination structure has always been a written examination only, that the BNC Written would suffice and there was no need for the BNC Spoken to be added to the data analysis. The BNC Written was only used from then on.

4.6.3 The Use of Question Words

Another challenge emerged with the use of question words. For example, the word 'what' was the most frequently used question word for the period 1925-1970. However, it would be difficult to establish if the word was used 100% of the time as a question word. To ensure that 'what' was the most frequently used question word it had to be rechecked. It was loaded back into AntConc and each occurrence of the word 'what' was tracked. In this way, it was found that the word 'what' was used 193 out of 257 times as the primary question word, which is a frequency occurrence of 75%. This was done for each of the top 25 most used question words in each era. This highlighted how difficult it is to determine the absolute frequency by using solely Phase One or Phase Two. For example, in Era 3 (1971-2000) the word 'answer' was the most frequent question word according to the AntConc frequency data. However, after reloading AntConc with a search for the word 'answer' and tracking the 406 occurrences, it became evident that 'answer' was only used as a primary question word forty one times. This was a frequency occurrence of only 10%. This again highlights the challenges using a computer programme that was not specifically designed for the purpose of this study and highlights the importance of cross-checking the results obtained (see Appendix 4.3).

4.7 Data Analysis

This section discusses how AntConc was used to provide data analysis of the examination papers and how these results were organised under sub-section headings to categorise them. This section also outlines how initial research was carried out on readability and how readability tools were used. The limitations of the study are also outlined.

4.7.1 First Steps

The BNC was uploaded to AntConc to eliminate the most frequently used words in a text. The programme was subsequently uploaded with examination papers all eras first, then each era on its own. The raw data list for each era had several thousand words. The results were copied into Microsoft Excel to be categorised.

To gather an accurate picture of Canon regularity, each word in AntConc was searched and its origin traced to the writer or the text from which it came. This permitted for accurate Canon counts, as The Canon was important for tracing culture across the examination years. This was painstaking work which resulted in The Canon graphs, or major writers and text graphs. Each Greek, Latin, Biblical and Classical reference was traced back to its original text in this way (see Appendices 4.2 and 4.4).

Each sub-section was manipulated further to collect extra information. For example, each Shakespeare character could be searched to determine which characters are asked most often from plays and to establish if there was a gender theme to character questions. Each poet could be mapped, not just as part of The Canon culture of this study but also to determine which poems of the different writers were most frequently present on examination papers (see Appendix 4.4).

4.8 Sample Section and Record Readability

In 2015, *The Journal* online ran the story titled, 'Is the Leaving Certificate Getting Easier?' (The Journal 2015). This is an age-old debate, which prompted the researcher to add this to the research questions. As this is a longitudinal study it was felt that some brief consideration could be given to such an issue. The readability tool used was free online at ReadabilityFormulas.com. It is an automatic Readability Checker which charts results using the Flesch Reading Ease formula, the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level, the Fog Scale (Gunning FOG Formula), the SMOG Index, the Coleman-Liau Index, Automated Readability Index and Linsear Write Formula (see section 8.6.1). This means that multiple reading scales are considered, results given and then an overall average reading age is produced. For readability, the Reading Comprehension section of the examination papers was used. This section varied

57

in length over the years. One paper from each decade was chosen to analyse. In Era 4, three reading comprehensions were offered, where students choose one to answer. In the case of this era, all three from the given year were analysed.

4.8.1 Readability Tools

With any tool that is freely available online, there is the question of reliability. This tool was chosen because it uses well-known measurements as a method of providing data on readability. The results are delivered after the program has completed its analysis. Each measurement is given individually and then a concluding summary of the overall readability age of the text. Recommended grades, or years at school, based on the American system, are also given (see Appendices 4.5-4.10). Reading Comprehensions were analysed over the period 1886-2016 and preliminary results charted. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 below provide an overview of the average reading age between 1886-2016.

Figure 4.1: Graphed Readability 1936.

Show Graph Statistics

Grade Level

1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 14	15 - 16	17+

Average Sentence Length

3 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 12	13 - 16	17 - 19	20 - 22	23 - 26	27 - 30	31+

Average # of words per sentence

(Green color) = Name of graph

(Pink color) = U.S. average grade level.

⬤ = Your text

The average sentence length for U.S. high school and adult readers is between 13-16 words. Your average sentence length is 13.

Grade Level

1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11 - 12	13 - 14	15 - 16	17+

U.S. Grade Level Conversion Table

6 - 7	8 - 9	10 - 11	12 - 13	14 - 15	16 - 17	18 - 19	20 - 21	22+

Students' Ages

(Green color) = Name of graph

Figure 4.2: Average Reading Age (1886-2016).
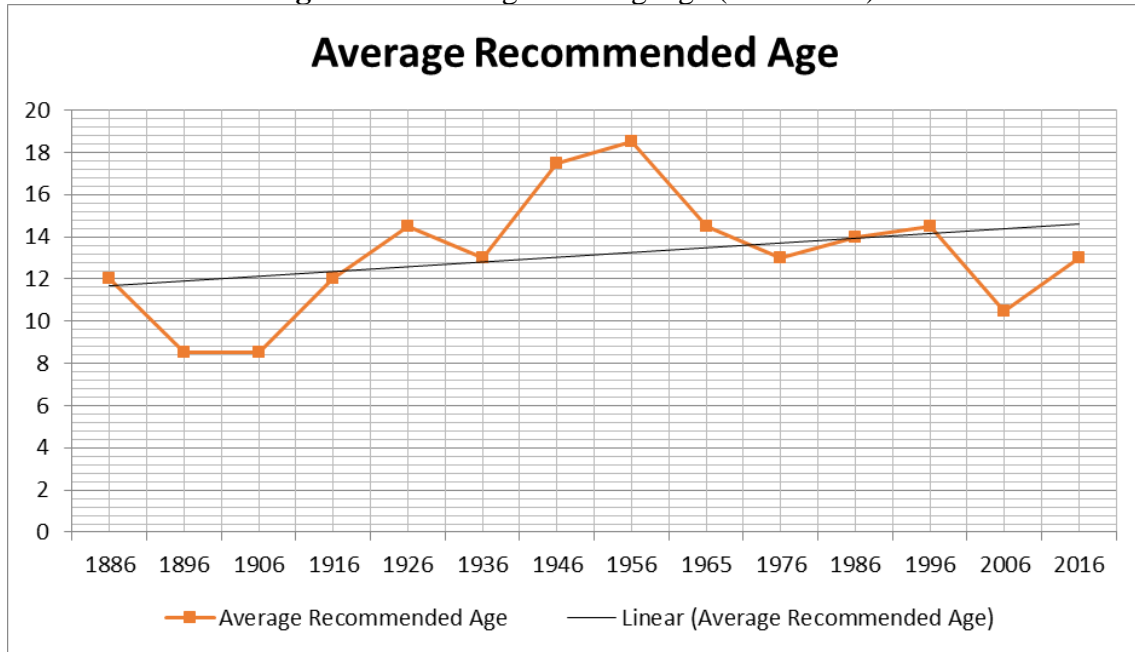
From the above graph we can see that readability levels have fallen or been elevated on various years. Overall, however, if we follow the median line in black it would appear that readability standards have been largely maintained over the period. Further investigation on readability is required in order to gather a greater level of data on this issue.

4.9 Limitations

The objective of this thesis is to make an original contribution to the research conducted on assessment in Ireland through researching what has been examined at senior cycle English in Ireland. The focus of the research is how culture and societal change has influenced topics for examination at this level. It is the intention of the thesis to complement work carried out by Dr T.G. Mullins (2002) on the development of the English syllabi in Ireland by completing a detailed study of the examination of these syllabi at Higher Level.

It was not within the scope of this study to complete analysis on Pass or Ordinary Level Leaving Certificate examination papers, or junior cycle examination. It was also outside the remit of the study to conduct research of a linguistic nature. The data analysis was limited, due to its longitudinal nature, to examining the incidences of Canon or other writers, themes of a cultural nature and rubric to track question words. Keyness was not within the scope of the research

questions. Although brief research was conducted into readability, it is outside the parameters of this thesis to offer an in-depth analysis of readability or predictability of examination questions.

4.10 Conclusions

Creswell (2008) argues that a mixed-methods approach takes longer to complete because the researcher must collect both qualitative and quantitative data and that "it fits a person who enjoys both the structure of quantitative research and the flexibility of qualitative inquiry" (Creswell 2008, p. 21). In this research, not only did the data collection take a considerable amount of time but digitising the corpus slowed down the progress of the study substantially. However, this was considered a worthwhile task as primary sources were located that were not catalogued together in the National Library and digitising the corpus meant factual results could be correlated. The analysis itself, both manual and digital, were long processes of verifying the originality of data and tracking references and quotations. The investigation of the question words had to be manually converted into statistics. For example, of 'x' occurrences the researcher had to determine how many were used as a primary question word and then convert the result into a percentage. This was completed across all of the eras.

There are four research questions to be considered. These include how cultural, societal and political change are reflected in examination, what exactly are the links between government policy, syllabus design and examination, how inclusion has been presented since the examination structure was introduced in 1878 and what impact meritocracy has had over the period 1878-2016. The assumptions that the researcher brought to the research and the philosophies that underpin research of this kind were challenged through employing such a methodology. The triangulation of data through AntConc eliminated bias and assumption by providing quantitative data. Decisions had to be made which limited the scope of the study. A careful design of the parameters of the research was vital to the contribution this thesis makes to the existing body of knowledge. The researcher reflected thoroughly on each of these limitations and decisions. The parameters were left to the Higher Level senior cycle examinations only, but the decision was made to complete a longitudinal study from 1878-2016. A shorter time frame could have been chosen but the research felt strongly that a longitudinal study across the eras would provide a more complete picture. A study of this kind,

it was hoped, could provide interesting and important insights into how culture impacts examinations for the school subject English.

This researcher argues that this methodology could be utilised in further investigations of examination papers as long as the design parameters and purpose are clearly set out. The computer software element of the research brought the possibilities for this investigation to a new level of inquiry and allowed the researcher to manipulate the data in new ways. The researchers own knowledge of statistical analysis and technology were expanded throughout the scope of the study. The data from AntConc could be used to address the general question of predictability in the examination. Such methods could be used to extract further data from this corpus or others in the future.

This signifies the end of the first phase of the thesis. In the second phase, sections are divided by era. In each era, examination papers are analysed. Links between the results and the contemporary history and culture of Ireland are sought to determine if culture and history impact examination at senior cycle English in Ireland. Chapter five begins with Era 1 (1878-1924).

Chapter Five: Era 1 (1878-1924)

5.1 Introduction

To understand the significant part that assessment played within the development of the education system in Ireland, one must begin by examining the events leading up to and including the establishment of the Free State. Chapter 2 outlined how examinations were introduced to Great Britain and subsequently to Ireland. As Ireland was a part of the British Empire, colonialism had introduced both the English language and the Protestant Church of Ireland faith which served to replace the native language which was Irish Gaelic and the religion Roman Catholic. The position of the Catholic Church, the segregated nature of schools in Ireland and the growing importance of the English language for emigration were discussed previously (see section 2.3). The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and the establishment of the Intermediate Education Board were outlined in chapter two. The recommendations of the Powis Commission had been adopted and there now existed a system of Payment by Results. As the Catholic Church became a more organised and vocal group in Ireland, its role in any future developments in education would be significant.

This chapter begins with a discussion pertaining to the examination structure as established by the Intermediate Education Board and an outline of the syllabus adopted by it. The Intermediate Education Board had a great impact on the development of the current system. It created a system of examinations that was transparent, professional and standardised. The Board's value, arguably, lies in the fact that it managed to unify schools under a single examination structure, at a time when Irish society, and therefore Irish schools, were deeply divided along religious and political lines. This era transcends some of the most turbulent years of Irish history which culminated in the establishment of a Free State after the Irish War of Independence (1919 to 1921). For much of the era political discontent defines the story of Irish nationalist Catholics. Intermediate education was limited in its scope under these conditions. It was very much the premise of the wealthy, the exceptionally intelligent or the Protestant elite. Its capacity was, therefore, also geographically limited. It was a system based on meritocracy, where competitive examinations were introduced at intervals for exiting formal education. The highest level of these examinations was the Senior Grade, and it was considered that those who completed

intermediate examinations would enter the professions or higher levels of the civil service. Due to the fragmented nature of Irish society, with a ruling elite, this issue of meritocracy is significant. It was not considered that education would meet the needs to the general population at second level. A National School system had been set up that was considered sufficient to meet the needs of the majority of people. Inclusion was not a focus of second level education in this era, government policy was firmly focused on those who could serve society best. The connectivity between government policy, syllabus design and examination will be discussed in this regard. In this way we see meritocracy, syllabus design, government policy and examination are inextricably linked during this period. The cultural, societal, political and economic backdrop of the era are vitally important elements to extrapolate the impact of government policy in the long run.

It is under this lens that the examination papers of this era will be analysed. To do this, four areas have been identified as being important in reflecting the cultural and social issues of the time. These themes were not predetermined prior to data analysis rather they emerged organically from the data as recurring features. Religion has been specified as The Catholic Church as this was a period of great influence for that faith. Specifically, The Catholic Church invested significant resources and time in education immediately prior to and during this period. The four areas to be discussed are set out in the following section.

5.2 Social, Political and Educational Policies in Ireland (1878-1924)

This section outlines the four key features of Irish society in this era. These features have been identified as The Catholic Church, the role of women in society and the wider issue of gender, the impact of British colonialism on society and what was hoped for the citizen within such a society. Together they create a narrative of life in Ireland in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of the twentieth century. It is deemed necessary to discuss this political, societal and cultural environment in order to provide a context in which the examinations papers can be analysed.

5.2.1 The Catholic Church

Throughout the years of this era, the Roman Catholic Church was immensely influential in the introduction of any changes to education. Two factors occurred leading up to the Intermediate Education Act (1878) which aided in the development of secondary education in Ireland. One of these was the establishment and spread of the religious orders in Ireland, which led to the development of Blackrock College and Terenure College in 1860. This was mirrored by an array of religious orders establishing female schools. For example, The Presentation Sisters, The Sisters of Mercy and The Ursulines among others, formed the cornerstone of female education in Ireland. By 1867 there were 47 colleges for young men. The result of this was that as the 19th century developed there was an obvious increase in educational institutions that were run and operated by the Catholic Church (Titley 1983).

The acceptance of intermediate education was influenced greatly by the Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1868. As part of his mission to 'pacify' Ireland, Gladstone sought to equalise the standing of the Church of Ireland with the Catholicism in Ireland. This was achieved by removing government funding for the Church and divesting it of excess property and land. The proceeds of these sales were held in trust by the Temporalities Commission to be used for charity purposes in the future. Remarkably the act was welcomed by all sections of Irish society as it also had the unintended consequence of reinvigorating the Church of Ireland through increased involvement from the laity. Disestablishment was important for two reasons. The Intermediate Education Boards could avail of these funds and Catholic religious' orders delighted in Gladstone's apparent favour. They backed the Intermediate Education Act in return. Initially, funds were allocated from the interest incurred on the £1 million of the surplus church fund (Titley 1983). The Catholic schools had long voiced their concerns about their lack of funds in comparison to their Protestant counterparts. The Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland went some way to address this imbalance.

When it became clear that the reform that was introduced in England and Scotland would follow in Ireland, the introduction of intermediate examinations was seen to be the most acceptable option by both Catholics and Protestants. Lord Emly (Anglo-Irish landowner and politician) argued that the best option was "the establishment of a system by which the results of secular education may be tested and paid for whenever they are obtained--in other

words, an intermediate system of payment by results" (Emly 1878, pp. 111-112). This was at least considered to be fair and transparent. Any attempt to remove the link between school grants from examination results was opposed ultimately by Catholic bishops as the alternative would have been inviting an inspectorate into schools which they in no way encouraged. The Churches made it clear that they would not accept any method of funding which would interfere with their control of schools (Hyland 1986). The funding was crucial as those of Catholic background participating in intermediate education rose from 12,064 in 1881 to 31,742 in 1911 (Titley 1983). There were 139 Catholic boys' schools and 72 Catholic girls' schools preparing 12,000 examination candidates by 1916 (Maher 1916). However, the drive for examination results affected instruction of non-examination subject like religion in the classroom, which teachers now had less time for. The fact that funding was linked to results led to an atmosphere of memorisation and cramming for examinations (Titley 1983; Hyland 1986).

When it became clear that there would be students who were not bound for the professions or the cloth taking these examinations concerns were raised by members of the clergy surrounding the suitability of reading materials at school. Nowlan-Roebuck (2014) says that in Presentation Schools only books that would aid in devotion were allowed while reading for pleasure was banned. This was an issue that had been raised at primary school level also. There had been a concern throughout the century as to what was being used in classrooms as reading material. As far back as 1825, this had been raised in the Report of the Commissioners of Education. Of the 299 books named under the heading 'Works of Entertainment, Histories, Tales' fourteen were deemed offensive for various reasons (McManus 2014b). It was also severely frowned upon to bring books into a school environment that were considered inappropriate and contrary to the development of a pious mind (Nowlan-Roebuck 2014). For instance, Cardinal Cullen declared:

> I would teach the children to read, and to write, and to cipher as far as the rule of three and practice, and I would give them a practical and well founded knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion and some little account of the history of the scriptures and the Church. I would not compel them to enter into discussions on grammar, or the Greek roots or mammalia or marsupialia and other classes of animals and similar questions that are not necessary for the poor people. Too high an education will make the poor often times discontented and will unsuit them for following the plough or for using the spade or for hammering iron or building walls.

Cardinal Cullen's preference of reading materials was limited, as was his aspirations for students. If anything, reading material was to narrow the view of education and not open students up to outside influences. The debate around reading material at primary level was important because it highlighted the difficulties of recommending reading material for older and more discerning readers.

It was obvious that the Intermediate Education Board had its work cut out for it in recommending reading material and in order to avoid a clash with the myriad interest groups in Ireland it provided a list of relatively safe options. Reading material included history, geography, grammar and avoided most literature especially fiction. By recommending history and geography reading material, students could learn to read a high standard of material without the challenge of delving into unwanted or troublesome literature. At Senior Grade, students studied the history of literature rather than the literature itself. The Board was anxious to introduce its system of examinations without the added trauma of worrying vested interest groups. However, economic growth meant that increased education was seen as necessary for its utilitarian functions rather than merely having a cultural function (Ó Súilleabháin 1971). The Catholic Church, along with the other Churches in Ireland, encouraged the development of the Intermediate Examinations Board when it became clear that it would not interfere in the day-to-day teaching in the classroom.

Throughout the era, the Catholic Church continued to oppose both secular and state-run education in Ireland. When the Commissioners for the Endowed Schools proposed a system of mixed education in 1858 it was opposed so fiercely by the Catholic bishops that it had to be abandoned as an idea (Titley 1983). The argument for secular schools was considered by Lord Emly in 1878 when he argued that:

> Education in these days is not only power and influence; it has a direct money value. No one should be deprived of any civil advantages on account of his religion. Therefore, the State should support secular schools only, and should refuse to aid, directly or indirectly, any school in which religion is taught.

(Emly 1878 p. 114)

In an atmosphere of educational reform across Great Britain, the Catholic clergy in Ireland leveraged the power it had to oppose state-run or any form of mixed education.

At this time Cardinal Cullen was a formidable figure to be reckoned with. Cullen was appointed Ireland's first cardinal in 1867 and he was committed to the idea that it was in the Irish Catholic Church's best interest to remain within the British Empire. However, he was also dedicated to uniting the bishops and clergy in Ireland under the one banner, so that they provided a single, stronger voice and became a powerful vested interest group in Ireland under his tutelage (O'Donoghue and Harford 2011). The Catholic bishops watched closely any change, as they perceived it, in the schools. This was because boys' schools, in particular, had a long-standing tradition of acting as recruitment grounds for the Priesthood. In 1861 there were 5,955 priests, monks and nuns in Ireland and by 1901 this number has increased to 14,145 (Hyland 1986). The issue of secular education did not disappear, as it was also an issue in England and Scotland. The Balfour Education Act of 1902 resulted in considerable alarm amongst the Irish Catholic clergy, as it sought to increase state control through the introduction of state-run schools. Although it was passed in England and Scotland it was opposed by the Catholic bishops in Ireland and was ultimately shelved (O'Donoghue and Harford 2011).

O'Donoghue (2005) refers to the growth of the religious and their growing status as a great 'clerical army'. The shelving of the Balfour Act provided a warning for future attempts to reform education in Ireland. When James MacPherson, the British Chief Secretary in Ireland, introduced the MacPherson Bill (1919) to introduce administrative changes to Irish education, he came into open conflict with the Catholic clergy. The Bill proposed much-needed changes concerning the setting up a central department of education and a centralised system for the development of schools, training boards and advisory boards for education. The timing was unfortunate. The War of Independence was raging across the country and the move was seen as another attempt to introduce colonial control over the Irish held schools. The Catholic bishops did not see it was an attempt to update the system that was already there, instead, they saw it as a takeover. Bishop of Kildare and Leiglin, Dr Foley, attacked the bill and urged the people to resist it as a last attempt of the British government to win over the minds of the Catholic Irish (McElligott 1981). The Standing Committee of Irish Bishops and the Catholic Clerical School Managers came out strongly against the Bill. The latter declaring that the only satisfactory education in Ireland would be one where "Catholic children are taught in Catholic

67

schools by Catholic teachers, under Catholic control" (McManus 2014a, pp. 9-10). The bill was reintroduced in 1920 but the controversy continued with bishops registering their disapproval and reminding parents to register theirs. The MacPherson Education Bill was eventually withdrawn under pressure. Its significance stands in its reflection of the power of the Catholic bishops. A price would have to be paid for interfering with the administrative or managerial rule of the Catholic Church in Irish schools (McManus 2014a). Denominational segregation in Ireland was one of the great social issues of this era. The result of this tension between the Catholic Church and the state is reflected in the cautious undertones of Christianity throughout the examination papers. Questions and texts were assessed that assumed a knowledge of Christian terms and are generally reflective of a Christian society. There was a strong moralistic tone to the examinations. For example, Bacon's essay *Of Goodness and the Goodness of Nature* schooled students in the goodness of those who are kind of heart and warned against evil. Morality and virtue are both explained, as is evil, so that students are knowledgeable and can protect themselves against it. However, the careful selection of reading material circumvented specific denominational argument at this time.

5.2.2 Gender in Irish Society

Sutherland (2014) notes that throughout the 18th and 19th centuries there had been serious discourse about the purpose of female education. In *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), Mary Wollstonecraft complained it was an issue where females were treated as inferior and frivolous (Sutherland 2014). She goes on to list the qualities that were seen to be most important to develop, such as neat dress, cleanliness, modesty, sweetness. Sutherland (2014) goes on to note that, "young women thus educated will make it their study to acquire the proper accomplishments and the distinguished virtues, of their sex, which will render them amiable in the eyes of prudent young men" (Sutherland 2014, p. 4). In *Letters on Education* (1790), Catherine McAuley called on parents not to limit their daughters to the 'ornamental' aspects of education alone (Sutherland 2014). The 'ornamental' aspects of education being those where a lady was taught music, French or drawing in order to pass the hours. This was also highlighted by Charlotte O'Brien of Limerick who referred to this view of society as being fake or artificial where women idled time away while they could have been putting those hours to good use (Sutherland 2014). The Victorian sentiment was one of feminine domesticity and motherhood. The lines were drawn; the female sphere being the home, private and wholesome, whereas the

male sphere was public, political and economic. Concerns surrounding physical exercise for women were highlighted at a conference in 1889. Here, Marian Walpole argued that apart from their unsuitable attire consisting of corsets, tight sleeved clothing and high heels, the lack of physical space combined with the fact that girls' schools not having gymnasiums, the biggest obstacle was the fact that girls regarded physical exertion as unladylike. Walpole declared that the British Empire was too conservative in its attitude to female education in this manner, as physical fitness helps with mental concentration. No such difficulty was noted for male students (Walpole 1889). The lines drawn between the sexes would be difficult to blur.

Thus, from the outset, there was a gender discrepancy evident in the heart of intermediate education. The examinations differentiated between boys and girls. Comments were made in the annual reports that girls relied more on rote learning because they displayed an inability "to bear as much mental strain at school and at an examination [as boys]" (Intermediate Education Board 1898, p. 27). Girls had originally been excluded from the intermediate examinations under the Act of 1878 but an amendment added later that year admitted girls (Government of Great Britain and Ireland 1878). This advancement in female education reflected the major changes being made with regards to women in society in the late 19th century. Although the political climate in Ireland had altered completely by 1880, with the work of the Land League and the Home Rule party, the plight of women was slower to change (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Charlotte O'Brien of Co. Limerick, and Anna Parnell, the sister of Charles Stewart Parnell, Co. Wicklow were among a small group who advocated for equality and women's rights. Charlotte O'Brien, a Protestant landlord of some standing in West Limerick wrote an article on the appalling conditions of female emigrants aboard ships leaving Ireland. The article produced much public attention and the matter was raised in the House of Commons. O'Brien had declared the overcrowded, unsanitary conditions violated regulations and female passengers were particularly vulnerable to assault. Chamberlain, President of the Board of Trade, went to great lengths to discredit her as foolish and silly, trying to convince her that her observations were incorrect and invited her onto a ship to re-evaluate her claims, a move made to convince her that she had imagined her earlier reports (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Parnell and T.P. O'Connor supported her statements and her campaign for improving the plight of women continued. Her treatment in the House of Commons is important as it illustrates the inequality which surrounded all women at the time. O'Brien was a lady of considerable note, managing a

large estate in Limerick, yet her claims were dismissed outright because it was believed a female would have no understanding of these issues.

At this time, women were not taken to be serious and capable. In a similar vein, there were no female inspectors appointed to Irish schools. It was argued that they could not be impartial and competent (Ó hÓgartaigh 2009). It also goes some way towards explaining why educated women began to seek change. The sisters, Anna and Fanny Parnell, set-up the Ladies Irish National Land League in 1881 and by the end of the first year it had 400 branches in Ireland (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Because it was successful in spreading across the country it attracted middle-class women and young women. Women like Jennie O'Toole (later Wyse Power), Hannah Lynch and Katherine Tynan became active members. They became instrumental in the work of the Land League, smuggling important documents under their skirts while police watched (Cullen and Luddy 1995). They were also crucial support to the evicted and those who had no food during the Land League crisis of the No Rent Manifesto. Conditions around the country were at a low ebb and thirteen members of the Ladies Land League were arrested for clashing with police while attempting to support victims (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Although the efforts of the Ladies Land League were well-intentioned, they drew the criticism of the Catholic Church, especially Archbishop McCabe of Dublin. Irish MP A.M. O'Sullivan spoke out in favour of the important work the women had been engaged in but he did not disagree with the Archbishop in his assertion that the woman's place was ideally in the home (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Society's subservient view of women is once again highlighted by the demise of the Ladies Land League. It is significant that upon his release from prison and following the embarrassment of the Phoenix Park murders, Charles Parnell was adamant that the league be disbanded. The protests of his two sisters and Michael Davitt made little difference. Against this political and social backdrop, the Intermediate Board of Education met and agreed to allow girls to sit examinations. In theory, the terms laid out by the Board for girls were to be the same as boys, they would pay the same fees, sit the same examinations, albeit at a different time and gain the same prizes (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888).

Although the structure of the examinations was the same for boys and girls, the programme created for girls was slightly different. It included, for example, Domestic Economy, a subject that boys were excluded from taking. Its status is further highlighted by the marks given, only 200 at Junior Grade, and only 500 at Senior Grade. Botany, at 300 marks, was also to be studied

by girls only (Intermediate Education Board 1884a). The value of prizes also differentiated by gender, with girls more likely to take music or drawing and the prizes for both being 12s6d, compared to 15s0d for Greek, Latin and English at Junior Grade (Intermediate Education Board 1880). Girls were allowed to study a modern foreign language for example French, instead of Greek or Latin to qualify for prizes (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). At first glance, this may seem to have enabled girls to succeed. However, girls' schools traditionally avoided teaching Latin and Greek, the very subjects that were required for entry to university. Therefore, the Act aided in the unfortunate development of girls who had passed examinations being excluded from university study. Clearly, there were decisions made based on gender that reflected the reluctance of some to promote social change. Despite the obstacles, by 1881, the number of girls studying Latin increased from 292 to 770; Greek, from 35 to 122; and mathematics from 510 to 1082. These subjects were necessary for university entry. The effort made to further increase the numbers of girls studying these subjects was insignificant and they continued to struggle to enter university (Ó hÓgartaigh 2009).

Additionally, girls were poorly represented when compared to boys with 5,147 boys sitting examinations in 1881 and only 1,805 girls (Intermediate Education Board 1882). In 1894 and 1895 the Bishop of Limerick gave a speech in Laurel Hill Secondary School for girls, where he praised the nuns for not entering any students into the intermediate examinations. He felt they were at odds with female 'idiosyncrasies' (Ó hÓgartaigh 2009). He declared "we have no girl graduates, nor even intermediate students, but we are working away on the old Catholic rules and principles and I am not aware that we have lost anything thereby" (Breathnach 1980, p. 48). In 1889, Miss McCutcheon speaking at the conference or the Association of Irish Schoolmistresses, noted that while the educational position of women had changed from playing piano and drawing, some parents still talk of "*finishing* their daughters", which she says is 'finished' in truth without ever having been 'commenced' (McCutcheon 1889, p. 1).

Despite these issues, girls outperformed boys almost every year from the year the examinations began. For example, in 1885, 59% of boys who sat examinations passed, while 69.4% of girls passed (Intermediate Education Board 1886b). This success may be put down to hard work. As Walpole (1889) explained:

> Girls spend nearly all their time in study, or what is commonly called "grinding"…if a
> girl be studious or ambitious, she will allow herself little time for rest and recreation,

during five, or sometimes six days a week...She will stay up late at night during her home preparation, allowing herself only six or seven hours sleep, when she should have nine or ten, and even this short time will be disturbed, perhaps, by dreaming of her lessons. She will often be in the open air only on the way to and from school, which may be a very short distance. With boys it is very different. They generally manage to have a good deal of spare time, whether legitimately or otherwise, and this will be spent out of doors at cricket or some other game.

(Walpole 1889, p. 3)

The Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland (1921) shows that English had the highest number of examiners (19). English enjoyed a high pass rate among both boys and girls at 79.8% with 12,354 students examined (Intermediate Education Board 1921). These detailed figures tell an interesting story with 1,011 boys taking Senior Grade, of which 93.3% passed and only 577 girls sat this paper of which 87.5% passed (Intermediate Education Board 1921). It is notable that by 1921 girls' grades were slipping. This could be down to the fact that although their numbers were increasing there was an issue with regards sufficient numbers of qualified teachers for girls (Ó hÓgartaigh 2009). The numbers sitting Middle and Senior Grade were so small that one can only assume those students who remained in school to study and sit the examinations were highly motivated and came from households where not only was education seen to be important enough to pay for it but the means were available to do so. This is again reflected in the report of the Intermediate Education Commissioners (1923), with figures showing 5,650 boys and 3,531 girls sitting the English examination. These figures show a considerable drop in numbers and one can only assume that this was as a result of the political situation in Ireland in 1923 (see section 1.2). By 1924 standards had slipped considerably and the report of the Secondary Education Branch (1924), shows that only 53.4% of students sitting the intermediate examination for the year passed (Department of Education 1924b), with only 67 boys and 39 girls passing with Honours at Senior Grade.

Access to intermediate education was an issue for girls and there was also a lack of suitably qualified teachers for girls. All these issues resulted in a group of educated women looking for change. Among them were Mary Hayden and Hanna Sheehy Skeffington. Skeffington founded the Irish Women's Franchise League and the Irish Women's Workers' Union. She was heavily involved in the 1913 Lockout and vigorously opposed Irish participation in the First World

War. She was arrested several times along with her suffragette colleagues. Skeffington was prevented from attending the International Congress for Women in 1915 by the British government for her increasingly militant activities (McGreevy and Burns 2018). After her husband was shot dead following the Easter Rising in 1916, she went to America fundraising and raising awareness for *Sinn Féin*. The suffragette movement was successful in its campaign to achieve voting rights for women. The Representation of the People Act came into law in February 1918, initially only women with property or a university education and aged over 30 years could vote whereas men could vote over the age of 21 years (McGreevy and Burns 2018).

This was an era of immense change in the lives of women in Ireland. In the 1870s women could not vote and they could not become members of public boards or local authorities. They were expected to be mothers and homemakers and the Victorian era did not encourage the notion of careers for females. They had to relinquish all property ownership to their husbands on marriage and they had no legal right of custody to their children after the age of seven. However, the Infant Custody Act of 1873 allowed mothers custody of their children up to the age of sixteen. The Matrimonial Causes Act 1878 allowed women protection under the law from violence within the marriage and The Married Women's Property Act of 1882 allowed women a separate level entity to their husbands for the first time (Crowe 2018). The Intermediate Education Act of 1878 and The Royal University Act of 1879 instigated further change to women's lives. By 1898 qualified women received the franchise in local elections and on the urban and rural district boards. In 1899 there were 85 female Poor Law guardians, 31 female rural district councillors and four female urban district councillors (Crowe 2018). When the Representation of the People Act was passed, qualified women over the age of thirty could vote. This increased the numbers of qualified women. They largely had intermediate education to thank for this. In 1922 all women were given the right to vote by the Provisional Government of Ireland. The struggle women faced in achieving equality is borne out in the AntConc results for this era and the imbalance in gender terms throughout the examination papers. The date shows male referencing to female referencing counts at almost 10 to 1. (see section 5.4.2)

5.2.3 British Colonialism and Ireland

This era saw the purpose of education change. Commerce, industry and the newly emerging middle classes were viewed by the state as goals for the populace to aspire to. Not only was it important that one could read and write but in his article, *The Future of the Working Classes* (1873), Marshall, a liberal, argued that in time all societal inequalities would disappear through education (Marshall 1899). The argument was for a transparent examination system where students could compete and gain success on grades rather than on background alone. This shift in thinking was widespread across Europe, where the Industrial Revolution saw the emergence of the bourgeoisie. The Great Famine (1845-1848) in Ireland forced economic and social change. There was a consensus in Westminster that to avoid a repetition of such drastic social devastation, education would have to be at the forefront of change. Education in Ireland has been inextricably linked with Ireland's relationship with the British Empire and it became one of the cornerstones of Gladstone's policy in Ireland (McCormack 2014). His mission was to pacify Ireland and his method increasingly turned to improving the economic plight of the people through education.

Beckett (1962) claims that while Queen Victoria was concerned about Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland in 1868, her priority was to protect the British Empire. In his memorandum to her, Gladstone pointed out that across the colonies, churches that had been allowed to form independently of the Church of England did not seem to advocate separation to the Crown (Beckett 1962). In using this as part of his argument we see that preserving their colonial past and future was the primary goal of the British government and the preservation of the Church of Ireland was not deemed as important.

The political climate in Ireland was also changing. This period experienced the Home Rule Bills of 1886, 1893 and 1912. The Home Rule Bills were symbols of hope and dashed dreams when they failed to pass and achieve greater autonomy for Ireland. During this period there was also the Land League and the Land Acts of 1870, 1881 and the Land Purchase Acts of 1885, 1887, 1891, 1903 and 1909. Colonialism was under scrutiny in Ireland, especially after the period of Land Agitation that had swept through the countryside and the hardship that followed. Although Gladstone claimed he wanted to 'pacify' Ireland, it is possible to claim that education was to be used as a method of anglicising Ireland (O'Donoghue 1999). It is argued

that as the second half of the 19th century developed Irish education became more influenced by ideas from England (Ó Súilleabháin 1971). Edgeworth, a member of the 'popular education' lobby in parliament, stated the following:

> The progress of knowledge has spread now so far that it cannot be stopped without destruction for those who attempt to arrest its course. The people will read, and will think, the only question that remains for their governors is, how to lead them to read such books as shall accustom them to think justly, and thus make them peaceable subjects and good members of society.

(Logan 1999, p. 128)

In many ways, Payment by Results also highlighted the issue of Anglicisation (see section 2.3). Because pay was now linked to pupil performance, whether it was an intentional government policy or not, English was to be learned, spoken, read and written by every student in the country if they wanted to progress through the examination structure. It also motivated their teachers to focus on results. This disadvantaged students whose native tongue was Irish. Sir Patrick Keenan stressed the fortunes of students in *Gaeltacht* areas in his travels around Ireland throughout the 1870s. In 1883 the government-sanctioned teaching through Irish but as O'Donoghue (2000a) points out, this was only so students might learn English faster. Changes were introduced in 1884 to examinations, mainly the number of marks given for English, Latin and Greek was increased from 1,000 to 1,200 while Celtic marks were decreased (Intermediate Education Board 1884b). In many ways, this enhanced the status of English, Latin and Greek. Additionally, examiners were paid more for these subjects (Intermediate Education Board 1878-1888). The payment of results itself displayed this favouritism as Greek, Latin and English gained the greatest prize, that of £1.15s0d being paid to managers for Senior Grade (Intermediate Education Board 1888b). By introducing a system of credits, prizes and fees evidence of the colonial orientation of the Intermediate Education Board was clear.

The idea of a nation-state, with its own language, distinct culture, literature, heritage and games appealed to large sections of Irish society who were seeking the separation of Ireland from the British Empire. Cultural nationalism resonated with those Irish who sought independence because it promoted the idea that Ireland was different from England culturally. The Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) was established in 1893 by Douglas Hyde with the aid of other

nationalists, notably Eóin MacNeill, to promote the learning and speaking of the Irish language. Like the GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) that was formed in 1884 to promote Irish games, The Gaelic League attracted nationalists of all political persuasions. Patrick Pearse was a fluent Irish speaker, active member of the Gaelic League and editor of the league's newspaper *An Claidheamh Soluis*. Like many, he became convinced that the only true separate identity for the Irish people was linked to the use of the Irish language. He declared that only when Ireland's national language was restored that Ireland's culture would be at last distinctive (Pearse 1904).

Douglas Hyde was also involved in the Literary Revival through the National Literary Society, with writers like W.B. Yeats. Hyde delivered a speech to the society members in 1892 titled 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland'. British colonialism found itself under threat from within the Anglo-Irish community as well as nationalists. The Gaelic League felt so strongly about the need for a separate language to that of the British Empire that they denounced the Literary Revival. This was because its members wrote primarily in English, despite promoting Irish folk tales, legends and heroes of old. Yeats (1970) had argued that a sense of nationality and a nation's literature were linked. Despite the work done by those involved in the Irish Literary Revival, the establishment of the National Literary Society and the National Dramatic Company, the rich and vast body of work they produced and the founding of the Abbey Theatre, it was dismissed by other nationalists who saw the language as the most important element cultural nationalism. Eóin MacNeill was particularly strong in this regard when he said, "Let them write for the 'English speaking world' or the 'English speaking race' if they will. But let them not vex our ears by calling their writings Irish and national" (Tierney 1972, p. 66). Nationalism and language became inextricably linked in the perspective of a cultural nationalist (Coolahan 2004). The development of the Gaelic League and the establishment of nationwide branches meant that there was a widespread organisation available to assist with the promotion of Irish when independence was eventually achieved. It was generally felt that the Irish language was repressed under British rule and that education could be used as a vehicle for the revival and promotion of the Irish language under any new regime (Coolahan 2004).

These years were characterised by a fractious relationship with the British Crown as it attempted to prevent the dissolution of the Empire. Land agitation, the various Home Rule Crisis and the growth of cultural nationalism all put a strain on the relationship. Intermediate Education reflected its colonial roots with an emphasis on the history and geography of the

Empire, English Literature and Language and the Classics. They catered for those who had the means and the wish to prosper, few as they may be. As Hyde told the Literary Society, Ireland failed to prosper under British colonialism and the British themselves could not deny it (Hyde 1892). Government policy aided those who spoke English fluently and the syllabus adopted and promoted participation in the literature, language, culture, history and geography of the Empire. In this way, the Intermediate Education Board can be viewed as a vehicle for promoting imperialist values and policies. This imperialist outlook was irreconcilable with nationalism and their political values were often at odds with one another. Colonialism emerged as one of the most obvious themes from the examination papers. The texts and material for question are all striking from an Anglicisation point of view. Students were expected to know the British Empire intimately, is history, geography, literature and culture. There was little attempt made towards inclusion of Irish writers, or any Gaelic themes. The examinations were designed for students who would serve the Empire, who participated in the meritocratic system and this is very much reflected in the data itself.

5.2.4 The Citizen in Ireland

Literacy became a major concern for the government after the 1841 Census, so much so that it was included in the official enquiry in that census and remained part of official enquiry until the 1911 Census. It classified citizens under three headings: able to read, able to read and write and unable to read or write (Logan 1990). However, as Logan argues the data must be treated with caution, as the head of the household filled in the information. Given this, there may have been an inflated opinion of the skill level of the family. Approximately 50% of the population at that time was deemed illiterate, with various level of illiteracy being noted. For example, Logan (1990) makes the point that one can hardly be considered literate if one can sign his or her name to a document. Literacy was critical in enabling students to read, comprehend, write and communicate as moral and loyal citizens of the British Empire. Coleman (2002) tells us that:

> In Ireland as in America, educationists strove to assimilate supposedly deficient populations into the dominant civilisation, and thus to establish an unblemished wholeness of polity and community. The colonial/imperial 'benefactors' generally ignored the views of the 'beneficiaries' and strove to obliterate traditional cultures and languages.

If this was the case each development, therefore, had a colonial agenda. Due to the small numbers availing of intermediate education examinations initially, several initiatives that were introduced at primary level had a knock-on effect over time. After the Famine student attendance in primary schools rose. Parents were anxious for their children to learn English and to better their economic prospects and the National Commissioners targeted literacy with specific readers (Logan 1990) The Bilingual Programme that was introduced to primary schools in 1904, where students were to be instructed through Irish first to improve their English, also resulted in improved literacy rates. This was hugely important from the point of view of the Intermediate Examination Board, as literacy rates affected the numbers eligible for transfer to intermediate education schools. Thus, through such a concerted effort, literacy rates had risen by 1901. The census showed that those aged 10-19 displayed half the illiteracy rates of the older generation and this continued to rise year on year (Daly 1990). By 1911 only Donegal had lower literacy rates. Students' retention rates from 3rd class on increased from 23% to 48% between 1872 and 1900 while literacy rates increased from 67% to 86% for the same period. English instruction time by 1900 had increased to 90 minutes for boys and 70 minutes for girls (Hyland and Milne 1987). Compulsory attendance was not introduced until 1892, but when it was, it aided the lowering of illiteracy rates across the country.

However, along with the wish for citizens to be able to read and write well in English came the problem of what to read. It would seem that the suitability of reading material was not just the concern of the Catholic Church but also the British Empire. Even the National Commissioners who introduced the readers into primary schools were sensitive to the lack of organised reading material in classrooms and that students could be open to many influences. For example, Logan (1990) states that:

> The power of reading is frequently lost to children and even becomes a source of
> corruption and mischief to them because they have never been directed to the proper use
> of it, and it is consequently of the highest importance that while they are taught to read,
> their thoughts and inclinations should have a beneficial direction given to them.

(Logan 1990, p. 129)

Payne (1921) highlighted the "very direct and urgent problem to our schools-the training of our youth in the wise expenditure of their leisure", something he felt was the 'grave responsibility' of the English teacher (Payne 1921, pp. 209-210).

Citizen's reading would have to be honed carefully. As Payne (1921) argues, "what greater service can we render them than to teach them the difference between the good and the cheap in current literature and to give them a taste for the good?" (Payne 1921, p. 214). As literature was seen as a way by many to shape young minds, literature in schools has often therefore been seen as an opportunity to advance a certain political or social policy. As such, the list of acceptable readings remains an interesting point of debate. For example, John Locke considered fairy tales as 'perfectly useless trumpery' and Sarah Trimmer condemned *Robinson Crusoe* as a "dangerous book which led to an early taste for a rambling life" (McManus 2014b, p. 7). The development of the imagination was not what was hoped for the citizen. Coleman (2002) tells us that the vast majority of civil servants employed in Ireland were Irish and therefore the education system:

> Disguised its assimilative, anglicising goals, implying improvement within a single kingdom, an essentially middle-class venture to bring 'culture' and civilisation to lower classes and more remote regions. That many Irish people actively worked to transform other Irish people into loyal subjects of the crown in no way diminishes the consistently cross-cultural nature of the crusade.

> (Coleman 2002, p. 42)

Therefore, students would learn to read and write English. They would learn the correct use of English grammar and would be penalised if they used the language incorrectly. For example, examination guidelines were laid out in clearly structured and transparent terms. Inspectors were to reward "distinct articulation and proper grouping of words […] one word misspelt for every ten words dictated will involve failure [and] pupils should distinguish readily and intelligently the article, noun, adjective, personal pronoun and verb" (Hyland and Milne 1987, p. 132). Students would be exposed to the British Cannon writers like Shakespeare, Shelley, De Quincey, Bacon and Milton, which taught students to be God-fearing, well-read, moral and loyal citizens (Payne 1921). It is clear that the vision for the citizen was to cultivate literate, English speaking students, who were imperialists in outlook and loyal to the British Crown.

5.3 Organising the Examination Structure

This section explains how the Intermediate Education Board introduced intermediate examinations to Ireland. The syllabus that they produced for teachers is also discussed. This section links the Imperial Examinations mentioned in Chapter 2 with the examinations that were introduced in Ireland as they broadly mirrored each other.

5.3.1 The English Syllabus (1878-1924)

The social and political backdrop to the introduction of the intermediate education examinations had an immense impact on the syllabus the Intermediate Education Board produced for English. The 1879 Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland outlined three examinations, namely the Junior Grade, the Middle Grade and the Senior Grade. The report reflected the Imperial Examinations of China (see section 2.2). Moreover, the examinations that were introduced for the civil service was three-tiered. The syllabus for all three levels as described by the Intermediate Education Board (1880) were as follows:

Junior Grade

1. Grammar, including parsing and analysis.
2. Goldsmith's *Traveller.*
3. Easy questions on the meaning and analysis of a passage from some prose work.
4. A short composition.
5. Outlines of the geography of Europe, with the geography of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Colonies in detail (Johnston, *Competitive Geography*, pp. 257-219).
6. Outlines of the history of England to AD 1399 (Smith's *Student's Hume* or Burke's *Abridgment of Lingard's History of England*).

Middle Grade

1. Grammar.
2. Milton *Paradise Lost Book 1.*

3. A passage from some other standard work in prose or poetry, with questions on the meaning, structure and analysis.

4. A short composition.

5. The geography of Europe and Asia in detail (Johnston, as above, pp. 219-390).

6. Outlines of the history of England from AD 1399 to AD 1649 (Hume or Lingard as above).

<u>Senior Grade</u>

1. Elementary questions on Philology and the history of the English Language.
2. Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Macaulay's *Biography of Johnson.*
3. A short essay.
4. Outlines of English Literature (Smith's *Smaller History of English Literature*).
5. Outlines of the history of Great Britain and Ireland from AD 1649 to AD 1872 (Hume or Lingard as above).
6. The geography of Africa, America and Australasia (Johnston, as above pp. 330-492).

In all grades of the English examinations as described above, marks were deducted for faults in spelling. The above were the guidelines that were given to schools and as such there was no established curriculum in place. However, the lists above did offer a framework for measurable results in examination. The second important observation is that the thrust of the material mirrors almost exactly what was offered by the ICS for examination. Some very limited literature was deemed acceptable. If we look at the literary texts themselves, Shakespeare was held in such high regard as to be almost above comment or criticism, and Milton and Goldsmith had both been taught in schools since the 1820s (McManus 2014b).

Although the Intermediate Education Board did not have the power of prescribing textbooks, a list of suitable authors for the literary part of the English examination would be provided by the Board to any student who applied for examination (Hyland and Milne 1987). The exact texts alternated and changed over the years but the type of material remained similar for the era 1878-1924. For example, in 1885 the texts for the Senior Grade were William

Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Samuel Johnson's *Lives of Pope and Johnson* (Intermediate Education Board 1885c). We can see how the programme for learning changed slightly over the years in Appendix 5.1). History and Geography were used to provide reading material in the classroom but were not included for assessment as part of English every year (see Appendix 5.2).

5.3.2 The Intermediate Education Board of 1878 and Assessment

The Senior Grade English examination was divided into two papers. The First Paper consisted of Composition and Grammar, which included questions on prose. The Second Paper included four sections, one each on Shakespeare, History, Geography and Literature. This meant that History and Geography were not treated as separate subjects. Each paper was three hours long. 250 marks were assigned to the Composition section and stated that "No student shall be awarded a pass in English who shall not have obtained at least 20 per cent of the marks assigned to English Composition'-rule 12" (Intermediate Education Board 1886a, p. 79). The Composition section is the only one to have this notation included, which might pinpoint the importance given to writing skills. The examination was a mix of long essay questions, short paragraphs and much shorter definition-based questions. The examination structure changed as the years went on. History and Geography were eventually afforded a separate examination paper and how the English paper was structured altered often even from year to year. The time afforded the English examination decreased accordingly. Although topics were placed in different sections over the years, the language and focus of the examination did not change (see Appendix 5.3).

By 1903 the English Senior Grade examination was reduced to two hours thirty minutes to reflect the removal of history and geography from this examination paper (see Appendix 5.1). After this, the English examination was stretched to three hours and included questions on history and geography on some occasions. History and geography had been afforded separate examination papers but the reading material for English had not changed, hence the retaining of examination questions of this kind. However, despite changes to layout and content after 1910, the examination did not return in this era to be the six-hour examination it began as (see Appendix 5.4).

5.4 The Examination Papers

Following a detailed review of the examination papers, four dominant political and social themes recurred throughout the era:

- Christianity and the Catholic Church;
- Gender;
- British Colonialism;
- English as a subject and citizen building.

These themes are discussed in more depth in the following sections.

5.4.1 Power, the Catholic Church and the Examination Papers

The most interesting aspect of religion in the examination papers during this period is its relative absence. At 128 counts in total, it has a relatively low-frequency count compared to other thematic word counts. The word 'Christian' is mentioned three times. 'Soul' and 'souls' appear five times in total. 'Holy' appears four times. 'Heaven' and 'heavenly' appear four times in total. 'Grace' and 'religion' both have a frequency count of two. 'Sin' and 'sins' appear once each as those 'Catholic' and 'Catholics'. 'Deity', 'devil' and 'hell' are all mentioned. The word 'Protestant' is not mentioned at all. When religion or religious themes were mentioned it was from a position of some distance. For example in 1915 students were asked to "Give the names and capitals of any five of the South African Republics, State the prevailing (a) race (b) religion in each republic mentioned" (Intermediate Education Board 1915). The two instances of 'Catholic' and 'Catholics' both occur as part of a history question. Only 'death' has a frequency occurrence of fifteen and 'mortality' has a frequency count of eleven. Both of these words are of questionable religious origin or connotation, as immortality and mortality could be existential rather than religious terms. On further investigation, it transpired that the word 'mortality' referred to Scott's *Old Mortality*. Therefore, we see a certain circumventing of religious reference and discussion. Many of the words that appeared in AntConc, 'bells' and 'heaven' for example, appeared as part of literary quotations. All such references are used sparingly.

Although the overall tone of the syllabus was Christian in nature we see a certain reluctance to prescribe material of an overtly denominational nature. However, the Victorians believed it was their moral duty to spread Christian values through colonialism (Goodlad 2003) and we do see undertones of this duty in-text choice at Senior Grade. Milton is referred to specifically three times, *Paradise Lost* on two other occasions. The following epitomise the Christian terms which appeared for questioning: "Reproduce in your own words Abdiel's stern reply to Satan concerning Servitude and Freedom. In what respects are this speech and the commendation bestowed on Abdiel by Sovran's voice characteristic of Milton?" (Intermediate Education Board 1904). The names of the Christian angel Abdiel and the fallen angel Satan bring with them images of heaven and hell. There is an assumption in the question that students would understand the implication. Shakespeare's Christian outlook is implied several times. For example, "The Sin of Prospero" which appeared as an essay title in 1916 and refers to the character Prospero in Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. The same year, the essay title was "In reviewing a noble career may we set off great public services against great sins?". What is evident here is the Christian tone to the use of words like 'sin' and the assumption that students would know what is meant by it. This is also evident in the frequency with which certain words appear in quotations. "Holy men at their death have good inspirations", which is a quotation from *The Merchant of Venice* appears three times over the era. Taken from *Julius Caesar*, "If I could pray to move, prayers would move me" appeared in 1888 and has moral and Christian undertones. Much has been speculated about Shakespeare's religious outlook but what is generally agreed is that he was writing from a Christian background. *The Christian Year*, by John Keble, described as an important Victorian Christian book (Wheeler 1994), also appeared for examination in 1896 and 1898. To summarise, although denominational texts were not assessed, questions that did appear had strong Christian undertones and encompassed an implication of understanding of Christian terms and figures.

5.4.2 Gender and the Examination Papers

Through AntConc we can see differences in gender references throughout the examination papers (1878-1924). There is almost ten times the number of male to female references at 304 counts to thirty eight frequency counts (see Figure 5.1). The word 'men' has a frequency count of twenty six and the word 'women' has four. 'Man' has an occurrence count of thirty five,

compared to two for 'woman'. 'Lady' has an occurrence count of five and this is mostly due to questions referring to Lady Macbeth (see Appendix 5.5).

Figure 5.1: Overview of Gender (1878-1924).

- ■ male ■ female
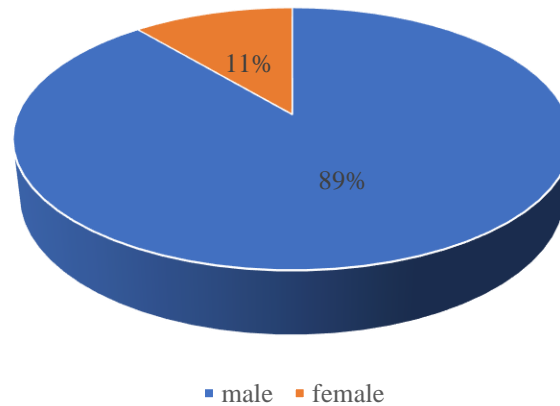
The possessive pronoun 'his' appears 108 times while 'her' only occurs thirteen times in total (see Appendix 5.6). 'He' is mentioned fifty two times, 'she' only six. 'Himself' has a reference count of eighteen, but 'herself' is not present at all.

The following essay titles highlight how the male gender was used to mean all people.

A. "I believe one reason why such numerous instances of erudition occur among the lower ranks is that, with the same powers of mind, the poor student is limited to a narrow circle for indulging his passion for books and must necessarily make himself master of the few he possesses ere he can acquire more" Scott (1886).
B. "They say best men are moulded out of faults"-Shakespeare (1886).
C. Men of thought and Men of Action (1918).
D. Man's increasing control over nature (1919).

In 1902 the following essay titles appeared:

(a) "The style is the man (Newman-*Idea of a University*)
(b) "It is only in Miss Edgeworth's novels that one can do right, and have one's cake and sugar after as well" (Ruskin-*Ethics of the Dust*)

(c) The Aims and Pursuits of Women: Should they be identical with those of Men? (Tennyson-*The Princess*) (Intermediate Education Board 1902).

Apart from the repetition of gender-specific words like 'man' and 'men', the reading material referred to in the essay titles is significant in any discussion on gender. Newman's *Idea of a University* advocated for learning centres of debate, discussion and the promotion of critical thinking. Yet Ruskin's *Ethics of the Dust* has the following subtitle "Ten Lectures to the Little Housewives On the Elements of Crystallization". Ruskin's text follows his discussions in a boarding school with young girls which demonstrate their childhood wonder. It is the term 'Little Housewives' that betrays his lack of ambition for the girls he was conversing with. These texts seemingly reinforce the persistent Victorian view of gender roles. However, the dichotomy of this transitionary era is epitomised in essay title C above, where the debate surrounding equality of gender was in its infancy.

It comes as little surprise then that no female writer appears in the list of most frequent writers for this era. Writers are male and the questions asked are male-dominated. Shakespearean plays that feature most frequently are *Macbeth, Hamlet, The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice, Richard II* and *Julius Caesar* (see Figure 5.2 below).

Figure 5.2: Shakespeare Plays.

86
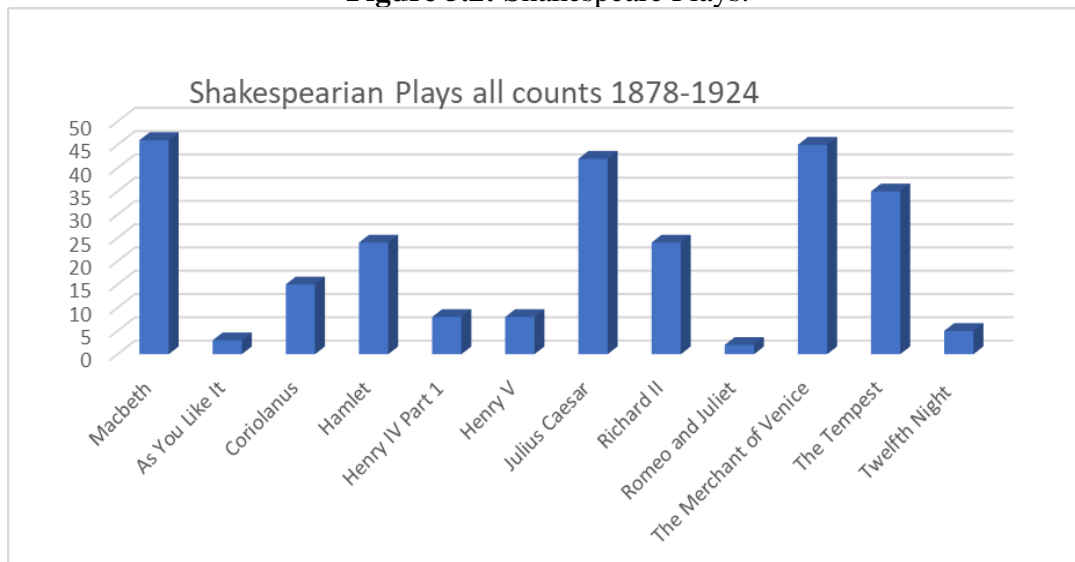
Male orientated questions were also asked. Ophelia's name appears twice, although *Hamlet* is the most frequently asked play. Ophelia is the only female mentioned from the play. One of these occurrences does not appear in the literature section but as an essay title in the composing section "Hamlet's madness and his behaviour to Ophelia". This essay title appeared in 1921 as the War of Independence was reaching its crescendo, which may explain the move towards literary questions in the composing section. Portia from *The Merchant of Venice* is mentioned five times between the years 1895 and 1906. There are no female character questions for the era for the play *The Tempest.* Lady Macbeth is also referred to five times in the examination papers of this era. However, all female characters are asked in very low relative frequency compared to their male counterparts. Hamlet, Macbeth and Shylock are all assessed with more frequency than their female counterparts. The career options appearing in the examination papers throughout this period are also male-orientated for the era. Although 'captain', 'judge', 'bailiff' and 'lawyer' would not be gender-specific today, in the late 19th century they would have been male gender dominated careers. The entire notion of a career for women was not considered as the Victorian world saw their place as being within the confines of the home.

While the content of examinations was male orientated, and most students who completed the examinations were male, there is some positivity to be seen in the performance of those girls who did complete examinations during these years. In the Pass Lists of 1881, we see that a Charlotte Young achieved the top female English result of 605 points. Ninety five girls sat the Senior Grade altogether. In the same year, we see that a Michael O'Dwyer achieved the top grade for English with a result of 770 points. Both were out of a possible 1,200. Both received gold medals. However, 246 boys sat the Senior Grade, of whom fifty two either did not sit the English examination or did not pass it. The numbers of girls sitting the paper may have been lower but the ratio passing was higher (Intermediate Education Board 1881).

Similar to the Catholic Church, gender issues were largely absent from the examination paper. Reading material was written by male writers and questioning had a strong male, Victorian and moralising tone. Gender may have been a growing societal issue but the examination papers display how slowly society was reacting to change of any kind.

5.4.3 British Colonialism and the Examination Papers

Figure 5.3: War and Politics (1878-1924).
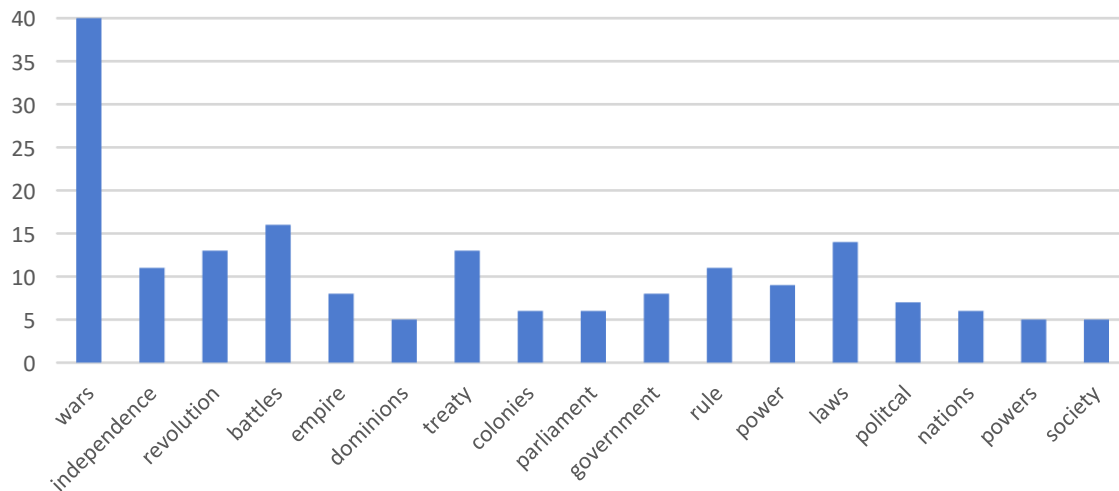
One of the most striking aspects of the examination papers of the era is how embedded they are in the British Empire (see Figure 5.2). 'War' has an occurrence count of thirty four, 'independence' eleven counts and 'empire' occurs eight times. 'Dominion' is mentioned four times and 'conquest' three times. There are six occurrences of the word 'battles', eleven of 'revolution' and ten occurrences of the word 'treaty'. 'Power' has a frequency count of nine, 'parliament' has six and 'government' has eight. 'Colony' and 'colonies' have a total reference count of six. Given this, a picture emerges of war, conquest, battles, revolution and empires.

The 1885 three-hour paper was divided into the categories of Composition, Grammar and Scott's *Waverley*. The Second Paper was divided into *Macbeth*, History, Geography and Literature. There were questions on punctuation and definitions also (Intermediate Education Board 1885b). Moreover, the complex nature of the English Paper required students to "Describe the courses of the rivers Euphrates, Ganges, and Hoang Ho, and mention the principal tributaries of each river" under the geography section and "Sketch the efforts made of Henry Grattan to secure legislative independence for Ireland, and give the terms of his two Resolutions" (Intermediate Education Board 1885b). The Examinations Paper at Senior Grade covered a great volume of knowledge and students were expected to know the history and geography of not just Ireland and the British Isles but the wider British Empire. The choice of text was most apt as both Scott's *Waverley* and Shakespeare's *Macbeth* show the destructive force of war, especially civil war, and the divisions caused to families and entire communities.

In 1887 students were asked to "Mention the most illustrious English generals of the 14th and 15th centuries; the most famous English seamen of the 16th and 17th centuries; and some unfortunate British commanders of the 18th century" (Intermediate Education Board 1887). The essay titles mirrored this trend. In 1888 students were asked to choose between, "Cowards die many times before their deaths, the valiant never taste of death but once" (Shakespeare), "Printing gunpowder and the compass...those three have changed the appearance and state of the whole world" (Bacon) or "The social or the luxury aspects of the reign of Anne" (Intermediate Education Board 1888a). The examination papers are littered with questions of past monarchs, battles and historical figures.

In 1900 the title 'Patriotism' appeared, in 1901 'India and its Conquerors' and in 1919 'Henry V as Patriot King'. In 1902, "What does Bacon mean by *empire*? Reproduce the Line of thought in his essay on Empire". In 1906, Bacon's political views of monarchy and parliament were asked, as was his view of war in a separate question (Intermediate Education Board 1906). In 1920, 'The Moral Influence of War' appeared, which raises questions about the nature of war itself, and one's moral responsibility to keep the peace. 'English as it is spoken in Ireland' a title which appeared in 1920, referred to the dialects of English as they had developed in the colonies. This along with the following title 'The North American Indians' seems to have the effect of demoting Ireland and the rest of the colonies, former and present, to the status of 'other', whether this was intentional or not. Essay title C comes from the poem *London,* by Samuel Johnson. Students who had studied this poem would have been faced with its apparent parallels between the Fall of Ancient Rome and the possible weakening of the British Empire in 1920. This poem is best known for its "nostalgic glorification of English history" (Hammond 2001, p. 91) and was an interesting political choice for the culture of the day (Intermediate Education Board 1900; Intermediate Education Board 1901; Intermediate Education Board 1902; Intermediate Education Board 1920). Other topics from 1920 included Catholic Emancipation, the Peninsular War, the climate in Australia, the natural regions of Peru, the geography of Poland, dramatic irony, the 'natural magic' of poetry and Matthew Arnold's view on the turn for style in English and Celtic poetry which show the varied nature of the English examination paper (Intermediate Education Board 1920).

The aura of Empire was important to participants of intermediate education. We see that those involved with the setting up of Alexandra College were preoccupied with standards in England

and Scotland, as to align the Irish system with it. There was concern about how to teach the females attending the school in Dublin an English accent, which was seen to be preferable to the 'fatal brogue'. Those who had an Irish accent, like the lady in chief, sought the help of English tutors to develop an English one (Cullen and Luddy 1995). Anne Jellicoe visited many schools and colleges in England and Scotland to glean ideas. These issues are mirrored in the examinations as the history and geography of the Empire dominated the discourse. The history of literature and works of the Classical writers were offered as being of the highest standard available. The literary section was dominated by the British Canon. Writers like Shakespeare, Bryon, Shelley, Milton and Scott dominated any literary questions that did appear. Anglo-Irish writers were largely ignored, apart from perhaps Swift, and native Irish writers were not represented at all (see Figure 5.4 below). This was all in the context of promoting knowledge of, and affinity with, the British Empire and developing a sense of 'Britishness'.

Figure 5.4: Gender and the Canon.
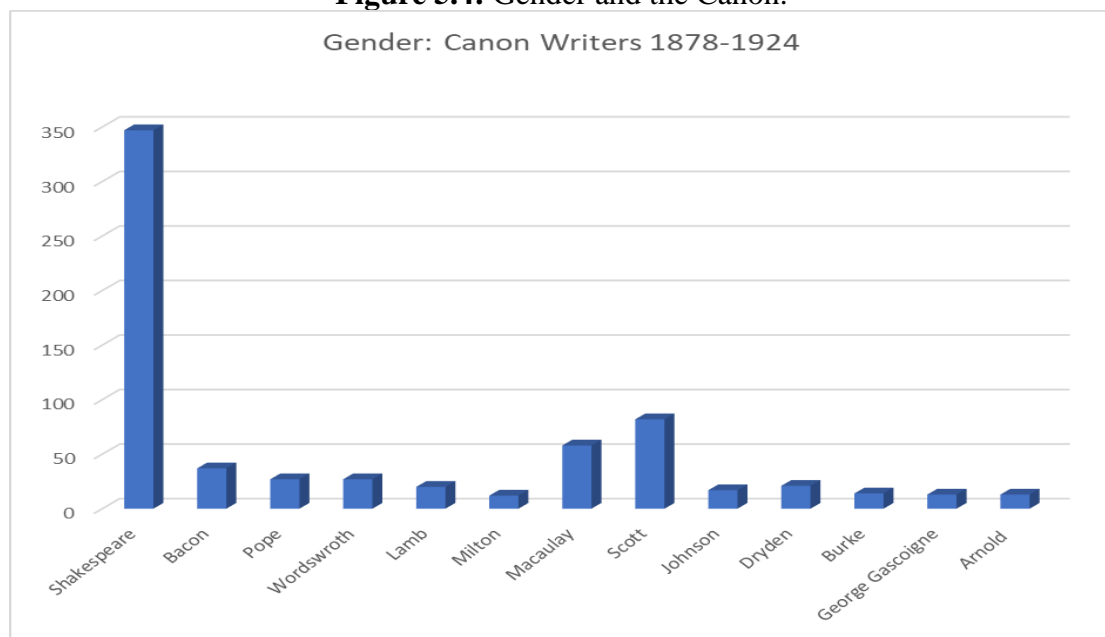
An interesting paper delivered by Miss F. McCutcheon to the Association of Irish Schoolmistresses highlighted the difficulty of some of the texts chosen by the Board. She mentions while *Macbeth* was welcome at the Senior Grade level, that Burke's *French Revolution* was a considerable burden for the 'unfortunate teacher' (McCutcheon 1889, p. 16). She goes on to say that while The Seventh Book of *Paradise Lost* "is very fine [it was] too sublime and beautiful for drudging over it with young people who will not see its sublimity" (McCutcheon 1889, p. 16). She further highlights the difficulty and suitability of these texts,

stating that Creasy's *Decisive Battles of the World* "does not afford any relaxation […] the average girl yawns over it, and it is very hard for a sympathetic teacher to avoid doing the same" (McCutcheon 1889, p. 16). She argued that the texts chosen from Junior Grade to Senior Grade would try "one's cheerfulness to the point of despair" (McCutcheon 1889, p. 16). McCutcheon (1889) also puts forward a strong argument that students did not get enough time to read and that it is the responsibility of the English teacher to instil a love of reading for pleasure. She was not in favour of the emphasis placed on study for examinations, using words like 'drudging', 'dissecting' and 'grubbing' through texts and she called for a wider selection of literature to be studied so that students might be more attracted to reading (McCutcheon 1889). It is clear from the choices used that students would finish Senior Grade with little knowledge of fiction and a wide knowledge of the Empire. It could be argued that the Senior Grade English paper was a vehicle for propagating the perceived dominance of the British Empire.

5.4.4 Citizen Building and the Examination Papers

The language of the examination papers is an important indicator of what was expected or hoped for the citizen as the programme for study did not provide any such indication. The word 'love' is mentioned sixteen times, 'influence' has an occurrence count of fifteen. The word 'kind' appears nine times and 'virtue' seven times. 'Moral' and 'passion' occur five times each, while 'honour' and 'truth' have an occurrence count of four times each. 'Knowledge' and 'manners' appear three times, while 'justice', 'brave', 'admirable' and 'hero' appear twice each. Interestingly 'merit' also appears twice (see Appendices 5.1-5.3). We can see it was hoped that the citizen enjoyed a moral, kind, virtuous life, one where knowledge and merit were valued. This is very much in keeping with the Victorian aspirations of the 19th century (see Figure 5.5 below).

Figure 5.5: Citizen Building and Language of Moral Tone (1878-1924).
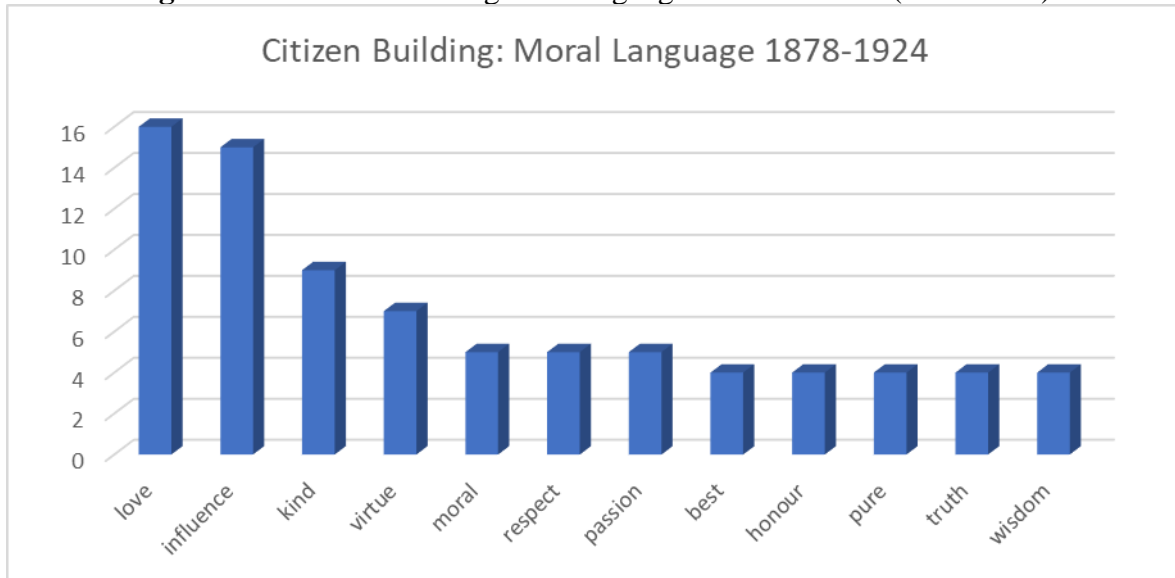
It was clear from the start that the 'English Literature' section was a wide banner under which many types of writing were incorporated. Poetry was not given a separate section of its own. The essayists and poets assessed spanned several hundred years. Students were expected to read the prose essays to prepare and questions often asked them to recall the essayist's impression of the piece or the topic at hand. In 1885 the heading appeared 'Johnson's lives of Dryden and Pope' under which five questions were asked. In 1886 this section was given to Scott's *Waverley* and in 1887 to Bacon's *Essays*. Bacon's *Essays* appeared several times over the years and give an interesting insight into kind of material read in schools, which could be used to cultivate good citizens. Written in the mid-1600s his essay titles range from *Of Praise, Of Goodness and the Goodness of Nature, Of Truth, Of Death, Of Envy* and others. In 1887 the first question pertained to the three causes and motives of anger:

> The cause and motives of anger are chiefly three; first, to be too sensible of hurt, for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt; and therefore, tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry, they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of: the next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered, to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt: for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much, or more, than the hurt itself; and therefore, when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much: lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger; wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say "telam honoris crassiorem". But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time,

and to make a man's self believe that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it, and so to still himself in the meantime and reserve it.

(Bacon *et al.* 1884, p. 60)

Of Anger by Bacon, quoted above, surmises that a robust and strong character will not fall victim to anger in the same manner as weak or sensitive characters. It is implied that a mature person is in control of their emotions and that is the aim for students to achieve. It is in a citizen's best interest to develop a disciplined mind. In 1890 both the *Essay on Adversity* and the *Essay on Friendship* were examined. In 1897 questions such as "What, according to Bacon, is a sufficient justification for going to war?" and "How does Bacon reach the conclusion "that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for Empire?" (Intermediate Education Board 1897). In 1909 students were asked, "What opinion have you formed, from reading his Essays, of the moral standard of Bacon?" (Intermediate Education Board 1909). In 1913 Bacon's *Goodness and the Goodness of Nature* and *Simulation and Dissimulation* both appeared. Students were asked to distinguish between them and "Why does he speak of the *true* greatness of kingdoms and estates?" (Intermediate Education Board 1899).

We repeatedly see that this section of the course was often utilised to teach and instruct the students in the ways of being. Bacon appears to have been above question as an authority figure on many topics, the essay title 'The worldly wisdom of Bacon' appeared as an essay title also in 1913 (Intermediate Education Board 1899). The essay section was utilised over the years to highlight what was expected of the citizen. In 1899 students were offered the options one of "The Gentle Art of Pleasing" and "Wise men ne're sit and wail their woes, But presently prevent the way to wail" (Intermediate Education Board 1899). In 1905 the title "The faith of mankind is guided to a man only by a well-founded faith in himself" appeared under composition (Intermediate Education Board 1905). In 1907 "The True End Of Education" (Intermediate Education Board 1907) and in 1913 "In praise of 'The Simple Life'" (Intermediate Education Board 1913). Essay titles continued in a similar vein over the years. There was also a reliance on a certain degree of recall in the examination style. In 1889 students were asked in question five "What are the names of Ben Jonson's Dramas?" and question seven "Who were the authors of the following works? What is the nature of each?". Adapted from the Intermediate Education Board (1889), Table 5.1 below list indicates the breadth of the syllabus and suggests perhaps some evidence of rote learning.

Table 5.1: Examination Topic List (1899).

Histriomastix	Prothalamion
Gorboduc	Steps to the Temple
Poly-olbion	Astraea Redux
Euphues	Schoolmistress
Cenci	Pleasures of Memory

The texts above are mainly from the 16th century and are important from a moral perspective. They serve to demonstrate that the examinations give a clear indication of what was expected of students. In this way, the examinations can be seen as an elucidation of the syllabus. Perhaps the nature of knowledge acquired through learning was valued or the discipline associated with detailed learning was valued or the act of learning without question was valued. Whichever of these was the dominant force behind the questioning, there is little doubt that a high level of recall was required and was rewarded in the examination. The breath of the examination and the knowledge required for this exam is notable. Students also needed to be able to identify texts from lists of quotes from various sources.

Apart from identifying texts, a detailed grammar section appeared with regularity throughout the era, primarily in the first twenty years. See Appendix 5.7 for an example of the emphasis on grammar and of the history of English literature and etymology. The examination papers reflected a desire for students to know, comprehend and use the English language correctly. However, students were not encouraged to question critically. This mirrored the Victorian tendency towards accepting authority and would seem to be borne out in the AntConc results. The findings were that lower-order question words were the norm with 'what', 'give', 'which', 'account' and 'state' all featuring highly (see Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.6: Most Frequent Question Words (1878-1924).
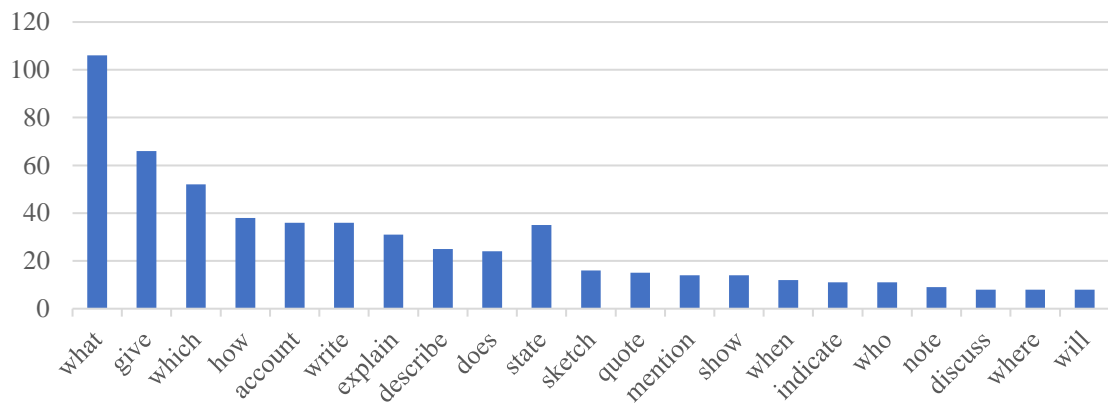
The above shows that students were not encouraged to question. The emphasis was on the development of compliant and obedient students. Throughout the years the examination showed the reliance on learning for knowledge yet the moral tone of the literature promoted an awareness of the position of the person within society. The overall picture from the examination papers was the desire to mould compliant, hardworking, disciplined individuals who would consider their moral obligations to society carefully. The fairness of the examination structure, the equality of opportunity afforded those who did sit the examinations was an important aspect of intermediate education and the meritocracy its espoused. This was also a value that was deemed important to convey to students. Any citizen who had access to the examinations could excel in open competition through hard work and effort.

5.5 Conclusion

This era was characterised by political and religious divide in Ireland. Attitudes across the country were hardening as education policy developed and there were many different interest groups. Religion, language and the education of the citizen were all political matters. Those of the Protestant community worried about the impact increased numbers of Catholics in education would have on their position. As Emly (1878) declared, Catholic teachers were merely instruments of the Pope and their teachings likely to be treasonous. The British government used improvements in literacy and the introduction of a bi-lingual programme at primary level as a method of Anglicising the population. Policies introduced in primary level, regarding reading or writing in English and English instruction, in general, all had an eventual impact on senior cycle English. The reading material chosen was a key factor in moulding

citizens. The British Canon writers, history and geography of the Empire, all espoused an imperialist outlook. We see from the examination papers that questions focused on fact-finding. In Victorian England, the citizen was not being taught to question rather they were to accept the facts. This is illustrated in Charles Dicken's *Hard Times* with the opening lines from the teacher Mr Gradgrind:

> Now, what I want is, Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else and root out everything else. You can only form the mind of reasoning animals upon Facts: nothing else will ever be of any service to them.

(Dickens 1996, p. 41)

In the preface of the *Intermediate Examination Papers: Guidelines: English: Senior Grade* of 1885, the Board reports that while it was pleased that improvements in the performance that were made, it does highlight the difficulty of pedagogy when it came to teaching English. It says that English examiners:

> (…) while reporting favourably on the answering generally, state that English Grammar appears to be taught too much as a matter of mere theory, and too little through its practical application to the construction and analysis of sentences, and that, in consequence, the answering in parsing is defective.

(Intermediate Education Board 1885a, p.vii)

The report highlights the fact that many students were learning for the examination rather than understanding. This is something that Logan (1990) emphasises, and it seems that measurable results took precedence over the development of a system where students were encouraged to think for themselves. This was, of course, more difficult to measure in examinations. Any aspect of learning that could not be easily measured in the examination was not a priority for teachers. Students were trained 'like greyhounds' in cramming for examinations in Tullabeg, Crescent College and Clongowes College (O'Mahony 1967). It seems a feature of what was also hoped for the citizen was a tendency for hard work.

During this era, the British Empire was struggling to maintain its control in Ireland. There is little doubt that the political situation changed completely after the 1916 Easter Rising. The

nationalist sentiment that had been growing reached a new level of fervour after the execution of the Easter Rising leaders and there was no returning to supporting ideas like Home Rule. This was important from an educational point of view because at this time the British government was seeking to make local and education reform which was rejected outright. From the beginning of the century, Westminster had sought to move towards a system of local education with local rating and issues were to be considered locally instead of centrally (O'Donoghue 2004). The Killanin Committee put forward proposals that would see these local educational committees have responsibility for the upkeep for schools, mental and dental services and setting-up schemes for school meals and textbooks. Smaller schools would be amalgamated and attendance would be compulsory for children aged six to fourteen (Coolahan 1981). In many ways this made sense and it had worked well in England previously. In 1919 there were approximately 9,000 national schools but less than 500-second level or intermediate schools. Many of these proposals of the Killanin Report and also the Molony Report were incorporated into the Macpherson Education Bill (Coolahan 1981; Farren 1995). The doomed Macpherson Education Bill (1919) proposed one central education board to take overall responsibility for the three different sectors of education, national schooling, intermediate schooling and technical instruction.

While the Macpherson Bill proposed many interesting reforms, it was strongly opposed by the Catholic Church (O'Donoghue 2004). It was also opposed by nationalists for political rather than educational reasons 'as another 'English Board'' (Parks 2010). This was unfortunate as the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian Church welcomed it and so did public opinion, to a large degree. One of the most interesting outcomes of note was that the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO) were in favour of the bill, seeing it as an attempt at genuine reform. Considering the dire state of many schools, teachers saw it as an opportunity to improve the daily education system at the grassroots level. However, the political upheaval at the time puts the situation into context, the Bill was eventually withdrawn from the House of Parliament in 1920 as the War of Independence raged in Ireland (Coolahan 1981). As such, the schools in Ireland were left cope as best they could without reform, and "it was a rickety and run-down intermediate education machine which the new independent Irish Free State inherited at the transfer of powers in February 1922" (Coolahan 1981, p. 73). The Macpherson Education Bill was important for another reason, one that has lived long in the Irish psyche: the controversy. The resultant message rang loud and clear, reminding those that came after, that the Catholic

Church was both a worthy friend and powerful adversary. It would take a brave soul to take on its might again. This had long-lasting cultural implications for Irish education as Church and state would compete for control over curriculum and assessment in Ireland for decades to come.

The four major political and social issues of the time; The Catholic Church, gender, British colonialism and the development of a citizen are intertwined and captured in the examination papers of the era. They reflect political and social policy. Through them, we see the Christian message as it was propagated through text, British colonialism through the control of reading material and the development of the citizen to be compliant, non-questioning and disciplined. We also see the struggles of women through their lack of representation. The examination papers of this era offer us a window into life in Ireland at the turn of the century and dying days of British rule. The great success of the Intermediate Examinations Board was to establish a reputable system of examinations, a feature which has lasted to the present day.

With independence in Ireland, it was clear that the days of intermediate education had been served. The careful selection by the Intermediate Education Board of both subjects and reading material for English, whether intended or not, propagated imperialist values and promoted policies of Anglicisation. It was at odds with the political values of the new state and was far too steeped in the Empire to carry on. The next Chapter discusses Era 2 (1925-1970).

Chapter Six: Era 2 (1925-1970)

6.1 Introduction

The War of Independence ended in 1921 and Irish Free State was established in 1922. The Anglo-Irish Treaty that was signed allowed for the partition of the island of Ireland into The Irish Free State and Northern Ireland. The Irish Civil War ensued, and the new state faced a myriad of problems. New institutions had to be established and the early half of this era is marked by uncertainty and a determination to establish a national identity for Ireland as distinct from Great Britain. Some institutions were replaced immediately but others like intermediate education were retained until after the Civil War. Therefore, the system of intermediate education continued under the new government until 1924 when it was replaced. The new state was anxious to develop a national identity for Ireland that was distinct from the British Empire. Two major features of this cultural change would focus on how to integrate the Catholic Church and the Irish language with this national identity. In 1924, the Intermediate Education (Amendment) Act was passed in *Dáil Éireann* as the new government of the Irish Free State began to pursue its own educational policy. The Report of the Department of Education for the School Year 1924/1925 and the Financial and Administrative Years 1924-1926 outlined the changes to be made. Payment by Results was abolished, as was the awarding of medals. Students could now compete for scholarships of £40 to be paid over the two years of the Leaving Certificate programme to encourage those, who could afford to pay, to stay on in education (Department of Education 1924a). It was also proposed to replace the three-tier system of the Intermediate Education Board with a new two-tiered system: Intermediate Certificate and Leaving Certificate. The Intermediate Certificate would be studied for over three to four years and include five subjects:

- Irish or English;
- Mathematics;
- A second language;
- History and Geography or Science or Latin or Greek.

The Leaving Certificate would now be of a two-year duration and would include the study of Irish or English and four other subjects (Department of Education 1924a). The 'second

language' referred to modern languages like French, German, Italian or Spanish. Prescribed texts were abolished and schools could now enjoy some freedom to choose textbooks and programmes to suit their own students' needs (Department of Education 1924a). Teachers had to submit their plans to the inspector for approval. Hyland and Milne (1992) argue that schools were freed somewhat of the overbearing rigidity of the examination system.

However, changes were made as the programme took effect. Irish could technically be avoided, up to the 1928 examinations. Nevertheless, there were special bonus grants for schools that taught through Irish as their main language of instruction (Hyland and Milne 1992). After 1928 Irish was placed in a subject line of its own as it was deemed a compulsory subject. English was then placed on the subject line English or a Second Language. This had the unfortunate effect that the modern languages suffered, as most students took English as their second language (Hyland and Milne 1992). This meant that the proficiency of the Irish people in European modern languages diminished, where there had been a strong tradition. The minutes of the first *Dáil* were read in Irish, English and French. Irish became compulsory for Leaving Certificate in 1934 and remained so until 1973 (Hyland and Milne 1992).

In this chapter, the political, social and cultural changes that took place in Ireland in the period 1925-1970 are discussed. The syllabus is outlined and examination structure introduced by the new state is discussed. The examination papers of the era are analysed to determine how these policy changes are reflected at examination level.

6.2 Issues in the Free State

Padraig Pearse's attack on the intermediate education system, which he referred to as 'The Murder Machine' and 'wicked' had a long-lasting impression on nationalists (Farren 1995). By the time the Free State came into being there was already a sense of the potential life of the Irish citizen post-colonialism. This vision had become rather romanticised over the centuries and very much took the shape of a Celtic or Gaelic, agrarian, happy nation of free individuals. Pearse added to this vision with his educational philosophy. He had studied education systems abroad and was particularly struck with the bi-lingual education offered in Belgium. He argued against the examination culture. In many ways, his vision for the Irish citizen was one of liberation, both physically and intellectually. He abhorred the meritocratic system where:

Our children are the 'raw material'; we desiderate for their education 'modern methods' which must be efficient but cheap; we send them to Clongowes to be 'finished'; when finished they are 'turned out'; specialists 'grind' them for the English Civil Service and the so-called liberal professions

(Pearse 1924, p. 13)

Pearse (1924) added that the duty of education was to develop the personality of students and to guide them to live 'nobly and fully'. In his vision, the citizen would have freedom, both the teacher and the student, to question and learn, not out of textbooks, but by discussion, stories and by action, so that the child can become his 'True and best self'. A teacher should not come to class with fixed opinions or information to depart. Education should be a source of inspiration, literature should be enjoyed for literature's sake and not studied as 'texts'. Students should read widely of heroic tales and legends and literature should be enjoyed for its beauty. Above all, education should inspire, should focus on heroic spirit and foster "knightly courage and strength and truth" (Pearse 1924, p. 38).

The new system of examination was met with considerable relief by those who supported the meritocratic system and those who had been involved in examinations under the Intermediate Education Board. They had worried that the Free State would abolish examinations as a relic of the colonial past. As Professor Magennis told *Dáil Éireann*:

It is a pleasure to me to make the confession, that what has since been published on behalf of the Ministry of Education indicated that not only has this great national subject not been neglected, but that it must have been given a more than usual amount of highly considered thought and that a great step forward had been taken to provide the country with that type or system of secondary education which its needs demand […] a great deal of criticism published by way of complaints that the new development was about to sweep away examination. But that is not so.

(Magennis 1923)

Although meritocracy was maintained and those who wished for positions in the higher levels of the civil service and the professions continued to sit terminal state examinations, the era from 1925-1970 was dominated by nation-building, identity and the creation of an Irish society

101

distinct from a colonial past. There are four key pillars from which the themes of the period can be established. These themes are linked to what had gone before and are:

- The role of the Catholic Church;
- Gender;
- British Colonialism and Irish Identity building;
- Citizen formation.

In each of these areas, English studies became a battleground. What was deemed appropriate reading material and the level of skill to be taught dominated English studies discourse for the majority of these fifty years. The emergence of these themes therefore in examination papers provides a vital primary source which mirrors some of the key founding moments in modern Irish history.

6.2.1 The Free State, the Civil Service and the Department of Education

When the first *Dáil* was established in 1919 the Gaelic League's influence was glaringly apparent. The Cabinet announced the *Aireacht na Gaelige*, a Ministry for Irish, instead of a Ministry for Education. J.J. O'Kelly was the first Minister appointed and he also had responsibility for Education. There can be little doubt that his main focus of concern was the promotion of Irish (Farren 1995). The first *Dáil*, thus showed from the outset that it intended to form a Catholic, Gaelic and nationalist Ireland. These were features of nationhood that nationalists had advocated for since 1802 (Keogh 2015).

Cumann na nGaedheal formed a new Department of Education and appointed Eóin MacNeill as the First Minister for Education. The department took responsibility for the national school system and the second level system but as both the National Board and the Intermediate Education Board had been disbanded, it was a 'fragmented' department (Clarke 2016). It had no say over technical instruction which was under the remit of the Department of Agriculture and very little control over the schools, at either national or second level. The department exerted its influence, insofar as it could, on the curriculum and the inspectorate. It paid primary teachers' salaries and gave building grants to second-level schools (Clarke 2016). Similar to

the Intermediate Education Board, its influence was greatest when it came to examination. It had responsibility for the design and format of examination papers and for delivering, supervising and correcting them. The 1924 Ministries and Secretaries Act coupled with the transfer of 98% of the previous British civil service into the fold of the new state meant that the administration and bureaucracy of the Irish Free State were mirrored largely on the British model that had already existed. This facilitated stability and continuity which was vital for the new Free State but unfortunately the opportunity to introduce radical change into the system was not accommodated.

The Free State did not reform secondary education. It did not pay secondary teachers and did not view them as public servants as it was reluctant to differentiate between lay teachers and those who were members of the clergy. It also failed to address the imbalance in access. This was borne out in the figures. In 1919-1920 there were only 356 schools with 27,250 students enrolled for intermediate examinations and for all three levels, 12,768 students sat examinations. The situation did not radically improve with independence in the 1920s, where only 5% of those who completed primary education continued through the system to complete all five years at second-level (Farren 1995; O'Donoghue 2005).

6.2.2 The Free State, the Catholic Church and Schools

The domination of the Catholic Church in the Free State education system cannot be fully understood without comment on the issue of ownership and governance of schools. Since the era of the Penal Laws, the Catholic Church set-up schools around the country aligned to the parish network in order for its flock to be educated in its own faith. O'Flaherty (1992) argues that:

> Catholic educators were forced to develop secondary education structures without state assistance [and] these structures particularly from the time of Cardinal Cullen, were sufficiently strong to withstand all attempts to make them accountable either to local or to central government.

> (O'Flaherty 1992, p. 5)

Duffy (1967) notes that by 1920, that while the primary sector was chiefly under the control of the National Education Board, with grants available for the buildings, maintenance, repair and

heating no such arrangement existed in the secondary sector which remained completely private. Both the site and the building were privately owned, new schools could receive a grant for a building on a privately owned existing site but grants were not available for new sites. Thus, the difficulty with discussing the second level system as separate in its entirety from the national school system is the fact that in many areas they were not separate at all. The so-called 'secondary tops' had continued so that in some primary school buildings, students were still taking second-level examinations up to the age of fourteen or fifteen. Éamon De Valera (*Taoiseach* (1937-1948)) told the *Dáil* that "for nine out of ten of our people, the primary school is their only educational experience" (Dáil Éireann Debates 1941). This was especially true in the more remote areas of the West and South of the country. This was largely because when the religious orders had developed secondary level schools, they had the prerogative of where exactly they developed sites and built schools. Therefore, Leinster for example had a higher proportion of well-developed secondary schools. If a layperson wanted to set-up a school after 1922 they had to gain written support from the local bishop to support their application, which was very often refused unless there was a serious lack of provision in the locality. This resulted in a great discrepancy from county to county in the provision of secondary education (O'Donoghue 2004, 2005).

The lack of reform before independence combined with the lack of finance after the Free State came into being left the schools in a very poor condition (Farren 1995). This meant that the Free State largely left the schools under the control of the Church. One would have to question whether this was because the state was so overwhelmed with the enormity of the tasks facing it or a reluctance to take a leadership role. Either way, second-level education in particular was not a priority for the new state (O'Donoghue 2004). The government did not involve themselves in what it considered to be a private arrangement and it would be many years before the question of school ownership would bring the Church into conflict with the state. Given this, secondary education evolved as a private system (O'Flaherty 1992).

Consequently, when discussing secondary education in this period, two things must be considered. Firstly, the schools belonged and were controlled by the Churches. Secondly, the fate of the primary school had a huge impact on the number of students staying in education, either in 'secondary tops' or in secondary schools. Decisions made at primary level would have an important bearing on curriculum and assessment development at secondary level. Secondary

education in Ireland was also less of a concern at a political level as it affected so little of the population.

6.2.3 The Catholic Church and Conservatism

The *Cumann na nGaedheal* government became increasingly concerned with what they perceived as a decline in moral standards. This had been gradually occurring since the end of World War One. Dance halls had opened around the country and there was an influx in foreign literature, film and music. "It was found that dance halls, picture houses of sorts and the opportunities afforded by the misuse of motor cars for luring young girls, are the chief causes alleged for the present looseness of morals" (Smyth 1993, p. 52). According to the Carrigan Report, which was not made public, illegitimate births rose 29% between 1912 and 1927. The Intoxicating Liquor Acts of 1924 and 1927 limited public house opening hours and banned the production of poteen. On New Year's Day 1934 almost three thousand marched in Co. Leitrim protesting against foreign music, virtually all of which was referred to as Jazz. The protesters carried slogans of 'Down with Jazz' and 'Out with Paganism'. At a subsequent meeting of local clergy and advocacy groups like the Gaelic League, there were calls for the *Gardai Siochana* to intervene and for dances to finish at eleven pm (O'Connor 2005). At a meeting in February in South Leitrim, the local priest, Father Conefrey declared that jazz music and dance went against Christian decency and was "borrowed from the language of the savages of Africa and its object is to destroy virtue in the human soul" (Parfitt 2020, p. 173). Conefrey also questioned if this was Pearse's vision for Irish citizens (Editor 1934). The Criminal Law Act (1935) dealt in part with the dance halls. The Dance Halls Act (1935) meant that dances could only take place from then on in a church or parish hall and supervised by the local priest. It also required a *Garda* be present (Inglis 1998). So serious was the drafting of the legislation taken that it was even considered that a young woman should be accompanied by a parent to the dance. In 1935 the sale of contraceptives was also banned (Irish Statute Book 1935).

Due to the governance issue, the Roman Catholic Church had a hugely influential role in determining the type of education that would develop in the Free State. Having been successful in its opposition to the MacPherson Bill (see section 5.2.1), the Roman Catholic Church's place in education was solidified. O'Donoghue (1999) argues that Ireland was one of the few countries where the Church was happy with its level of influence, especially at the second level.

Running concurrently with many of these factors was the implementation and long term effect of *Bunreacht na hÉireann* on Irish issues and society. When de Valera was drafting the new Constitution between 1935 and 1937 he consulted with a large number of groups on legal, religious and administrative matters. Archbishop John Charles McQuaid was a personal friend of de Valera and was particularly influential. He advised De Valera on several matters and was opposed to any wording in the Constitution that would not place the Catholic Church as the official church of the Irish people. Naming the Catholic Church as the only official religion was however a step De Valera was unprepared to take as it would further alienate the other churches in Ireland. Given this, when Article 44 of *Bunreacht na hÉireann* was drafted, the wording was as follows:

> The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens. The State recognises the Church of Ireland, the Methodist Church in Ireland, the Religious Society of Friends in Ireland, as well as the Jewish Congregation and the other religious denominations existing in Ireland at the date of the coming into operation of this Constitution.

> (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937, Article 44)

This special position of the Catholic Church in the Constitution lasted until 1973 when it was removed from Article 44 by referendum (Tierney 1988). However, this compromise article was not achieved painlessly. De Valera spent the month of April 1937 in intense negotiations with Archbishop John Allen Gregg (Church of Ireland), Dr J.A.H. Irwin (Presbyterian) and the Rev. W.H. Massey, head of the Methodist Church in Ireland. Although progress towards a finished article was slow, the major Protestant churches did not strenuously object to the tone of the proposed religious inclusion. De Valera's interaction with the Irish Catholic Church was quite strained and much more confrontational. Although the Archbishop of Dublin was accommodating, De Valera was dismayed to find that Cardinal Archbishop of Armagh, MacRory was, in tandem with McQuaid, adopting a hard-line approach. Both clerics were insisting on having a 'one true church' formula included as a right. The President of the Executive Council was aware that Ireland could not afford a church-state crisis at this juncture and so Joseph Walshe (Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs) was dispatched to Rome to negotiate in person with Eugenio Pacelli (later Pope Pius XII), the cardinal secretary

of state (Keogh 1994). A breakthrough on the stalemate in Ireland was only reached when Pacelli declared that the Pope's position was *ni approve ni non disapprove, taceremo* (I neither approve nor do I disapprove, we'll maintain our silence). This stance of neutrality from the Holy See was only what could ensure that there would be no church-state crisis in Ireland. Such an issue provides an insight into the pervasive influence of the Catholic Church on political matters in Ireland. Indeed, Keogh (1994) argues that a church-state crisis in 1937 would have almost certainly meant defeat for the constitution in a referendum. He goes on to remark on the intensity of the 'shuttle diplomacy' of this period (Keogh 1994). The fact that this potential crisis involved both senior politicians and civil servants goes some way to show that the influence of the Irish Catholic hierarchy could not be ignored by any political party or group.

As the new state struggled with its sense of national identity, there was great resistance to outside influences. Critical debate in the classroom was to be avoided and knowledge was presented as an absolute. In *Girls Don't Do Honours*, O'Flynn (1987) tells us that the female body was seen as 'evil'. Girls were advised that the best way to overcome this was to accept guidance and facts without questioning and to speak in low, pious tones. This view of accepting knowledge without question is echoed throughout literature. Fleming and O'Grady (1996) provide further insight into the education received in St. Munchin's College (Limerick) in the 1940s when they mention that the great 'blessing' of their education was that they did not have to form opinions or views, or present ideas or make decisions. All of these things were set out for them and they were protected from outside influences and as such suited the Church.

Irish poet and novelist, Brendan Kennelly stated that his schooling taught him that everything was answerable and Thomas Kinsella, another Irish poet said of his school days that education did not seek to inspire (O'Donoghue 2004). The values and tradition that Fleming and O'Grady (1996) speak of demonstrate the agenda set out by the Catholic Church and conservatism was brought into their classrooms. When Mullins (1996a) wrote of the role of the Master in the life of Irish students throughout that era, he makes the point that not only were Masters seen as people who would continue with tradition but Masters in religious habits were afforded a great power, and their impact was 'profound'. This power is documented in texts like *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, where there is a fearful silence at the crack of the Pandybat held by the prefect of studies, who asks "Any boys want flogging here Father Arnall? […] Any lazy idle loafers that want flogging in this class?" and "Stephen's heart leapt up in fear" (Joyce

2008, p. 49). This display of fear and violence demonstrates the power placed in the hands of the teacher and by extension the clergy in Irish schools. This is further reinforced when we consider the link between church and state. The Christian brothers had operated without funding up to 1922. They would not cooperate with the British government prior to independence but worked very closely with the Free State to assert a level of control on the education system from that point on (Keogh 2015, p. 705). The values and traditions referred to above were inextricably interwoven with politics and religion.

The Christian Brothers' publication, *Our Boys*, was important in bringing their message and views into the homes of Irish Catholics. It aimed to offer an Irish Catholic alternative to those available for purchase in Ireland from British publications (Keogh 2015). The conservative moral message was set out in 1923 in *The Apostleship of Clean Literature: The Triple Resolution* as outlined below (Keogh 2015, p. 706):

> For the glory of the Sacred Heart, and to show our love of Mary, His Immaculate Mother, for the honour of our ancient country, to prove ourselves worthy of our noble ancestors, to help in building a better and holier Ireland, and to preserve in our Irish homes the perfume of the Lily of Purity planted there by St. Brigid we resolve on our word to honour:
>
> 1. Never to buy or borrow or read filthy literature especially the Sunday weeklies that come from across the channel and following the advice of the Archbishop of Dublin to boycott in every way … the shops of those people who carry on an unholy traffic in….such publications.
> 2. Never to visit a picture house or theatre until we have first found out the character of the entertainment … and if anything contrary to purity or morals should be exhibited immediately to leave the place.
> 3. To avoid the use of tobacco until we reach the age of twenty one. As the habit of smoking is unwomanly, the limit of age does not apply to girls.

Of course, *Our Boys* was immensely important from a cultural point of view as it was available in homes across the country at a time when second-level education was not available to all and many homes would not have had a large choice of reading material. In this way, it helped to raise literacy rates, while also being a hugely influential source of conservatism (Keogh 2015). The Catholic influence was enormously powerful on the development of young minds, at a

time when even public libraries were not available to most. Although *Our Boys* was not examinable material, it was the kind of publication that the majority of the population were reading and provides a wider context for the conservative zeitgeist of the era. These issues were reflected in examination in the material that was presented or study and examined and the overall tone to the examinations was one of pious conservatism. (See section 6.5.1).

6.2.4 The Committee on Evil Literature

The position of the Roman Catholic Church and the level of control it had over educational affairs is overarching. Importantly Kevin O'Higgins, Minister for Justice in the Free State, was a former Christian Brothers' student. He set-up the Committee on Evil Literature in 1926, to advise on the issue of censorship. The Committee produced their report in 1928, and the Censorship of Publications Act was passed in 1929. It was vigorously opposed by Yeats and other writers. The list of prohibited books increased rather than decreased in the following decades. This had the effect of alienating many writers whose work was far more appreciated abroad than it was in their own country where access to their work was an issue.

Irish writers like Liam O'Flaherty, Seán Ó Faoláin, Oliver St. John Gogarty, Maura Laverty and Frank O'Connor all fell victim to the censorship board over the years. This was also the case of John McGahern and Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*. One of the most notable authors to be banned was Edna O'Brien with not one but two novels being banned by the board in succession, *The Country Girls* and *The Lonely Girl* in 1960 and 1962 respectively. Of the banning of her debut novel, she said she felt like she "had committed a crime and I did not know what the crime was" (Ryle-Dwyer 2010, para. 22). Two years later her second novel *The Lonely Girl* was also banned after Archbishop John Charles McQuaid personally complained to the Justice Minister Charles Haughey that the book was inappropriate. He mentions that the Minister subsequently contacted him to express his dismay that such literature was even printed (Ryle-Dwyer 2010). The power of the Roman Catholic Church at the time cannot be underestimated. Edna O'Brien had seven novels banned in total and coupled with her move to London, her books were barely read by an entire generation of Irish readers while she won many awards abroad. Censorship was culturally sensitive. Many writers' works were banned for including material of a sexual nature, sexual awakening, marriage, pregnancy or religious

views (Ó Drisceoil 2017). Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and Brendan Behan's *Borstal Boy* (1958) were both banned for their sexual content.

A lively debate was held in the Senate on 9th December 1942 on the work of the Censorship Board. Speaking of *The Tailor and Ansty*, there was a call for it to be banned for all time, due to its immorality and obscenity; with one speaker referring to it as 'undiluted bilge'. Mr O'Dwyer goes on to say that the rights of the individual are limited in a Christian society (Seanad Éireann 1942). The subject matter of the debate sparked such a discussion that it had to be adjourned after four days. The language used throughout the debate emphasises the importance of a moral Christian society, and specifically a Catholic one without vulgarity or 'indecency'. The book was burned in their local village and writer and his family were essentially boycotted from their community (Keating 2006). There is much to be taken from a government debate surrounding the scandal when unravelling the state's relationship with the Catholic Church.

By the late 1950s, the rhetoric around censorship was beginning to wane and debate surrounded the number of banned books. In 1942 it was mentioned that 1,600 books were already on the list and this number continued to rise (Seanad Éireann 1942). As society began to slowly change in the 1960s not only were these books removed from the banned list but some were eventually included as required reading for the Leaving Certificate. For instance, *The Catcher in the Rye*, which was banned in 1951, was included as required reading for the Leaving Certificate only 16 years later in 1967. The issue of censorship in Ireland mirrors the impact of the Catholic Church and the conservative nature of the Free State and later the Republic of Ireland, and how slow this was to change. It dominated the material for reading in classrooms for the vast majority of this era and consequently impacted on examination of English as a school subject.

6.2.5 The Role of Women

Censorship was not the only area to reflect the increasingly conservative nature of the Free State. The role of women in society was also impacted by the conservative teachings of the Catholic Church. This was unfortunate considering that many women had been instrumental in the fight for independence and the government was quick to acknowledge their equal status. Equality of status was set out under the terms of the Constitution of the Free State (1922).

Article 3 stated that "every person without distinction of sex shall … enjoy the privileges and be subject to the obligations of citizenship" (Bunreacht na hÉireann 1937, Article 3). In this regard, Ireland was ahead of its time. Women in Britain under 30 did not get the vote until 1928 and in France, women did not get the vote until 1945. Members of the Catholic Church, some political leaders and even trade unions voiced their concern that the rightful place of a woman was as a mother and homemaker (Sheehan *et al.* 2017). Victorian culture placed women firmly in the home and a swift move away from this was met with some alarm. This view was not only expressed in Ireland but in post-war Europe and Great Britain where the preference was that women would return to the home for employment to be available for their male counterparts coming home from the war. Ireland, after the War of Independence and Civil War, was no exception. The religious and political elite sought to move forward. The religious faction wanted to forget the part played by female citizens in the fight for independence as 'a best forgotten deviation', while the political leaders wanted to promote the dawn of 'a mythical' or 'golden age' where women were comely, non-vocal producers of magnificent men (O'Flynn 1987).

The 1924 and 1927 Juries' Acts were part of a wider campaign to limit women's role in society. The Free State constitution had set out the obligation to take part in citizenship, yet women were limited from serving on a jury. This led to two unfortunate results. The first being that women were not perceived as serious as men. The suggestion was made that women would consider the physical appearance of a defendant, favouring good looking defendants in particular. The second consequence was that it also disadvantaged female defendants who from then on had to appear in front of all-male juries (Gialanella Valiulis 2012). The government asserted that the reason for limiting female jurors was that they were needed in the home as caregivers, in roles that men did not partake in. Women were also portrayed as of weaker sensibilities and unlikely to be capable of sitting through the details of some trials (Dáil Éireann Debates 1927a, b). Senator Jennie Wyse Power spoke out against the removal of women from juries arguing that "the civil spirit that is developing in women will be arrested [should the bill pass]" (Beaumont 1997, p. 570). Kevin O'Higgins's response to this was that it was the normal and natural function of women to have children (Clancy 1990; Beaumont 1997).

In 1925 there was an attempt to prevent women sitting the examinations for senior posts in the civil service, the Civil Service Regulation Bill. Due to the meritocratic nature of the

examination system, this would exclude women from promotion to higher positions. The debate which surrounds this bill's passing through the Senate is important as it highlights the discrimination which became embedded in political debate. The position of typist would be retained for women, but as Jennie Wyse Power points out, that was the lowest pay grade in the civil service. She asks why male typists were not considered but her question was not answered. The Bill did not pass, it was deemed 'unconstitutional' and 'morally wrong' by the two female speakers, Ms Wyse Power and Ms Costello. The debate was a display of the philosophical and underlying differences between the male and female members of the House on their vision for the citizens of Ireland and society (Seanad Éireann 1925). It was reminiscent of the struggles of The Ladies Land League to gain recognition, yet this debate took place forty years after the work of that organisation (see section 5.2.2). The gains that had been won on gender grounds had again been lost.

The effect of this policy was that there was a distinct lack of female presence in the higher levels of the civil service and there was no female minister of government in Ireland between 1922-1979. Between the years 1922-1936, there were only six women elected to the Senate and the first three elections of the Free State returned only two, three and two female TDs respectively to the *Dáil* (Keogh 1994). This could be attributed in part to the fact that women could not work after they were married as *Fianna Fáil* introduced the Marriage Bar in the early 1930s.

As the 1930s dawned, the effects of The Great Depression began to be felt by Irish society. Unemployment rose and emigration soared. It was the opportunity for the government to proceed with their conservative agenda. *Fianna Fáil* came to power in 1932 and the limiting of women in the workforce continued over the coming years. The Marriage Bar was introduced to the civil service in the early 1930s. The Marriage Bar against female primary school teachers was introduced in 1934 and was lifted in 1958, but the ban for married females to the general civil service remained in place until 1973. The census data displays its effect. In 1936 33% of women available to work were in employment, but in 1971 the figure was just slightly above 27%. Apart from the fact that there was less work available to women, those who were in employment earned far less than their male counterparts. Duncan (2013) notes that a pamphlet produced by the Irish Women's Liberation Movement, placed the figures at 5s3d for women, compared with 9s6d for men. There was also a great difference in the kind of work they

participated in. For example, of those who did work, 12% were teachers and nurses, 1% were in the higher professions and 6% were in managerial positions. The vast majority were factory workers, typists, shop assistants and waitresses.

As employment stagnated Seán Lemass moved to reassure men that the available industrial jobs would be prioritised for men, the main breadwinner of the home, and sought to limit the number of women working in any industry. The Conditions of Employment Act (1935) was introduced. It was strongly opposed by women's organisations but their cause received little support. The lengthy *Dáil* and Senate Debates were dominated by long speeches from male members. The few female members who spoke managed to continue uninterrupted for only short periods. In the Senate debates, the president of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union asked if, "the feminists here want what occurs in certain industrial countries across the water where the men mind the babies and the women go to the factories? Do they want this in this holy Ireland of ours?" (Oireachtas 1935). The gender issue was unfortunately inextricably linked to the Catholic outlook as well as the economic situation. As Catholic conservatism increased, women found less and less support for their rights to equality. The two female senators who rebuffed the Bill were drowned out with enthusiastic long speeches from their male colleagues. There is a tone of defeat to Jenny Wyse Power's words when she calls the Bill 'regrettable' (Oireachtas 1935).

By the time De Valera began to draft *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (see section 6.2.3), the marginalisation of women in politics and the workplace was well underway. No woman was involved in the drafting of the Constitution (Gardiner 1992). Although De Valera agreed to remove the phrase 'inadequate strength of women' from the draft the final wording stated that citizens would not have to do work 'unsuited to their sex, age and marriage' (Dáil Éireann Debates 1937). Under the Articles included on the family, divorce was also prohibited. These changes were only implemented after lobbying and protested by the Irish Women Workers' Union, the Women Graduates' Association and various other women's organisations. The subservient role of women in society was solidified by the following two points in the constitution:

> The State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State
> a support without which the common good cannot be achieved" and "the State

113

shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home.

(Dáil Éireann Debates 1937)

De Valera later opined that his primary motivation was to protect the economic position of men in Irish society and this seems to have been the genuine motivation of *Fianna Fáil* and its senior figures when creating these constitution articles. Nevertheless, the rather unfortunate phrasing of 'their duties' and the use of 'woman' almost as a classification created an article that simply copper-fastened the wider conservative societal view that women were inferior and rather helpless, requiring both the direction and protection of a patriarchal government and parliament. As Hanna Sheehy-Skeffington commented, it had the effect of placing women in a position of long-lasting inequality (Beaumont 2018).

The treatment of gender by *Cumann na nGaedheal* and *Fianna Fáil* undoubtedly affected the status of women in education. By 1937 they had to give up their employment after marriage and the changes in employment law meant there were few employment prospects for them that would need a qualification. Little changes were made up to 1970 from this position. Political and economic concerns, as well as international affairs, took precedence from a government point of view.

6.2.6 The Curriculum and Gender

While a higher number of girls than boys achieved honours in English, Irish, French, Science, Commerce, Music and Drawing in 1931 from the outset girls were treated differently within the curriculum (Clarke 2016). They could only take Arithmetic or Elementary Mathematics instead of Mathematics and either Science or Domestic Science or Drawing or Music. This option was not available to boys. Likewise, only girls took Domestic Science. Interestingly, a higher number of girls achieved Honours in English Literature than boys in 1942 (Clarke 2016). The focus for girls was to meet their societal duty. At the Conferences of Convent Secondary Schools in Ireland (1949), the conclusion was drawn that lower mathematics would suffice for girls at intermediate examination level as "only twenty per cent of girls are bookish" (O'Flynn 1987, p. 92). At the same conference there were several references to the female body as dangerous and tempting, which distracted attention away from the central argument of

education for girls. This was despite the fact that girls continued to outperform boys in certain fields of examination (O'Flynn 1987).

For example, in 1965 girls were achieving higher grades in English once more. Of the 3,445 boys who sat the Honours English paper, 1,574 achieved a Pass. This is compared to the 3,873 girls who took the Honours paper, with 1,956 passing. Although overall only 23 more girls took the Leaving Certificate examinations than boys, 2,139 girls achieved the Leaving Certificate with honours, while only 1,627 boys overall achieved the Leaving Certificate with honours (Department of Education 1965a, b). Therefore, even though a girl's education was not a priority for the government, or particularly well championed at conferences on girl's education, they continued to defy the odds. This is also mirrored in the evidence from the previous era (see section 5.2.2), once girls were given the chance they tended to perform well.

This is encouraging considering the statistics around access to education for girls. In 1962 there were 12,282 pupils over the age of fourteen still in primary school. In the eighty remaining so-called 'secondary tops' there was a great gender imbalance. In the school year 1962-1963, the 'secondary tops' served 6,372 girls and only 417 boys. This statistic goes some way in displaying how unimportant female education was for successive governments. A far higher percentage were left in their local primary school. Their success relied on encouraging local teachers to convince them of the value of staying in education and within the examination structure; a structure that the teachers themselves were rarely qualified to teach. Therefore, gender imbalance was blatant across the system. In his defence for the Irish short story to be taught, Augustine Martin advocated that "The English teacher ought to be above all a champion of culture" (Martin 1966, p. 2). Yet he goes on to recommend a list of writers, only two of whom are women (Martin 1966). If the short story was to be a 'champion of culture', then the lack of female writers recommended is a reflection of the culture of the period. It also reflects the embedded nature of gender discrimination, which was unseen and taken for granted.

All of this points to the fact that, apart from a very brief period in the early Free State, girls were no better off for most of this era than they were in the years before 1924. It was only in the 1960s with increased global influence, a decrease in conservatism and growing school numbers that girls began to feature with any real consistency at examination level. In the years that followed, text choice and Paper One questions focused more on female attitudes.

6.2.7 Conservatism, Citizenship and English Studies

A Professor of Education in University College Dublin (UCD) between 1909-1942, Tim Corcoran put forward a very limited view of English studies at the Intermediate Education Conference in 1921 saying that the aim was to teach students to read and write English for practical use (McManus 2014a). Corcoran was responsible for the introduction of teaching through the medium of Irish to infants and a vocal advocate of the Irish language and Irish identity. He wrote extensively on educational matters and was a major influence on the development of educational policy during this period (Ó Buachalla 1988). Corcoran's ambition for students is reflected in the dedication to punctuation and grammar sections in examination. Here the focus is on understanding how a language works and developing the ability to write correctly. He furthered this thought in an essay he sent to the *Dáil* Commission in 1921 called *Memorandum on English Studies* where he claimed that there was "no obligation to minutely study the contents of any work […] the wider the reading course the better, if it is used for writing" (Coolahan 1986, p. 48). By 1940 De Valera agreed with Corcoran's more practical vision of English studies. He introduced prescribed texts to cultivate the kind of literature students were reading and to focus on correct, accurate writing. De Valera's notion that it 'is better to do a little well' was preferable to a wide reading course. In 1941 he told the *Dáil* that his vision for Irish citizens was that they would be able to write 'simple letters' and a 'simple account' of something they wish to describe to someone (Dáil Éireann Debates 1941). He went on to say "I do not want anything complex […] and I do not speak of literature, poetry, flight of the imagination or anything else but simple, straightforward accounts in books of anything they want to know, so that the road to knowledge may be open to them" (Dáil Éireann Debates 1941).

De Valera addressed his vision of the Irish citizen again in 1943, saying that Irish people must act with 'enthusiasm' to bring about a 'noble future'. His vision was one of:

> A people who, satisfied with frugal comfort, devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit-a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, with the romping of sturdy children, the contest of athletic youths and the laughter of happy maidens, whose firesides would be forums for the wisdom of serene old age. The home, in short, of a people living the life that God desires that men should live.

The vision for the Irish citizen had changed little in the eyes of the government from the earliest days of the Free State. Records show De Valera's vision as being very conservative, his ambition for the Irish people was to enjoy a simple life. This is borne out in the examination papers. Topics of a personal nature did not appear until De Valera left the *Dáil* for the President's Office in 1959. It is mirrored in the lack of fundamental change in examination papers until the end of the era. There is little mention of hobbies or personal ambition for example. We see a change towards hobbies, personal interest and the effect of globalisation creeping into essay titles from the late 1950s on (see section 6.2.10).

Titley (1983) ascertains that because schools had remained under religious control the education offered was moral and literary in tone and that this suited employment in the professions, the banks and the civil service. O'Donoghue (2005) agrees when he says that the focus on the glorious past appealed to the conservative elements in Irish society as that kind of education would shield from modernity and liberalism. It also shielded students from materialism, which aligned itself with De Valera's notion of a frugal society. The teaching of critical thinking was largely ignored because these skills were not assessed in examination (O'Donoghue 2005). The CHA's most common interaction with the Department of Education concerned examination standards and results (Ó Buachalla 1988). The CHA also saw the teaching of Latin as essential to the training of students, referring to the value of its form, outlook, syntax and literary richness. Seán Ó Faoláin's story *Brainsy* highlights this motivation when the headmaster declares, "My position is quite simple. I want my boys to get through their examinations" (O'Donoghue 1999, p. 94). A similar quote from *Angela's Ashes* shows how far from Pearse's vision of education schools were depicted to have come:

> You're here to learn […] and do what you're told. You're not here to be asking questions! There are too many people wandering the world asking questions and that's what has us in the state we're in and if I find any boys in this class asking questions, I won't be responsible for what happens.
>
> (McCourt 1997, pp. 129-130)

The emphasis on examinations, the past, the retention of The Canon, the focus on the Classics all helped to keep the attention of Irish education on the past.

6.2.8 Breaking from Colonial Past

Throughout the period (1925-1970) great changes occurred in Ireland's political status and with its relationship with Great Britain. In 1923 a *Cumann na nGaedheal* TD stated in the *Dáil* that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs should be abolished (Keogh 1988). From this, we can see that some TDs did not consider the importance of the Free State's relationship with the Commonwealth or indeed Great Britain. However, following on from the Anglo-Irish Treaty and the Civil War, a major political consideration for the government of the Free State was the Northern Irish border that had been established between North and South and the outcome of the Boundary Commission. Initially, it was thought that the issue would be solved relatively quickly. Nationalists believed that when the land with a majority Catholic population was transferred to the Free State, that what remained of Northern Ireland would be so small it would not be economically or politically viable (Keogh 1994). Under Article Twelve of the Treaty the remit of the Commission was to, "determine in accordance with the wishes of the inhabitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic condition, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland" (Anglo-Irish Treaty 1921).

It was expected that some Catholic areas would be transferred, however, the Commission proved to be a disaster for the Free State. James Craig, Northern Irish Prime Minister refused to appoint a representative, wanting the boundary to remain unchanged. The Chairman, Justice Richard Feetham of South Africa, was pro-commonwealth. The report was leaked to the Morning Post newspaper and claimed that the border between North and South would remain largely unchanged, with small parcels of land being transferred to the Free State and some areas in Donegal and North Monaghan to be transferred to the North. This caused outrage among nationalists (Keogh 1994, p. 27).

Eóin MacNeill resigned from Cabinet and the government scrambled to have the report suppressed. It was not made public until 1968 but the entire affair was a major blow for the new state. The border with the North of Ireland would remain unchanged. The Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed in December 1925 and was deeply unpopular. Several *Cumann na nGaedheal* members resigned from the party in protest and the Bill was rushed through the Senate on the grounds that it was necessary for public order and safety (Keogh 1994). Colonial relations were at a low point when delegates from Ireland, led by Kevin O'Higgins, arrived at

118

the Imperial Conference. This conference was held with members of the Commonwealth every two years to discuss matters of common interested to Britain and its dominions. In 1926, with prior consultation with the Canadian and South African delegations, the Irish delegation achieved in passing the Balfour Declaration which stated that dominions were "autonomous communities within The British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate" (His Britannic Majesty's Government 1926). This paved the way for the Statute of Westminster in 1931, which made this agreement legally binding, and meant that Ireland could pass or make changes to laws without British consultation. Dominion status and Ireland's place within the Commonwealth dominated *Dáil* debates towards the latter half of 1928. Ernest Blythe told members that the government believed Ireland had 'greater freedom and greater security' remaining within the Commonwealth of Nations, and the government had no plans to push for the status of a republic (Dáil Éireann Debates 1928b). This highlights the complex nature of Anglo-Irish relations at the time. Britain was the nearest neighbour for trade and the Free State government considered it unwise for a small nation like Ireland to be politically and economically isolated. In a later debate in 1928, there was a lengthy discussion about what support could be relied on from other dominions 'against any future attack from England' (Dáil Éireann Debates 1928a), which demonstrated how fragmented the relationship was. Some acknowledged how isolated Ireland was without the Commonwealth but there were elements, both inside and outside the government, who viewed the relationship with deep suspicion.

The Statute of Westminster (1931) came on the eve of *Fianna Fáil* taking power after the 1932 election. On taking office, De Valera refused to pay the Land Annuities and refused to acknowledge the Oath of Allegiance. He used the abdication crisis of King Edward in 1936 to pass the Constitution Amendment Bill (1936) and the External Relations Act (1936) in the *Dáil*. These acts removed all reference to the King in the Irish Statue books and changed Ireland's relationship with the British Commonwealth, moving towards an 'External Association'. He replaced the Governor-General as Head of the State with a Presidency under *Bunreacht na hÉireann*. This was seen as an important step on the road to establishing a republic. All of these measures meant that Ireland could remain neutral when the Second World War broke out. The years 1939-1945 were characterised by the Irish government withstanding pressure from Great Britain and later the USA to join the war effort. The Treaty Ports had only just been returned to Irish control in 1938 and Britain wanted the use of the ports for the duration of the war.

There was also the threat of an invasion from Germany due to Ireland's strategic geographical position and there were two incidences of bombings in the Free State during this time. In August 1940 a German bomb landed on a co-operative building in Campile, Co. Wexford, there were no deaths but in May 1941, North Strand in Dublin was bombed with the loss of twenty seven lives. The action of neutrality was vital in nation-building and the development of a national identity as separate from Ireland's colonial past. In response to Churchill's comments, De Valera stated the following:

> It is hard for the strong to be just to the weak, but acting justly always has its reward. By resisting his temptation, Mr Churchill, instead of adding another horrid chapter to the blood-stained record of the relations between England and this country, has advanced the cause of international morality an important step. Mr Churchill is proud of Britain's stand alone after France had fallen […] Could he not find in his heart the generosity to acknowledge that there is a small nation that stood alone, not for one or two, but for several hundred years, a small nation, that could never be got to accept defeat and has never surrendered her soul?

> (Ryle-Dwyer 1988, p. 166)

This speech was seen as a highpoint in De Valera's career (Ryle-Dwyer 1988). The post-war years were marked with instability as the development of The Cold War led to uncertainty and conflict on the global stage. Ireland applied to join the United Nations (UN) in 1946 but was refused entry until 1956 as it had remained neutral during the war. Joining the UN was also an important step in building a national identity. War, nation-building and national identity and post-colonial relationships dominated international relations at this time and the examination papers of the era certainly reflect these themes (see section 6.6.1). Despite these changes meritocracy was retained throughout the era and the terminal examination model that had been introduced by the British government persisted. However, the myriad of changes in culture and society discussed above were mirrored in the examinations as can be seen in section 6.5.

6.2.9 Irish Identity and Language Policy

After independence, the Free State government found itself under pressure to implement an Irish language policy. The Gaelic League had begun to 're-Gaelicise Irish society' before 1922 and its influence was so strong that the recommendation to teach Irish to the exclusion of

English in schools had been added to the curriculum to be taught in schools of a free Ireland by the First *Dáil* (Farren 1995). The 'Gaelicisation of Ireland', an official cabinet document, outlined the terms of the policy in 1924 (Ó Buachalla 1988). Education in Ireland had been dominated by the shadow of colonialism and the English language was a major symbol of this (O'Donoghue 2005). The Irish language became associated very quickly with national identity and the need to develop a cultural uniqueness separate from Britain. As it was argued in the *Dáil*, "The development of Irish everywhere is necessary for the development of a national life" (Dáil Éireann Debates 1924). The Gaelic League echoed the vision of patriots like Michael Collins that, "we can fill our minds with Gaelic ideas and our lives with Gaelic customs until there is no room left for any other" (Farren 1995, p. 16).

Schools were divided into A, B and C categories. Level A schools taught almost exclusively through the medium of Irish, B schools were bilingual and C schools were Englsih speaking for the most part. Capitation grants were fixed to support A and B schools to a higher degree than C schools, further disadvantaging them. During Thomas Derrig's time as Minister for Education, English became an optional subject in first class and the curriculum for English was limited at all levels (Titley 1983; McManus 2014b). Furthermore, *Bunreacht na hÉireann* made Irish the first official language of the State. From then on entries to the Civil Service, the Defence Forces and the *Gardai Siochana* needed a high level of Irish to apply. The Gaelicisation policy was therefore met with considerable alarm by the other Churches in Ireland as Irish was not taught in the majority of their schools. Those C schools that had not fully embraced the Irish language or its instruction now saw their students' prospects diminish without competent Irish. The Anglo-Irish community was immediately alienated by the Irish language policy and Farren (1995) suggests that the policy was motivated by a degree of Anglophobia. To them, it was a marginal language one which the vast majority of Irish people were unable to speak competently (Relihan 2014). The Church of Ireland and other minority churches objected to the fact that Irish was compulsory at examination level from 1927 and the study of Irish in schools from the beginning was coupled "with the payment of capitation grants to schools" (Relihan 2014, pp. 147-148). The results of the Intermediate Certificate Examination of 1925 showed that no boy from a Protestant school attempted Irish in that year (Department of Education 1927) and in 1935 there were only 5 out of 21 successful candidates at Intermediate Certificate Level (Department of Education 1936).

This policy had an impact across the curriculum because little attention was placed elsewhere (O'Donoghue 2000a, b). So determined was the government that the policy should succeed, the importance of English at departmental level was officially marginalised. The National Programme of Primary Instruction laid out the guidelines for English teaching as follows:

> In order to bring students as far as possible into touch with European thought and culture […] be mainly directed to the works of European authors, ancient and modern, drawn from good translation which abound. English authors should have just the limited place due to English literature among all the European literatures.

> (Farren 1995, p. 55)

Derrig himself admitted that the standard of English "could not be expected to be as high as in former years as a consequence of these policies" (Dáil Éireann Debates 1936). This had a major impact on students' learning. A lengthy debate on the 27th May 1941 displays how concerned some deputies were about standards across the curriculum. The validity of the policy was the focus of the discussion as well as the cost of education and the poor results at all levels in the system. The debate also highlights how the Irish language policy was linked with Irish identity building. De Valera made several references to the word 'simple' when questioned about the standard of English language he would like to see students achieving. Simple reading, simple writing and simple letter writing were where his ambitions lay. He also addressed the importance of Irish as an identity-building tool, so that:

> It is also essential here, if we want to be an Irish nation […] should be able to read Irish, so that, according as we progress, as more books are made available, they may be able to that knowledge which they require, that universal knowledge, if I may put it that way, that more general knowledge, through the Irish language.

> (Dáil Éireann 1941)

However, although the first half of the debate was carried out in Irish but many speakers, including De Valera, as Taoiseach, spoke in English. De Valera even responded to Irish speakers in English. It is not clear from reading the debate if there was any real timeline on the increase in publication through Irish, or the 'progress' he referred to, considering the 40s had begun, or if there was any real move to integrate Irish speaking at government and commerce

level. One speaker did make the point that English was necessary for commerce and that standards were dropping. Eventually, De Valera having circumvented the question several times and stated the following:

> We shall have to be satisfied with a less high standard of English. There is no other way out of it. So far as the schools are concerned, you cannot have the same high standard if you are doing Irish as well as English-you cannot have the same high standard as before, it is unreasonable to expect it. This is an interesting statement for an Office of the Ministry of Education to make and one would have to question his method of evaluation when he says "At the same time, that is not to say that the child is not well educated.

(Dáil Éireann Debates 1941)

There was little progress in access to education in these years and Irish language policy dominated the agenda. Student numbers at Intermediate or Leaving Certificate Level did not increase significantly through the 1930s and 1940s.

The above was to have a great social impact. The 1930s experienced high levels of emigration and unemployment and parents worried that the standard of English on offer would limit the ability of a child to emigrate. Native speaking areas continued to contract and numbers of native speakers fell from 200,000 in 1922 to 50,000 in 1964 and even Catholic parents from strong Irish speaking *Gaeltacht* areas opposed the language policy (Lee 1989; Relihan 2014). Here, one would have imagined that Gaeltacht pupils would have benefitted the most from it. They could take Irish Intermediate and Leaving Certificate examinations and gain high marks, being already proficient. However, the state miscalculated the level of access to second-level education in these areas, the high level of early school leaving and more importantly, the fact that these students needed to be proficient in English, considering the high levels of emigration to Britain and America. Their parents considered a high level of English to be crucial. The policy was of questionable practicality as students needed English to pursue careers after schooling. The *Dáil Éireann* debates of this time show how few ministers and TDs spoke fluent Irish and much of the business of government and commerce was conducted in English. Lee (1989) state that without the civil service and the political structure of Ireland taking on the daily use of the language, it would not prove its use to the general public. Students also needed English to continue their education into university, which apart from University College Galway (UCG), conducted all courses in English. Those completing Intermediate and Leaving

Certificate examinations would also need a high standard of English for the labour market. They could only take a full degree through Irish in UCG, and yet they still needed Irish in order to matriculate and take a place in university (O'Donoghue 1999). This meant that students who were hoping for the professions had to study Irish to a high level.

The language policy was not the only aspect of nation-building borne out through the curriculum. It has been argued that the governments' exclusion of Protestant Anglo-Irish culture was deliberate when one looks at the programmes put forward for teaching English (O'Donoghue 1999). This is because there were no prescribed texts for English until 1940. Vested interest groups were particularly loud in voicing their opinions on what should and should not be presented in Irish classrooms. Professor Corcoran (UCD) had a huge influence in this regard. His attitude to English in schools was that it should not be included at all (Corcoran 1923b). When it came to creating a programme for English in schools he was most adamant that Anglo-Irish writers would not be included.

This meant that despite their work as part of the Literary movement prior to independence, the Anglo-Irish community's efforts, for example, the work by Lady Gregory and Synge, were not only ignored but they were deliberately excluded. No works from Anglo-Irish poets, dramatists or novelists were acknowledged. Even Yeats, a Senator in the Senate, was overlooked. Corcoran was quick to condemn them saying "Swift was bitterly anti Irish, Berkeley was more suavely hostile, the orators were English in all their ideals, warp and woof?" (Corcoran 1923a, p. 241). His influence is obvious in what was examined. In the poetry, prose and drama sections, the omissions are clear. He also warned that English was to be 'feared' because it was a 'danger' in Irish schools. Corcoran (1923b) declared that:

> No such case exists for enlarging the scope and influence of 'English hearted' literature in English speech within Irish schools. Even 'Irish hearted' literature in English is a source of danger in Irish education for all its pretentious poverty of thought and inadequacy of development.
>
> (Corcoran 1923b, p. 269)

The omission of works by Anglo-Irish writer's like Berkley, Goldsmith, Swift, Shaw, Wilde and Yeats was another step in solidifying the idea that the new nation was Catholic and Gaelic. The opposition of the Anglo-Irish community to compulsory Irish would not have been so

strong if there had been greater recognition of their 'great literary tradition' (O'Donoghue 1999). While English was to be recognised in schools, it was hoped that the state could eliminate the influence of the British Empire by introducing translations of European works (Titley 1983). It was one of the greatest failures of the Irish Free State that the policy of Gaelicisation unfortunately often meant, in practice a policy of Anti-Anglicisation. This drive and longing to instil a knowledge of Irish language and culture was also driven by a craving to turn back the years and eradicate any Anglo-Saxon influence from these shores (Farren 1995). The reality was that the Anglo-Irish community found themselves powerless and voiceless. The fear grew that they were unwanted in Irish society and that Ireland would hold no real prospects for their children or future generations. Many who had contributed greatly to the nationalist cause were shocked at the 'learn Irish or clear out' message they were receiving (Farren 1995). It was inevitable then that numbers began to decrease, as the Anglo-Irish community began to move abroad. Less than twenty years later, by the 1940s, they only represented 2% of all school-going children. In 1927 there were 516 Church of Ireland national schools, 50% of which had less than twenty pupils but by 1950 only 6% had more than fifty pupils (Relihan 2014). This created an atmosphere of magnified Catholic conservatism where the Irish people and their culture became increasingly closed off to outside influence. The focus on including native Irish writers at the expense of Anglo-Irish literature is mirrored in examination as can be seen in section 6.6.4.

6.2.10 The Changing Vision for the Citizen

The first signs of change came at the end of the 1960s with the new economic strategy document *Investment in Education*. Emigration between 1948 and 1957 reached 400,000 and there was an increased acknowledgement at government level that education was the key to greater economic growth. By the end of the 1950s, politicians were entering the *Dáil* who had not fought for independence or grown-up under the British regime. De Valera's last years in the *Dáil* saw Jack Lynch as his education minister and a general relaxing of the Irish Language Policy began. This coincided with a move to reform and improve standards elsewhere in the curriculum. For the first time, there seemed to be a recognition that developing an education policy for Ireland was not synonymous with a language policy or national identity policy (McManus 2014a).

When Lemass took over as Taoiseach in 1959, he believed in the practical link between education and the economy and his goal was to focus on raising economic standards. In 1961 only 13% of the workforce were professionals (O'Donoghue 2005). However, the Report of the Council of Education on the Curriculum of Secondary Education (1962) highlighted just how conservative many sections of society remained with the comment "our schools are the heirs of a great tradition and it is universally recognised that their purpose is, in short, to prepare their pupils to be God-fearing and responsible citizens" (Hyland and Milne 1992, p. 199). By the 1960s there was a growing tension in education between the aspirational vision for Irish citizen and the more pragmatic. The state had been in existence almost forty years.

The Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) (later the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)) carried out a study to determine the extent of the study of science in schools in Ireland. The report noted that only 50% of science teachers had a degree in science and only one in six secondary schools taught chemistry. In 1961-62 30% of boys and 14% of girls took science papers to the Leaving Certificate, where 80% took Latin in the same year. The members of the OEEC noted a 'strong classical bias' in the curriculum (McManus 2014a). This theme was well documented. Science had been dropped from the curriculum in 1926 in St Munchin's College (Limerick) to make way for Irish and was not restored until the 1950s despite the fact that the then President of St. Munchin's College Fr. Hogan had a great interest in it (Fleming and O'Grady 1996).

Minister for Education Patrick Hillery responded to the 1965 OECD report *Investment in Education* by increasing teacher numbers, lowering the pupil-teacher ratio, introducing a new diploma focusing on the teaching of special needs and reforming how Irish was to be taught. The teaching through the medium of Irish was altered to focus more on conversational Irish in class, a new oral Irish examination was introduced at Leaving Certificate and new methodologies and technologies were introduced to the classroom. The *Investment in Education* report was the first report of its kind, which brought international advice and ideas. Its findings regarding science echoed the sentiment of the First Programme for Economic Expansion in 1958 (McManus 2014a). We can see from Hillery's speeches in the *Dáil* that science was a priority for his vision of a progressive society. Acknowledging the importance of the emerging Common Market in Europe and the increased numbers going on foreign holiday he prioritised the European modern languages for trade and tourism. He also

announced an investment in secondary education science, although he recognised that unique system of secondary education where there were schools which were privately owned. New visual aids and new television programmes about science were also introduced and grants were made available to entice science graduates into teaching (Dáil Éireann Debates 1965). He also recognised the difficulty of modernising or altering the system as it was. Up to this point there remained to be no state-run secondary school system and still only a small number from primary to continue their education (Harford and O'Donoghue 2017). He announced new comprehensive schools for second level, which was seen as a brave new step in Irish education. For the first time, secondary schools moved from the sole remit of the churches. Probably the single greatest change to come in Irish education came in 1966, when Donagh O'Malley announced, albeit unexpectedly, that free education would be available to all from primary secondary level. This came into effect in September 1967. This step is generally seen as the 'most effective' taken by any minister (Dwyer-Ryle 2016).

In addition, a change is evident in the examination papers of this era which mirror official policy in education. The difficulty lay in establishing an identity that was separate from Britain. The early years are marked with translations of European texts, the excepted few from The Canon texts, for example, Shakespeare and the rhetoric which surrounded the importance of the Classics. The examination itself was largely a test in memory with lists of quotations to be identified. Student numbers at Leaving Certificate Higher Level remained very small. By 1940 prescribed texts were introduced. This narrowed the curriculum. Irish writers were introduced but the rich Anglo-Irish tradition was further ignored. As the 1940s developed, more Irish texts were assessed but they mirrored the culture of the profoundly conservative government of the time, being overtly religious in theme or were written by priests. The late 1950s displayed a shift in policy towards a relaxation of both the language policy and censorship. However, there is no doubt by the 1960s a change had occurred in Ireland's sense of national identity. More Anglo-Irish writers were eventually included for study, schools were established that were outside the control of the Churches and education was opened up to all. The Irish Free State struggled to establish an Irish identity that was distinct from British Colonialism and the pendulum swung very much towards Catholic, Irish speaking and conservative. By the end of this era that pendulum was centred around an identity that was Irish and Anglo-Irish, English speaking and ready for the technological changes. This shift in national identity would prepare

citizens for a more global sense of identity and the rapid globalisation that was to take place in the latter decades of the twentieth, and early decades of the twenty first, centuries.

6.3 The English Syllabus (1924)

The political ambitions of the Irish Free State post-independence in 1922 had a huge bearing on the kind of curriculum that was introduced. One of the most obvious changes to the status of English under the new regime was that it was listed as subject number seven in the Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools (1924). It was listed after Irish, History, Geography, Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Applied Mathematics. Brief guidelines were given for each subject. In the guidelines for Intermediate Certificate English, it was hoped that students would develop an acquaintance with good literature and great writers (Department of Education 1924a; Mullins 2002). A list of such writers was provided for teachers, which included Shakespeare, Byron, Scott and Longfellow. Mullins (2002) outlines the aims for the Leaving Certificate as they were prescribed by the Department of Education (1924a):

1. An acquaintance with a considerable amount of good literature and such training in the elements of the theory of literature will lead to the cultivation of a sound literary taste.
2. Power to write a critical analysis of, and commentary on, works of prose and verse.
3. Power to do original composition work.

In keeping with Pearse's plea for independent thought and intellectual freedom, there were no prescribed texts for Leaving Certificate under the new programme (Mullins 2002). Teachers were free to choose their own texts and material. Nevertheless, a curtailing of Pearse's vision in the guidelines towards European translations and the essays that were produced for examination. Students were to be exposed to 'good literature' and to cultivate 'sound literary taste' (Department of Education 1925). Teachers were also given a list to guide them (Department of Education 1924a) (see Table 6.1 below).

Table 6.1: Guiding List of Topics for Teachers.

Shakespeare's Tragedies and later Comedies, two per year.
Lyrical poetry.
Translations from 'foreign classics' may be included for example Virgil, Dante and similar European literature.

Mullins (2002) details the accompanying note given by the Department of Education (1924a) that was included for teachers:

> The courses set out above are for use in schools where English is treated as the dominant or exclusive vernacular language. In schools where Irish is the dominant vernacular the chief aim of the English teaching should be to give the pupil power to write English for practical purposes, and the range of work, choice of reading and the methods of treatment should be adjusted to this aim, as is done in the teaching of other foreign languages.

Students would read Shakespearean tragedies and comedies, Dante's translations, Virgil, Milton and all that was considered the best in British and European literature. They were to read prose and essays. It was hoped students would learn to analyse critically texts and to form their own opinions and commentary. All of this was in line with Pearse's vision. Corcoran's was also included with the note that the end of the syllabus that the "chief aim of the English teaching should be to give the pupil power to write English for practical purposes" (Department of Education 1925). Due to the language policy, there were two courses for English, a Full Course for those whose first/home language was English and a Lower Course for those whose first/home language was Irish. The Full Course is only considered in this discussion, as the thesis is investigating the issues surrounding the Higher Level/Honours Leaving Certificate programme.

There would be no change to this syllabus over the next number of years. In 1926 the Department of Education issued a document to accompany the teaching of poetry, named the 'Additional Specimen Questions on English Poetry'. Its purpose was to formulate an approach to teaching poetry and also stress the importance of thought and form combined. The works of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Milton, Scott and Byron were all deemed suitable for study. Perhaps one of the benefits of this syllabus was the wide range of reading that was promoted given that there was no actual list of prescribed texts. Students were to read two Shakespearean plays a year, along with the remainder of the course. Teachers were warned that

"(…) under no circumstances should the classwork be confined to the selection in the attached scheme nor to the type of question proposed" (Department of Education 1926a, p. 1). Nevertheless, this is the exact effect it had, as teachers largely ignored the syllabus once they knew what to expect from the examinations. Combined with this there was still importance placed on Standard English with the emphasis on writing grammatically accurate English (O'Donoghue 1999; Mullins 2002).

6.3.1 Changes to the English Syllabus (1940)

Changes were made by Éamon de Valera, as Minister for Education, to the syllabus to be taught with the introduction of prescribed texts for English from 1940. The Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools (1941) stated that:

> The aim of this course is to enable the pupil to express himself correctly and effectively in the language, both in speech and writing, and to derive pleasure and profit from his reading. The course should comprise instruction in grammar, simple composition, use and meaning in words and idioms, re-handling of passages, (expansion, summarising, paraphrasing etc.), pronunciation. Spelling should receive attention. The course should be accompanied by fairly extensive reading of prose works. Books of information, e.g. history, geography and science may be read as well as books of fiction […] Candidates may be required to explain words, idioms or passages of the prescribed book, and their power to write English may be tested by requiring them to describe scenes or characters or to relate in their own words incidents occurring in the story.

> (Dáil Éireann 1941, p. 28)

Any perceived drop in standards was feared by the Free State government and it was generally acknowledged that accuracy of language was slipping. The emphasis on Irish instruction in classrooms could be blamed for this but de Valera contended that if prescribed reading was introduced that students could focus on a narrower curriculum of study. de Valera stressed training in accuracy and thoroughness rather than wishing to continue with the wider programme that had existed (Coolahan 1986). Students and teachers were to avoid 'flights of imagination' as de Valera described poetry and fiction, instead English was to be taught as a language (Mullins 2002). "Special importance is attached to Composition and a knowledge of English Grammar. The marks of candidates will be seriously reduced for incorrect spelling"

(Dáil Éireann 1941, p. 28). The prescribed texts changed over the following years but they consisted primarily of prose essays. The essay was highlighted in the syllabus as a key skill to master and was promoted in both the written section and the reading material chosen (Mullins 2002).

6.4 The Examination Structure

The examination structure of the time was modelled along the lines of the Intermediate Education Board. Terminal examinations were introduced, that would be impartial and transparent. The examinations would be held in June, during the same weeks as the intermediate examinations. Certain subjects retained the same approximate dates. In 1921 Senior Grade English was held on the 17th of June from 10am-1pm. In 1926 the first Leaving Certificate Examination was held on the 16th of June from 10am-1pm. It is also evident from this that the examination had not changed in duration. Honours English was a single paper examination and was three hours in length. This lasted until 1930 when the examination was divided into two papers. By 1944 there was a change again. For most of the 1940s, there was a named examiner on the examination, similar to the days of the Intermediate Education Board (see section 2.4.1). The duration of the examinations was also altered (Department of Education 1944). By 1950 this had changed again. The examiner was no longer named and the examination duration had altered once more (see Table 6.2 below).

Table 6.2: Format Changes in Examination Structure.

1930	Honours Paper I	English Composition	10am-11am
	Honours Paper II	English Literature	11.15am-1.15pm
1944	Honours Course	Paper I	1.30pm-3.30pm
	Honours Course	Paper II	4pm-6pm
1950	Honours Course	Paper I	10am-12pm
	Honours Course	Paper II	2pm-4.30pm

Superintendents were employed by the Department of Education to supervise the examinations, as were examiners, which kept the system very similar in practical terms from the Intermediate Education Board. In 1931, there were 178 superintendents employed and 113 examiners by the Department of Education, the cost of which was factored into the Department of Education Annual Statistical Report. The majority were male, only forty one examiners were female

(Department of Education 1931). By 1941 this number had increased to 315 superintendents and 223 examiners which reflects the increase in numbers taking examinations. That year the cost of examinations came to £11,731 (Department of Education 1941b). Interestingly, in the list of prizes, there was special mention for winners of the Composition in Irish, among the scholarships awarded. This was reminiscent of the years when writers of English, Latin, Greek or German composition were awarded prizes and shows a change in emphasis in education policy in Ireland (Department of Education 1941b) (see section 2.4.1).

6.5 Analysis of Examination Papers

The following section will explain how the cultural, political and social factors outlined above are mirrored in the examination papers of the era. It will highlight the connectivity between policy, syllabus design and examination. It will also emphasise the enduring nature of meritocracy throughout this period.

6.5.1 The Catholic Church and Examinations

At 255 occurrences for the period (1925-1970) religious references were one of the most prominent cultural indicators on the examination papers. 'Heaven' was mentioned twenty two times and 'Hell' was mentioned four times. 'Soul' occurred nineteen times, while 'spirit' was mentioned nineteen times. There were fourteen occurrences of the word 'God', while 'abbey', 'church', 'Christian', 'divine', 'holy' and 'pope' appeared multiple times. Almost every aspect of faith worship was mentioned, which mirrors how important religion and the Catholic faith was to the new Free State.

The focus with morals at the national level was reflected in the highly moral and didactic tone of the examination papers. There are also 111 occurrences of words with a moral tone. For instance, words like 'virtue' appeared eleven times and 'truth' nine times. Considering the frequency with which religious or moral themes occur, we can see the link between the examination papers and the culture of the time. As detailed by the Department of Education (1926b), the three-hour Leaving Certificate Examination on the 16th of June 1926 began with the following options for a short essay:

> A. God give all men all earth to love

But since man's heart is small

Ordains for each some spot shall prove

Beloved by all.

B. Politics as an inspiration of Poetry.

C. The Feudal System.

D. The belief in a Golden Age.

E. Confiscation and Plantation in Ireland.

F. Give an account of any novel by Scott, Thackeray or Dickens.

History still featured heavily in the composition section of the paper despite having its own examination paper. While the first essay title does not relate to a religious theme, the language surrounding the word 'God' is frequent. The use of this word suggests that students sitting the examination would understand and create meaning from it. This goes some way towards assuming that there was one God for all. This mirrors the religious monoculture of the classroom as well as wider society and assumes that students were Christian. The final question on the paper asked students to summarise and compare passages based on style. The passages contain the phrase 'the sacred Hebrew Book' despite not pertaining to religion (Department of Education 1926b) (see Appendix 6.1). The examination of 1928 quoted Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the extract included many religious references (see Appendix 6.2).

In viewing the examination papers, it is clear that there is a mention of the word 'God' in every decade throughout the period. Religious references are evident in punctuation questions, where the sentence was chosen to be punctuated, or the language to be commented on contents references to God. For instance, in 1954 the following quote, taken from Sir Walter Raleigh's poem *Even Such a Time*, appeared, "But from this earth, this grave, this dust, My God shall raise me up I trust" (Department of Education 1954). In 1958 the same section contains a reference to God's angels, relating heavily to a theme of salvation. The examination paper from that same year contains a reading comprehension surrounding the history of the spread of Christianity in the Roman Empire (Department of Education 1958). Not only did the Christian undertones of the previous era continue to be evident but there seemed to be more overtly religious tone to these examination papers.

However, it is when we delve into the literature on the examination that we begin to appreciate a more complete image of the zeitgeist. The syllabus had changed in 1940 when Eamonn de Valera introduced a list of prescribed reading (see Table 6.3 below).

Table 6.3: Literature Assessed 1940 and 1941.

1940: Texts Assessed	Writer	1941: Texts Assessed	Writer
The Graves of Kilmorna	Canon Patrick Augustine Sheehan	**Oliver Twist**	Charles Dickens
Vanity Fair	William Makepeace Thackeray	**History of Henry Esmond**	William Makepeace Thackeray
David Copperfield	Charles Dickens	**My New Curate**	Canon Patrick Augustine Sheehan
Sally Cavanagh	Charles Kickham	**Old Mortality**	Sir Walter Scott
Kenilworth	Sir Walter Scott	**Feardorcha the Miser**	William Carleton
A Tale of Two Cities	Charles Dickens	**Her Irish Heritage**	Annie M.P. Smithson
Ivanhoe	Sir Walter Scott	**Knocknagow**	Charles Kickham
The Threshold of Quiet	Daniel Corkery	**The Munster Twilight**	Daniel Corkery
The Talisman	Sir Walter Scott	**Pride and Prejudice**	Jane Austen
Candle of the Proud	Francis McManus	**Loughsiders**	Shan F. Bullock

Canon Patrick Augustine Sheahan wrote two of the novels included on the examination in the 1940s*; The Graves of Kilmorna* and *My New Curate*, both of which were acceptable reading from a religious point of view. It is particularly pointed that the writer was even a Canon. William Carlton's *Feardorcha The Miser* explores themes of prayer and the sanctity of marriage. Daniel Corkery, writer of *The Threshold of Quiet* and *The Twilight of Munster*, was educated by the Presentation Brothers and became a teacher in Christian Brothers School (Cork).

Perhaps the most interesting of all is the inclusion of Frances McManus's *Candle for the Proud*. Educated by the De la Salle Brothers he spent eighteen years teaching in the Christian Brothers School in Synge Street (Dublin). Duggan (2018) referred to him as "undoubtedly a religious

writer and specifically a Catholic one" (Duggan 2018). MacManus was a regular contributor to The Capuchin Annual. Speaking of his writing he wrote:

> Behind and infusing all the seeming tumult and turmoil, the apparent aimlessness and quivering pain, there is spiritual reality, the background of Being, whereby things are thrown into significant relief.

> (MacManus, 1934 pp. 435-436)

MacManus's novel, *The Greatest of These*, was also assessed for the Leaving Certificate Examination. It is best known for its sensitive and understanding portrayal of religious life. The story concerns a well-liked bishop and a disillusioned priest. Duggan (2018) makes the point that his work defended Catholicism in fiction, referring to MacManus as a 'Catholic novelist'. There is certainly a religious and particularly Catholic flavour to the texts chosen from Irish writers during this period. The examination papers were far more overt in a religious tone that what had gone before and was seemingly reflective of the culture of the Irish Free State at the time.

6.5.2 Women in Irish Society and Examination Papers

As with the previous era, gender appeared as a major issue in examination papers. Although the gender gap is not as wide in these years as in the years 1878-1924, the imbalance continued to a great extent. In fitting with the fact that for a large part of the period the majority of students sitting the examination were male, the majority of the references to gender were male (see Figure 6.1 below).

Figure 6.1: Overview of Gender (1925-1970).
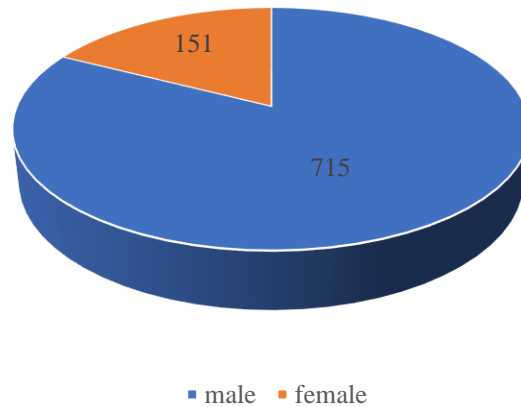
Of the 872 total gender-specific references 715 were male references, just 151 were female. This dominance of the male gender in the culture of text choice, examination material and references to society also. Gender permeated every aspect of Irish society as can be seen from the male gender dominated careers referred to in the examination papers (see Figure 6.2 below).

Figure 6.2: Frequency of Careers (1925-1970).
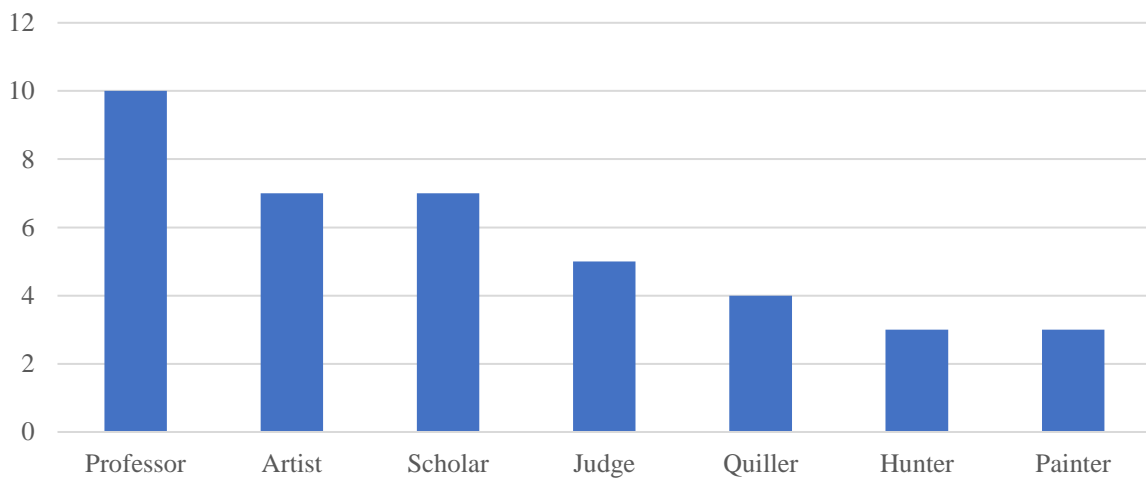
Although 'professor' follows an older spelling, careers like professor, artist or judge would not be considered gender-specific today, the vast majority of people pursuing these careers in the period 1925-1970 would have been male. This is reflective of Duncan (2013) when she asserts that only 1% of women pursued and worked in the higher professions. Other references to careers like 'airman', 'captain', 'squire' and 'hunter' highlight the value given to strong male role models in this period.

6.5.3 Gender, The Canon and Character Questioning

Male writers dominated these examination papers and that recognised authors within The Canon were given a place of importance in the Leaving Certificate examinations. Out of the top twenty four most commonly asked poets and prose writers over this period none of them are women (see Figure 6.3 below). Milton featured second most frequently, behind Shakespeare. The high reference count of *Paradise Lost* featured regularly throughout the years. This could be attributed to the fact that it offers warnings against Chaos and therefore the inclusion of the poem with such regularity raises both a gender and a religious issue.

Figure 6.3: Frequency of Canon Writers (1925-1970).
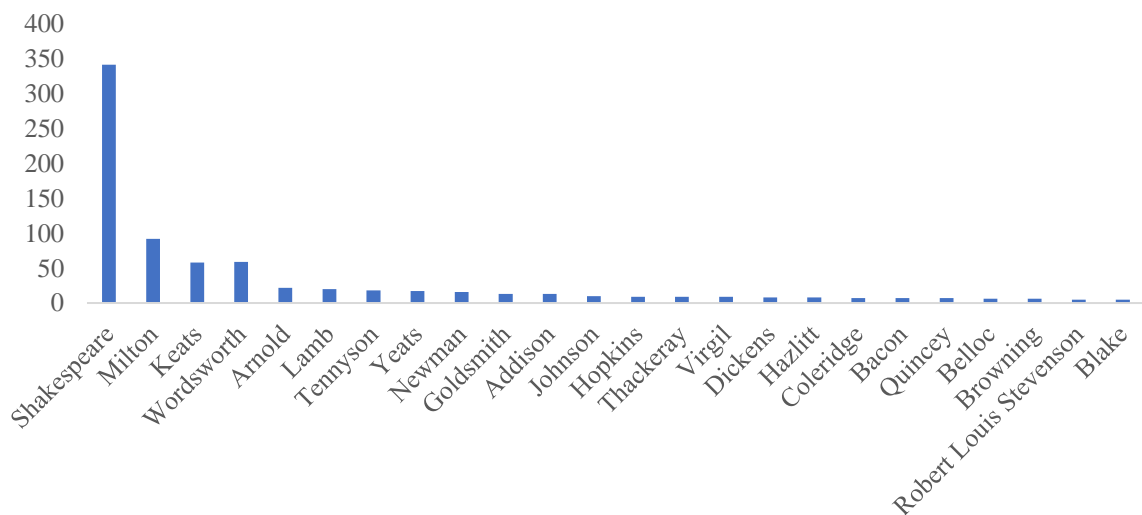
The issue of gender was not only reflected in the choice of texts. When it comes to Shakespeare, one could argue that he wrote many plays named primarily after male characters. What is a clear indication of a gender divide is the emphasis in questioning on male characters throughout the years. *Macbeth* has an occurrence count of sixty three or a relative frequency of 26.69% of all text references. *Hamlet* has an occurrence count of fifty or a relative frequency of 21.19%. *Julius Caesar* has an occurrence count of forty nine or a relative frequency of 20.76%. *Anthony and Cleopatra* has an occurrence count of sixteen or a relative frequency of 6.78%. *Othello* has an occurrence count of fifteen or a relative frequency of 6.36%. *Henry IV Part 1* has an occurrence count of twelve or a relative frequency of 5.08%. Interestingly, plays such as *You Like It, A Mid Summer Night's Dream* and most notably *Romeo and Juliet* only featured once each. Alibhai-Brown (2016) refers to *Romeo and Juliet* as a tale of passion which possibly

gives the best indicator of why it is one of Shakespeare's best-loved and well-known plays was almost ignored in the examinations between 1925-1970. Considering how conservative Ireland had become, how girls were often warned in school against being regarded as opportunities for sin and the responsibility was on girls to guard both their own and the male's chastity, there is little doubt that young forbidden passion would not be encouraged through text (O'Flynn 1987). Alibhai-Brown's (2016) comments that Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* displayed a great understanding of deep desire which was exactly what the Church, politicians and the governors of schools wanted to avoid.

The only play in the top six to include a female character in the title is *Anthony and Cleopatra* and that has a relatively small occurrence account. Also, it is interesting to note that it is the only play of the top six where Shakespeare assigned a dual title and then named a male first, although the female character had arguably the greater power. It is also interesting to note that although a named character in the title of the play, Cleopatra was asked as a character in her own right only twice in the forty five year period under review. What this tells us is that the strong male or the tragic hero with the fatal hamartia was what was valued. A strong female character was not seen to be valued. However, the citizen that stands outside the moral code of society, that breaks the laws of society suffers in these plays. The choosing of these particular characters is interesting considering the moralistic tone of the examination papers and how reflective they are of a patriarchal society. Macbeth was asked twenty one times as a character related question, while Lady Macbeth, arguably one of Shakespeare's most intriguing characters was asked twelve times. Although Lady Macbeth has a much higher relative frequency than most female characters, one could argue that she is also a character that has been attributed some of the least feminine qualities.

Both *Julius Caesar* and *Henry IV Part 1* are set in the patriarchal societies of war and politics and therefore a gender balance of any kind cannot be expected here. It can be argued that although Shakespeare wrote many comedies, where themes of love come to the fore, almost all of the most frequently asked Shakespearean plays are preoccupied with violence, murder, power, kingship, politics and bloodshed. They are often unsentimental and harsh in their treatment of women. Characters who love like Ophelia and Desdemona are to be pitied and cast aside. Ophelia is asked far fewer times, at five occurrences, than Hamlet at twenty two character-based questions for the same period. Gertrude is not referred to at all, even within

the scope of her relationship with other characters. Interestingly Desdemona does not appear at examination level at all. Ophelia and Desdemona are both naive, trusting, kind and gentle. They are easily manipulated and both have a role to play in the 'madness' that affects their male partners. Their kindness was seen to be akin to weakness by audiences in the past. Desdemona's relationship with Othello particularly and the effect his love for her has on him would not be the desired image of marriage that the Department of Education were hoping to impart to the students of the day.

The role of women and their place in society were intermittent themes in examination papers over the years. In total there are ten 'hits' to the search 'women' in AntConc between the years 1925-1970, which shows how infrequent women's issues were included as themes. In 1929 the question "Shakespeare: Comment on the influence in women or Tragedy" appeared, and in 1930 "Comment on the use of the preternatural or Women in Shakespeare" (Department of Education 1930). However, these were the exception amongst all the male writers and male-dominated themes or characters questions mentioned between 1925-1970 (see Figures 6.4-6.9 below).

**Figure 6.4:** Hamlet Questions (1925-1970).
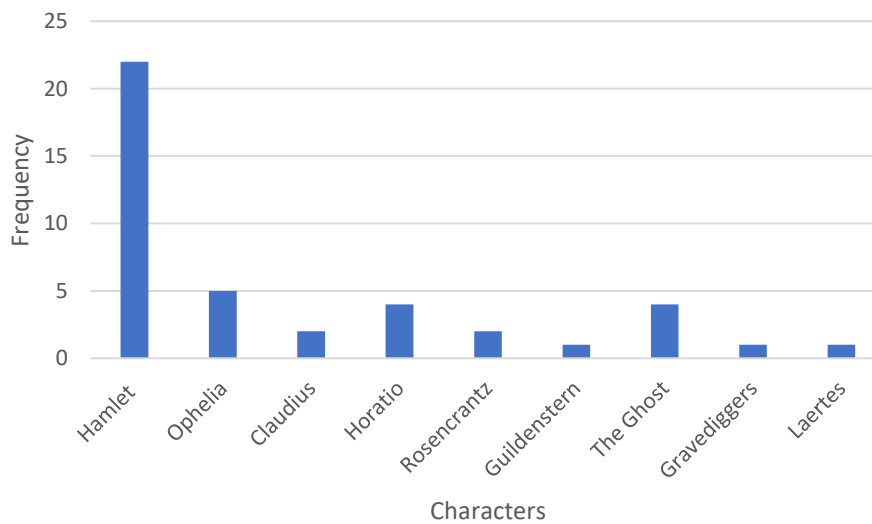
Figure 6.5: Macbeth Questions (1925-1970).
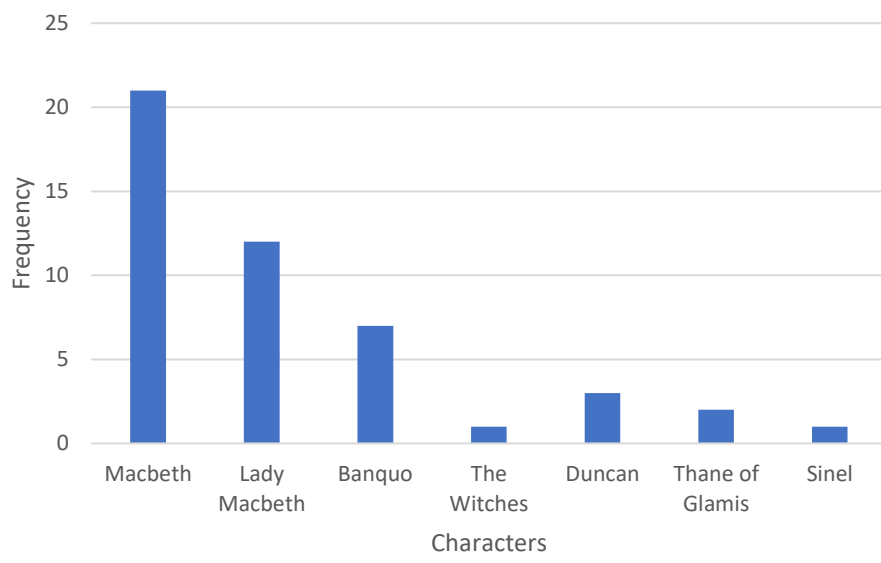
Figure 6.6: Othello Questions (1925-1970).
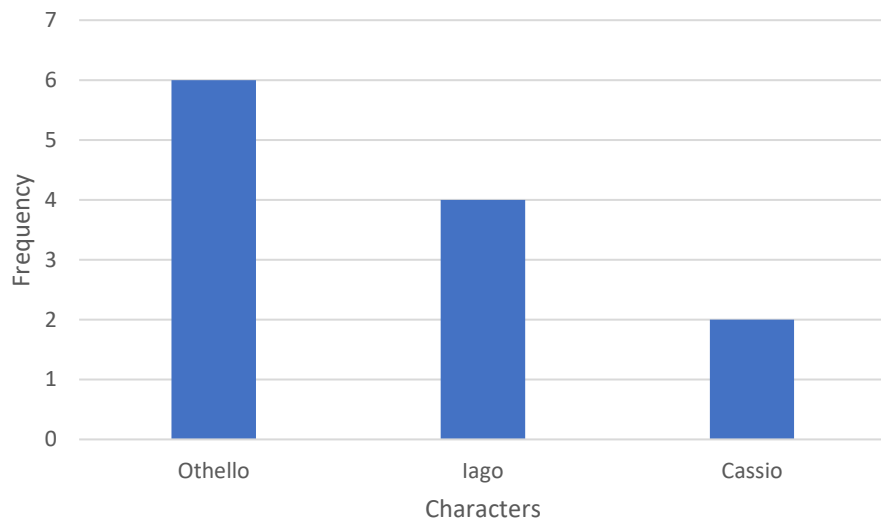
Figure 6.7: Anthony and Cleopatra Questions (1925-1970).
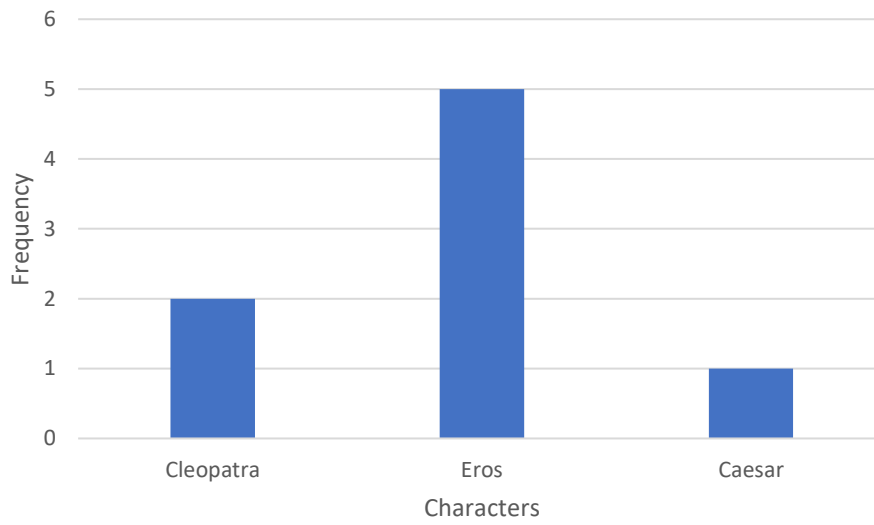
Figure 6.8: Julius Caesar Questions (1925-1970).
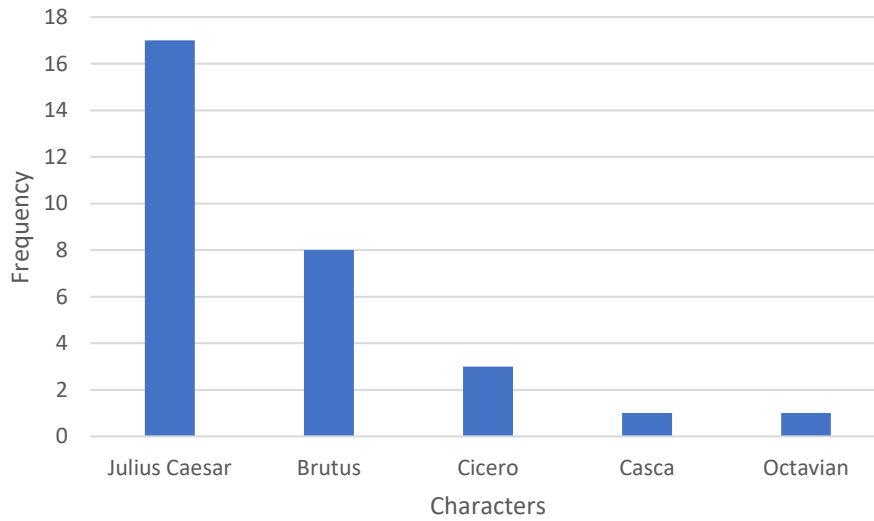
Figure 6.9: Henry IV Part 1 Questions (1925-1970).
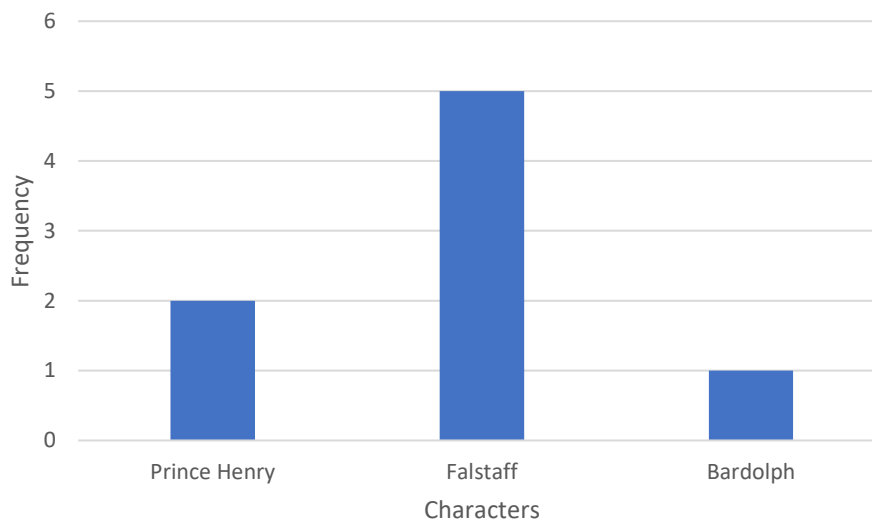
As for composing, women appeared with a slightly greater ratio of frequency than the texts sections. In 1928 students were asked to write an essay on one of six titles including "Serving men and serving women in Fiction and Drama" and in 1930 "The Women in Shakespeare's plays" was one of the options for essay writing. In 1940 the essay title appeared "Women in Literature and in History". This meant that there was a slight improvement in the gender imbalance experienced in the previous era, this is especially true as the years advanced.

By the 1960s social change was becoming evident in examination essay titles. For example, "Women in Literature" appeared in 1964 and "Women and clothes" in 1965. This is a considerable difference from 1948 which included the essay title "What is called 'Progress' is merely the measure of man's success in adapting himself to his environment". Although 'man' was used as a generic term for many years, it is indicative of the wider social imbalance and the acceptable process of using a male generic term to mean all people (see Appendix 6.3).

6.6 British Colonialism, Irish identity and Examination Papers

This section is the largest in this era and therefore was divided into several subsections. This is a unique feature of this era and is indicative of the post-colonial years. The themes which emerged through the data analysis are War and Politics, Classical References, and the tension which underlined text selection. In these years a determination to separate Irish from British

identity is evidenced in the substantial defence of the Classics, an avoidance of Anglo- Irish literature and a yet a fear of lowering standards is displayed by a dominance of Shakespeare and other Canon writers. The data is outlined below.

6.6.1 War and Politics

Throughout the examinations papers, there is evidence of the Free State struggling to shake off its colonial past with references to 'royalty' at eighty nine occurrences. From the reading of the *Dáil Éireann* debates, we see that the relationship was, at times, fractious between the Free State and the British government. 'King', 'queen', 'kingdom', 'knights' and 'nobility' were all mentioned. A number of these references can be accounted for as part quotation from poetry, as lists of quotations to be identified were a common feature of the early part of the period in examination. References to royalty and historical periods were also mentioned in the Reading Comprehension section of the examination as well as Composing. Similarly, the culture of war and political debate casts a long shadow in the examination papers during this period.

In 1926 students were asked to write a short essay on titles including "The Feudal System", "Politics as an inspiration of Poetry", and "Confiscation and Plantation in Ireland". In 1927 "The Butlers and the Fitzgeralds" appeared as an essay title. In 1928 the title "Empire and Nationality" stands out considering The Balfour Declaration was passed in 1926. The theme continued with "Ireland and the Continent of Europe" in 1929. In 1931 "The lessons of history" appeared. In 1932 three options offer some moments of pause "The debt of English literature to Irish writers", "Our debt to Greece and Rome" and "Europe since The Great War". This reflects the emphasis on the Classics in the examination papers, as the wording of 'our debt' presumes that the Irish were indebted to the Classical culture and also to The Canon created around English writers. The third title mirrors some of the expectation of progress and the possible anxiety surrounding the developments in Europe since 1918. This theme continued in 1933 with "Boundaries, natural and political" and in 1934 "The futility of war". In 1940 there was a title "National Characteristics" which presumes that almost twenty years since the establishment of the Free State was time enough to create a sense of national identity. In 1941 "Modern Warfare" and "The Future of Europe" both appeared, which shows that neutrality did not insulate the Irish from the war in Europe. War is a topic repeatedly used for essay writing. For instance, in 1944 "Conscription", 1951 "Dictatorship", "Man's Inhumanity to Man" in

1954, "Democracy its virtues and its failings" in 1956 and "Nationalism" in 1957 were choices. This reminds us of McCormack's assertion that Ireland's educational context is a colonial one (McCormack 2014). Taking the Cold War into consideration, there are parallels with the 1958 essay title "East is East and West is West, and never the twain shall meet" or in the title "The influence of the United States of America in the world today" in 1964. In 1961 "The future of Africa" appeared which provides further insight into the fragmented nature of the post Second World War world and how the Irish despite neutrality, censorship and relative isolation, were not completely oblivious to it.

Words appearing over the years 1925-1970 include 'war', 'savage', 'conscription', 'conqueror', 'tyranny' and 'conquest'. There are repeated references to 'revolution', 'revolutionary', 'revolutions', 'colonies' and 'colony' as well as 'empires', 'triumphant', 'weapons' and 'swords'. In addition to royal references, there are sixty three references between the period 1925-1970 specific to war and politics with others such as 'war' with cross over into old English references. This illustrates that the overarching theme of war and politics in the examination papers in a period which witnessed the end of the War of Independence, the Irish Civil War, the Emergency and the Korean War. Ireland declared itself a Republic in 1949, yet the word 'nationalist' was used carefully in these forty years with only two counts. This is possibly due to the separation of history from English as an examination and also may reflect a level of post-Civil War sensitive to the partition that had remained.

6.6.2 Classical References

As the state struggled to create a new identity it became clear that certain tensions were arising from attempting to shake off its colonial past. Decisions were made which makes it apparent that certain Canon writer's and the Classics could not be ignored if the Department of Education was to offer quality education. The importance of the Classics and their position in Irish education is a theme which is recurring throughout this period.

In the forty years of the era under question, Irish society had changed immensely yet references to the Classics appeared in the prose section as well as being reflected in poetry. There are 165 occurrences of Classical References. These include words like 'Troy', 'Greek', 'Latin', 'Augustine', 'Hesperus' and 'Alexandrine' for example. Quotations from *Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Cymbeline*, and *Anthony and Cleopatra* also contributed to this,

along with the quotations from the more popular plays *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *Hamlet*. The argument for the retention of the study of Classics also appeared under the Reading Comprehension part of the papers on more than one occasion. In 1928 the following question appeared in the literary section, "Every century feels the need of translating the great Classical authors afresh. Give some account of English writers who have thus interpreted the Classics in their own time" (Department of Education 1928). In 1964 a reading comprehension featured stated that "We must discuss the nature of the classical influence" (Department of Education 1964). From this, we see that the Classics and their place in Irish education were recurring themes on examination papers throughout the period. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is one of the most significant representatives of this theme and it continued to be asked almost every year and had an occurrence count of thirty six. This did not change significantly until Era 3 when the frequency at which *Paradise Lost* was assessed began to reduce.

6.6.3 Language Policy and Examination Policy

Shakespeare dominated the examination most years but especially in the 1930s. In the AntConc plot (see Figure 6.4) we can see this quite clearly. In 1930 and 1932 Shakespeare's name was mentioned no less than five times on each examination paper. This is a pattern that was repeated over the next four years. This indicates how dominant Shakespeare was on the examination. It is important to note that this illustrates only writer name occurrences and not references to particular plays, characters or themes.

Figure 6.10: Reference Frequency Shakespeare (1930-1936).
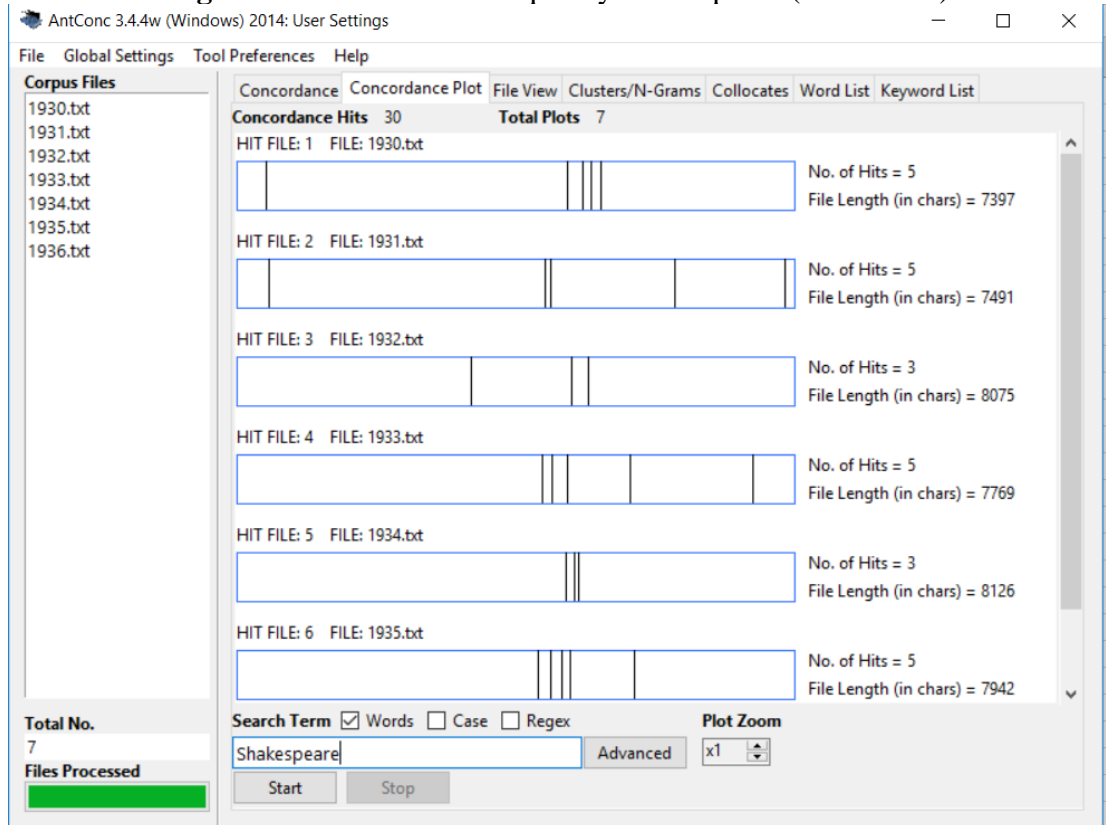
During the period 1925-1970, there are 342 references to Shakespeare as both a playwright and a poet. This, coupled with the predominant references of Shakespearean plays or quotations, demonstrates that Shakespeare was valued above all others. In terms of text-choice, it is clear to see where the priority lay. As detailed by the Department of Education (1950) in a reading comprehension, questions two on the examination paper went some way to explaining why Shakespeare held such dominance:

> On few subjects has more nonsense been written than on the learning of Shakespeare.
> In former times the established tenet was that he was acquainted with the entire range
> of the Greek and Latin classics, and familiarly resorted to Sophocles and Aeschylus as
> guides and models. This creed reposed not so much on any painful or elaborate criticism
> of Shakespeare's plays as on one of the a priori assumptions permitted to the indolence
> of the wise old world. It was then considered clear that no one could write good English
> who could not also write bad Latin. Questioning scepticism has rejected this axiom and
> refuted with contemptuous facility the slight attempt which had been made to verify this
> case of it from the evidence of the plays themselves. But the new school, not content
> with showing that Shakespeare was no formed or elaborate scholar, propounded the idea
> that he was quite ignorant. The answer is that Shakespeare wrote his plays, and that

those plays show not only a very powerful but also a very cultivated mind. A hard

student Shakespeare was not, yet he was a happy and pleased reader of interesting books.

He was a natural reader; when a book was dull he put it down, when it looked fascinating

he took it up, and the consequence is that he remembered and mastered what he read.

According to the above reading comprehension, Shakespeare had a powerful and cultivated mind and he mastered what he read. Gibson (2016) states that Shakespeare remains popular because of the adaptability of his plays. Simon (1934) tells us that Shakespeare first appeared in classrooms towards the end of the 18th century as practice for good reading skills and elocution. However, he goes on to say that the reason Shakespearean literature has survived, when others have not, is the justification that "all great art has for existing [and that it holds a mirror up to the] essential dignity in the human spirit" (Simon 1934, p. 368). This would appear to be in tune with the 1931 essay title "The art of Shakespeare". Again, we see the wording of the essay title is important as we see 'art' as presumed. Shakespeare continued to feature every year for examination throughout the remainder of the era. The inclusion of Shakespeare with such regularity was a means of maintaining standards, of asserting that Irish society was cultured and would remain so. This is significant as the new government wished to retain meritocracy and maintaining standards were an important element of this.

6.6.4 The Inclusion of Irish Writers

There was a change in examination format after 1940. That year the last question on the examination asked: "Show briefly your knowledge and appreciation of one of the following:-The Graves of Kilmorna, Vanity Fair, David Copperfield, Sally Cavanagh, Kenilworth, A Tale of Two Cities, Ivanhoe, The Threshold of Quiet, The Talisman, Candle for the Proud" (Department of Education 1940). The Department of Education (1941a) took this a step further in 1941 when two questions appeared for fiction, with a new list of novels:

Show briefly your knowledge and appreciation for one of the following:-Oliver Twist,

History of Henry Esmond, My New Curate, Old Mortality, Feardorcha the Miser, Her

Irish Heritage, Knocknagow, The Munster Twlight, Pride and Prejudice, Loughsiders

[or] Select any *two* of the following characters, name the book in which each appear,

and give a brief account of the part played by *one* of them in the story in which he or

she is presented:-Becky Sharp, Peggotty, Amy Robsart, Maggie Tulliver, Captain Hoseason, Mr. Rochester, Matt the Thresher, Dr Primrose, Nora Curtin.

This was a departure from the examinations of the past. The list included writers like Sir Walter Scott, who had appeared for many years, Thackeray, who often appeared for his prose writings, and also Charles Dickens.

However, the real departure was the inclusion of so many Irish writers from varied backgrounds and beliefs. The 1940 and 1941 examinations stand out also for their incorporation of female writers like Jane Austen and Annie M.P. Smithson. Many of the Irish writers were well known at the time, presenting an intriguing mixture of literature from nationalist, religious and middle-class points of view. Patrick Augustine Sheehan, a Roman Catholic Priest and educated at Maynooth College was a very acceptable voice for providing reading material from the religious and educated points of view. His *Kilmorna* brought the Fenian Rising to an entirely new generation.

Ó Faolain (2013) questioned the longstanding popularity Kickham's *Knocknagow* has experienced. By 1941 it was in its twenty seventh edition and he concluded:

> There is one other purely practical thing that helped it to success. Portion of it was published in serial form in the Kilkenny Celt; it ran as a serial in the Shamrock and began to appear simultaneously in the New York Emerald. That, in a country which could not afford books, publicised it as nothing else could do. Kickham wrote about his own time and problems. He did what modern Irish novelists and playwrights are doing, and what the most popular dramatists of the Abbey Theatre did and do ("The Eloquent Dempsey," "The Plough and the Stars," "The Rugged Path"). He wrote about real people. He wrote in the benevolent temper which was natural to him. The result is that his novel, though it is not a great novel, is a faithful novel, and an affectible novel. It will always remain a minor classic even after the "habit" of it has died out, as it is slowly dying out, according as the public becomes more and more in tune with the incisive, critical, and tightly woven realism of to-day. It has feeling and it has humanity, and these always last.

(Ó Faolain 2013, para. 8)

The Irish writers that were now included added to the richness of culture and history that reflected the Famine, the Rising and the struggles of the Irish from all sections of society. For these reasons, the examination of 1940 emerges as an attempt to move away from the classicist perspective that was dominant since the days of intermediate education and The Senior Grade. As was demonstrated in section 6.5.3, males appeared more frequently than women. Interestingly, Yeats was amongst the eight most frequently asked writers as a result of the inclusion of three of his poems in the 1950s and 1960s. This reflected the relaxing of the Irish Language Policy (see section 6.2.9).

The policy of promoting Irish in schools lasted until the 1950s and it was not until the new curriculum in 1969 that there was any real inclusion of Anglo-Irish writers on the curriculum. The entire policy and the effect of Anglophobia left a lasting impression on curriculum design throughout the years and what was valued in terms of material for examination. The limited class time given to English resulted in a contraction of reading for pleasure and led to more exam-focused teaching and learning environment. The lack of Anglo-Irish writers is striking especially in the first half of the era, where Shakespeare, the Classics, The Canon and translations of European texts dominated the examination. Greater emphasis was given to punctuation questions in this period as well as identifying long lists of quotations in place of Anglo-Irish reading material such as plays or fiction.

6.7 Conclusion

This period was dominated by political negotiations, gender issues, religion and war. Coming into the era, Ireland had just fought the War of Independence and the Civil War. The fractious relationship with Northern Ireland and Great Britain show that the Free State remained in a state of readiness in case war became a real possibility once more. Within the Free State's borders, there was the ongoing threat from nationalists and the assassination of Kevin O'Higgins in 1927 showed this threat should be taken seriously. Apart from these developments, war broke out in Europe in 1936 in Spain, and the Second World War dominated world affairs between 1939-1945. Political negotiation allowed Ireland to remain neutral during the Second World War, a period known as The Emergency. The Korean War was fought between North and South Korea (1950-1953). The Vietnam war broke out in 1955 and lasted almost twenty years. It was the first war to be brought into Irish homes by television and

dominated global affairs into the 1970s. War and political references were obvious throughout the examination papers over the period 1925-1970.

We see the effect of the prominent role of the Roman Catholic Church in the Free State and later in the young Republic of Ireland. Its influence invaded classrooms and reading material even in the home. So absolute was its power that little was said outside literary circles about censorship or the Committee on Evil Literature (see section 6.2.4). The Catholic Church in particular affected text choice, government policy like censorship and how writers of the Literary movement were treated. This meant that the Catholic Church because it owned the vast majority of the schools was central to decisions that were made by the Free State after 1922. The policy of censorship, along with the blatant boycott of Anglo-Irish Writers for the English Curriculum seriously affected the state's relationship with its own literary history. This resulted in an atmosphere of suspicion that damaged the development of the arts, with many writers seeking refuge aboard. Although censorship ended, some of these writers never returned and it took many years for their work to be acknowledged by the Department of Education. Indeed, Anglo-Irish writers were not included throughout this period. It is one of the greatest misgivings of the Free State that it abandoned its writers who, in contrast, were studied around the globe. Its influence shaped a generation of teachers and readers and this had long-lasting effects on text choice and what was deemed appropriate material for assessment purposes.

The new syllabus for English was vigorously debated throughout 1968 and 1969. The announcement of free secondary education meant that what was hoped for young people from the syllabus was altering. As far back as 1966, Corr wrote in the ASTI journal that reading was a vital element for students, not just as preparation for life or examinations but for leisure time; a responsibility that fell to the English teacher (Corr 1966). She argued for an acknowledgement that reading literature of all kinds should be valued for the development of the person. O'Brien (1969) echoed this by suggesting that the focus on examination was too strong and limited student's growth through enjoyment of literature. She argued that memorisation of plays dulled students' interest and that there was "careful concealment of the fact that Shakespeare wrote plays and not moral treaties" (O'Brien 1969, p. 9). There was a reluctance to any new approach. MacAodha (1969) warned against child-centred education saying that educationalists would do well to remember the value of reason and discipline, he

quoted Goya with the warning that "the sleep of reason brings forth monsters" (MacAodha 1969). There was a growing fear that free access to education for all would bring sweeping changes to education. Some English teachers feared that The Canon would be set aside. This fear stemmed from the general changes in society in the 1960s. However, when Brian Lenihan, the Minister for Education in 1968 he made the following announcement it brought the issue to national attention. In a Dáil debate, he declared that:

> Children will not have to learn large slabs of Shakespeare, Shelley and Keats. The simple essay will be the aim. The policy will be tilted at how to speak and write original and simple thoughts without reference to slabs of poetry and prose

> (Lenihan 1968)

This led to an ensuring battle with teachers and educationalists as they perceived the change too radical and an effort to move away from The Canon. They equated this to a lowering of perceived standards. Augustine Martin urged teachers to go 'to the stake on these issues' stating the importance of literature (Editor 1968b). He argued that English as a school subject helped students to make sense of their world as they are emerging from the confusing teenage years and they needed to be able to express themselves (Editor 1968b). This incident was important for two reasons. It was the first time teachers were encouraged to use their voice to advocate for change. Secondly, it displayed the confusion within Ireland on what was hoped for the citizen. Ball (2006) asserts that few can escape the idiosyncrasies of different governments and their policies and this era is no different in this regard. Pearse had advocated for critical debate (see section 6.2), which was set aside after independence and The Canon was retained. However, the Free State government did attempt to include European translations and Irish texts. The debacle over Brian Lenihan's words shows how entrenched The Canon was and Augustine Martin's words display this. He argued that The Canon needed to be retained so students could express themselves better, yet nowhere through the system were students supported in this endeavour, especially in examination. Nonetheless, the examinations began to change in the late 1950s as Ireland became more open to global influence but students still had few opportunities to express themselves, either in the classroom or in examination itself.

The Catholic Church had a huge influence on Irish culture and education; an influence that arguably lasted up to the end of the era. By 1970 the effects of T.K. Whitaker's First

Programme for Economic Expansion were beginning to be felt (see section 6.2.10). The establishment and embracing of *Raidió Teilifís Éireann* (RTÉ) from 1961 gave Irish homes a glimpse of the outside world politically, socially and culturally. In 1968 Pope Paul VI issued *Humanae Vitae* which repeated the Churches' ban on artificial contraceptives including the recently invented Pill. It is notable because for the first time a large proportion of faithful Catholics and even some priests in Ireland disagreed with the Encyclical (Murray 2018). The Second Vatican Council (1969) both modernised and demystified the rituals of the Church. While this made the Church more accessible to ordinary people, it also began the process of questioning and criticism (Fisher 2012). In 1970 Archbishop John Charles McQuaid lifted the ban on Catholic students attending Trinity College. This was due largely to the negative reaction he received during a debate on the topic on *The Late Show* in 1967. RTÉ and the influential *The Late Show* gave a forum to elements within society who disagreed with the Catholic Church (Ferriter 2017; Boston College Magazine Front Row 2018). Society in Ireland was changing and free education meant that more students than ever before would enter secondary schools during the years of the third era of this study.

The themes that emerged in the years of the first two eras combined (1878-1970) are gender, the role of the Catholic Church, British Colonialism and the role of English as a subject in the development of the citizen. The next section will outline how the increase in student numbers affected the themes that dominated the first two eras and as such will discuss the themes that emerge.

Chapter Seven: Era 3 (1971-2000)

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will investigate the changes free secondary education had on the themes that emerged in the Leaving Certificate English examination paper in Era 2. The first sections of the chapter will chart the political context and the changes that were introduced to the English examination once student numbers began to increase. The later sections of the chapter will explain the results of examination paper analysis and how the cultural and historical context is reflected in these years of examination.

Between 1971-2000 the conservatism that defined post-war Ireland was replaced with an eagerness to develop economically. The early years of this era were dogged with tensions in a multitude of areas. The decade began with tensions over teacher pay and a threat of strike action by the main teaching union in Ireland, the ASTI. The Troubles, or the Northern Ireland Conflict, dominated the Irish political discourse, while the Oil Crisis of the 1970s sharply depressed the economy and led to a drastic, sudden lowering of living standards (O'Hagan 2017). Economically, politically and socially Ireland was facing great challenges and changes during the thirty years of this era.

Ireland's economic viability was important during these years. The previous era had established independence and witnessed the lingering dream of a thirty two county Gaelic speaking, Catholic republic. By 1970 this discourse had moved and the reality was setting in that a strong economy was needed to stem the emigration witnessed in the 1950s from repeatedly occurring. The effects of T.K. Whitaker's First Programme for Economic Expansion which was first published in 1958 were beginning to be evident (see section 6.2.10). Protectionism was abandoned and direct foreign investment was encouraged (Foster 2008; Ahearne 2016). T.K. Whitaker's policy was also centred around the idea that if the economy improved the quality of life of citizens would improve. When he introduced his policy, Irish wages were among the lowest in Europe (Ahearne 2016). The citizen was beginning to find itself at the centre of government policy. As far back as 1965 in the OECD report *Investment in Education*, the Minister for Education Patrick Hillery had ascertained that the youth of Ireland would be disadvantaged unless real efforts were made to equip them, through education, for the future.

He specifically mentioned technical and scientific skills, a discourse that had been completely absent in Irish education due to the dominance of the Church in the previous era. Hillery concluded that educational and economic policy would go hand in hand (Hyland and Milne 1992). This indication of a change in direction of education in Ireland was echoed in the *Second Programme for Economic Expansion* (1963). This report highlighted the need to invest in the people, the country's primary resource, through education.

Participation levels rose dramatically after free education was introduced and this was particularly evident in the significant growth in the numbers entering third level (Foster 2008). It was inevitable that change would also be made to the curricula. There was also a move towards increasing the professionalism of teachers during this era. More teachers were educated in 1970 than any year before and graduates over 28 years could now retrain with the introduction of postgraduate teacher education programmes provided in the Teacher Education Colleges (McManus 2014a, b). In-service education was increased and the Teacher Centres were established around the country in 1972. As Minister of Education Pádraig Faulkner had ambitious plans that teachers would have access to in-service education opportunities every five to seven years to upskill but these plans were interrupted due to lack of funds following the Oil Crisis of 1973 (McManus 2014a, b). These reforms were vital in providing state support to teachers and there was an important move towards a more professional and cohesive delivery of the curriculum.

The establishment and embracing of RTÉ in 1961 on gave Irish homes a glimpse of the outside world. The fact that Ireland was one of the last countries in Europe to develop its own television serves is an indicator of how isolated and introspective Ireland was (Savage 2019). Television had undeniably one of the greatest impacts on cultural and societal change in Ireland. Current affairs programmes could now hold live debates where the visual image transformed how an audience could interpret the argument more completely. Programmes like *Today Tonight* and *The Late* Show redefined and broadened interviewing and reporting (Kelly 1984).

Three major events defined the era from a political point of view. The Troubles dominated the political narrative. The era was marked with violence and concluded in 1998 with the Good Friday Agreement. Ireland joined the EEC in 1973 and this resulted in new economic and political ties, with Ireland moving into a Post-Colonial phase. The oil crisis of the 1970s highlighted how vulnerable the Irish economy was to global events and much of the 1980s was

defined by economic recession and emigration. The more common use of television in this era brought these events into sitting rooms across the country. It was the first era to succumb to complete visual media scrutiny. The economic and political woes of the era brought great political instability. There were nine education ministers during the years 1971-2000 which highlights both the political instability and the resultant lack of investment in education during this period (McManus 2014a). This historical context is relevant to the research in the themes that emerged in examination. Ireland was on the cusp of great political, societal and economic change and the tension that existed between the old and the new appeared in the range of texts examined in paper two, reading comprehensions and in composing.

7.2 The Introduction of Free Education

With the introduction of free education in Ireland, there was an immediate impact on student numbers. Mullins (2002) states that the numbers attending schools increased by 18,000 in the year 1967. Table 7.1 below (Department of Education 1972) details the number of students who completed the English examination for Leaving Certificate between 1969-1972. As this study only focuses on the Higher Level English examination a percentage of the total is only offered for that level as seen below.

Table 7.1: English Examination (1969-1972).

	Boys Higher Level	Boys Ordinary Level	Boys Total	Girls Higher Level	Girls Ordinary Level	Girls Total
1969	5,098 (63% of the total)	2,915	8,013	5,625 (64% of the total)	3,141	8,766
1970	4,756 (53% of the total)	4,204	8,960	5,591 (57% of the total)	4,244	9,835
1971	3,893 (40% of the total)	5,837	9,730	4,830 (45% of the total)	5,988	10,818
1972	3,863 (34% of the total)	7,358	11,221	4,794 (38% of the total)	7,927	12,721

The table shows that fewer students chose Higher Level when the new course was introduced. This is most obvious with boys, where numbers completing the Honours paper decreased with the new syllabus. There is a noticeable difference in these figures, nearly 30% less attempted

the Higher Level Paper over the four years outlined above. It is also clear that more girls stayed on to complete a Leaving Certificate than boys, with their participation also increasing at a more rapid pace than boys. Girls were also more likely to remain at Higher Level, although their numbers also decreased. However, the level of decrease here was slower. This was due to the fact that there were greater opportunities afforded boys in agriculture and trades. There is no obvious explanation offered in the reports for this decrease in students attempting Higher Level English. Possibly the numbers taking Higher Level dropped as overall numbers increased due to larger class sizes and possibly less time from the teacher with those struggling to stay at Higher Level.

Student numbers increased at a fast pace and with a new course, it is possible that a settling in period was needed before conclusions could be drawn. Table 7.2 below (Department of Education 1977-1980) provides us with a contrast.

Table 7.2: English Examination (1977-1980).

	Boys Higher Level	**Boys Ordinary Level**	**Boys Total**	**Girls Higher Level**	**Girls Ordinary Level**	**Girls Total**
1977	6,237 (40% of the total)	9,172	15,409	7,971 (44% of the total)	10,092	18,063
1978	6,566 (43% of the total)	8,644	15,210	8,601 (46% of the total)	10,183	18,784
1979	6,830 (46% of the total)	8,034	14,864	8,833 (46% of the total)	10,446	19,279
1980	7,466 (47% of the total)	8,334	15,800	9,442 (46% of the total)	11,114	20,556

The figures for the years 1977-1980 show that although student numbers continued to increase the numbers taking the Higher Level examination paper remained proportional. However, with increased numbers came increased numbers of student failure at the English examination. In 1977 58.5% of boys achieved a C grade or higher and 2.1% achieved an E grade or lower. Grades for girls were on a par, with 58% achieving a C or higher, and 2.4% an E or less (Department of Education 1978). However, those achieving a C grade or higher remained

approximately 50% over the coming year. In 1980 only 44% of boys achieved a C or higher but 6.9% failed to achieve higher than an E grade (Department of Education 1980; Kellaghan and Hegarty 1984). There is a year-on-year slight decrease in those achieving a C grade or higher and a corresponding increase in those achieving E grades or less. Students also performed at Ordinary Level with failure rates consistently around 10% for both boys and girls, reaching a high of 12.3% in 1980 for those achieving an E or less. It was not just English that suffered this failure rate and the decrease in numbers at Higher Level, subjects like Latin and Irish experienced a reduction as well. Three factors could provide a possible explanation for this. Firstly, there were several new subjects introduced in 1969 especially those of a Business nature. Secondly, in 1969 the awarding of results on a scale of A to E was introduced as was Higher and Ordinary Levels in many subjects. Thirdly, there was an increase in student uptake of Mathematics and Science subjects especially by boys. However, the proportional level of students taking Higher Level English stabilised over time (Kellaghan and Hegarty 1984). These figures (see table 7.1 and 7.2) show the challenges faced by teachers of English around the country as more science, business and technical subjects competed for students' attention and time.

A series of testing and reading standards that were carried out from 1960 at five-year intervals also highlighted an issue. Reading standards were not measured in Ireland before this and Ireland was far behind England and Wales in this regard as well as in the low reading scores which resulted from the first testing. The testing was conducted in 1964 and again in 1969 with no significant changes in reading standards. However, the hope was that the new curriculum to be introduced into primary school would affect the standard positively over time (McDonagh 1973). This seems to have been the case because by 1974 significant improvements in the reading standards were noted by the subsequent study. Several factors were offered as explanation including the new primary school curriculum, eventually introduced in 1969, and societal change (McDonagh 1973; Travers 1976). As students surveyed were eleven years old, it would be several years before rising standards would affect grades at Leaving Certificate Level.

In 1974 a study was carried out to determine the '*Opinions of the Irish Public on Examinations*". It deemed success at examination to be 'very important' for both students and teachers but also noted a general dissatisfaction with the "influence of public examinations on

schools" (Fontes *et al.* 1980, p. 54). Importantly, the study highlighted the different experiences of the public to education in Ireland depending on their socio-economic backgrounds. When asked if they were aware of curricular change in Irish schools since 1970, 67% of white-collar workers said yes but only 35% of unskilled workers were aware of the changes (Fontes *et al.* 1980). Questions on the perceived importance of the Leaving Certificate and its effect on the long-term financial success of students were answered along similar socio-economic lines. The study also highlights that although the vast majority believed the examinations were very important (93%), only a minority of participants (45%), completely understood anything of the changes (Fontes *et al.* 1980). This study was conducted in 1974 at a time when education and society were in a state of flux. As free education had just been introduced it can be assumed that only a portion of the parents completing the survey had themselves completed the Leaving Certificate.

It is clear from the above discussion that several factors affected the standard of English at Leaving Certificate in the years immediately following the introduction of free education. The challenge for the Department of Education was to introduce a syllabus that would engage all students, regardless of socio-economic or educational background, and continue the trend of raising reading and comprehension levels that had begun in primary school. This was to be achieved against rapid cultural and economic change and the increased space given to business, technical and scientific subjects.

7.3 Society in Ireland 1971-2000

The following section discusses Irish society in relation to The Catholic Church, gender in Ireland, Post-Colonial relations and the needs of the Irish citizen. It outlines how the Catholic Church began to decline in importance in Ireland and how the economy impacted on the lives of citizens. The decline in the economy, disimproved relations with Northern Ireland and increased access to media and television led to an embracing of international relationships and Ireland joined the EEC during this period. This section also outlines how women in Ireland began to seek equality of employment and free education resulted in increased scrutiny of education policy and syllabi.

7.4 The Role of the Catholic Church

The examination papers of this era display the societal change that was occurring throughout Ireland. This is reflected for instance, in the high-frequency count for words of a religious nature. The Canon texts were still quoted in examination and the Christian remained commonplace on the English examination. The evidence which surrounds question words reflects an era of turmoil, one where the populace began to question the given culture which the Irish public had failed to question up this point. All of this is mirrored in changes that were occurring in Irish culture and society.

The power and control of the Catholic Church slowly began to decline during this period. The development of Comprehensive schools and later new model agreement schools such as Community Colleges and Community Schools lead to secondary schools opening for the first time. Given this, schools were no longer built solely on land owned by the Church and as such whose patronage was not Catholic or religious (Drudy and Lynch 1993). The Reformatory and Industrial Schools System Report (1970), also known as The Kennedy Report, recommended that the system of industrial schools should be abolished and criticised the lack of government involvement in such schools. The report highlighted that in some schools the religious orders allocated staff that were not suitable or required in other areas of education. The report advised a complete overhaul of the sector as it cared for the country's most vulnerable citizens (McManus 2014a, b). The report emphasised the lack of government involvement in sectors of education since 1922 as the schools were owned by the Churches. Following the report, new modern facilities were established and staff were given in-service training (McManus 2014a, b). Throughout the education system during this period there was a move towards a more secular, state-run system.

Two defining moments for the Catholic Church came at the end of the 1960s. In 1968 Pope Paul VI issued *Humanae Vitae* which repeated the ban on artificial contraception. This is notable because for the first time a large proportion of faithful Catholics and even some priests in Ireland disagreed with the Encyclical (Wilson-Davis 1974). *Humanae Vitae* and the Second Vatican Council (1969) modernised and demystified the rituals of the Church. It was announced that Mass would be said in the vernacular and the celebrant would face the people instead of the altar. The introduction of the vernacular also led to new translations of the Bible

(Lane 2004). While this made the Church more accessible to laypeople, it also began the process of questioning and criticism. There was a shift in Church-State relations following the Second Vatican Council as theological debate, previously unheard of, began to creep into Irish society (Wilson-Davis 1975; Lane 2004). These debates were often discordant and lasted up to the turn of the millennium. The government began to realise that the bishops had little experience when it came to marriage or on how to guide the population on abortion, contraceptives and divorce. The McGee case eventually forced the government to change the law concerning the illegal importation of contraceptives which was deemed unconstitutional (Wilson-Davis 1974; Cassidy 2003; Foster 2008). In many ways, it was a landmark case. The case centred around a married woman who was advised by her physician that after several complicated pregnancies her life would be in danger should she become pregnant again. A clause in the Criminal Law Act (1935) prevented her from legally acquiring the contraception that had been prescribed for her. The Health (Family Planning) Act was passed in 1979, which legalised the limited sale of contraceptives. The government realised its responsibility was to protect its citizens regardless of moral or religious factors. These events added to the increasingly secular nature of Ireland at the time.

As previously mentioned (see section 6.7), television also played a part in the demystification of the Catholic Church. RTÉ and the influential *Late Show* gave a forum to elements within society who disagreed with the Catholic Church (Ryle-Dwyer 2016). In 1966 an incident occurred on the show which became known as the 'Bishop and the Nightie'. The show involved a quiz between volunteers from the audience. A married couple were asked questions about each other. The question was posed what colour nightdress the wife wore on their wedding night. The incident became a national controversy when the Bishop of Clonfert spoke out from the pulpit at mass the following day saying "I regret having to commence my sermon today with a vigorous protest against the contents of *The Late Show* […] surely Irish television is capable of producing, at least, less debasing and less disgraceful entertainment […] that is more in keeping with moral standards traditional to our Catholic country" (Earls 1984, pp. 109-110). Although the incident was mentioned in the *Dáil* and the Seanad, senior government members refused to be drawn on the incident. RTÉ revealed that it received as many letters of support as letters of objection to the studio (Earls 1984). The incident is mentioned here because it shows a level of public discourse unheard of in Ireland up to this point. *The Late Show* and RTÉ in general seemingly opened up a platform for a new culture of questioning and a more

liberal outlook. In 1971 RTÉ filmed and broadcast a group of protesting women who had travelled to Belfast, bought contraceptives, transported them South and challenged Customs Officers to confiscate them (RTE 1971). As student numbers increased, many began to realise the contradictions within the Catholic Church itself. As there was greater access to travel and to media influences the Irish were more open to alternative views. For example, in 1980 the essay title "The Future of Religion" appeared. Some further examples of how religion and its future in Irish society was represented in examination can be seen in section 7.9.1. The general populace began to question issues such as the treatment of women within a church that preached love and equality (Drudy and Lynch 1993).

The above coincided with the conception of globalisation, increased media awareness and the burgeoning glasnost of Irish society. According to the 1971 Census, approximately 2.8 million people or 94% of the population in Ireland were Catholic. However, in the same census, there was a 19.3% increase in those stating membership of other named religions, an increase of 588% of those declaring 'no religion' and an increase of 729.3% in those not supplying an answer (CSO 1974). By 1991 the figures displayed subtle yet significant differences. 91.5% of the population declared to be Catholic yet for the first time 188,388 people declared faith in other named religions, no religion or did not answer (CSO 1991). Although this figure only represented .05% of the population, those not of the Catholic faith were increasing in number. In 1990, the *European Values Study* showed that 85% of the population went to weekly Mass, the highest figure in Europe (Lane 2004).

However, when several well-documented scandals rocked the Catholic Church between 1990-2000 it was clear that its power in Ireland would be affected. The Irish faithful were shocked and appalled at both the criminal actions of a minority of priests and the subsequent cover-up carried out by the Church institutions in Ireland (Lane 2004). The modern media in Ireland (radio, television and print), were increasingly critical of the church with programmes like *Suffer Little Children* and *Dear Daughter* being aired in the mid-nineties (Inglis 1998; Breen 2000; Kenny 2009; Donnelly and Inglis 2010). In many ways, it was the Church's own failure to deal with the issue of clerical child abuse and the perceived lack of sensitivity from the Church authorities towards victims that shattered the public's confidence in the Catholic Church (Inglis 2015). Although this was not a scandal unique to Ireland, the confidence that Irish people had in the Church's pronouncements and sermonising was damaged.

161

While Church scandal is not within the scope of this study the relevance of it here is related to the rapid change that occurred in Irish society and the questioning that it resulted in. What is interesting about the examination papers is that although religious terms were included as part of poetry or fiction questions, the examinations do not display a moralising tone to the same degree as those of the previous eras. The change in questioning at examination level reflects the societal inclination to increased critical debate and discourse.

7.5 Gender in Ireland

The role of women in Ireland underwent great changes during this period. The position of women in society during this era is also inextricably linked to the position of the Catholic Church. This is due to the overarching power the Catholic Church had in the lives of Irish people up to this point (Garvin 2004). Earlier in this chapter, the politicising of contraception became a national issue in the 1970s because it was forbidden under Church teachings and illegal under the Criminal Law Act (1935) (see section 7.4). As previously mentioned, the discussion on contraception in the media was more commonplace. The discussion of sexual relationships in the media, in general, had a huge impact on the lives of women. Extra-marital births rose from 1.5% in the mid-1960s to 33% by 2000 (Fitzgerald 2014). The low extra-marital births in the 1960s are exaggerated possibly by the secrecy that surrounded a pregnancy outside marriage. There was a shroud of secrecy around sexual matters in general (Inglis 2005). The figure of 33% by 2000 displays the tendency towards transparency, sexual liberation and the waning influence of both the Catholic Church and the institution of marriage. There was growing public support for divorce throughout the 1970s but it was not an issue which politicians wished to become involved with at that time. This was because marriage could be annulled by the Church. The number of Decrees of Nullity approved was paltry compared to the number of applications (Keogh 2005). The McGee case and the State's reluctance to sanction divorce brought Church teachings and the rights of women into the political arena.

Throughout this era, women began to protest for equality and their rights as citizens which had been set out in The Proclamation of the Irish Republic in 1916. Influenced by the civil rights movement in the United States, women's movements began to mobilise. The Irish Women's Liberation Movement was founded in 1970 and was instrumental in raising awareness of the subjugation of women in society. Female journalists like Neil McCafferty and June Levine

were vital to the public debate that ensued. They advocated for fair pay, equality of opportunity, increased access to education and justice and assess to contraception (Keogh 2005). In 1971 women made up 27.3% of the workforce but the marriage bar excluded them from working after marriage, which limited a women's ability to establish independent careers. Significantly, the narrative that had been created around the women's place as a housewife and mother was so enshrined in the Irish psyche that it would be difficult to alter it (Keogh 2005). *The Report of the Commission on the Status of Women* (1972) gave validity to women's claims and Senator Mary Robinson called it "the most important social document in recent Irish history" in the Seanad debate on the topic (Oireachtas 1973). The Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act (1974) was a vital piece of legislation, it meant that women had to be paid the same for equal work. In addition, the Employment Equality Act (1977) prohibited discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status (Keogh 2005). The Marriage Bar was lifted in 1973 and this meant that women could stay in the workforce. The marriage rate dropped by more than 25% between 1970-1990. This indicates that because women could now develop careers they got married later in life than before. For women under 25 years of age, the rate of decrease was 55%. In 1980 two-thirds of women had their first child by the time they were twenty seven but as the era progressed the age of first-time mothers increased (Fitzgerald 2014). Between 1973-2003 female employment increased by over 460,000 from 27% of the workforce to 42% (CSO 2004).

Free education had an immense impact on women's ability to inform themselves and to take ownership over shaping their own lives. More girls stayed in school after free education was introduced and more girls than boys achieved honours in English year on year (Department of Education 1974; Department of Education 1977; Department of Education 1978; Department of Education 1979; Department of Education 1980). This evidence is in keeping with the previous eras. When girls were given the opportunity to perform in examinations they scored higher grades than their male counterparts. It is clear that girls needed to be afforded opportunities in education given that two-fifths of all non-marital births were to teenage mothers in 1981and by the 1980s 2,000 to 3,000 Irish women were travelling to England for abortions a year (Keogh 2005; Fitzgerald 2014). The difficulty for women in Ireland was the persistent notion of the virginal 'comely maiden' as De Valera had espoused and the lack of literature or media to educate or allow for other realities or identities (Inglis 2005). Two cases in 1984, that of Anne Lovett, a fifteen-year-old who died giving birth to a baby in a grotto and the Kerry Babies case, dominated the media and brought the plight of young women in Ireland

into focus. The public debate which surrounded these cases was unprecedented. *The Gay Byrne Show* on RTÉ radio was flooded with so many letters from the public after the death of Ann Lovett that the issue could not be ignored (Ingle 2017). Two weeks after Ann Lovett's death, on the 23rd February 1984, Gay Byrne read these letters for the duration of his radio show. The words below are those of a young mother who had given birth twelve years prior and again show the grip the Catholic Church had on their lives:

> In 1972 I found myself expecting. I was 16. I was expelled and disgraced from the Mercy Convent in Carlow town. A priest who visited me told me I would pay for my great sin for the rest of my life. My baby, a boy, was taken from me. I am not allowed to trace him.

> (Ingle 2017)

The excerpts of the letters display the devastation and shame that surrounded teenage pregnancy. Joanne Hayes, the woman at the centre of the Kerry Babies case, was offered an apology for her treatment on behalf of the state by Taoiseach Leo Varadkar in 2018 (Lucey *et al.* 2018). These cases display the need for alternative possibilities to the female narrative. Minister for Health, Charles Haughey, introduced the Health (Family Planning) Act in 1979 and it was greeted with strong opposition in the *Dáil* (Dáil Debates-Houses of the Oireachtas 1979). However, the introduction of the bill brought in a narrow measure of contraception that was slowly widened over the following decade with the Health (Family Planning) (Amendment) Act (1985) legalising the sale of condoms to all over the age of eighteen. These events were vital to women's health, not least their mental health as it was argued that 80% of young women who had children outside of marriage were forced to give them up for adoption (Horgan 1997). The fact that these issues reached national debate and eventually legalisation displays the changing position of women in society.

Of note, Senator Mary Robinson was instrumental in the case for contraceptives. She was an important voice throughout the era for women. The issue of contraceptives encapsulated all four of her main political considerations, the law, womanhood, youth and liberalism (Horgan 1997). Robinson was an important voice behind the campaign for divorce in Ireland and a referendum was introduced on divorce in 1986 (Healy 1974; Prenderville 1988; Girvin 2008). Although it was not passed, legal separation was introduced in 1989 and divorce was eventually

164

legalised in 1996 (Dillon 2015). Robinson was later to be elected the first female President of Ireland in 1990. This was a hugely important moment of Irish women and her election was reflective of the transformations in society and pivotal in the changes that would occur in the status of women in Ireland throughout this era.

A key feature in improving girls' career prospects was the issue of confidence (Hanafin 1991). The *Action Programme on Equal Opportunities for Girls and Boys in Education* (1985) was an important step towards encouraging girls into technology (Council of the European Union 1985). In Ireland, the programme was found to be very beneficial in challenging the previously held beliefs by girls about technology. They reportedly found technology very interesting and the programme increased their awareness of new employment possibilities and highlighted for girls the inequality of opportunity that was afforded to them (Gleeson 1991). Girls were found to be less likely to ask questions in areas of science for fear of seeming 'stupid' (Hanafin 1991). There was also the issue of access to science subjects in convent schools, as science subjects were more likely to be taught in boys only or mixed schools. For example, Ó Conaill (1991) notes that 80% of boys were in schools where physics was taught but only 33% of girls were. Adding to this, Ó Conaill (1991) sees same-sex education as being part of the issue as girls were not encouraged within that environment to study the sciences. He concludes by saying that in Ireland by 1991 the status of women in society was a rapidly and ever-evolving one.

There is little doubt that this era was one of immense change in the lives of women in Ireland. The era began with women subjected to the Marriage Bar, with few opportunities and little say over their career development. They had little access to, or knowledge about, contraceptives or divorce. Women did not have access to, and opportunity to avail of, education in science and technology. However, the election of a female president during the years of this era highlight the enormous change that occurred in all these areas. These changes are borne out in the examination papers as we see slow strides to include more female writers and more women's issues, especially in the essay section (see section 7.9.2).

7.6 Post-Colonial Ireland

As discussed in the previous era, Northern Ireland remained part of Great Britain (see section 6.2.8). The nationalist community, those who wished to unite with the Irish Republic, were

largely of the Catholic faith and those who wished to retain the union with Great Britain were for the most part Protestant. Tensions between Catholic Nationalists and Protestant Unionists began to heighten during the 1960s as the Civil Rights Movement in America began to spread. The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was established in 1967 to campaign for equal rights for Catholics. Due to gerrymandering, Catholics were poorly represented politically and discriminated against in areas such as employment and housing (Whyte 1983). Civil rights marches led to clashes with police which were broadcast on television. Events escalated with internment being introduced in 1971. On 22nd January 1972, the British armed forces opened fire on a crowd protesting internment, killing thirteen civilians (Keogh 2005). The late 1970s and 1980s were marked with increased violence, hunger strikes and the violence expanded outside Northern Ireland to include bombings and incidents in the Republic of Ireland, England, and elsewhere (Keogh 2005).

The Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 sought to bring some clarity to the status of Northern Ireland. It allowed for the British and Irish governments to participate in joint committees and the Irish government acknowledged formally that there would be no change to the political status of Northern Ireland unless it was the wish of the majority of people there (Horgan 1997). However, the violence continued with an escalation of violence in the 1990s. The Good Friday Agreement was signed in 1998 after several attempts at ceasefire. In some senses, the Troubles drew attention to Ireland's colonial past and in this era also frequently came to international attention. A power-sharing executive was formed after the Good Friday Agreement but the border between North and South remained. It is not surprising that examination papers of the era are characterised by references to war and politics. Essay titles reflect the struggle to release Irish unity from the national psyche, titles varying in topic from idealism, romanticism, war and peace or example essay titles like "War: a grim reminder of our wickedness!" (1996) appeared over the years of the era (see section 7.9.3.5).

When Ireland first applied to the EEC it was denied entry because of its close ties to the British economy (Keatinge 1984). Historic factors affected this relationship that impinged little on the rest of Europe. For example, in 1800 over 85% of all Irish exports went to the British market (MacNiocaill and Ó Tuathaigh 1984). It was an imbalance that the new Irish Free State and later Irish Republic found it difficult to remedy (Keatinge 1984). This economic relationship had not significantly changed by 1960, with 74% of Irish exports going to Great Britain. By

then, it was clear that the economic relationship between the two countries meant that if Britain joined the EEC Ireland would have little choice but to join as well (Mulhall 2016). The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement (1965) between Ireland and Great Britain solidified these economic ties (Keatinge 1984). There is no doubt that joining the EEC in 1973 changed Ireland's economic future, introducing new markets and relationships. The examination papers represent the dichotomy of the era, standing between the old colonial ties and the new relationships the EEC brought.

The negotiations for membership began in 1969 and lasted until 1972. These were particularly difficult years in Northern Ireland and the hope was that a European outlook would improve economic relations between Northern and Southern Ireland if both Great Britain and Ireland joined (Tonra 1999). This was an important shift in the Irish psyche and on 10th May 1972, 83% of the Irish voted in favour of joining the EEC (Keogh 2005). With membership came a newfound confidence in Ireland's ability to move in a different direction from Great Britain. New embassies and diplomatic consulates were opened as Ireland's diplomatic service up to this point was small and unevenly distributed (Tonra 1999). Ireland joined the European Monetary System in 1979 while Britain did not. This new-found outlook also meant that the North and South of the island would have different currencies for the first time. This was an unintended consequence and pushed the possibility of Irish unity further into the distance (Keatinge 1984). However, European funds have been vital to cross border organisations and in aiding with co-operation (Tonra 1999).

Joining the EEC, which later evolved to become the EU, is seen to be the single greatest event in foreign affairs since independence (Tonra 1999). It transformed the Irish economic landscape. In 1973, when Ireland was granted entry to the EEC, 55% of exports went to Northern Ireland and Britain. By 2003 this dependency on Britain had declined to 18%. Other EU countries accounted for 43% and The United States 20%, which made it more important that Britain as a trading partner. The workforce in Ireland increased by three-quarters of a million between the years 1973 and 2003. Perhaps the greatest indicator of the impact EU membership had on the lives of the Irish during this era is the fact that in 1973 the average industrial earnings were just under €2,000 per annum. In 2003 average industrial earnings had increased to almost €27,000 per annum (CSO 2004).

Throughout the 1990s there was large scale debate about the loss of national identity amid attempts to introduce a common currency, a European passport and greater political integration (McLaren 2004). These issues are reflected in the essay titles which appeared. Issues like democracy, what being Irish means and the benefit of limited integration ("Europe: long live difference!") appeared with greater regularity after 1989 (see section 7.9.4.1). Although there was a new syllabus no radical change is noted in the reading comprehensions of the early part of this era. During the 1970s examination papers contained reading comprehensions of the same writers that had appeared in the past. The writings of Newman, Bacon, Edmund Burke and Sitwell all appeared in the 1970s. Charles Lamb's essay *The Superannuated Man* appeared in 1980. This trend continued in the coming years. In 1983 the questions under the Reading Comprehension asked students to write a summary the main argument of the extract in one hundred and eighty words, a style of question that is reminiscent of the years of the Intermediate Education Board (Department of Education 1983). The tradition of The Canon writers lasted up to the 1990s. This goes some way to display the confusion of Post-Colonial Ireland, where the move to replace The Canon was slow and reluctant.

7.7 The Irish Citizen

Just as there was a confused image of Irish identity in the Post-Colonial era, there was also a change in what values and skills were desired for the citizen. The *Investment in Education Report* (OECD 1966) criticised the existing model of education in the country. In addition, there was a growing sentiment in Ireland that education needed to play a far greater role in the economic and social development of Irish citizens (Mullins 2002). As mentioned in the previous chapter the Minister for Education ran into considerable difficulty in 1968/1969 with his ideas of how to revitalise English. He now set about creating a type of English for all, a common paper was announced, and the utilitarian function of English was emphasised. The idea of a common examination paper was fiercely resisted, and the debacle was played out in the national newspapers with letters to the editor like the one below appearing after his announcement was made.

> Sir-"one may smile and smile and be a villain" (Hamlet, I.V.). That the function of
> language is to "communicate simple thoughts" is a very naïve view and the Minister has
> his cheek in his tongue to say it. To make this the basis of serious educational policy is

to confirm the suspicion that the planners in the Department of Education are not educated……But if the future function of Irish and English in Ireland is to communicate simple thoughts, then all people who think *rigor mortis* is to be preferred to *rigor mentis* should now shout loud and long before the great silence descends….. Ireland's chief contribution to civilisation has been words, written and spoken. Let's try to keep it that way. It's no small boast. Yours-K. Nolan.

(Editor 1968a)

In many ways, the debate that surrounded the new English syllabus represented the transitionary nature of the era. In 1970, the Minister sought that the English syllabus would not rely on learning 'slabs' of literature by heart. Rather, his idea was that the simple essay would be the aim. However, Ireland was on the cusp of change, the words of K. Nolan, a member of the public, above show how difficult it was to move beyond The Canon. The Canon had so long been regarded as the standard to be met and transition away from it proved to be slow and controversial. Austin Martin argued vigorously that adolescents needed a great standard of language skills to express themselves. He argued that students were at a particularly vulnerable age and needed to be supported with communicative skills (Editor 1968b). These events would play an important role in the development of English and what was assessed in the years 1971-2000. The argument Austin Martin made was important because it was the first time in Irish education that the emotional and developmental needs of students of Leaving Certificate English were taken into account. The short syllabus that was eventually published emphasised the importance of student experience and preparing students for life after school. The debate which ensued in the public arena was important for another reason. There was a new acknowledgement of the life of an adolescent, as distinct from childhood or that of a young person. These adolescent years were acknowledged to be important for the emotional and psychological development of the student. In the course of the debate, the common paper was abandoned when the universities announced that a Common Level Leaving Certificate English result would not satisfy matriculation (for more Mullins 2002).

Several policy documents were published on state examination in the early years of this era. *Public Examinations* (1970), *The Intermediate Certificate Examination Report* (1975), and *The Public Examinations Evaluation Project* (1980) all espoused the meritocratic system. While there was a consensus that meritocracy was the desired outcome, where IQ + Effort = Merit

(Young 1961), there was a sentiment that the essentialist ideology of intelligence was widespread in Irish schools. This meant that there was a greater expectation of, and encouragement offered to, the 'bright' student. The poorer student was disadvantaged. This highlighted that access to opportunity had an important impact on the meritocratic system. (Lynch 1987). Running simultaneously to this discourse was the introduction of a grant system for university so that more students could afford to attend (Smyth *et al.* 2018). Increasing student numbers led to the introduction of a points system for entry into university. Up to this point, applicants had to apply individually to universities and present for an interview with a portfolio of work (O'Donoghue *et al.* 2017). In 1976 the Central Applications Office (CAO) was established (Smyth *et al.* 2018). Concern was expressed that the pressure for points and competition associated with the system would impact on pedagogy in schools. However, for the first time access to Higher Education was not based on social status (Coolahan 1981).

The role of education in society was changing and there was a greater debate about who was served by the system. The oil crises in the 1970s and the subsequent recession in the 1980s created a circumstance in Ireland where high unemployment was a cause for concern (Lewis and Kellaghan 1987). The *Programme for Action in Education 1984-1987* and *Building on Reality* were key in providing the link between education and the employment prospects of students after school (Lewis and Kellaghan 1987). *Building on Reality* referenced curriculum and assessment reform as part of this. The aim, according to the report, was to provide educational provision that was more closely aligned to the needs of students. The report also referred to the need to encourage more students to study computer studies (Lenus: The Irish Health Repository, 1985, p. 92). It also led to a strategy of encouraging students to study engineering, electronics and science after school. The success of the strategy is borne out in the figures. Between 1981-1991 students studying commerce and business studies at undergraduate level increased from 2,382 to 4,291, while those studying engineering increased from 2,891 to 4,373 (McManus 2014a). The most striking feature of the examination papers of this era is the inclusion of new scientific or technological terms. Trading, the economy, commercial industry and science all featured.

In this era, the simple development of students, who would live a simple, frugal life, which De Valera espoused was now replaced with a more ambitious plan for the future for young people in Ireland. Between 1973-2003 GDP in real terms increased more than four-fold while GNP in

2003 was more than three times its 1973 level. In the same period entries to third-level education increased five-fold (CSO 2004). What was wished for the citizen altered from Era 2 into Era 3. The economic fortunes of the country were linked more to educational strategy and policy. This era demonstrates how it was wished that the citizen would live a happy, prosperous life. The syllabus and the examination papers of the era provide evidence to support this. They reflect a vision in flux, a transition from the morality of the old to the possibilities of modern Ireland.

7.8 The New Syllabus

Given the controversy surrounding the function of English as a school subject and the debate around levels of examination at the time, no actual syllabus document was produced. As an alternative to publishing a syllabus, the guidelines for the syllabus were set out in the *Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools* (1971-1972). This has been the custom since the establishment of the Free State. Therefore, it was a list of guidelines rather than a syllabus and more of an examination guideline than a teaching one (Mullins 2002). It aimed to help equip pupils for life after school, whether at work or higher education. According to Mullins (2002), this was achieved through:

- Cultivating their powers of communication through language;
- By developing their judgement in relation to language, literature and life;
- By enriching their experience of life through literature.

In *Dáil Éireann* the Minister for Education Brian Lenihan stated that his priority was on the improvement of students' communication skills, which he felt to date were very poor and that:

> In laying stress on accomplishment in the matter of writing English fluently and correctly the desire was to get away from a position in which a pupil could through memorising large passages from essays and from Shakespearian plays pass the leaving certificate examination in English without any real knowledge or comprehension of the language

> (Dáil Éireann Debates 1968)

In the heated debate that followed the Minister was told that if the above was the case then he should not have made the comments he had made concerning literature. Mr M. O Leary informed the Minister that he had given the impression that the emphasis in the new course would be on oral study and the Minister had "left a large body of teachers with the impression that he and his Department consider English literature should be consigned to the dustbin" (Dáil Éireann Debates 1968). Nevertheless, the list of guidelines was very different from previous documents and the new syllabus for Leaving Certificate English which would be examined for the first time in 1971 would emphasise the importance of communication and expression.

For the first time, The Association of Teachers of English were heavily involved in the process and brought with them new perspectives on the purpose and value of fiction. A list of approved fictional reading was put forward for the new examination. For the first time, policymakers considered the life of a student after school within the syllabus. This approach echoes Corr (1966), who had been advocating throughout the 1960s for students to be taught to read for pleasure and to create meaning of their lives through their reading experiences. It also displayed an acknowledgement that secondary schooling was not just for those who wished to enter the priesthood. Students needed to be equipped for the lives that they would live within the community after school. Students were encouraged to read widely to broaden and expand their understanding of 'their vision of life' (Department of Education 1970).

The significance of the syllabus that the language used to describe the aims of the syllabus was changing. Moreover, for the first time, the 'experience' of the learner was used in the syllabus and the importance of preparing students for the world of work also appeared for the first time. The syllabus went on to explain the importance of literature in eliciting personal responses from students and in making sense of their own lives (Dáil Éireann 1970). This is in stark contrast to the syllabi that had gone before which focused on knowledge or language acquisition and engaging in reading of 'good taste' (Mullins 2002). There was a general shift away from grammar towards the enjoyment and comprehension of literature. Although the guidelines to teachers were brief, lists of texts were provided (see section 7.8.1). This was a defining moment in terms of the language used and although the next syllabus did not appear until 1998, in many ways this syllabus laid the foundations for future change.

It is also the first time students were encouraged to 'explore' through their reading for pleasure. This was a radically changed syllabus from what had gone before and considering the issues in the previous two eras surrounding reading material, it highlighted how much Ireland had changed. However, this syllabus was a transitionary in nature rather than transformative and what was envisioned for the Irish citizen, as seen through English as a subject, was a mix of the old and the new. The reading comprehensions retained some of The Canon essayists. The prescribed texts showed a striking mix of Canon writers and an attempt to introduce modern fiction. Shakespeare was compulsory for study every year. Texts that had been previously banned were placed on the list for study and there was an attempt to redress the omission of Anglo-Irish writings from the previous era. The Minister may not have succeeded in bringing in the changes he had purposed but the syllabus went some way in moving away from the past.

Far more Anglo-Irish literature was included than ever before. *The Playboy of the Western World, The Plough and the Stars* and *Juno and the Paycock* all made appearances in the drama section. Some of this literature had been previously ignored or condemned outright. An attempt was made to represent Ireland's tumultuous past through these texts as they portrayed a more realistic view of life in Ireland since 1900 than the texts that had been included in Era 2 from Irish writers. They highlighted themes of war, poverty and also the position of the Church and women, albeit often in an unfavourable light. Moreover, Austen, Hardy, Conrad, James, Dickens and Charlotte Bronte were all given a place in prescribed literature, which shows a mix of male and female writers. It also highlights that the tradition of The Canon was hard to break with and that 'great literature' like these texts were still valued.

7.8.1 The Modern Novel

Perhaps the most ground-breaking element of this syllabus was that from this point forward there would be a section labelled 'The Modern Novel' included. This perhaps demonstrates that the novel to be studied in the prescribed fiction section was not modern as those novels were all written in the 19th century. This section provided a new and exciting element to the examination paper. The list included: *Animal Farm, The Lord of the Flies*, *The Greatest of These*, *The Charwoman's Daughter*, *The Shrimp and Anemone*, *A Handful of Dust*, *The Great Gatsby*, *The Pearl* and *The Old Man and the Sea* (Department of Education 1970). This list of modern novels would change over the years to include *Washington Square, The Mayor of*

Casterbridge and others. Although many of the 'modern' novels were also published in the 19th century, the inclusion of American fiction was a significant step in limiting the reliance that had developed on The Canon as the standard to be met going forward.

7.9 Analysis of the Examination Papers

This section outlines the key findings within the data analysis of the examination papers. Over the course of the era there is a notable increase in higher order question words and critical analysis. This coincided with greater access to education, to media and alternative international views to traditional narratives. The examination papers also display a greater awareness of women's issues, post- colonial relationships, the ECC, science, technology and the economy.

## 7.9.1 The Catholic Church and Examination Papers

Figure 7.1: Religious References (1971-2000).
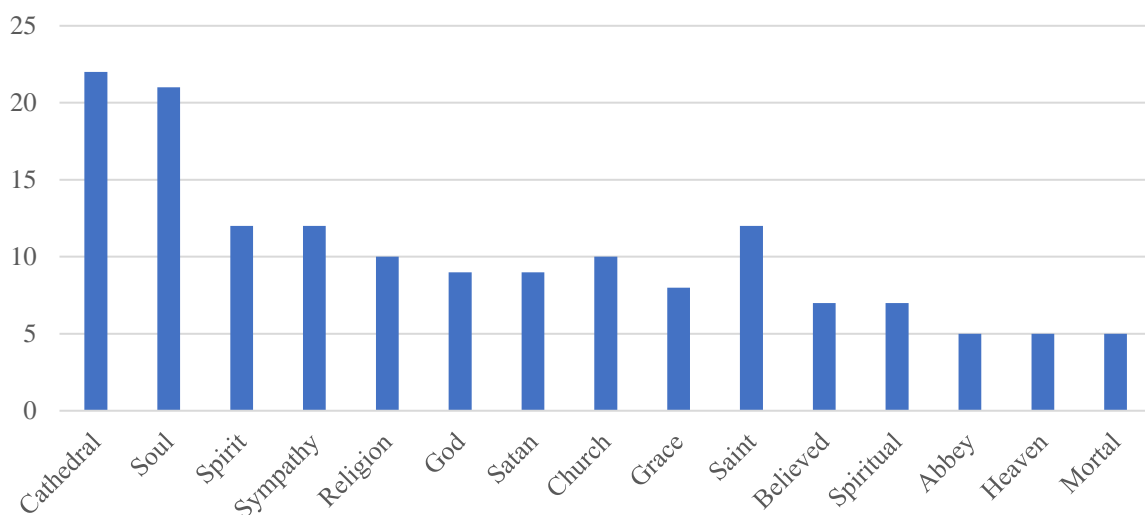
According to the data, there were 372 religious occurrences. This shows that religious references occur with far greater frequency in this era than the 293 in Era 2. The references 'light', 'death' and 'dead' which form the top three total occurrences, were not included in this total. This is unexpected and again reminds us of why triangulation is an important aspect of data analysis. 'Cathedral' and 'Cathedrals' have a frequency occurrence of twenty two. 'Soul' and 'Souls' have a combined reference occurrence of twenty one. Apart from the words included in the graph 'Christ', 'religious' and 'holy' had frequency counts of four, as did 'sacred', 'sin' and 'worship'. If the words are analysed further 'Cathedral' is mentioned

eighteen times, due to the inclusion of the play *Murder in the Cathedral* on the course, 'cathedrals' coming from the same source. Also, the focus on the poetry of Milton allows for the increase in references to 'Angels' and 'God', 'Satan' and 'Creation'. This highlights the supremacy of Canon texts on the course and how they dominated the narrative. For example, in 1976 the poetry section included the question "According to Dylan Thomas 'the joy and function of poetry is, and was, the celebration of man, which is also the celebration of God'. Select from your course two poems which, in your opinion, meet most closely the terms of this statement. Justify your choice by a detailed analysis of each poem" (Department of Education 1976). Similarly, the fiction section in 1979 (Department of Education 1979), included the question:

> '…the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of being a martyr.'

> In the light of this quotation from his Christmas Sermon, and bearing in mind the views of him expressed by the Tempters and the Knights, assess the character and motivation of Thomas Becket. Support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.

The essay title "The Future of Religion" mentioned in section 7.4 was followed in 1993 with the question "Write a speech that you would like to make for or against the motion: 'That religion is a notable force for good in the world'" (Department of Education 1993). "'There's a divinity that shapes our ends'" (Department of Education 1996) also appeared in this era. The fact that these essay titles appear for examination displays the importance of religion in Irish culture. Two reading comprehensions stand out among the rest. The examination papers of 1991 and 1992 both include reading comprehensions that are particularly Christian in tone. They contain Christian terms like 'God', 'Satan', 'Christ's third temptation' (Department of Education 1991; 1992). The intriguing thing about these examples is how late in the era religious referencing was appearing. This indicates that the religious culture that had prevailed since 1924 still existed in the examination papers almost seventy years later. However, the texts which had been included in the previous era, which had been written by priests were not included in this era (see section 6.2.3). It could be deduced that essay titles like those quoted above highlight the level of public debate about the role of religion in society. If this was the

175

case, then the high-frequency count could be attributed to the decline of and greater scrutiny of the Catholic Church in Ireland by the 1990s.

7.9.1.1 Question Words: Lower or High Order Questioning

The 1971 examination stands out in comparison to that a decade earlier in relation to the question words used. This is valuable as it mirrors the societal change that was occurring in questioning. It is chosen here as it was the first year of examination under the new syllabus. On Paper One under the Prescribed Prose section, there was a Fiction section where students were asked to answer questions on either *Animal Farm* or *Hard Times*. An extract from the stories was provided and students were required to respond to it. However, evident change emerged in Paper Two where students had to respond to Part III: Fiction. In line with the presentation style of the Department of Education (1971) the paper is outlined below.

III Fiction

A. It has been suggested that the characters in a Dickens novel have little real communication with one another. To what extent would you say that this is true of any two characters in *Hard Times* who are in frequent close contact with each other? Justify your answer with reference to the text.

OR

When Dickens withholds his sympathy or feels a strong moral disgust or contempt, the result is a character not so much of humour as of savage comedy with no good nature in it at all. These characters are most evident when he is attacking social injustice or flaws in the social code. It has been suggested that Mr Gradgrind is a character to whom this comment might be applied. Would you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

B. Henchard might be described as "a vehement gloomy being who had quitted the ways of vulgar men *without light* to guide him on a better way".

Discuss this estimate of Henchard's character in the light of your reading of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*.

176

OR

Discuss the effects of chance and improbability in *The Mayor of Canterbridge*.

C. "Besides entertaining us, a novel should make us think about life and should teach us more about ourselves and others".

To what extent in your opinion is this statement true of any of the modern novels on your course?

Question terms like 'justify', 'would you agree', 'to what extent' and 'discuss' now featured heavily in the questioning style. Of the 406 occurrences of the word 'answer' was used as a primary answer word only forty one times, making it only 10% of the occurrences.

Figure 7.2: Use of Question Words (1971-2000).
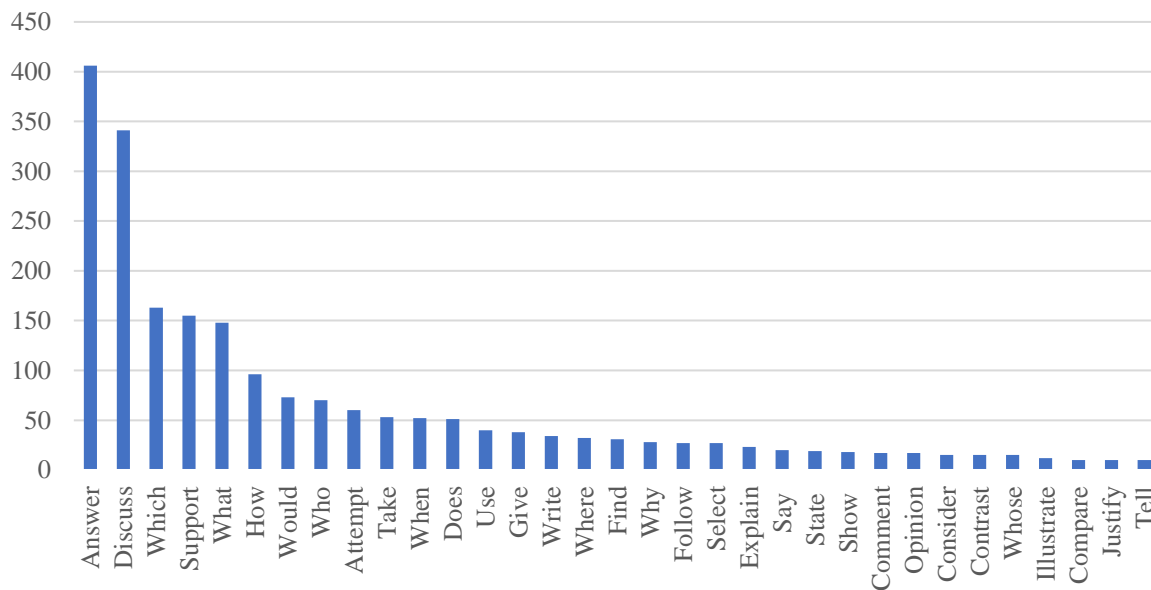
'Discuss' was mentioned 306 times and was used 100% of the time used as a primary answer word. 'Which' was only used as a primary answer word 14% of the time at twenty three occurrences out of 163. 'Support' on the other hand was used 150 out of 155 times as a primary question word or 97% of the time. 'What' was used 116 out of 148 times as a primary question word or 78% of the time. 'How' was used ninety two out of 96 occurrences as a primary question word or 96% of the time.

Of the highest occurrence percentage used as a primary question word, we see that there was a general increase in higher-order questioning when compared with the earlier eras. However, this change was slow. This is representative in words like 'justify' which has for example a 100% rate of usage at primary question word (see Table 7.3 below). This shows us that change, however slow, is evident in question words in comparison to earlier eras (see chapters five and six).

Table 7.3: Frequency of Questions Words (1971-2000).

Question Word	Percentage of use as a Primary Question Word	Occurrences used as a primary question word out of all occurrences.
Discuss	100%	306/306
Support	97%	150/155
How	96%	92/96
Attempt	100%	60/60
Why	82%	23/28
Explain	100%	25/25
Comment	75%	15/20
Illustrate	65%	13/15
Contrast	68%	13/19
Compare	69%	9/13
Justify	100%	10/10
Opinion	41%	7/17

The above demonstrates that the language of examination was shifting. Students now had to be aware of the meaning and subtle differences of words like 'discuss', 'justify', 'explain'. Furthermore, students now had to 'evaluate' the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with a certain statement. Here, we see that higher-order questioning was beginning to be a feature of the examination and understanding the difference in question words was now an element to be considered. Students were expected to make evaluative stances and be able to argue their viewpoint. This reflects a general societal move to questioning, debate, opinion and open discussion. Appendices 6.2 and 7.1 compare the layout and question words used in 1961 and later in 1971. The change in question words reflects how Irish society was no longer accepting of or regurgitating facts. The move towards critical thinking mirrors the role the media, especially television, played in presenting the Irish public with alternative narratives and viewpoints.

7.9.2 Gender and Examination Papers

Little changed in gender imbalance from Era 2, considering the fact that at 151 references out of 715 the representation of female references for the 1925-1970 period was 21%. In Era 3 we see that at 166 out of 697 occurrences the representation of female references had only risen to 19% for the period 1971-2000. Figure 7.3 below demonstrates the gender imbalance from the examination papers.

Figure 7.3: Overview of Gender (1971-2000).

■ Male ■ Female
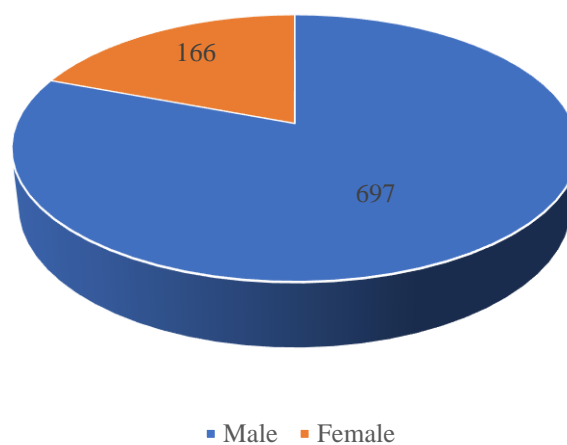
'His' has a frequency count of 227, while 'hers' only has a frequency count of one. 'He' appeared 217 times, 'she' appeared thirty four times. 'Man' has a frequency occurrence of ninety five, while 'woman' has only two counts. 'Men' appeared twenty nine times, 'women' only eight times. 'Himself' has a frequency count of fifteen, 'herself' only one. The gender accounts show a large gap between male and female occurrences. A sizable proportion of these male counts can be contributed to the habit of offering essays from The Canon writers for the reading comprehension, the style of such writing taking 'man' to mean all people. A good example of this can be seen in 1983 with a letter from Sam Johnson, "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Chesterfield", where words like 'mankind' and 'man' dominate. The following extract encapsulates the point: "The shepherd of Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love, and found him a native of the rocks […] looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help" (Department of Education 1983).

Writer Sarah Webb (2015) tells us of her experience of Leaving Certificate in 1987 when she states the following:

> My English teachers over the years had despaired of my feminist readings of poems. I think this was largely fuelled by the lack of women poets on the course. There were 23 male poets on the Leaving Cert syllabus at the time and one female-Emily Dickinson. Luckily Dickinson is man enough to take on 23 Titans of verse but it still disgusted me

(Webb 2015, para. 3)

Soundings was originally a temporary resource and organised reportedly in a hurry. However, once in place it was not replaced until the course was eventually revised at the end of the century. Despite the gradual shift in gender imbalance, there is a shift to be noted in The Canon that was questioned at examination level. Despite the over-riding dominance once more of Shakespeare, there is more evidence of female writers (see Figure 7.4 below).

**Figure 7.4:** Frequency of Canon Writers (1971-2000).
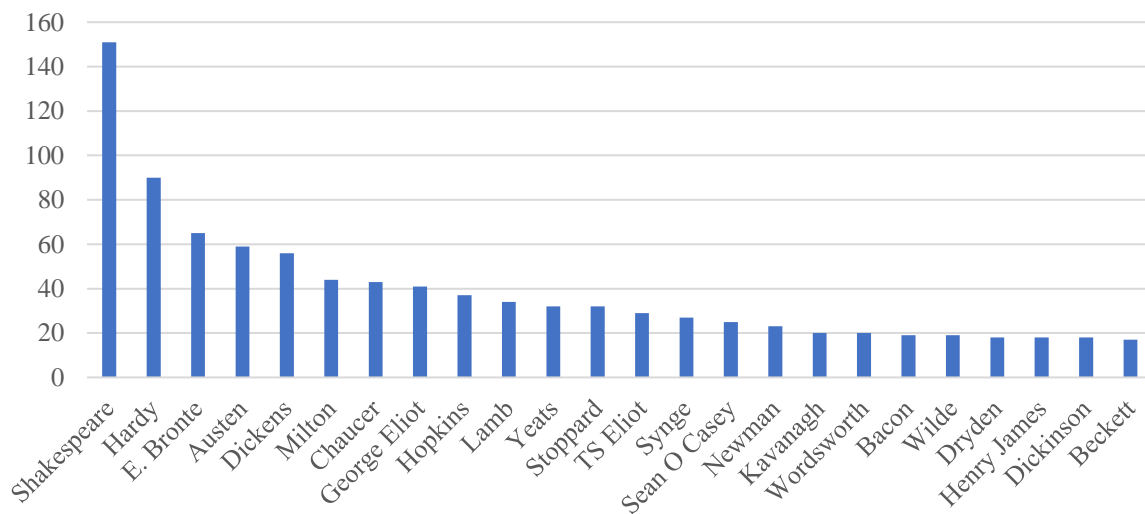
Figure 7.4 illustrates that of the top twenty four most frequently questioned writers four were women. However, the era failed to see any others included it is a slight increase. Bronte, Austen, Dickinson and George Eliot, albeit writing under a male alias, were all assessed several times. This is a disproportionate statistic perhaps when we consider Sarah Webb's comments, and remember that Dickinson alone resided in the hallowed pages of *Soundings*. This omission of female writers has been referred to as a 'serious error' (O'Connor 2010). Dickinson is the

only female writer to make it into the list of top eight most frequently asked Canon writers. This further displays the importance of triangulation and the value of many avenues of analysis as her high profile position in *Soundings* could cause assumptions to be made regarding the frequency with which her work was asked.

Overall, there is a surprising result in the fact that three out of the top eight most frequently assessed Canon writers were women in this era (see Figure 7.5 below).

Figure 7.5: Eight Most Frequent Writers (1971-2000).
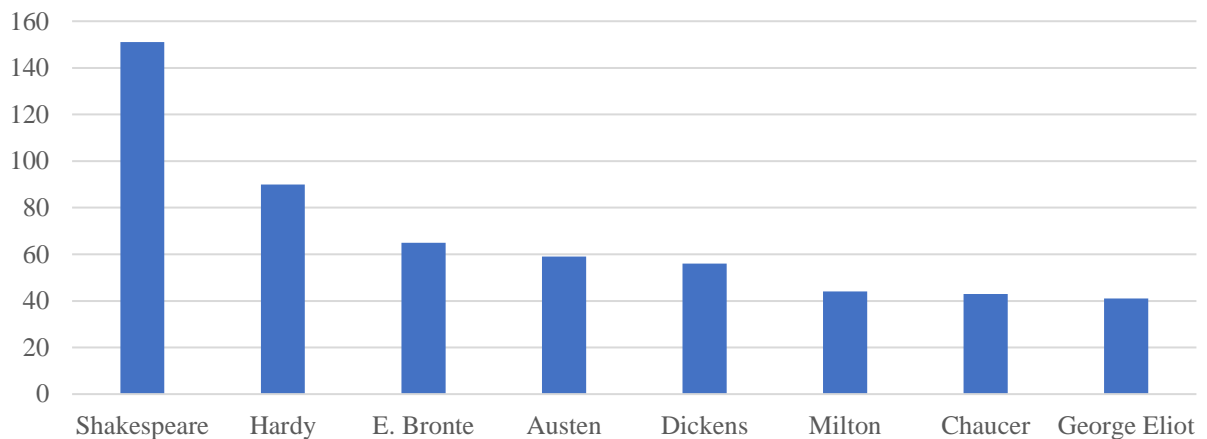
This displays a tendency towards including some female writers from the Romantic or Victorian eras. These female authors were deemed appropriate as they espoused ideals or morals that were thought to be desirable reading for young people in Ireland.

7.9.2.1 Gender and Character Questioning

Figure 7.6: Shakespearean Plays (1971-2000).
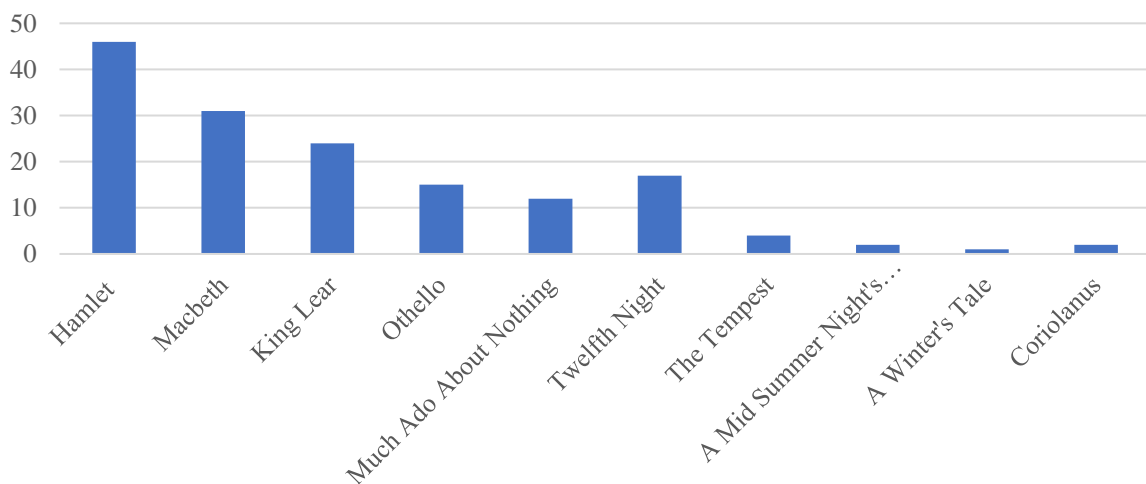
There was a greater spread of Shakespearean plays that asked in Era 3 than in Era 2. Despite this, the plays most frequently assessed fell into predictable patterns along the lines of the Great Tragedies. *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Twelfth Night* and *The Tempest* were the most frequently assessed of the rest (see Figure 7.6 above).

Figure 7.7: Hamlet Character Questions (1971-2000).
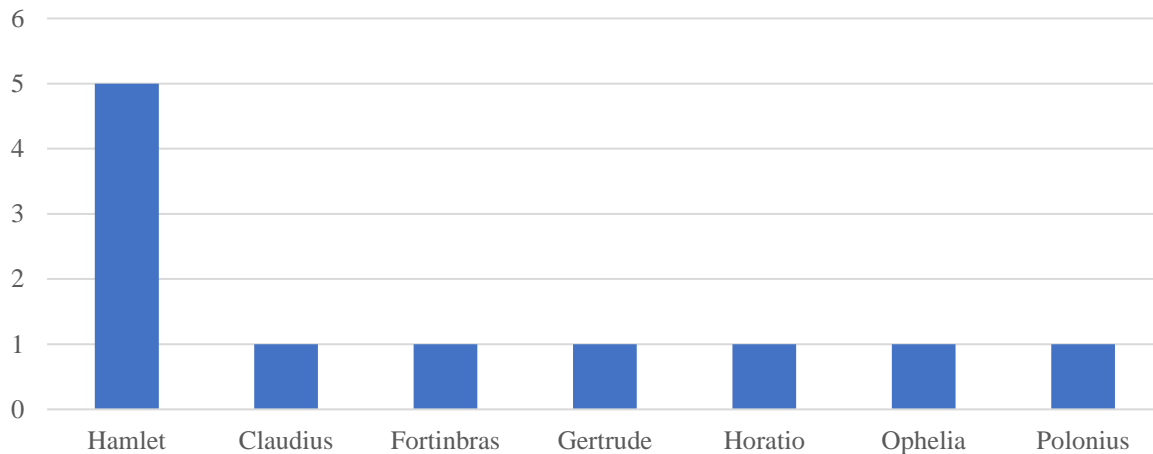
Interestingly, not only was there a greater amount of plays asked over the years but a wider variety of character questions was asked too as Figure 7.7 displays above. Generally, the low frequency can be accounted for by the fact that *Hamlet* was not asked with the same frequency as in the past. In addition, with more characters appearing for examination, the frequency count is lower across the board than it would have been in the past. Lady Macbeth for the first time was assessed with more regularity than any other character in this era, being assessed seven times in total. Interestingly, Cordelia was not assessed at all. Significantly, Emilia and Desdemona were both assessed in this era having been neglected in the previous era (see section 6.5.3).

Figure 7.8: Othello Character Questions (1971-2000).
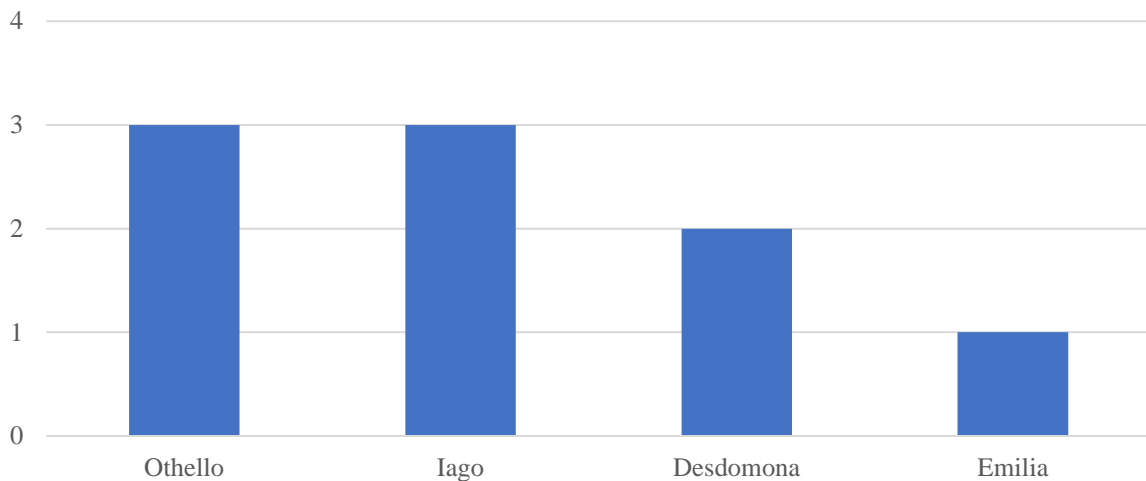
Both *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Twelfth Night* incorporated a high ratio of questions on their female characters despite the low frequency with which the plays appeared for examination. There is a very slight increase across the spectrum of plays asked of female character questions but this varies greatly from play to play and is noticeable, as before, in the four tragedies. Interestingly female characters are often portrayed differently to male characters, questions focusing on their wickedness (Lady Macbeth) or on their weakness. In 1980 the question on Hamlet focused on "Shakespeare's portrayal of women is not very flattering" and in 1991 Lady Macbeth was portrayed as more ruthless than her husband in the following question "While there are some redeeming features in the character of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth is portrayed as a ruthless opportunist whose ambition for her husband supersedes all moral considerations". The tone of the questioning treats the female and male characters differently.

Arguably some of the changes experienced in gender in Ireland (1971-2000) were not best reflected in the texts assessed for study but in the essay writing section of the paper. For example, "The role of women in Ireland today" appeared as one of the essay options in 1979 and significantly, "Your view of women's liberation" was an essay title in 1983. This was important because it reflects the work of the Women's Liberation Movement. Other essay titles reflected the issues being debated in the national media. The issue of equality was a topic in 1984 when "Boys and girls should get the same education" appeared. Adding to this, in 1985 "Is it time for male liberation?" appeared. The examination papers custom of utilising the word

'man' to mean all people continued. For instance, "Nature's disregard for man" (1989). However, this occurred with less regularity than the previous two eras.

There is little doubt that the examination papers of the era reflect the great alteration that was taking place in the position of women in Irish society. The Canon texts written by women were assessed with greater regularity and female characters from Shakespearean plays also appeared more often. Although the rate of change was slow, there is evidence that it was happening. The essay titles best reflect the issues in society concerning gender. The rate of female references would, without doubt, have been much higher if *Soundings* had included more than one female poet. The greatest imbalance of gender occurred in texts. This was considered when the syllabus would change again (see chapter eight).

7.9.3 Post-Colonialism

7.9.3.1 *Soundings*, the Classics and a Generation of Poetry

The poetry course for this era was outlined in a poetry book that was initially published with the introduction of the new syllabus under a temporary arrangement. However, it turned out *Soundings* as an anthology of poetry was only replaced in 1999/2000 with the development of the current Leaving Certificate Curriculum. So fondly held in the hearts of the Irish that it was reprinted for general sale in October 2010. For those thirty one years, the poetry course for the Leaving Certificate was compiled from the list of poets printed in its pages.

Table 7.4: Poets included in *Soundings* poetry book.

Poets of Great Britain	Irish Poets	American Poets	Female Poets
Chaucer	Yeats	T.S. Eliot	Dickinson
Dryden	Clarke		
Pope	Kavanagh		
Wordsworth	Kinsella		
Shelley			
Keats			

Jonson			
Shakespeare			
Donne			
Herbert			
Vaughan			
Marvell			
Milton			
Tennyson			
Hopkins			
Hardy			
Thomas			

Beginning with Chaucer, poets included Shakespeare, Jonson, Donne, Herbert, Vaughan, Marvell, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Tennyson, Dickinson, Hopkins, Hardy, Eliot and Thomas. Soundings included four Irish poets Yeats, Clarke, Kavanagh, Kinsella. There are several key factors to mention in relation to this list. Firstly, most of the poets mentioned here had been retained as part of The Canon. Secondly, there were only four Anglo-Irish poets included. As the assessment pattern emerged one question out of four was routinely asked on an Anglo-Irish poet. This resulted in The Canon dominating the poetry section, as three questions out of four came from the other nineteen poets, only one of which was a woman.

Apart from Milton, Eliot and Pope also relied heavily on Classical referencing and a knowledge of Latin or Classical Studies would have been an advantage to students. An example of this is the opening to *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* which is taken from Dante's *Inferno*. This poem refers to Biblical images of John the Baptist, Lazarus, the many writings of the various Metaphysical poets and the 8th century BC Greek poet Hesiod among others. Students with a wide and varied reading habit would certainly approach this poem differently to those without. *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* has appeared over the years many times and as recently

as 2016. *The Rape of the Lock* by Alexander Pope featured for many years on the Leaving Certificate Course and is classically based as a mock-heroic epic. It includes references to Muses, Nymphs, Ariel, Sylphs, Jove, Greek Gods Zeus and Minerva, heroes Achilles, Aeneas and Odysseus and of Book 13 of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, *The Iliad*, *The Odyssey*, *The Aeneid* and others.

Ode on a Grecian Urn and *Ode to a Nightingale* by John Keats are both littered with references to the ancient world and serve the purpose of taking the reader out of the modern world and transporting us back to bygone eras. When considering the poets that dominated the era in terms of assessment, classical studies remained an important element of education in Ireland. However, the numbers studying these subjects were declining (Kellaghan and Hegarty 1984). One of the benefits of *Soundings* is the fact that it gave a solid grounding in the poetic eras from the Metaphysical poets on. Unfortunately, it also ignored poetry written after the 1950s (Harmon 2010).

7.9.3.2 The New Syllabus and The Canon: The Old and the New

Figure 7.9: Hopkins (1971-2000).
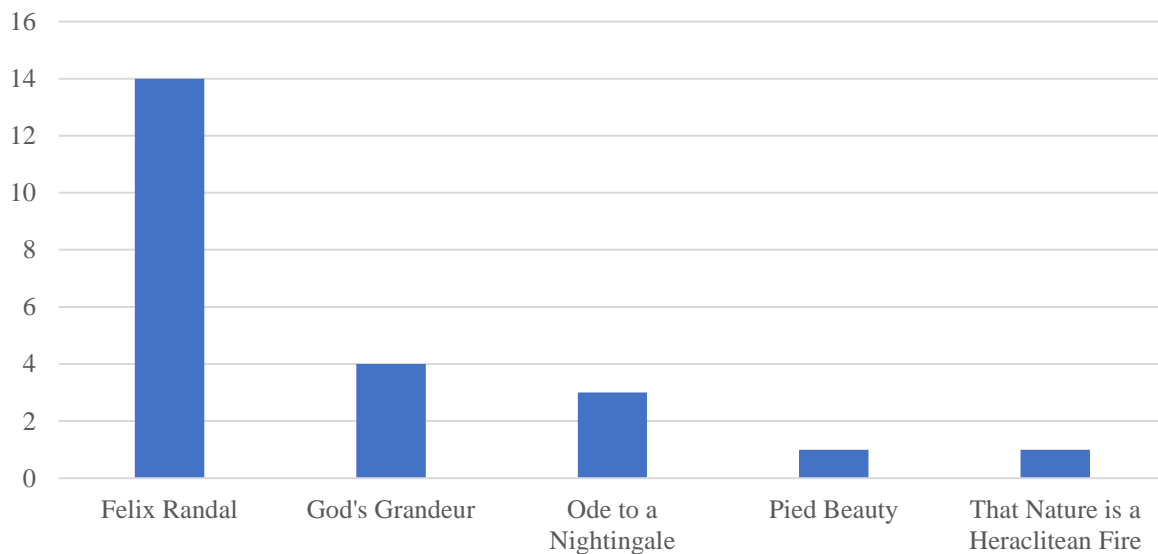
A feature of the new course was the variety of texts to be studied. In figure 7.9 the variety of texts by Hopkins that were assessed is shown. Hardy, Bronte and Chaucer were the only writers to have only one text each for assessment. Hardy's *The Mayor of Casterbridge* accounted for 100% of all Hardy counts on AntConc. The novel was asked twenty one times over the years.

Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* and Bronte's *Wuthering Heights* were also assessed multiple times. The range of texts from other writers can be seen in Appendix 7.2.

Figure 7.10: Text Count for Jane Austen.
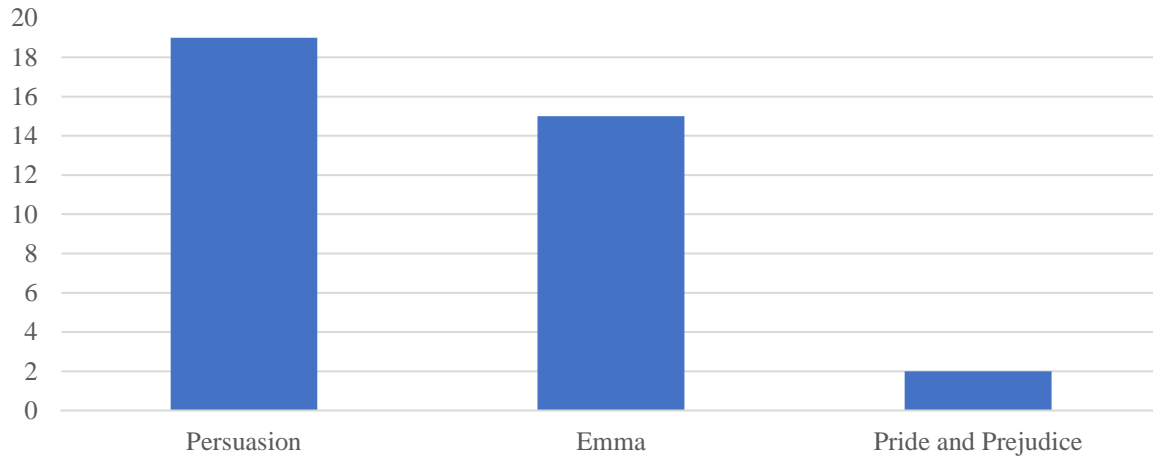
Although there were a variety of texts on the course, the data shows that some were favoured more than others for examination. It was often the case that one text in particular by an author was favoured by examiners. This is the case with Dicken's *Hard Times,* George Eliot's *Silas Marner,* Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Hopkins's *Felix Randal.* Jane Austen, as seen above in Figure 7.10, was an exception as two of her three novels were assessed with higher relative frequency than other writers. There is perhaps a good reason or this. Her themes and use of language is arguably more accessible to a wider range of abilities among readers. The Canon was largely retained. However, T.S. Eliot was an exception to this, being one of the few writers from the 20th century.

7.9.3.3 The Distribution of Anglo-Irish Writers and Poets

The four Anglo-Irish poets that were included in the *Soundings* Anthology for poetry were W.B. Yeats, Patrick Kavanagh, Austin Clarke and Thomas Kinsella. There have been questions as to why these were chosen and not others but the answers are unclear (O'Connor 2010).

Figure 7.11: Anglo-Irish Poets Assessed (1971-2000).
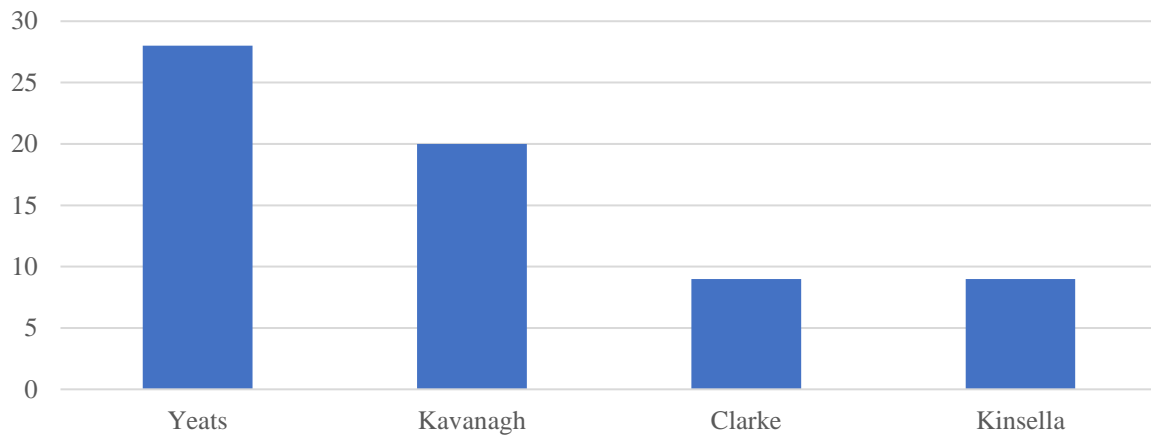
The poetry of Yeats is dense in classical referencing and political and historical. Kavanagh, the second most frequently asked wrote of rural Ireland and the family. There were only four Anglo-Irish poets on the course but it became an unofficial understanding that one of the four would be asked. Given this, students' tended to rote learn the four Anglo-Irish poets in the hope that one would be asked. This has been referred to as 'disappointingly limited' (Harmon 2010). Nevertheless, the benefits of *Soundings* are acknowledged in the experience of poetry offered to students which was different from what had gone before. It is acknowledged that despite its limitations it was a 'breath of fresh air' (Harmon 2010; O'Connor 2010).

Figure 7.12: Irish Writers Assessed (1971-2000).
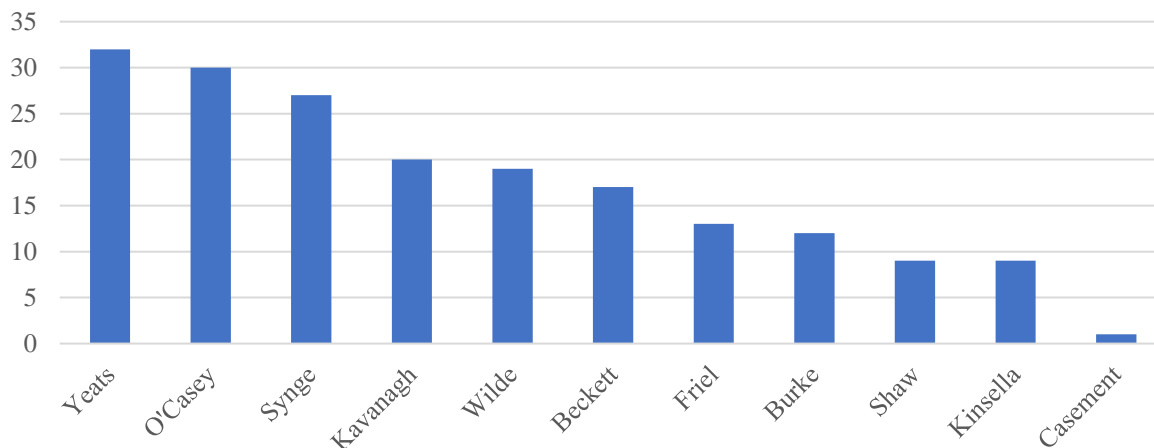
The greatest difference in examination is arguably the inclusion of a variety of Anglo-Irish writers whose work had fallen victim to the Irish language campaign and censorship in Ireland (see section 6.2.4). Beckett, Wilde, Shaw, Friel and Casement were all now included along with O'Casey and Synge.

Yeats was asked with the most frequency and the plays of Sean O'Casey and Synge were also assessed with frequency. The fact that *The Playboy of the Western World* was included for examination is significant from a cultural point of view. In 1907 the staging of the play at the Abbey theatre caused riots due to its portrayal of the Irish as violent blasphemes. There was a scandalised reaction from Catholics at the time. The play was recognised abroad for its introspective genius (Kiberd 2011). In Ireland, it has been credited for how it highlighted the need to face questions of identity, violence, language and sexuality (Ferriter 2007). These issues were not discussed openly in 1907 but increasingly were by the last third of the 20th century.

7.9.3.4 Cultural References

When examination papers for this era were analysed one of the more interesting aspects to emerge was the mix of referencing old English Canon references with human traits, humanist language and/or scientific language. This mirrors the dichotomy of the era, being located between conservative Ireland and contemporary Ireland.

Figure 7.13: Cultural References in Examination Papers (1971-2000).
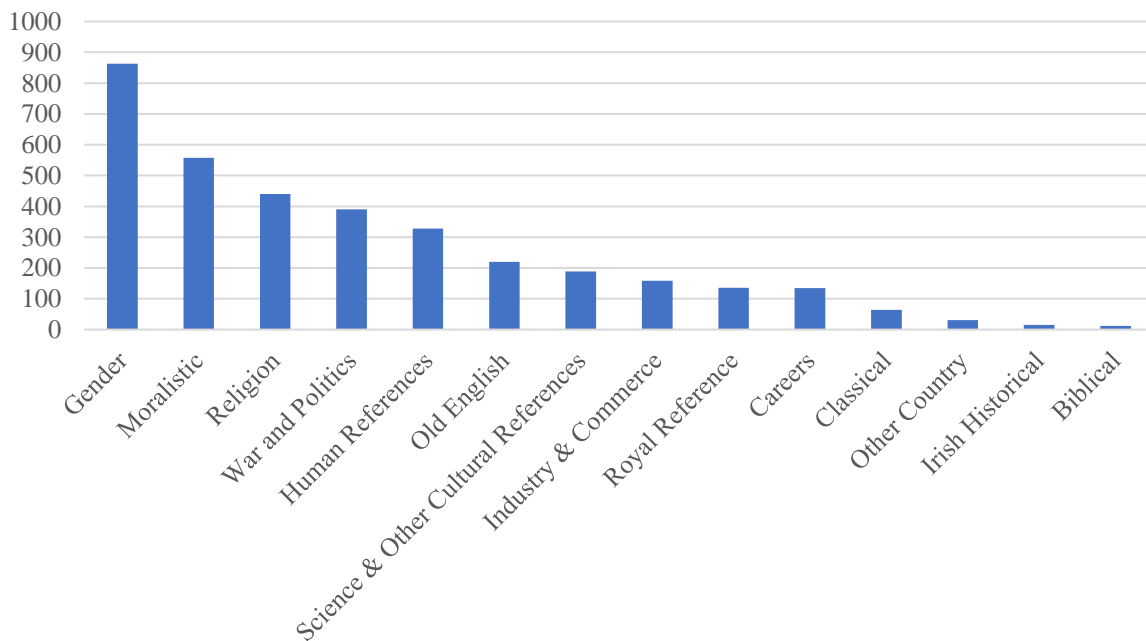
At 220 occurrences, Old English references experienced a decline in this era compared with the previous era, which had a reference count of 415. Words like 'thou' occurred twelve times, 'shall', 'thee' and 'thy' ten times each. This can be accounted by the fact that the examination

189

papers moved away from providing long quotations to be identified and moved towards critical analysis that assumed students would provide the quotations themselves within their answer. These terms combined with the changing cultural references used in examination papers (see Figure 7.13 below) create an image of life in Ireland between 1971-2000 which was on a cusp of transformation and change.

7.9.3.5 War and Politics

A picture begins to emerge of the political and cultural aspect of the examination paper considering that there were 390 references to war and politics in this era. 'Power' is mentioned forty six times, 'society' seventeen times and 'political' twelve times. 'Civilisation' is mentioned eight times, 'politics' seven and 'nationalist' five times. All included in the top twenty most frequent words on this list are 'blood', 'force' and 'violent'. This list shows the complex nature of war and politics in Ireland in this time of change, 'government', 'nation', 'nationalist', 'war', 'democracy', 'dictator', 'colony', 'revolution' and 'independent' all feature. These are reflective of the texts on the prescribed list and also topics on the essay or unprescribed prose text on Paper One.

The situation in Northern Ireland overshadowed this period and attempts to move on from the political issues of the Civil War and the rhetoric which had surrounded a thirty two county Republic are evident. Essay titles like "Preserving our heritage is a luxury we cannot afford (1983), "Romantic Ireland's dead and gone" (1984) and "Idealism-a thing of the past?" (1998) were interspersed and nestled between "Nothing worthwhile is ever achieved by violence" (1976) and "Blessed are the peacemakers" (1997). With the great political change that the EEC membership brought there were questions of national identity and consciousness. The examination papers of this era represent a country in a state of flux between the scars of the past and the promise of the future. Essay titles like "Your vision of a European community" (1971), "International Sport" (1985), "Europe long live difference!" (1993) and "Does democracy work?" (1994) hint at the increasingly broadening view of the Irish person. This question of national identity was a recurring theme throughout the era with "Ireland is still the best country in which to live" appearing in 1978 and "What it means to be Irish" assessed eleven years later in 1989. The decade ended with the essay "Write a speech for or against the motion that: 'Ireland should forget the past and concentrate on the future'" appearing in 1999.

This was reinforced in 2000 with "History teaches us nothing" and "Fanatics", both appearing that year.

Overall, the examination papers display a society in transition. The omissions of Anglo-Irish poets in the past was some way addressed. Adding to this, the reliance on The Canon reduced, American literature was introduced, issues of international importance were broached and topics outside of Ireland's colonial past, for example, sport appeared for questioning. However, the transitionary period was slow and many topics for examination still reflected Ireland's colonial past.

7.9.4 The Role of English and the Irish Citizen

There is an increase in humanist language in the examination papers of this era with reference being made to 'love' at forty two, 'kind' seventeen times and 'happiness' at seven times. 'Beauty' is mentioned five times, 'emotional', 'joys', 'feelings' and 'heartbreak' all enjoy four occurrences. There is a greater occurrence of feelings related words in the examination papers as we see also words like 'agony' and 'anguish' at three occurrences each and 'pain' and 'despair' at four occurrences each.

Moreover, there is evidence of the moralistic type language that had appeared in earlier eras. The overall language of the examination papers reminded students to be 'strong', twelve occurrences, 'moral' nine occurrences, 'truth' nine occurrences, 'honour' seven occurrences and 'values' six occurrences. The list also included 'glory', 'pride', 'hero', 'courage' and 'justice'. Words like 'evil', 'wickedness' and 'vain' also appeared throughout the examination papers. There is an evident emphasis placed on human experience throughout the years. This is reflective of the language in the syllabus and the emphasis on the student experience. The child in the curriculum was beginning to take centre stage.

7.9.4.1 Identity, the Citizen and the Essay

The new syllabus translated into the Leaving Certificate Examination Paper Higher Level in 1971 (Department of Education) with the following titles:

1. Adult Education.

2. Your vision of a European community.
3. A centenary tribute to John Millington Synge.

   OR

   Significant developments in Anglo-Irish Literature during the century since the birth of Synge in 1871.
4. Music (or Art) today.
5. Pollution-the plague of today-and how to deal with it.
6. Loneliness.
7. Preserving the relics of our past.
8. Oratory-a lost art.

Students were required to offer an opinion, argue, form judgements and display a range of knowledge about the past as well as the contemporary world (Ireland was in the process of joining the EEC at the time (see section 7.6)). In the above, option three stands out considering the lack of Anglo-Irish writers on the course up to this point and the infamous riots that occurred at the staging of his play *The Playboy of the Western World* in 1907. Synge was suddenly in the limelight as his play was included for study on the prescribed texts but also included for a 'tribute' in the composition section. Perhaps essay title seven and eight from the list above best reflect the controversy surrounding the new syllabus as both refer to what has gone past and both hint at a changing world. They may even mirror the idea that not everything past was ready for the 'dustbin'. As outlined by the Department of Education (1976), a pattern was beginning to form which showed that the essay topics were argumentative in style and moving away again from the idea of narration. For instance:

1. How to keep chaos at a distance in public and private life!
2. Youth is not a question of age it is a state of mind.
3. Houses are made to live in, not to look at.
4. Gardening-the most rewarding of human pleasures.
5. Man is amazing, but he is not a masterpiece.
6. Most of humanity's ills are caused by selfishness.
7. Nothing worthwhile is ever achieved by violence.
8. Literature teaches us nothing. It simply confirms what we have learnt from life.

Question eight from the course above reflects the argument surrounding the development of the new course and the question of whether literature has any function, moral or educational other than to teach students to read. This is a trend that persisted throughout the 1970s with other essay titles showing a bias towards the importance of English, "A good book is the best of friends" (1977), "Why read poetry?" (1978) and "Is Science the enemy of poetry?" (1979). The increasing topic was the environment which did not feature often before 1975. However, this issue makes an appearance in some form almost every year after, with "The Energy Crisis" itself appearing in 1980, reflecting the oil crisis, and "Reafforestation" (1985) which again mirrors the increasing awareness of the environment in its multifaceted and complex forms. Table 7.5 below shows the essay titles over a five-year period (1976-1980). The titles show an increased awareness of the importance of health and fitness in Irish society. Happiness and general wellbeing appeared in several titles. There is an increased emphasis on childhood themes and interests, the economy and the future of Ireland. Gender is also an issue that begins to emerge as a theme, with the title "The role of women in Ireland today" appearing in 1979. This perhaps demonstrates an awareness that women had a role to play which was lacking in the previous era.

The essay question of the 1980s focused on social problems, consumerism, the arts and hobbies. Gardening, music and the environment all make an appearance. "Falling in Love", "The Value of the Visual Arts" and "The young-slaves to fads of fashion" all appeared in 1983, while "Youth is wasted on the young", "The joy of reading" and "Silence" appeared in 1984. Also in 1984, questions which reflected the development of science and the cosmetic industry were present, for example, "The Cosmetic industry-boon or fraud?". The ethical questions of testing on animals was also represented with the title "Is it right to experiment on animals" in 1984. Social problems were also represented with "The Unemployment Problem" in 1983 and "Drug abuse" in 1985. The development of technology led to increased speculation of the place robots would have in daily life. As such, "Robots, human and mechanical" appeared for examination in 1985.

The essay question of the era combined the student experience with an attempt to prepare students for life. It did this with varied essay titles, often ending in a question mark, which stimulated a response. A more detailed picture of how the culture of the era is captured in the essay titles is documented in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5: Essay Titles (1976-1980).

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
A	How to keep chaos at a distance in public and private life!	Man is victim and master of his environment.	Roads.	Every man for himself.	Dreams.
B	Youth is not a question of age; it is a state of mind.	The sweet security of streets.	My attitude to Pop music.	Magic.	The Lessons of History.
C	Houses are made to live in, not to look at.	Nothing ventured, nothing win.	The Age of Chivalry is dead.	What every parent should know.	The Energy Crisis.
D	Gardening-the most rewarding of human pleasures.	Science without conscience is the ruin of people.	Are young people happier today than they were a hundred years ago?	"Music is the greatest of the Arts". What do you think?	Life begins at Twenty.
E	Man is amazing, but he is not a masterpiece.	The artist and Society.	Why you would, or would not like to be a world leader.	Happiness: a good bank account, a good cook, and good digestion.	Violence in Sport.
F	Most of humanities ills are caused by selfishness.	A good book is the best of friends.	Why read poetry?	Is science the enemy of poetry?	The Future of Religion.
G	Nothing worthwhile was ever achieved by violence.	The world does not progress, it merely changes.	The ideal companion.	The role of women in Ireland today.	The Lure of the Countryside.

H	Literature teaches us nothing. It only confirms what we have learnt from life.	Physical fitness.	Ireland is still the best country in which to live.	The preservation of Wild Life.	You have been asked to contribute an article to a serious journal on your favourite poet *or* dramatist *or* novelist. Write out the article which you would submit.

By 1989 more creative essay titles were beginning to appear with "Gossip", "Just after sunrise" and "The take away" all leaving the topic open for interpretation as to the style of writing to be used. This was important as the descriptive and narrative essay style had been neglected over the preceding decades. Narration was represented in essay writing for the first time, which reflects the move towards imagining other worlds or experience. For example, in 1991 the essay title "The power of the imagination" appeared. This imagining allowed students to consider the possibilities for their own lives. Likewise, that year, "Success is....", "What might have been" and "Telling lies" were assessed. In encouraging students to engage in the imaginative process there is a shift in the policy. This trend continued into the 1990s with titles like "Hero-worship", "The games people play" and "Justice-a forgotten virtue?" opened many writing styles. The creatively named "Star-gazing" opened the paper in 1993, confirming the importance now being put on the narrative style. The year 1994 is a typical example of the mix of styles that could now be adopted. For example, the Department of Education (1994) outlined the following for examination:

1. There is no such thing as freedom.
2. The entertainment industry.
3. My feelings-that's what I am.
4. What our times will most be remembered for?
5. Does democracy work?
6. The courage to be different.

7. The roots of crime.

8. Where would the world be without sport?

In many ways, these essay titles permitted students to interpret essay titles as they pleased. "Justice-a forgotten virtue" could be written in the discursive or narrative style and "Where would the world be without sport" in an argumentative or creative style.

Later in the era, with increased financial prosperity the essay such as, "Write a speech for or against the motion that 'a society can be judged by the way it treats its minorities'" appeared in 1995 and "Ambition" in 1999. In 2000 the essay title "There is too much emphasis on rights-not enough emphasis on responsibilities" appeared. The environment was also assessed in 2000 with the essay title "Saving the planet". The essay titles over the era display a changing world. The idea of the teenage years being a significant time in a child's development to self-discovery was new. Student's hobbies, interests, the pressures they faced and significantly their feelings are all a feature of questioning in this era. All of the above demonstrate that there was a new focus on the student experience.

7.9.4.2 Science, Industry and Commerce

For the first time, there was a significant representation of science, commerce and industry in the language of the examination papers. This was interesting considering the work of T.K. Whitaker (see section 7.2) and the general move towards modernisation and economic expansion. The word 'modem' appeared eleven times, towards the end of the era to represent the changing world of the internet. 'Work' is represented eighteen times, 'employment' nine and science is mentioned fourteen times. Figure 7.14 below shows the increase in scientific and technological terms.

Figure 7.14: Science, Commerce and Industry (1971-2000).
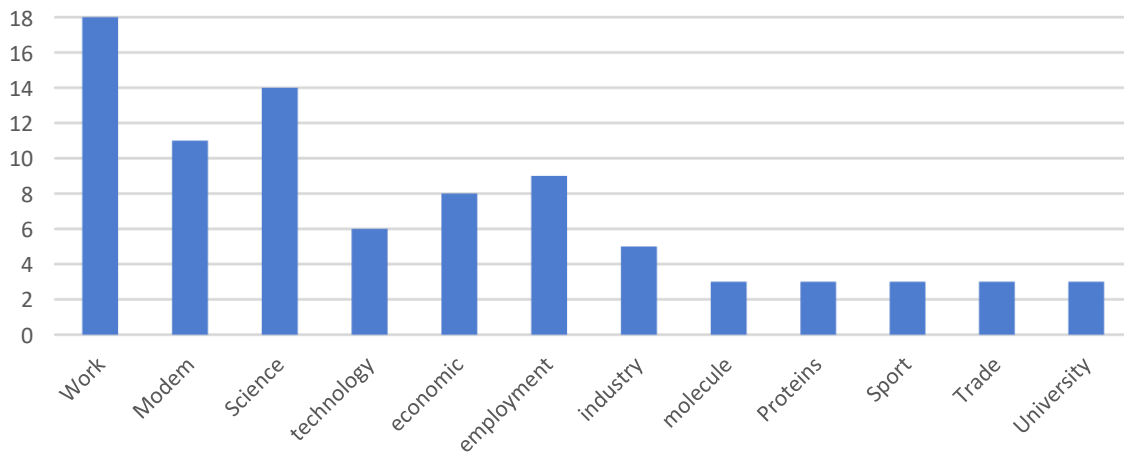
Figure 7.14 shows an alteration in the knowledge available. 'Technology', 'molecules' and 'protein', not to mention 'sport' demonstrate an increased awareness of the workings of the body and health. Apart from those represented above, 'ammonia', 'business', 'chemicals' and 'computers' all had an occurrence of two. Joining them on the long list of two occurrences are 'career, 'fisc', 'financially' and 'methane'. It is a unique list to this era and many of these words had never appeared before. This highlights how the culture around technology was changing in Irish society and it also displays a much more economically ambitious society.

The humanist language that appeared in examination indicates a shift away from the moralising tone of the past. There was great emphasis evident on happiness, hobbies and leisure. The essay titles encapsulate the humanist and creative approach where students were encouraged to think about what activities made them happy which was in line with the language of the syllabus. There was also an acknowledgement that events globally would impact the lives of students and global experiences. In line with this, the environment and consumerism were regularly assessed. Science, technology and leisure all made an appearance. The altering nature of questioning encouraged students to evaluate and consider their place in the world. Students were opened up to new possibilities and this is in keeping with the era of hope that surrounded that possibilities EEC membership would bring. It was evident how much change was occurring throughout Irish society during this era.

7.10 Conclusion

The impact of free secondary schooling in Ireland cannot be overstated. In many ways it was transformative. In 1965 only 20% of the population completed secondary school but by 2002 this figure was 80%. Attendance at third level increased exponentially from 18,200 in 1965 to almost 120,000 in 2000. In 2001, 60% of 17 year-olds transfer to third-level education (Cheney 2005). Third level grants and the CAO points system improved access for all students. In the thirty years after joining in 1973 Ireland had received €17 billion in supports from the EU Structural and Cohesion Fund to develop education, training and human resources. By the end of this era, Ireland emerged to become one of the most attractive countries in the world to establish a business base (Cheney 2005).

Despite these hugely significant societal changes over the years of Era 3, The Canon continued to dominate examinations. This was despite a new syllabus being introduced and the advent of free education. The gender imbalance continued and despite the increase in girls attending school, *Soundings*, arguably the poetry book of a generation included only one female poet. Male-dominated texts for example the four male title tragedies of Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello* and *Hamlet*, continued to dominate. However, there was an increase in the questioning of female characters in this era. Despite the Modern Novel being the breakthrough in the new syllabus, few of the texts were in fact modern and many of them were written in the 19th century. Moreover, these texts did not have any major impact on the most frequently asked Canon lists for the era as the list for the Modern Novel changed over the years. Notwithstanding, the inclusion of a modern novel allowed for the syllabus to change again and include even more of these texts. It allowed for the shift away from learning quotations and the lower order type questioning. Higher-order questioning and an emphasis on critiquing becoming a more important feature of the language of examination.

Along with this change in questioning, it is evident that society in Ireland was changing rapidly. The lessening of censorship and the loosening of the Irish Language Policy are evident with the inclusion of Anglo-Irish writers and texts. Although there is a high count of religious references, it can be traced back to the texts on the course and there is evidence of a generally more liberal Irish society reflected in Paper One essay titles. Ireland was more fashion-conscious, more socially conscious and there is greater scientific and technological

development in the examinations. Perhaps the greatest illustration of cultural and societal change came from a teacher, who writing after thirty years of teaching from *Soundings* reflected on the eve of the introduction of the new syllabus in 2000. He praised the poetry course of the era (1971-2000), commenting on how it helped students made sense of their lives and shaped their experiences (Hunt 2000). The language of his reflection is striking as it demonstrates that teachers had throughout this era become increasingly aware of the student experience. This is a clear indication that educational objectives had altered throughout the 20th century. What remains to be seen is how this change in culture and society would be incorporated into the new syllabus which was introduced to the senior cycle in 2000. This is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter Eight: Era 4 (Structural Change 2001-2016)

8.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss how the system of examination at Leaving Certificate has changed since 2001. It will also chart the changes and developments in Irish society and culture and how they are reflected in the examination papers of this era. This brings the research to the last era of this study (2001-2016). It must be noted that curriculum design in Ireland was shaped significantly by the structures that were established and the legislation enacted in the 1990s. This relates to the establishment of The National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) and the passing of the first piece of Irish education legislation since the 1930s, The Education Act of 1998 (see section 8.3).

When the current Leaving Certificate English syllabus was being designed in the 1990s, the Irish economy was growing exponentially and the business community had a powerful voice in society. The extraordinary increase in employment, salaries and the standard of living was unevenly spread, however, and the gap between the rich and the poor grew (Coogan 2009). The economic fortunes of the country told different tales. One was of prosperity and Ireland was routinely voted one of the best/happiest places to live in the world. In addition, Ireland became one of the most globalised societies since 2000 (Coogan 2009; Gander 2014; Burns 2019). The other was of social disadvantage and additional educational or social needs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there was an increasing body of evidence, indicated by the high failure and drop-out rate at Leaving Certificate level, that the syllabus was unsuited to a significant percentage of students (Mullins 2002; Cheney 2005). Some were concerned that previous syllabi did not represent the needs of those who would choose vocational training and would not meet the needs of the growing economy. Therefore, Mullins (2002) explains the relevance to the inclusion of third-level institution representatives and other stakeholders at the curriculum design phase. The economy was an important factor in the development of every sector of Irish education at this time. The concern was to strike a balance between the vocational needs of workers, the changing digital world and the educational model which had dominated before (Oireachtas 2014).

The growth in the economy is also a key factor in understanding the rapid changes that occurred in Irish society over a short period. According to the CSO (2017b) spending on miscellaneous goods, services and other expenditure increased from 20.5% to 33.6% between the years 1980 and 2015. The Irish were spending more on leisure, sports, entertainment and mobile phones. The economic boom led to an increase in those seeking to gain employment in Ireland from other countries (Feldman *et al.* 2005). The increase and change in the composition of migration to Ireland had a significant impact on the country's population. The share of foreign-born persons living in Ireland rose from 6% in 1991 to over 10% in 2002 and almost 15% in 2006 (including 1.2% born in Northern Ireland) (Ruhs and Quinn 2009). Immigration and diversity became important considerations for education and the English teacher (Smyth 2009).

The current English Leaving Certificate Syllabus was introduced in 1999. Investment in Higher Education in the fields of engineering, the sciences and technology discussed in the previous chapter began to be evidenced in the economy. Few could have predicted the level of change in the political, social, religious and economic fabric of Irish life that occurred at this time and particularly the greater scrutiny and questioning of institutions (Keogh 2005; Maignant 2015). This questioning of authority and institutions in Irish society called for greater transparency of actions and events in every aspect of Irish life. Several high-profile clerical sex abuse tribunals dominated the media. The Ferns Report (2005), the Ryan Report (2000-2009) and the Murphy Report (2006-2009) all reported on the activities of the Catholic Church. These reports investigated the treatment of children in religiously run institutions. The effect of these tribunals was multifaceted but the one most relevant to this study was the decrease in the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. The social scandal of the treatment of those, particularly children and unmarried mothers, in institutional care and industrial schools also called for a focus on the vulnerable (Keogh 2005). The Education (Welfare) Act (2000) and The Education for Persons with Special Needs Act (2004) sought to make schools a more tolerant and supportive environment for students. The move towards inclusive education was particularly important as the rights of the child to an education were recognised. The placement of the child at the centre of the curriculum meant that teachers had to be cognisant of their more inclusive, multicultural and diverse student body. A great change occurred in the role of women and the traditional model of the family was transformed. *Sex and Sensibility,* a series on RTÉ documented the changing views on sexuality. The broadcasting of this documentary by the state broadcaster was an indicator of how attitudes had changed in Ireland towards the Catholic

Church and matters of sexuality (Ferriter 2010). Cultural and societal change in Ireland were important elements of this new more inclusive environment and the syllabus and curriculum reflected this change.

As the era advanced there was a growing concern about literacy rates in Ireland and what this would mean for the workforce. The OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) measures the ability of 15-year-old's in reading, mathematics and science knowledge and skills on a cyclical basis (OECD 2018). Before 2009 Ireland was achieving higher than average results across the OECD countries. However, in 2009 the results revealed a fall in the performance of Irish children as they were now achieving average scores in reading (OECD 2013). These indicators would shape policy on reading in Irish schools. Dr Harold Hislop, the Chief Inspector noted that:

> The decline in the reading and mathematics scores of students in Ireland compared to previous PISA tests was unexpected […] Indeed, it is sobering to reflect on the fact that PISA suggests that 17% of all fifteen years olds and almost one in four teenage boys lack the literacy skills to function effectively in today's society.

(Hislop 2011, p. 6)

The second half of this era reflects the efforts that were made in the area of Literacy and school-based initiatives to improve reading levels.

A major focus for this study is how culture and society was reflected in the Leaving Certificate English examination, any change to the culture of society of Ireland at this time is relevant. The first section of this chapter seeks to chart these societal developments. The next section of the chapter details the legislative and structural changes that impacted education. The final section of this chapter will present the analysis from the examination papers and discuss the implications of diversity, inclusion and literacy for senior cycle examination.

8.2 Society in Ireland (2001-2016)

The following section outlines how society in Ireland changed in relation to the economy, the family, religion, gender and Irish identity. What was hoped for the citizen altered also and the role English played in the development of the citizen is also discussed.

8.2.1 Economy and Society

The Irish economy experienced unprecedented levels of growth between 1995-2008. This period was known as The Celtic Tiger. The property boom led to increased employment in construction. There was an exceptional increase in personal wealth driven by employment in the multinational corporations that were attracted to Ireland (Keogh 2005; Gurdgiev *et al.* 2011). In 2007 in Dublin airport 1.2 million cups of coffee were consumed, along with 1 million cappuccinos and 500,000 Danish pastries and 672,000 muffins. The servers consisted of twenty three different nationalities (McWilliams 2008). The airport is an interesting indicator of the economic situation. The MAC makeup counter was the sixth busiest in the world and the second busiest in any airport. This is a good marker of the kind of disposable income Irish people had in 2006 (McWilliams 2008). Trips to New York City rose 145% between 2001-2006 and the short break market was worth €560 million in 2007 (McWilliams 2008). Ireland's demographic was young compared to other Western European countries, the 'dependency ratio' of the over 65s was at 17.4% compared to the OECD average of 26% in 2007 (O'Toole 2010; Gurdgiev *et al.* 2011). This aided the image of the Irish as young and trendy jetsetters. By 2006 one of the greatest gages of economic success in Ireland was the new attitude that air travel was for the masses and not just for the privileged (McWilliams 2008, 2018).

The examination papers of this era reflect the greater emphasis on money, success and wealth. Consumerism as a theme can be seen with some of the new words appearing for the first time. In 2008 the Part B question asked the student to write on contemporary teenage culture (Text 1) and "We are what we wear" (Text 3) (State Examinations Commission 2008). Moreover, in 2011 students were presented with the essay title "Write a personal essay about your clothes, what they mean to you and what they say about you" (State Examinations Commission 2011). It could be construed that it is assumed by the question that teenagers in such an economy would be enthusiastic consumers of clothes and that this forms part of their identity. This emphasis on success and consumerism permeated every aspect of Irish life during this era. In all aspects of the civil service, including education, there was a greater emphasis on value for money (Simmie 2012). Levels of debt in Ireland rose sharply due to consumer culture during the years prior to the recession of 2008 (Koch 2012). References to clothes appear in the examination papers twice in four years between 2008-2011 (see section 8.2.1).

McWilliams (2008) also mentions that by 2007 time had become a factor in modern Irish life. Statistics show commuters in Dublin managed an average rush hour speed of 16.5km per hour, compared to 40km per hour in Cologne and 36 in Helsinki. This brought into focus the quality of life in Ireland and questions abounded about what constituted real wealth and how lifestyles could be altered to promote increased happiness (O'Toole 2010). This is reflected in the examination papers with noticeable references to time and questions which encouraged students to view time as an important component in living happy lives (see section 8.4.1.2).

When the economic slow-down began in 2008, the future source of employment for Irish graduates came into question. For a multitude of reasons the government began to focus on the 'Smart Economy' (Kenny *et al.* 2012). Innovation in Ireland would be vital to future proof an economic recovery and education was key to bringing this to fruition. *Building Ireland's Smart Economy: A Framework for Sustainable Economic Renewal* was Minister Brian Cowen's response to the economic 'hurricane' of 2008 (Collins 2008). The introduction of this document refers to the challenges that the government faced at the time and it sets out the official plan to capitalise on the unprecedented €8.2 billion government investment in science and technology. "This will be achieved by mobilising Ireland's cohesive 'Team Ireland' agencies to translate knowledge creation into economic return" (Building Ireland's Smart Economy 2008, p. 13). It is clear from the document that the course of Irish education would need to be altered to provide a work force that could deliver for the economy. The priority areas in education were identified in the document as essential for development were entrepreneurship, mathematical, science and language skills (Building Ireland's Smart Economy 2008). The Discover Science and Engineering programme, the Young Scientist Competition and Project Maths specifically were mentioned as ways of developing science, mathematics and engineering. There is reference to increased Information and Communications Technology (ICT) in classrooms. However, language development was not expanded upon.

Building Ireland's Smart Economy: A Framework for Sustainable Economic Renewal was a pivotal document. Schools sought to integrate ICT into methodologies as the document emphasised the importance of digital awareness for the modern world (Conneely *et al.* 2013). The digital references within the examination papers are reflective of a society wide shift in employment. By 2016 there were 87,024 professionals working in the ICT sector, 68% of those working in the broad ICT sector and 32% working in ICT in other sectors (Eurostat 2019). This

figure has increased by almost 30,000 since 2009. Across the technology and science industries has been a year on year increase in those employed in the ICT, engineering and pharmaceutical industries as a result of these measures introduced since 2012 (Industrial Development Authority 2016).

The themes of the economy, wealth, consumerism lifestyle, time and technology shaped the Irish cultural landscape during this era. These themes are reflected in the examination papers of this period. There are a multitude of new words included in the examination papers of this era compared to the others, which highlights how rapidly society and culture was changing in Ireland from an economic point of view. For example, skyscraper, helicopters and others which will be discussed at greater length later in the chapter.

8.2.2 Religion in Ireland

The Census of Ireland (2002) recorded that 90% of the population identified as Roman Catholic. However, as the era developed, attendance at Mass began to drop (Inglis 2007). There were several reasons for this. Firstly, there was the wider European experience. As Western European countries developed economically, becoming more industrialised and urbanised, there was a gradual decrease in a sense of community and a general move towards secularisation. Much of Europe is now considered to be Post-Christian (Breen and Erbe Healy 2014). Despite the fact Ireland is still one of the most religious nations in Western Europe, change did occur quickly between 2002 and 2012. More women were working outside the home, there was a greater level of education across the population and more people were living in urban areas. Secularisation was 'inevitable' as economically and demographically Ireland changed (Breen and Erbe Healy 2014).

However, others suggest Catholic Ireland had experienced deinstitutionalisation (Inglis 2007). Most Irish are still baptised, go to Catholic schools and participate in sacraments like First Holy Communion and Confirmation (Inglis 2007). Despite this apparent Catholic identification however there has been a decrease in those attending Mass. Interestingly, there is a rural-urban divide when it comes to Mass attendance. In 2002 61% of rural dwellers attended Mass weekly, while 40% of urban dwellers attended Mass weekly. By 2011/2012 that figure had fallen to 43% for the rural population and 28% for the urban population. This is in keeping with the sense of community and Secularisation Theory (see Breen and Erbe Healy 2014). The reality

is that Ireland experienced a myriad of these changes almost simultaneously towards the end of the 20th century. The rapid industrialisation, urbanisation and increase in educational opportunities led to a more modernised society (Breen and Erbe Healy 2014). At the same time scandals within the Roman Catholic Church resulted in a deinstitutionalisation period in Ireland. In the previous chapter, the scandal of child abuse was coming to light towards the end of Era 3. However, the revelations were far from over and the redress of these scandals continued during the years of Era 4.

As far back as the mid-1980s there had been reports of child sexual abuse by members of the clergy in the United States of America. The Kincora Boys Home in Belfast, a Protestant institution, also came under scrutiny (Kenny 2009). Irish institutions for children had been run by the Catholic Church since the beginning of the Free State. This suited the government of the time as it lacked the funds to establish its own institutions. Approximately 29,500 children were committed to reformatory or industrial schools after 1930. An undisclosed number were admitted by their families (Kenny 2009). When the scandal surrounding Brendan Smyth broke, the state and politicians remained silent. First there was a delay in his extradition to Northern Ireland and when he was returned to the Republic of Ireland and sentenced to 35 years in prison politicians again remained silent on the issue. While these events occurred in the mid-1990s, they are mentioned here because of the long-term fall out of this political silence (Kenny 2009). There were many other convictions and over time it emerged that the Church had known about the abuses and failed to act. In this way the Church lost its moral position in Irish society (Maher 2015).

The State, which was reluctant to involve itself, could not credibly remain impartial. Speaking to the *Dáil* on May 11th 1999, Taoiseach Bertie Aherne gave the first indications of a state apology to victims of abuse in state institutions, on saying "On behalf of the State and of all citizens of the State, the Government wishes to make a sincere and long overdue apology to the victims of childhood abuse for our collective failure to intervene, to detect their pain, to come to their rescue" (Savage and Smith 2003, p. 5). The state established the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse Act (2000). There was a lasting sense of disbelief and shame among Irish communities (Breen 2000). The Christian Brothers, the Mercy Sisters and the Conference of Religious in Ireland all issued apologies soon after (Savage and Smith 2003). More than €128 million was paid in compensation to victims by eighteen religious orders in 2002 (Savage

and Smith 2003). The reaction of the Irish public was one of anger and shock when the transcripts of the victims reposts were made public (The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse 2006). The Ryan Report (the report produced by the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse) released its report in 2009 after nine years. *The Irish Times* referred to the report as 'The map of an Irish Hell', the report goes on to say that this systematic abuse was not just endemic within the system, rather it was the system (Opinion 2009).

The above are of importance to this research for several reasons. Firstly, the events go some way to explain how Catholic Ireland became more secularised. Secondly, it resulted in the division that finally occurred between Church and State. The special relationship the Catholic Church had with the Irish State since its inception could no longer continue. The examination papers of this era reveal that religious references had decreased and texts or authors of obvious religious inclination also decreased. As the public became more educated and were encouraged to be critical thinkers, they began to ask more questions. This meant that that there was a decrease in faith and in the teachings of the Catholic Church occurred. This decrease is evident in the examination papers of this era.

8.2.3 Gender in Ireland

The *Draft Guidelines to Teachers of English* ends with the Francis Bacon quote "Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man" (NCCA 1999, p. 123). It could be argued that this was a poorly chosen quote to represent education in Ireland on the cusp of a new millennium. It shows that 'man' was still being utilised to mean all people. The then Minister for Education, Mary Hanafin, commented in 2007 that girls consistently outnumber boys in higher education and that girls had much to contribute to the Irish workforce (O'Connor 2007). The *Sé Sí* document on gender in Irish education reveals that subjects are split along gender lines, with 86.3% of students studying Home Economics in 2003 being female and only 4.7% of female students taking Engineering (O'Connor 2007). There was also concern expressed about the number of girls studying Physics compared to their male counterparts. The report also notes the steady increase in girls achieving in language subjects including English. The document also analyses careers and shows that more girls took up careers in teaching and the social sciences and fewer in Engineering. Adding to this, more girls completed Higher Level papers than boys and achieved higher grades (O'Connor 2007). In

subjects like Engineering where there were fewer girls, they still achieved higher grades than boys. O'Connor (2007) argues that girls should be enticed to take subjects in the fields of Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM). Interestingly, the move to entice girls to study STEM subjects was to develop their analytical and critical thinking skills, which are similar to the aims of the English syllabus, so that they may be better prepared for the jobs of tomorrow (McDonnell 2018). This topic has dominated the media over the past decade with articles regularly appearing on the subject (Casey 2019; Courtney 2019; Pollak 2019). While the gender gap was narrowing, the career progression ceiling in STEM was still a challenge by the end of the era. A study found that 61.6% of undergraduate students in the biological sciences were female but only 15.5% of professors were. The Athena SWAN charter continues to be effective in its attempts to address the gender gap in STEM and to support women in these fields of study (Munir *et al.* 2013).

However, this focus on STEM tells only one part of the female narrative in education since 2010. In 2015, 705 girls achieved an A1 grade, and 1,306 achieved an A2 at Leaving Certificate English compared to 466 boys who achieved an A1 grade and 786 who achieved an A2 grade. These statistics are consistent with the other eras and show that girls continued to outperform boys in English. By 2016, 59.5% of women between the ages of 15-64 were in employment. This was below the EU average of 61.4% (CSO 2016). However, the percentage of women in the workforce had been steadily increasing from 2000 up to 2008 where it decreased due to the financial crisis (2007-2008). It has increased every year since 2012 which is reflective of the economic recovery (CSO 2016). There is a 10.4% differential between male and female figures for employment. Ireland has still some way to go in comparison to Sweden which has a 2.7% gender differential. Despite this comparison, these figures display the altered role of women in Ireland. More families rely on grandparents for childcare as the proportion of women staying in the workplace after motherhood has increased (Connolly 2015). Moreover, more women stayed in the workforce than in the past up to the age of sixty five in 2016 than in 2006. This shows incremental improvements to the fortunes of women in Ireland (CSO 2016).

Additionally, for the majority of this era, Mary McAleese was President of Ireland (1997-2011), and Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland, held several high-profile positions including a role with the UN. The gender imbalance in examination papers has narrowed with

many reading comprehensions written either about or by women. The gap also narrowed with increased female poets, novelists and playwrights but there are still improvements to be made.

8.2.4 Irish Identity in a Post-Colonial World

The changing economy in Ireland resulted in the alteration of society. The issues raised in *The Spinning Heart* (see section 8.2.4) are reflective of a myriad of issues in Irish society post-2001. There was a reversal of the emigration story as increased fortunes halted forced emigration and instead Irish emigrants began to return home from abroad and new immigrates started to choose Ireland as their destination (Gurdgiev *et al.* 2011). Additionally, the number of asylum seekers and refugees coming to Ireland increased during these years (Gilmartin 2012). Those coming to Ireland to seek work increased dramatically in the late 1990s but began to decrease with the economic crash in 2008 (Gilmartin 2012). However, large numbers of foreign nationals chose to stay and make Ireland their home. Although the number of migrant workers has decreased there were still more than 535,000 foreign nationals living in Ireland in 2016 (Editorial 2018). The 2016 Census showed that the top non-Irish nationalities living in Ireland were Polish, British, Lithuanian, Romanian, Latvian and Brazilian. In 2015, 82,346 people arrived to live in Ireland, of this number 53,708 were non-Irish new emigrants and 28,143 were returning Irish (CSO 2017a). Consecutive census since 2002 have shown an increase in emigrants, especially from Eastern European countries, which has brought greater diversity to Irish life. The percentage of those of Irish nationality fell from 92.9% of the total population to 86.8% of the total between 2002-2011 (Gilmartin 2012). According to the 2016 Census, the number of mixed Irish and non-Irish households increased by 134,838, an increase of 14.7% since 2011 (CSO 2017a).

Another feature of Irish identity in this era has been the changing make-up of the family. In 1997 there were ninety

three divorces granted but by 2003 the number granted was 2,710 (Keogh 2005). Although this figure shows a sharp increase in divorce rates, in 2015 Ireland had one of the lowest rates of divorce in Europe. In 2016 the number of divorces was 4,179 (Keena 2017). Concurrent to this were the tribunals surrounding clerical abuse which led to the reduction in the power of the Catholic Church as the moral guardian of the Irish conscience and the growth of the media as a powerful watchdog and interrogator of truth. The media has been referred to as the Fourth

Estate (Inglis 2000; Donnelly and Inglis 2010) and as such has become an important medium of communication and interpretation of language. In the past, illegitimacy was frowned on and many unmarried mothers fled to England. Ireland now has a higher portion of lone-parent families than the rest of Europe where women are putting motherhood before marriage. There has also been a far greater acceptance of homosexual relationships in Ireland (Connolly 2015). The increase of single parent homes and blended families has greatly changed the dynamic of family life.

Divorce, alternative families, cultural diversity, inclusion and changing gender roles are themes that appear in the examination papers, both in Paper One and in the texts students' study for Paper Two. In this altering society when the NCCA seeks a balance of texts Evelyn O'Connor mentioned that the list seeks to cater for all abilities, with varying themes and genres so that a wide range of students could further their knowledge and enjoy the subject (Murphy 2019). Student experience in a changing Ireland led to a need for alternative textual experience. The demographic make-up of Irish society and the Irish family has changed immensely since 2001 and the examination papers over the period 2001-2016 have reflected this change.

8.2.5 The Role of English and Citizen Formation

Although Ireland was perceived to be one of the happiest places to live in the early years of the 21st century, there was also an increase in crime and anti-social behaviour. There was an increase in drug addiction and alcohol abuse (O'Brien 2008). Rates of suicide increased since the 1990s and this could not be ignored and were a topic of growing public debate (Kelleher *et al.* 1999). Wellbeing became a part of the national discourse. In the 1990s, the decline of faith in the Catholic Church and a decrease in church attendance were linked to the increasing suicide rate (Kelleher *et al.* 1999). The beginning of the millennium brought increasing challenges for young people. In light of this, Aristotle's Ethics links between virtue and happiness are interesting to note. To be fully happy, a person had to think about others, consider others feelings and be a good virtuous citizen of society (O'Brien 2008). A vital component of Ethics is Aristotle's argument is that humans are social beings, and relationships and interconnectivity are vital for happiness. Aristotle ultimately argues that to be happy one must also be social and 'good' in the virtuous sense of the word (O'Brien 2008). The period after 2001, when Ireland experienced a great decline in faith in the Catholic Church, was marked

210

with such rapid social change that questioning one's purpose was mirrored with questions of place and worth.

Three factors compounded this uncertainty. These elements are the evolution of the traditional family, the onset of social media and the fear surrounding the environmental global situation. All three factors had deep implications for the wellbeing and mental health of Irish students. Studies (Williams *et al.* 2016, Dooley and Fitzgerald 2012) have shown there is a direct link between the marriage break-up and blended families and the wellbeing of adolescence. Children whose parents divorce suffer greater levels of emotional, social and behavioural problems. They are more likely to abuse substances and partake in criminal behaviour. The same was found for single-parent families. Such students also experience greater difficulty academically than those from intact families (Williams *et al.* 2016). In 2012, 17% of sixth years admitted to seeing a mental health professional (Dooley and Fitzgerald 2012). Of the group questioned 68% said they were happy with their family life. The remaining 32% said they are unhappy some or all of the time (Dooley and Fitzgerald 2012). Moreover, 30% of the sample student group were found to suffer from mild, moderate, severe or very serve levels of depression (Dooley and Fitzgerald 2012).

In their work Dooley and Fitzgerald (2012), found that school, family and friends were found to be the biggest stressors. School was a factor because of high-stakes testing by way of the Junior and Leaving Certificate. This was an omnipresent source of stress in students (Smyth and Banks 2012). The social circle was a source of stress for students. While they relied on friends for support, some 40% experienced bullying (Dooley and Fitzgerald 2012). A significant link was made between the quality of a teenagers friendships and their mental health (O'Brien 2008). Studies show that adolescent girls place enormous importance on their friendships and the outcome of those friendships have a great impact on their sense of self (Ging and O'Higgins Norman 2016). Social media has complicated these friendships with students, particularly girls, preoccupied with how many likes and comments their posts receive. The same can be true for unflattering photographs that had been posted. Girls worried about these photographs as they believed that their identity was linked to physical attractiveness (Ging and O'Higgins Norman 2016). The issue of image on social media and the pressure to conform also affects boys (Shah and Tewari 2016). The term 'selfie', meaning to take photographs of oneself, was named word of the year in 2013 by the Oxford English Dictionary

(Shah and Tewari 2016). Competition to post the perfect selfie or photograph and to gain likes has an immense impact on a young person's ability to retain self-confidence. Just as the upheaval in the family has affected how students view their world, the impact of social media on their relationships has also affected this meaning-making.

In line with these developments, there has been growing global discussion on the impact greenhouse gases have had on the environment. In 2012 the UN Conference *On Sustainable Development* was held in Rio De Janeiro. This conference has been held every ten years since 1972 and was previously known as The Earth Summit. This conference, and others, including talks held at the G7 and G8 Summits, brought climate change to the fore of public debate. Al Gore, the former Vice-President of the United States of America, was one of the leading figures in action for climate change. His documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* won the Academy Award in 2007. At the award ceremony, Gore noted that the need for climate change was a moral issue and called on people to have the courage to act (Gorman 2007). This environmental discourse coincided with the global financial crash of 2008. In many ways, the call to citizens to become more involved in the environment occurred at a time of great financial uncertainty and citizen powerlessness. The environmental campaign encouraged citizens to empower themselves through choice.

These factors had a profound effect on how teenagers made sense of the world. As one of its primary aims, the syllabus set out the importance of acquiring competent language skills in order for students to make sense of the world they live in. It emphasised the importance of empowering students to deal with the challenges and responsibilities of life through language. The aim was self-efficiency as studies have shown those who are self-efficient recover faster from difficulties and are more resilient (O'Brien 2008). Through the examination papers, students are encouraged to develop and express their critical literacy in a myriad of ways. The data reveals that students are encouraged to be responsible citizens, to be aware of the issues in the world around them and argue for what they believe is right. They are empowered to write to world leaders and persuade others to their point of view. They are inspired to find their voice and their place in the world and deliver talks to their peers, principal, parents or to represent Ireland at the UN. In keeping with the syllabus, the English examination papers of this era have attempted to give Irish students the courage and confidence to deal with the complexities and challenges of life.

8.3. Legislation and the Era

The Education Act (1998) was a key element of the education reform post-2000. It was the first piece of education legislation since the Vocational Act of 1930 and was the product of more than a decade of consultation. The OECD review of education in Ireland (1991) and the Green Paper, *Education for a Changing World* (1992) led to greater scrutiny of, and discussion around, accountability in education. The subsequent National Education Convention (1994) led by John Coolahan, achieved consensus on the importance of initial teaching training and continuous professional development. The *White Paper, Charting Our Education Future*, published in 1995, applauded the work of the National Education Convention (Coolahan 2007).

The dialogue surrounding the teaching profession, initial teacher education standards and continuous professional development were important steps towards the Education Act that came into law in 1998. Under the new Act, schools would provide schooling for all students and those with additional needs would be provided for. A 'spirit of partnership' would be developed between the school, board of management, the teacher and the students (Department of Education 1998). Parents were encouraged to participate as partners in the child's education and students were given a voice with the establishment of the student councils (Department of Education 1998). Another feature of the Act was the emphasis on reporting and accountability, with the Inspectorate and later the NCCA to offer their support and to monitor standards. The child was placed firmly at the centre of the system. A government decision in 1998 granted an automatic entitlement to primary school students with special educational needs to the supports necessary for their inclusion in their local school. The Special Education Review Committee (SERC) report made an early reference to special educational needs (SEN) prevalence in Ireland. Although it did not define SEN or disability, it considered that 2% of children had a disability (Department of Education 1993). Depending on the definition adopted, data on children with a disability ranges from 3.2% in the Census of Population (2006) to 11% in the National Disability Survey (2008). While there was a Special Needs Assistant (SNA) scheme in existence, this scheme expanded considerably from this time and the growth in the SNA numbers is reflective of the growth in the diversity of students within schools (Equal Status Act 2000).

As noted above, the rapid social changes in Ireland meant that inclusion, diversity and the economy dominated the discourse of this era. This study seeks to record if these changes were also noticeable in the examination papers.

8.3.1 The NCCA and the State Examinations Commission

The NCCA was established on a statutory basis in 2001, although it had existed under various other guises for almost twenty years in a non-statutory basis. The Department of Education and Science developed this partner agency to:

> Advise the Minister for Education and Skills on curriculum and assessment for early childhood education, primary and post-primary schools; assessment procedures used in schools and examinations on subjects which are part of the curriculum. Teachers are expected to consult the NCCA publications to update their knowledge on curriculum and assessment guidelines and changes from year to year as the curriculum sets out not only what is to be taught, but how, and how learning in the particular subject area is to be assessed.

> (www.education.ie 2017)

Assessment for the purpose of this study is only concerned with the Leaving Certificate Examination itself. According to the NCCA (2017b):

> All developments at senior cycle place the learner as the focus of the educational experience. That experience will enable learners to become resourceful and confident, to participate actively in society, to build an interest in learning and the ability to learn throughout their lives

> (NCCA 2017b)

While the role of developing curriculum and assessment was now under the remit of the NCCA, the State Examinations Commission (SEC) was given the task of managing and organising the State Examinations of the Junior and Leaving Certificates. It is tasked with the "development, assessment, accreditation and certification" of these examinations and is a non-departmental public body under the aegis of the Department of Education and Skills (www.examinations.ie 2017). The Department of Education and Skills inclusion policy has led to an increasing

number of reasonable accommodation (RA) centres. These supports included separate centres, scribes, readers or audio recordings of student's work for examination. In 2002, 4,438 students were receiving reasonable accommodation and 2,400 Special Centres. By 2017, this number had increased to 17,661 students in receipt of RA and 10,100 Special Centres (these figures include both Junior Certificate and Leaving Certificate students) (State Examinations Commission (SEC) 2018). There was a year on year increase in the numbers of scribes, readers and separate centres being provided to students with Additional Educational Needs. These figures reflect how inclusive education has affected examination. Student numbers taking Higher Level examination papers at Leaving Certificate level continued to increase as a result. In 2002, there were 55,496 candidates at Leaving Certificate, of this number 32,376 sat the Higher Level English paper. In 2017, there were 55,770 candidates for the Leaving Certificate and of these, 38,749 completed the Higher Level English paper (SEC 2017).

The NCCA refers to the last years of schooling as 'The experience of senior cycle' (NCCA 2017b). To this end, the NCCA (2017a) has created a Key Skills Framework for the senior cycle, identifying five key skills that students should aspire to learn during their senior cycle years (see Figure 8.1 below).

Figure 8.1: Key Skills Framework.

These key skills are mirrored in the English syllabus, where students are encouraged to be critical and creative thinkers, to learn to communicate effectively and to become effective team players. An important aspect of the above design is that students are encouraged to learn how to become competent in the workplace and at home. Being 'personally effective' is a key

feature of preparing students for life after school and the skill of processing information is vital for living independent lives. The learner is placed in the centre of the wheel and for the first time, the state's aspirations for students in their lives beyond school were identified. As such, an emphasis was placed on learning for life as well as preparing for examination success. The English syllabus echoed these sentiments in its design and content and was described as a novel response to support students to gain the language skills needed for life (Department of Education and Science 1998).

8.3.2 The Aims of the Syllabus

Several factors indicated that a change was needed throughout the 1990s. The first change was the revising of the intermediate examination. The new junior cycle, as it was called, focused more on student experience and less on the cultural heritage that the students should gain from studying English (Mullins 2002). The aims of the new junior cycle introduced in 1989 included, "(…) nurturing the intellectual, imaginative and emotional growth of each student by developing his/her personal proficiency in the arts and skills of language" (Department of Education 1989). There would be three strands of focus to achieve this personal, social and cultural literacy. The language of this syllabus demonstrated that the child was increasingly being placed towards the centre of the classroom and the experiences that students brought with them were important. In many ways, once the junior cycle had been introduced it was inevitable that change would also be introduced at senior cycle level.

The statistics relating to student performance at Leaving Certificate were causing concern. 20% of students dropped out of school during their senior cycle years and did not complete the Leaving Certificate examinations. In addition, in 1989, more than half (52%) of students who completed the Leaving Certificate took the Ordinary Level examination paper for English (Mullins 2002). This poor performance aligned with other factors, including the industrial and economic changes that were taking place in Ireland at this time, had a huge bearing on the type of syllabus that was formed. Mullins (2002) produced a detailed study on how the syllabus was formulated and he discusses the many voices of vested interest groups that were taken into consideration.

The current English syllabus was revised between 1999-2000 by a small committee which was set-up by the NCCA. Included in this committee was Ms B. McCullough, Chairperson (ATE

(Association of Teacher Education)), Professor B. Cosgrove (University of Maynooth), Ms Fiona De Buis (Teachers Union of Ireland), Professor N. Greene (Trinity College Dublin), Ms C. Hannay (Teachers Union of Ireland), Mr J. Hurley (Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland), Rev. Fr. J. Looby S. J. (JMB (Joint Managerial Body)), Professor H. McDermott (NCEA (National Council and Education Awards)), Mr G. Martin (Department of Education and Science), Dr S. Matterson (Trinity College Dublin), Ms D. Meade (ACS), Mr E. O Baoighill (Department of Education and Science), Ms S. Parsons (Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland), and Mr J. Slattery (IVA). The Guidelines were written by Mr Tom Mullins. As demonstrated above, the stakeholders from many sectors of education were included.

The remit given to the committee was to design a syllabus that prepared students for adult life, that would develop higher-order thinking and would promote the acquisition of control over their use the English language (Department of Education and Science 1998). For the first time terms like 'learning outcomes' appear and 'text' is used to mean all styles of language use. The syllabus preface refers to the new approach that is 'radical and original' (Department of Education and Science 1998). Although the syllabus that defined Era 3 also hoped to prepare students for their adult life, this was the first time a syllabus offered details on how that might be accomplished. It was the first time that a syllabus was produced in a document separate from the *Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools* (see section 7.8). The production of a separate document demonstrates the importance that was afforded the new syllabus.

The syllabus introduction is a further insight into the underlining philosophy of the syllabus. he English syllabus is nestled within the overall philosophy for Leaving Certificate Education. It begins with the acknowledgement that language surrounds us and that we live within it. It is essential to the personal, social and cultural identity and development of each individual. It states that language is all around us and we live within its presence, it is central to "learning, communication, personal and cultural identity, and relationships" (Department of Education and Science 1998) Thus, language acquisition is a fundamental part of being a functioning citizen in society. It is through language that students will learn to interpret, understand infer discriminate, communicate and evaluate (Department of Education and Science 1998). Language is used to communicate, learn and connect with others. In this way, language can be verbal or visual, oral or written (Department of Education and Science 1998). The syllabus

introduction begins by emphasising the importance of language to live richer lives, to 'enrich experiences' and to help make sense of the world we live in (Department of Education and Science 1998). The language used in the syllabus is a stark departure from anything that had been published by the Department of Education before and there was an increased awareness of the person and their place in the world.

The opening sentence of the preface for the new syllabus states that it is hoped that the student would acquire language skills to live a competent life as an adult (Department of Education and Science 1998). Specifically, it sets out that students should develop higher-order thinking skills so that they become thoughtful communicators (Department of Education and Science 1998). As our understanding of history, culture and society are inextricably linked with language, a person understands their world better, and that of others, through texts which display a variety of language styles. This skill of understanding difference, it is hoped, will 'empower' students to use language competently in their lives (Department of Education and Science 1998). From the outset, this syllabus is set apart from that which had gone before. There are clearer guidelines on what was hoped the impact education would have on students in their daily lives outside of the education sphere. There is an acknowledgement that schools play a role in developing sophisticated thinkers and users of language. The primary purpose of the syllabus is to 'empower' students to become superior users and interpreters of many genres of language (Department of Education and Science 1998). The syllabus reflects the sentiment of inclusion, as well as placing the child in the centre of the curriculum. The overall philosophy of the syllabus is important as it echoes the changes that were occurring throughout society.

As stated by the Department of Education and Science (1998), the aims of the current syllabus are varied and ambitious. The goal of the syllabus is to develop:

- A mature and critical literacy to prepare them [students] for the responsibilities and challenges of adult life in all contexts.
- A respect and appreciation for language used accurately and appropriately and a competence in a wide range of language skills both oral and written.
- An awareness of the value of literature in its diverse forms for enriching their perceptions, for enhancing their sense of cultural identity and for creating experiences of aesthetic pleasure.

The aims of the syllabus to this end are ambitious. They seek to prepare the person for the challenges and responsibilities that lie ahead. To prepare them for this task, the syllabus seeks to encourage students to express opinions and to engage in the language of argument so they can express their feelings, experiences and thoughts well (Department of Education and Science 1998). It states that "Developing control and power over language is the most essential educational achievement for all students if they are to become confident, thoughtful and discriminating adults and citizens" (Department of Education and Science 1998, p. 6). It is hoped that students learn to distinguish between opinion and fact, understand the importance of evidence in argument building, evaluate the merits of an argument and justify their opinion in favour of one argument or another. This must be achieved in several genres or contexts, be it legal, philosophical, scientific and journalistic (Department of Education and Science 1998). Given this, the syllabus designers were aware of the need for competent language skills for the workplace also.

The purpose of English as a subject was altered somewhat in that now it was firmly the purpose of English to equip students with the language to communicate effectively in the workplace and their personal relationships (Department of Education and Science 1998). The interesting inclusion of 'aesthetic pleasure' was a new concept as was the inclusion of film on the list of texts to be studied. In this way, the syllabus sought to aid students in making increased connections in the altering world of technology, globalisation and communication (Department of Education and Science 1998). It is acknowledged that language use in modern times can be confusing and even bewildering. The syllabus asserts that becoming competent and confident users of language is the most essential 'educational achievement for all students' on their journey to becoming thoughtful and independent adults and citizens. It emphasises the importance of developing both power and control over language to achieve this (Department of Education and Science 1998). The syllabus outlines the two spheres of learning: Comprehending and Composing. Five language genres are identified but there is an acknowledgement that all study of language is interdependent. There is also mention of language mechanics, like spelling and grammar, commenting in bold type that "all students are expected to be assiduous in their attention to paragraphing, syntax, spelling and punctuation" (Department of Education and Science 1998, p. 15). The use of bold type shows that it is a highly valued skill. This is reminiscent of the 1940 addition to the syllabus previously mentioned (see section 6.3.1), which highlights the difficultly of designing a 'radical' syllabus

while still retaining the skills to teach students control over their language use, especially as the examination is still handwritten.

Shakespeare was again retained. However, for the first time, while Shakespeare was still compulsory at Higher Level, students could choose to study Shakespeare under The Single Text or as part of the Comparative Course. A list of single text options is made available to teachers. This meant for the first time a deep analysis of a Shakespearean text could be avoided. A teacher could instead choose Shakespeare under the comparative section to be compared with two other texts. This was the greatest change in what had gone before. As a seventy mark question, the emphasis here would be on a few key scenes to compare rather than the entire text. This is a new departure and a significant one considering how Shakespeare dominated examination papers since the 1930s. The argument of whether to retain The Canon or not had been ongoing since the late 1960s and this satisfied the vested interest groups to some degree. Many were not ready to remove the Bard from his position in Irish education yet (Mullins 2002). The result of this comparative option has been to introduction of an array of interesting and varied texts. The list changes every year so unlike Era 3 the curriculum is no longer dominated by the four great tragedies *Macbeth, King Lear, Othello* and *Hamlet*. Although the new syllabus was met with some concern by some, many teachers were satisfied to be relieved of *Soundings* and the same list of plays and novels they had been teaching for more than thirty years. The poetry course has been altered to include modern and current poets. A list of prescribed texts is issued each year by the Department of Education and Skills, from which teachers must choose Shakespeare, six-eight poets and three comparative texts (one of which may be Shakespeare).

It has been a careful balancing act on the part of the NCCA when choosing texts for the prescribed list of any year, between the classic and modern texts, novels, drama and films so that all tastes are accounted for (Murphy 2019). A list of Prescribed Texts for Leaving Certificate English is produced every year by the NCCA from which teachers can choose their texts. The lists typically consist of twenty five to thirty options for the study of Shakespearean plays, modern drama, fiction and film. This also reflects the most to inclusive education as the texts vary in readability, length and theme. There is a wide variety to choose from to suit all abilities and cultural diversities (for more see Appendix 8.1).

Perhaps an indicator of how serious the Department of Education was that this diversity might be reflected in classrooms was the publishing of an aid to teachers called *Resource Materials for Teaching Language*. This resource offered teachers new methodologies and ideas for embedding language and text in a meaningful way, in scenarios that are real to students (Mullins 1999; NCCA 1999). A further document, *Draft Guidelines to Teachers of English: Leaving Certificate English Syllabus*, was also produced by the committee. Together, these documents provided teachers with detailed guidelines on methodology for the first time. The guidelines aimed to assist teachers to deliver a syllabus in a more professional and informed manner.

Another indicator was the naming of the five types of language to be taught; the Language of Information, Argument and Persuasion being the first on the list, with the Language of Narration and the Aesthetic use of Language coming after them. Ireland has a rich history of storytelling which is organised in documents published by the Department of Education and Science (Department of Education and Science 1998; Mullins 1999) According to the resources given to teachers, the new approach of the comprehension section would question the students' ability to interpret the significance of what they were reading not just the meaning of the words. This was a new departure for the Department of Education as the supplementary documents included teaching tips and strategies with actual examples (Mullins 1999). The new methodologies including sequencing, predicting, comparing and others sought to involve students in thinking about texts, not simply taking what they were told as the end product (Mullins 1999). The new syllabus was a vital document in progressing English teaching in Irish schools. It moved the argument along from what formed acceptable reading material and focused instead on the skills and aesthetic pleasure students could derive from a well-delivered syllabus.

Twenty years ago this document was ground-breaking in its foresight concerning changing technologies and modes of communication. Perhaps written today it would stretch further to include multimodal literacies in a social media world. The syllabus itself acknowledges the changing nature of language and as a syllabus, it has witnessed some of the greatest changes in communication delivery ever to have occurred in such a short period. It is testimony to its foresight that it has withstood these changes. The most striking element is how this syllabus

contrasts with those that had gone before it, especially when contrasted with the syllabus of Era 1 (see chapter five).

8.3.3 Structure of the New English Examination

Similar to the previous era (see chapter seven), the examination was divided into two papers. Paper One consists of a Comprehending and a Composing section, like previous years, with reading comprehension and the essay. However, now the emphasis across both papers was on the comprehension and composition of language and there was far greater fluidity to questioning.

Paper One is allocated a theme which is named on the cover page. Each question within the examination has been loosely related to this theme therefore the paper was cohesive. Paper One consists of a comprehending section and a composing section. Unlike previous years the comprehension is split into three texts, one of which could be a visual text. The visual text is an important inclusion as it recognises the diversity of learners completing the examination. Each text is followed by a number of questions and students have had to answer one of these texts. This has introduced a certain level of student autonomy/choice and potentially an ability to exercise creativity. The next aspect of the examination paper to be altered was the introduction of Part B: a functional writing piece. Students are routinely asked to write the script for letters, memos, reports, (radio) talks and speeches. More recently, students have been asked to write the text of a blog which reflects the digital world in which we live. This illustrates a close alignment between the realities of students' lives, which are increasingly connected to digital technology, and the examination.

All writing is styled around the five styles of language: the Language of Information, the Language of Argument, the Language of Persuasion, the Language of Narration and the Aesthetic Use of language. These language styles are mirrored in Figure 8.1. It is hoped through these five language styles that students can process information, be creative, think critically, develop their voice and learn to communicate effectively overall. Students currently study genre for the first time and are required to identify and write in different genres. Accuracy is given importance in the correction of examinations with PCLM as a guideline for examiners. Marks are awarded for Clarity of Purpose (P): Coherence of Delivery (C): Efficiency of Language Use (L) and Accuracy of Mechanics (M). The retention of marks for language use

and mechanics like spelling and grammar show that accuracy of language use is still valued. It is worth mentioning that in the examination section of the syllabus it was noted that while the examination is a terminal one "the feasibility of oral and aural assessment will be researched" (Department of Education and Science 1998, p. 19). It is not clear why this did not come to fruition. The terminal examination has changed little across the four eras as a result. The marking scheme PCLM is used across Paper Two, which acknowledges that the English Leaving Certificate examination paper is primarily concerned with accurate, coherent delivery of opinion and argument regardless of the topic. Students are still rewarded for proficient and regular quotation from their texts, but the marking of these under PCLM means that delivery of such quotations must be accurate.

The examination papers of this era are much more complicated documents than those which have gone before. They include visual texts, multiple reading comprehensions and a variety of choice across the paper. As mentioned previously, the examinations are framed with a named theme on the first page to which questions are linked. This had not been done before. The theme changes every year and they give interesting insights into the culture of Ireland post-2001 and go some way in interpreting the lives of young people during these years (see Table 8.1 below).

Table 8.1: Themes of Examinations (2001-2016).

Year	Theme
2001	Irishness
2002	Family
2003	Journeys
2004	Work and Play
2005	Ordinary Lives
2006	Pretence
2007	Change
2008	Identity
2009	Decisions
2010	The Future
2011	Mystery
2012	Memory
2013	Story-Telling
2014	Influence
2015	Challenges
2016	Journeys

The significance of these themes is that they are not necessarily the same as those of other Eras. The importance of the economy in the social and cultural development of the country emerged

as a primary theme in this era. The discussion on the examination paper analysis for Era 4 will therefore include an extra section. The headings for this era are as follows: 1). Economic and Social Developments, 2). The Roman Catholic Church, 3). Gender, 4). Irish Identity in a Post-Colonial World and finally 5). The Role of English as a subject in Citizen Formation.

8.4 Analysis of the Examination Papers

This section outlines the analysis of corpus and how this mirrors the themes discussed above.

8.4.1 The Economy and the Examination Papers

The economy emerged as a significant feature in this section. Many new terms appeared that had never been seen before. The economy is organised under three subheadings:

- Lifestyle Related References.
- Time-Related References.
- Digital References.

Together these themes create an image of Ireland between 2001-2016.

8.4.1.1 Lifestyle Related References

Figure 8.2: Lifestyle-related Words (2001-2016).
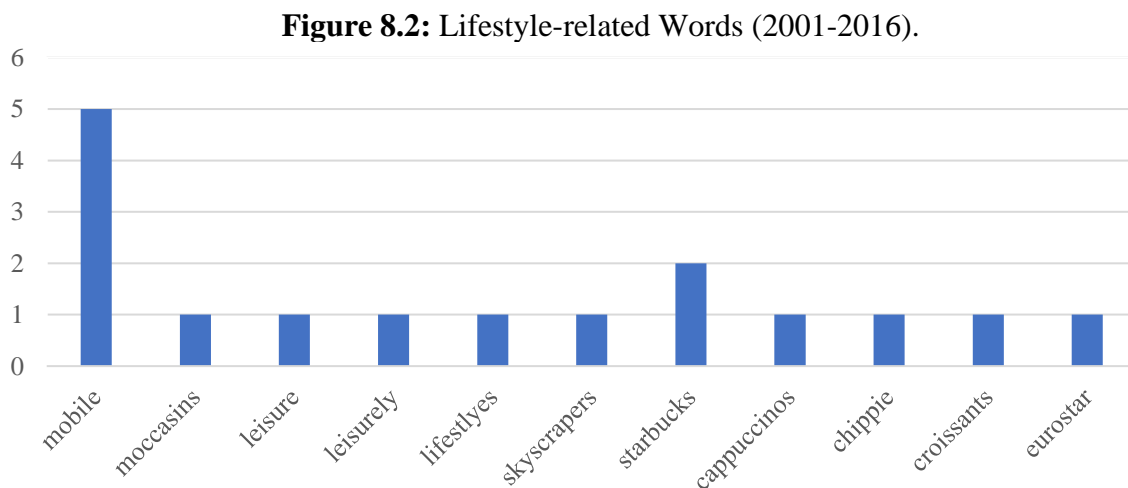
One of the most interesting aspects of the word frequency results for this era is the sheer amount of new lifestyle-related words that had not appeared on examination papers before. These words reflect the luxury items the economic boom had introduced to Ireland. 'Starbucks', 'cappuccinos', 'croissants' and 'moccasins', along with 'skyscrapers' all form an impression of a much more cosmopolitan, more international nation. 'Parties', 'galleries', 'occasions' and 'extravagant', mirrored with 'helicopters', 'Eurostar' and 'holidays' highlight how the economic situation in Ireland had changed. There are also thirteen frequency counts for 'money' and ten for 'winning'. 'Celebrities', 'Paparazzi', 'The Sopranos' and 'The Spice girls' all form an image of celebrity culture and entertainment, while words like 'hooligan', 'drinkers', 'bankrupt', 'materialism' and 'nicotine' mirror the darker side of increased wealth and social divide. Figures 8.3-8.5 below also provide an insight into the topics covered in the examinations between 2001-2016.

Figure 8.3: Celebrity Culture and Lifestyle 2001-2016.
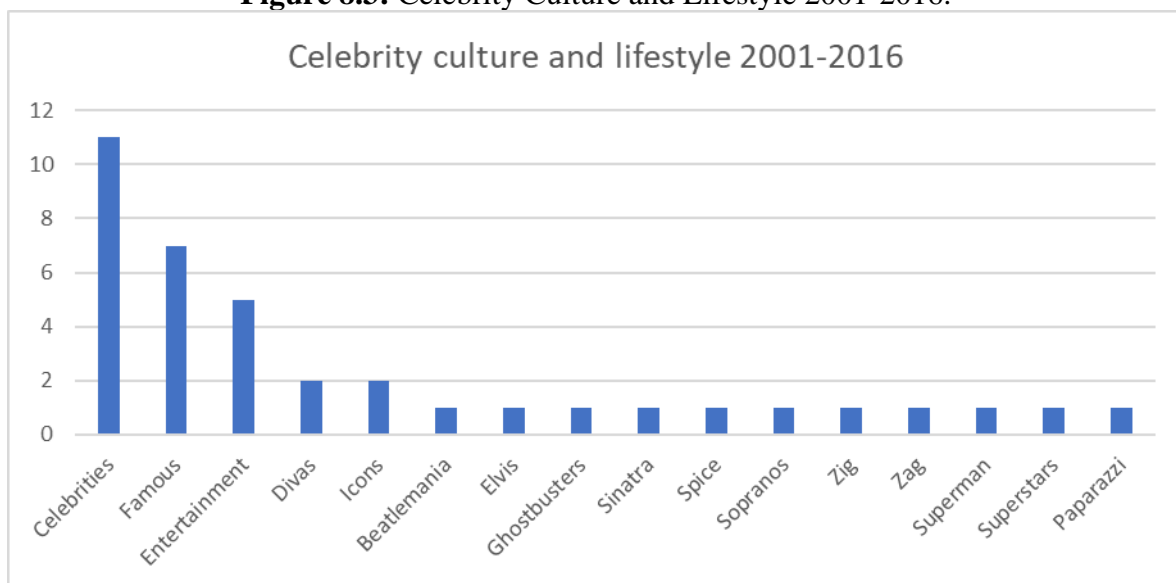
Figure 8.4: Entertainment and Social Vices (2001-2016).
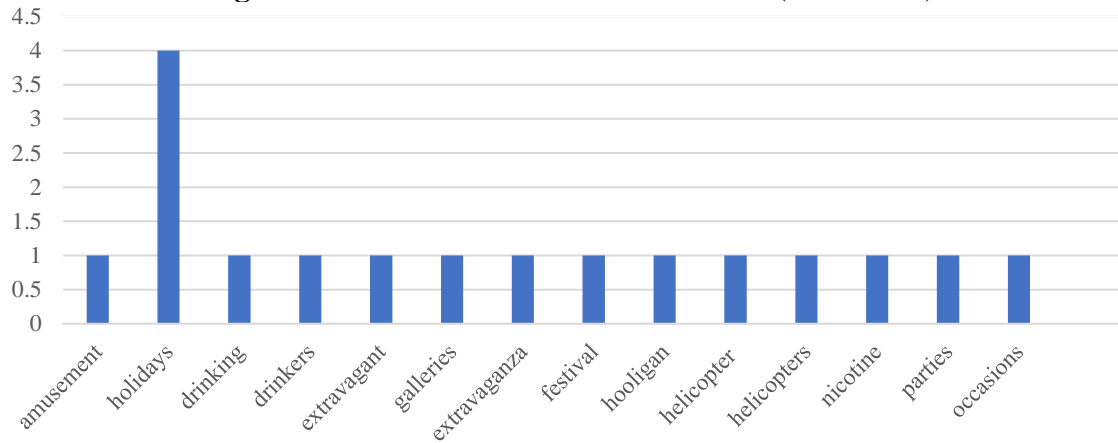
Figure 8.5: Money and Success Related Words (2001-2016).
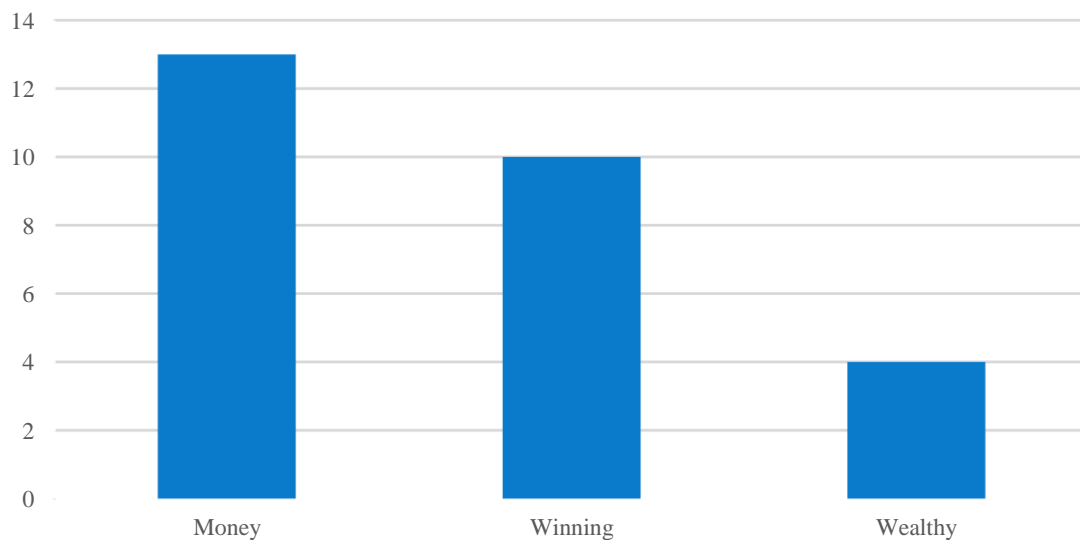
The visual text offered for Reading Comprehension was important in displaying the changing image of Irish identity. In 2003, the visual image referred to 'destinations', with images appearing of luxury holidays like snowboarding, a desert trek on camelback, camping and European city imagery placed next to the galaxy and a deserted Irish beach. In 2006 the visual pictures offered the title 'Pretence' with imagery of exotic and varied impressions of entertainment. This theme continued with the use of visual imagery or pictures such as houses and luxury furniture (see Appendix 8.2). In 2016, 'The Comedy of Errors' poster displayed a fun and colourful impression of theatre as entertainment (see Appendix 8.3).

8.4.1.2 Time Related

Another interesting aspect of the data for the years 2001-2016 was the noticeable amount of references to time. Not only are there a large number of references to age but also time itself. 'Young' has a frequency count of sixty two, 'younger' has a count of four and 'youthfulness' is mentioned once. 'Teenagers' are mentioned seven times, 'teenager' six times, 'teenage' twelve times while 'adolescents' are mentioned four times and 'adolescence' has a frequency count of three. On the other hand, 'ageing', 'ageism', 'ageist', 'elderly', 'elder' and 'eldest' are all mentioned once. There are frequency counts for words like 'immediate', 'instant', 'future', 'currently', 'frequent' and 'infinity' among others.

Time and age have a frequency count between them of 118. This idea of time is mirrored at times in the composing section. For example, in 2012 students were presented with the essay title "Write a light hearted and entertaining article, intended for publication in a magazine aimed at young people, in response to the phrase, "…all the time in the world"" (State Examinations Commission 2012). Additionally, to mirror the language of busy lives and time passing, in 2013 students were asked to "Write a personal essay about the tension you find between the everyday treadmill and the gilded promises of life" (State Examinations Commission 2013c). The examination papers sought to encourage students to consider time as precious.

8.4.1.3 Digital Language and References

Figure 8.6: Digital References (2001-2016).
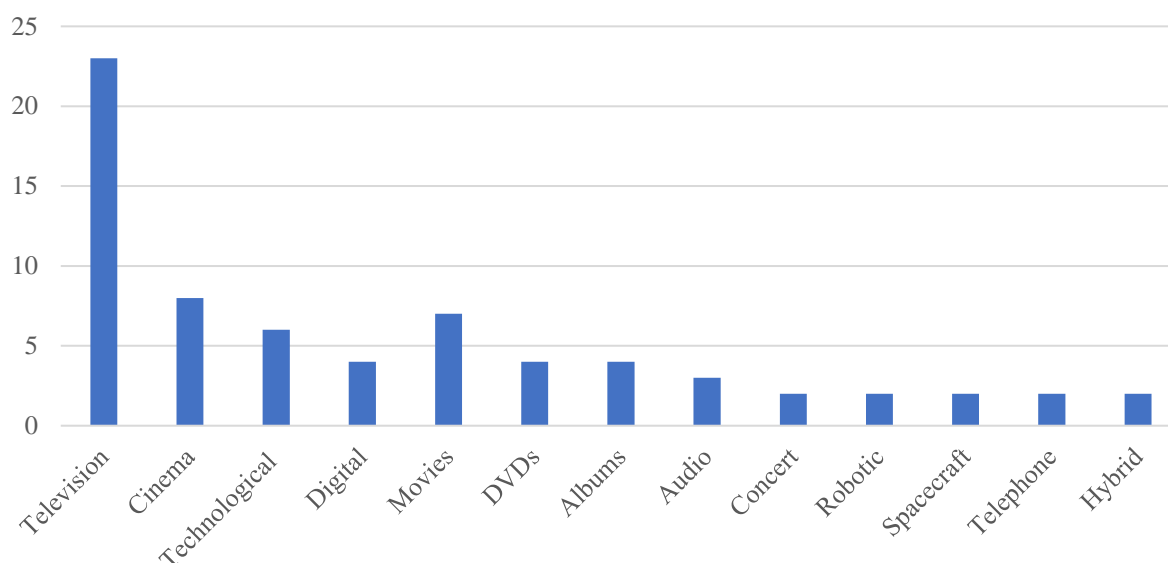
Globalisation and Ireland's economic boom at the start of this era led to an increase in awareness of the digital world. The data produced references to 'keyboards', 'keypads', the 'World Wide Web' and 'cameras'. 'Online', 'viral' and 'hybridisation' are all mentioned. The era is marked by rapid digital advances with references to 'Walkman' and 'iPod'. 'Video' is also mentioned. Companies like 'Sony' and 'Nokia' are specifically mentioned. 'Television' is mentioned twenty three times, 'cinema' eight, 'movies' seven, 'DVD' has two frequency counts as does 'DVDs'. 'Album' has a frequency occurrence of four, 'audio' three and 'concert' two. This displays the boom experienced by the film and entertainment industries. 'Technological' is mentioned six times and 'digital' four. 'Robotic' is mentioned twice, as is 'spacecraft'. The use of personal devices became a feature of this era with mobile phones and smartphones in particular become more common. This theme can also be seen in Paper One writing tasks. In 2009 students were asked to write an essay titled "Write a persuasive speech in praise of science and technology" (State Examinations Commission 2009).

As access to increases, the impact technology has on the lives of students has been widely debated. In 2011, under the Composing Section of the Leaving Certificate Paper, students were asked to "Write an article for a popular magazine in which you outline your views about the impact of technology on the lives of young people" (State Examinations Commission 2011). In 2015, students are asked to respond to "Write a discursive essay, in which you discuss the

importance of privacy in people's lives and the challenges to privacy in the modern age" (State Examinations Commission 2015). This shows the growing and altering attitudes to the role of technology in the lives of young people.

8.4.2 Religious References

In discussing frequency, there must also be cognisance given to what appears to be missing. In the range and variety of language in the examination papers of this era, religious language does not take centre stage. This sets this era apart from the first two eras. The change in the role of the Catholic Church in Ireland that had begun to take place in Era 3 is more obvious from 2001.

In total there are 102 references to religion in the examination papers of this era, a relatively low-frequency count, compared to the overall word count. 'God' is mentioned twelve times, the 'Bible' seven times. 'Church' has a frequency count of six and 'Cathedral' has a frequency count of five. 'Candles', 'ceremony', 'cross', 'hell' and 'soul' have occurrences of four counts each. Almost all references of this kind come from a relatively small bank of text titles. For example, "The Poisonwood Bible" accounts for all frequency counts of the word 'Bible'. The twelve counts for the word 'God' can be explained by its use in the extracts chosen for comprehending. Compared to other eras religious references have decreased and religious references in-text titles are relatively few. This mirrors the overall decrease in church influence in Ireland and the general move towards a more secular society.

8.4.3 Gender and Examination Papers

Figure 8.7: Overview of Gender (2001-2016).
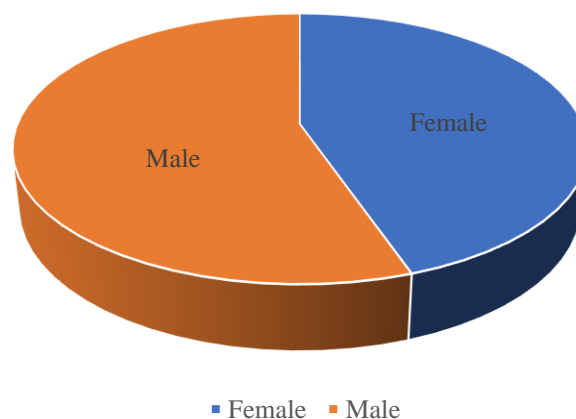
Gender balance is relatively achieved in this era and Figure 8.4 provides a good contrast with the previous eras. Total male counts stand at 643 and total female counts stand at 520. 'She' has a frequency count of 171 and 'he' has a frequency count of 189. 'Her' is mentioned 222 times, 'him' is mentioned 212 times and 'he' is mentioned 189 times. 'Him', sixty four times, 'her' four times, 'lady' twenty eight times and 'man' thirty nine times. 'Girl' has a frequency count of twenty one and 'boy' has a frequency count of nineteen.

Across the texts chosen for the Single Text and the Comparative Study, there is also a greater representation of female writers and poets. Three of the eight poets offered for study in 2008 were female. However, it is noticeable that in the same year, only two of the nine options for the Single Text are female. There is still room for progress in the area of gender equality in text choice (see Appendix 8.4). Overall, however, the gap has narrowed considerably with overall female mentions at 520 to 643 male mentions. In Era one, the gap was much wider (see chapter five for more). This is representative of a general societal move towards equality.

8.5 Irish Identity and the Post-Colonial World

This section will discuss how Irish identity altered during this era. The increase in diversity is outlined and how this is reflected in the variety of texts offered for reading material highlighted.

8.5.1 Diversity

The examination papers reflected the theme of national identity and diversity in a myriad of ways. A striking aspect of the data for this era was the change in the type of words that occurred. This highlighted the changing nature of culture and society in Ireland in the years of the era. In 2001 the theme of the paper was 'Irishness', in 2002 'Family', in 2007 'Change' and in 2008 'Identity'. There were also multiple references to sport. Although sport as a theme has relatively few reference counts, it appears over a large span of years. Considering the sporting achievements by Irish athletes during this era, it is only fitting that it should appear in the examination papers, after all, sport has been an important element in social bonding (McWilliams 2008).

Some of the texts and writers offered on the prescribed course present students with an alternative view of the family. For the first time, students have studied the works and lives of

openly homosexual writers like Elizabeth Bishop, Oscar Wilde and W.H. Auden. Texts have for study include characters whose sexuality is called into question, for example, with *Strictly Ballroom* and *Billy Elliot*. The traditional view of the family is challenged in *Foster* or *Juno* and the expected role of women is challenged in *A Doll's House.* Bullying and crime are explored in *A Cat's Eye* and *I'm not Scared* respectively. The topic of rape is also examined in *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, war in *The Plough and Stars* and terrorism in *Lies of Silence*. Characters face diverse, challenging and often contemporary problems that aid students to make sense of the world they live in.

Tolerance, diversity, empathy and difference are also themes that appear in Paper One writing sections. In 2005 the following question appeared, "Write an article for publication in a serious newspaper or journal in which you draw attention to the plight of a person or group of people whom society has rejected" (State Examinations Commission 2005). The prescribed texts also offer insight into various cultures and societies. Texts like *The Bookseller of Kabul*, *The Kite Runner*, *Wild Swans*, *Purple Hubiscus* and *The Grass is Singing* display life in other countries. While texts like *My Left Foot* and *Inside I'm Dancing* offer insights into disability. Additionally, in 2011 students were offered the essay title "Write an article for a serious newspaper or magazine on the twin issues of discrimination and tolerance" (State Examinations Commission 2011).

On the other hand, national identity has featured more than once. For example, in 2008 students were asked to "Write a speech in which you argue for or against the necessity to protect national culture and identity" (State Examinations Commission 2008). There are multiple references to Irish dancing and Irish music, particularly in 2001 and 2005. Irish writers have featured heavily in reading comprehensions. For example, Claire Kilroy (2008), John Banville (2008), Lara Marlowe (2011), Colum McCann and Kevin Barry (2011) and William Trevor (2013). Other Irish figures like Seamus Heaney and Mary Robinson have both appeared twice since 2001. Questioning surrounding national identity has been carefully balanced with texts of multiple interpretations of society and diversity.

We can see from the list of prescribed material for senior cycle study, and from questions on Paper One that multiculturalism in society is celebrated in this era and students are encouraged to reflect on the role they play in inclusion in an altering society.

8.5.2 The Variety of Canon

Interestingly, this era proved far more difficult to track the names of authors and texts through AntConc than the other eras. The new syllabus provides teachers with lists of novels, plays and poets to choose from and this list changes yearly. Many writers shared the same first name for example (see Appendices 8.5 and 8.6). Elizabeth Bennet, Elizabeth Bishop and Elizabeth Proctor all appeared within the data for example. The same issue that arose with Elizabeth arose with John. This displays the variety of titles and writers that appeared for examination once the course changed in 2001. For the first time, a manual analysis had to be carried out on The Canon rather than using AntConc for this section which had been used reliably in all the other eras. While this methodological challenge has been discussed earlier (see section 4.6), it demonstrates the volume of literature choice available for study for this era. The Classics are still well represented and the accepted Canon has not been completely altered as can be seen in the Table 8.2 below.

Table 8.2: Analysis of Canon Texts (2001-Present).

Year	2001	2002	2003
Single Text	Jane Eyre	Jane Eyre	Wuthering Heights
	Great Expectations	Great Expectations	The Remains of the Day
	Far from the Madding Crowd	Far from the Madding Crowd	Death of a Salesman
	King Lear	King Lear	Amongst Women
	Hamlet	Hamlet	Macbeth
	Antigone	Antigone	
Poetry	Elizabeth Bishop	Elizabeth Bishop	
	John Keats	Eavan Boland	John Donne
	Philip Larkin	Michael Longley	Robert Frost
	Michael Longley	William Shakespeare	Sylvia Plath
Comparative Study Modes	Theme or Issue	Theme or Issue	Seamus Heaney
	Literary Genre	Cultural Context	Cultural Context
			General Vision and Viewpoint

	2004	2005	2006
Single Text	Wuthering Heights	Wuthering Heights	Pride and Prejudice
	Silas Marner	Silas Marner	The Poisonwood Bible
	A Doll's House	Amongst Women	Death and Nightigales
	Amongst Women	Hamlet	As You Like It
	Macbeth	As You Like It	King Lear
	Gerard Manly Hopkins	Eavan Boland	
	Sylvia Plath	Emily Dickinson	
Poetry			John Donne

Comparative Study Modes	Patrick Kavanagh Derek Mahon Theme or Issue Literary Genre	T.S. Eliot W.B. Yeats General Vision and Viewpoint Literary Genre	Thomas Hardy Elizabeth Bishop Michael Longley Theme or Issue Cultural Context
	2007	**2008**	**2009**
Single Text	Pride and Prejudice Wuthering Heights The Poisonwood Bible Death of a Salesman Macbeth	Wuthering Heights The Remains of the Day Death and Nightingales The Crucible Othello	Cat's Eye Regeneration The Crucible Jane Eyre Macbeth
Poetry	Robert Frost T.S. Eliot John Montague Sylvia Plath	Philip Larkin John Donne Derek Mahon Adrienne Rich	Derek Walcott John Keats John Montague Elizabeth Bishop
Comparative Study Modes	General Vision and Viewpoint Cultural Context	Theme or Issue Literary Genre	Theme or Issue Cultural Context
	2010	**2011**	**2012**
Single Text	Wuthering Heights Dancing at Lughnasa King Lear The Grapes of Wrath The Blackwater Lightship	Wuthering Heights A Doll's House A Whistle in the Dark Hamlet The Grapes of Wrath	Emma Empire of the Sun Dancing at Lughnasa A Doll's House Hamlet
Poetry	T.S. Eliot Patrick Kavanagh W.B. Yeats Adrienne Rich	Emily Dickinson Robert Frost Eavan Boland W.B. Yeats	Thomas Kinsella Adrienne Rich Philip Larkin Patrick Kavanagh
Comparative Study Modes	General Vision and Viewpoint Literary Genre	Theme or Issue Cultural Context	General Vision and Viewpoint Literary Genre
	2013	**2014**	**2015**
Single Text	Wuthering Heights The Great Gatsby The Grass is Singing Macbeth Antigone	Pride and Prejudice Empire of the Sun Translations Never Let Me Go Macbeth	Pride and Prejudice The Great Gatsby Never Let Me Go All My Sons Othello
Poetry	Elizabeth Bishop	William Bulter Yeats	John Montague Robert Frost

Comparative Study Modes	Gerard Manly Hopkins Derek Mahon Sylvia Plath Cultural Context Theme or Issue	Emily Dickinson Philip Larkin Sylvia Plath Cultural Context General Vison and Viewpoint	Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin Thomas Hardy Theme or Issue Literary Genre
Single Text Poetry Comparative Study Modes	2016 Wuthering Heights The Great Gatsby Translations Death and Nightingales King Lear Emily Dickinson T.S. Eliot Elizabeth Bishop Paul Durcan Cultural Context Literary Genre	2017 Emma The Great Gatsby A Doll's House Death and Nightingales Hamlet Eavan Boland John Donne John Keats Elizabeth Bishop General Vision or Viewpoint Theme or Issue	2018 Wuthering Heights The Great Gatsby All My Sons Americanah King Lear Robert Frost Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin John Montague Philip Larkin Cultural Context Literary Genre
	2019 Americana The Handmaid's Tale Persuasion By the Bog of Cats Macbeth Brendan Kennelly Elizabeth Bishop W.B. Yeats Sylvia Plath General Vision and Viewpoint Literary Genre		

The gender imbalance in text choice mentioned above was also noted on completion of a manual analysis. Two female poets have been examined almost every year since 2011, and in 2014 there were three female poets out of the eight prescribed (see Appendix 8.7). The inclusion of such a variety of literary texts, novels, films and dramas displays the changing reality of Irish life and culture.

A review of one of these novels, *The Spinning Heart* by Donal Ryan, gives a significant insight into life in Ireland post-2008. Set in a small community, it portrays the deep shock of the

construction and banking collapse. The social hierarchy of such villages is represented with characters such as Pokey Burke, Bobby Mahon, Seanie, Vasya, Triona and Réaltin. Bobby Mahon is the foreman on a building site owned by Pokey Burke's company. When it comes to light that Pokey had not paid the man's social security stamps Bobby struggles with his identity. On the outside Bobby is perceived as strong and capable, however, his inner dialogue berates his foolishness. At the social welfare office when the lady asks if he had never requested a P60 from his employer he responds "'A what now? You're some fool', she said with her eyes. I know I am, my red cheeks said back" (Ryan 2013, p. 9). He questions his worth, why his wife married him when he was clearly beneath her in his own eyes and is sickened by his past attitude to money thinking "I was a great fella. *Foreman*, I was, clearing a grand a week". Behind the self-hatred is the complex father-son relationship that is mirrored in many Irish texts and the fear to perform academically in front of peers "I couldn't ever let on I knew anything, though, that would have been suicide in my gang. I did pass maths even though I know I could have done honours. I never opened my mouth in English" (Ryan 2013, p. 11). Fitting in, in small communities is portrayed as paramount and it was more important than academic success. Working on the building sites was lucrative and other employment opportunities were not considered necessary during the economic boom. This, Bobby realises bitterly, was a mistake. The novel touches on many themes of life in Ireland, alcoholism, jealousy, social status and familial disappointment. It is underpinned by references to religion and the economy.

Another character, Vasya, represents the diversity that had occurred in Ireland during the early years of the 21st century "I'm called the Russian here, as almost everyone is from other countries" (Ryan 2013, p. 30). He admits to only being able to speak a few words of English, his linguistic inability is a source of great embarrassment "Shawnee [who] would slap me on the shoulder […] and make the other men laugh. I would smile and look down at my work and feel my face becoming hot. I don't think he was being unkind" (Ryan 2013, p. 30). Through Vasya the reader is afforded a glimpse of how emigrant workers were treated. He is incredibly isolated and exploited. Pokey lies to him about paying him and a workmates wife berates her husband, believing he cannot understand, for including him in a family trip to the beach. It is questioned whether he even exists, having no social security number or stamps after two years in employment. His existence is portrayed as infinitely lonely and vulnerable, "I am too far from my father's home and from my brother's grave" (Ryan 2013, p. 30). Other characters

identify with this idea of being cheated and displaced albeit within their own country. Réaltin lives in a ghost estate, a feature of the construction collapse. A single mother, she tells the reader that the auctioneer "couldn't promise us any of the houses would still be available the next day" (Ryan 2013, pp. 66-67), so she would have to put a deposit down on a house straight away with her father rushing to the Credit Union to withdraw money She is also a vulnerable and lonely character who is unsure of her place in society.

The novel displays a fundamental lack of confidence and self-belief in Ireland's young people. There is a sense of failure and disillusionment that permeates every section of society. Seanie, Réaltin's son Dylan's father, also questions his worth. Another character left in crisis by the economic crash he surmises Dylan is better off without him, "I'm no good to him though. What good am I?" (Ryan 2013, p. 79), he questions when Réaltin's father asks him to leave Réaltin and Dylan alone. He comments that he did not tell many people about Réaltin because his family were "into the whole mad Irish country thing of keeping secrets. It's nearly like a kind of embarrassment, not wanting to say anything about yourself for fear you'll be judged or looked on as foolish" (Ryan 2013, p. 79). This lack of self-confidence leaves him, like many of the characters, questioning everything they do and say. We also get an insight into the attitude on mental health in rural Ireland through Seanie. He says that although he has often felt the blackness and the pressure to be a 'proper man', he did not have the language for this until "every prick started talking about depression and mental health and all that shite. I'm not a mentaller" (Ryan 2013, p. 81). Seanie's commentary is a dark social analysis of disappointment, unhappiness, regret, depression and suicide rates in Ireland. Only Triona displays faith in her life and happiness in her position. Her marriage to Bobby Mahon grounds her. The novel ends with her powerful message for the post-recession community. Love is what binds us and what propels humans through times of difficulty. It is the only thing that matters. This is an important message for a society who had lost its way. Financial success and social status matter little in the post-recessionary world. The inclusion of novels like *The Spinning Heart* for study is profoundly important as a social document. It seeks to represent the patchwork of society around the years after 2008, highlighting the fragmented nature of both Irish communities and the vulnerable nature of Ireland's youth.

8.6 The Role of English as a subject in citizen formation (2001-2016)

This section outlines the role of English as a school subject in citizen formation throughout this era. Specific reference is made to the increased awareness to inclusion, wellbeing, the environment and how to empower students for the modern world through language.

8.6.1 Inclusion and Literacy

Throughout this era, there was greater priority afforded to students with additional needs. The effects of the Education Act (Ireland) 1998 were multifaceted but one immediate impact was the inclusion of previously ignored demographics. Students with additional needs needed to be supported, as did minority groups such as the Travelling Community, all of whom now had a right to mainstream education following the Education Act. Students who had come from abroad, with English as a second language, also needed support. As previously mentioned the PISA test revealed a decrease in reading skills nationally in 2009 (see section 8.1 for more). There were multiple reasons for this decrease, one of which was the change in diversity in Irish classrooms. The linguistic and cultural diversity of classrooms would need addressing in this period (OECD 2013).

Several initiatives were implemented to improve scores. These initiatives are outlined in *Education Policy Outlook: Ireland (2013)*. School Self-Evaluation (SSE) was established to target areas of schooling that were sources of concern. SSE required all schools to reflect on areas for improvement. To this effect, the areas that were first chosen for improvement were literacy and numeracy. This was known as the first cycle of SSE and took place between 2012-2016 (The Inspectorate 2016, p. 45). Literacy was identified as an area for improvement as Ireland had placed poorly internationally in terms of literacy in numerous reports including PISA (McGuinness *et al.* 2014).

Schools introduced initiatives like *Drop Everything and Read* and *Book in the Bag* to encourage increased reading time at school (Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST) 2019). Despite these initiatives, Donnelly (2019) notes that Irish primary schools allocated less time to reading, writing and literature than their European counterparts. This is important as

the *Growing Up in Ireland* found that 13-year-olds who enjoyed reading in primary school, had a positive attitude to the subject in their secondary school years. However, those who found reading difficult in primary school had a strongly negative outlook. Although the OECD (2019) report acknowledges that Irish teenagers are among the best readers in the world, there has been a general move to digital reading and social media globally. The challenge for Irish classrooms is to embed literacy across the curriculum while also encouraging digital literacy (Conneely *et al.* 2013).

Evidence of inclusion in the examination papers is apparent in this era. Each year, three reading comprehensions are available for students, each of which offers a significant variation in readability. This means that students may be faced with a lower than average, an average and an above-average reading age. This is evident in numerous years. An example of this was in 2016 (see Appendix 8.8-8.10). Not all years showed great variations in readability. Those that did, had an average readability of 13-16 years at Leaving Certificate examination, where students are typically 17 years or older. Table 8.3 below offers a more detailed analysis of the three reading comprehensions for 2016. Taking only the first three readability indicators we can see that there are variations between the texts. Although both Text One and Text Three had an average reading age of 14-15 years, Text 3 was slightly more difficult to read.

Table 8.3: Readability Scores (2016).

Year	Flesch Reading Ease score	Gunning Fog	Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level	Overall Reading Age
Text 1	60.3	11.5	9.6	14-15 years
Text 2	72.7	8.9	6.4	11-13 years
Text 3	57.4	12	9.6	14-15 years

As discussed in chapter three, further investigation of readability is required. Moreover, readability tools do not make allowances for multimodal or visual texts. Therefore, readability testing may not be possible for all years in this era. The purpose of including readability in this chapter is to demonstrate possible allowances that were made during this era for inclusion.

8.6.2 Language and Empowering Students

Another feature of this era was the emphasis placed on empowering students through language. This is an element that featured strongly in the syllabus and there is evidence of this in the examination papers. For example, "Write the text of a talk, serious or humorous, to be given to your peers, titled: "How I intend to change the world!"" (State Examinations Commission 2007). Students are encouraged to acquire the language skills to make meaning of their world and their place in it. For example, in 2014 the composing section included the question "You are representing Ireland in the final of the World Youth Public Speaking Championships. Write a passionate speech in favour of the motion: "Young people should exert their influence by actively engaging with important current issues"" (State Examinations Commission 2014). This type of question encourages students to consider their voice as a powerful tool in the world, that they have agency and can make a difference. It is a question style that has been assessed often since 2001. This is an indicator that the examinations both mirror the syllabus and also a modern society where the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child has been implemented in Ireland since 1992. In line with this, Ireland held its first Child Summit in 2016 to discuss the progress that has been made.

There is also an emphasis on student experience, which was a feature of the syllabus. For example, in 2010, students were asked to "Imagine yourself fifty years from now. You have achieved great success and public recognition in your chosen career. Write the text of an interview (questions and answers) about the experiences and influences in your youth that contributed to your later success" (State Examinations Commission 2010). In 2015 a Part B question asked "Your school Principal has decided not to hold any graduation ceremony for the Leaving Certificate Class of 2015. The school's Student Council disagrees with this decision. As Chairperson of the Student Council you have been asked to write a letter to the Principal, in which you express the students' dissatisfaction with this decision and make a case for holding a graduation event. Write the letter you would submit to the Principal" (State Examinations Commission 2015). Student voice, their experiences, their opinions and their place in the world are important elements in Paper One for this era.

Preparation for the world of work is also evident through this type of questioning. Students are routinely asked to write the text of speeches, talks, interviews, letters, presentations, articles,

blogs and competition entries. Each of these skills allows students to practice practical transferable language skills. There is a notable shift in the post-recession years in the Part B question to emphasis these skills more on a formal platform and not just on a personal one. Questions are longer and have three or four elements to be answered. This develops a certain level of critical thinking and patience in student answering (see Table 8.4 below).

Table 8.4: Part B Language Questions Paper One.

2001	Imagine your job is to welcome a group of foreign students to Ireland. Write out the text of a short talk (150 – 200 words) in which you advise them how best to get along with the Irish people they will meet.	In the above text, Mary Robinson refers to the importance of "the local community". Write a short article (150 – 200 words) about a project or activity in your local community, which you admire or condemn.	Imagine your local radio station is producing a programme entitled COMIC MOMENTS in which a person from the community introduces his/her favourite comic moment from the world of radio, television, or live performance. Write the text (150 – 200 words) of the presentation you would like to make
2006	"Hours later…the boy's soul raged…" Imagine that, in an attempt to control his feelings, the boy writes into his diary an account of the incident and his reactions to it. Write out his diary entry.	Write a letter to a famous writer or celebrity or sports personality of your choice offering your services as a ghost writer for a future book. In your letter you should outline the reasons why you believe you would make a successful ghost writer for your chosen author.	Advertising and young people – You report to the Advertising Standards Authority. There is much discussion as to whether or not young people are being exploited by advertisers. Write a short report to the Advertising Standards Authority outlining your views on the matter.
2011	Places one has never visited often hold a certain mystery or fascination. Write a feature article for a travel magazine about a place you have never been	Write a talk, to be delivered to your School Book Club, on the enduring appeal of the mysterious in books, films, etc. You might refer to some of the following aspects of	Imagine you are Sarah, the young girl in Text 3 above. Based on your reading of this extract, write two

240

	to but would like to visit. In your article explain what you find fascinating about this place and why you would like to go there.	the mystery genre in your answer: setting, tension, suspense, dialogue, characterisation, atmosphere, music, special effects, etc.	diary entries, one shortly before and one shortly after your journey to Dublin.
2016	Imagine that you are the adjudicator for a poster competition; entries must promote a production of Shakespeare's play, The Comedy of Errors to a contemporary audience. The entries on Page 2 represent the finalists in the competition. Write a speech in which you announce the first and second prize winners. In your speech you should explain your judgement, commenting on the visual appeal of the first and second prize winning entries and their effectiveness in promoting a production of this Shakespearean play to a contemporary audience.	Your Transition Year class has decided to enter a film-making competition. Entries must be based on an extract from a novel and portray aspects of contemporary Irish life. Your class's entry is based on the above extract from Sara Baume's novel, spill simmer falter wither. Write the text for your class's competition entry in which you identity the elements in the above extract that you think make it suitable for filming, and outline the aspects of contemporary Irish life the passage portrays that you would like to capture in your film.	Imagine that you are an American citizen and you have just listened to President Obama's speech above. You are opposed to the amount of public money committed by the President for space exploration and decide to mount an online campaign against this expenditure. Write a post for your blog in which you give your reasons for opposing the spending of so much public money in this way, and propose how you think these public funds could be better spent.

The average grade achieved in 2013 was 34/50 for the Part B and 67/100 for the Composing Section. The Chief Examiner's Report of the same year expressed concern about students' control over formal language structures and particular mention was made to letter writing. Spelling, punctuation, grammar and the importance of writing in paragraphs was also mentioned specifically (State Examinations Commission 2013a). The importance of students' critical literacy was highlighted with the addition of 'To what extent do you agree or disagree' as a question phrase. This marks a change from mere discussion to a more evaluation and critical literacy (State Examinations Commission 2013a). Although there has been criticism of the secondary school system and the Leaving Certificate seen as a regurgitation exercise (Kenny *et al.* 2012), a study carried out by the State Examinations Commission found that English examinations were largely unpredictable (Baird *et al.* 2014). The report found that

there was a degree of predictability to certain skills being assessed but commented that overall these skills empowered students to use language competently and that it was of benefit that they were assessed (Baird *et al.* 2014).

8.6.3 Personal Pronouns and Questioning

In keeping with the idea of personal experience, there are thirty two references to the 'you' between 2001-2016. These include ten references to 'you', nine to 'your', nine to 'yourself' and four to 'yours'. There are 107 references to 'me', 'myself' is mentioned eight times and 'ourselves' is mentioned five times. 'Experience' is mentioned twenty eight times, 'experiences' ten times and 'experienced' six times. 'Opinion' is mentioned twenty three times and 'opinions' once. Likewise, 'impression' has a frequency count of seventeen and 'impressions' is mentioned three times. Overall, the question words for this era are very varied (see Figure 8.5 below). There are increased references to 'support', 'reference', 'personal response' to a given statement.

Figure 8.5: Question Words (2001-2016).
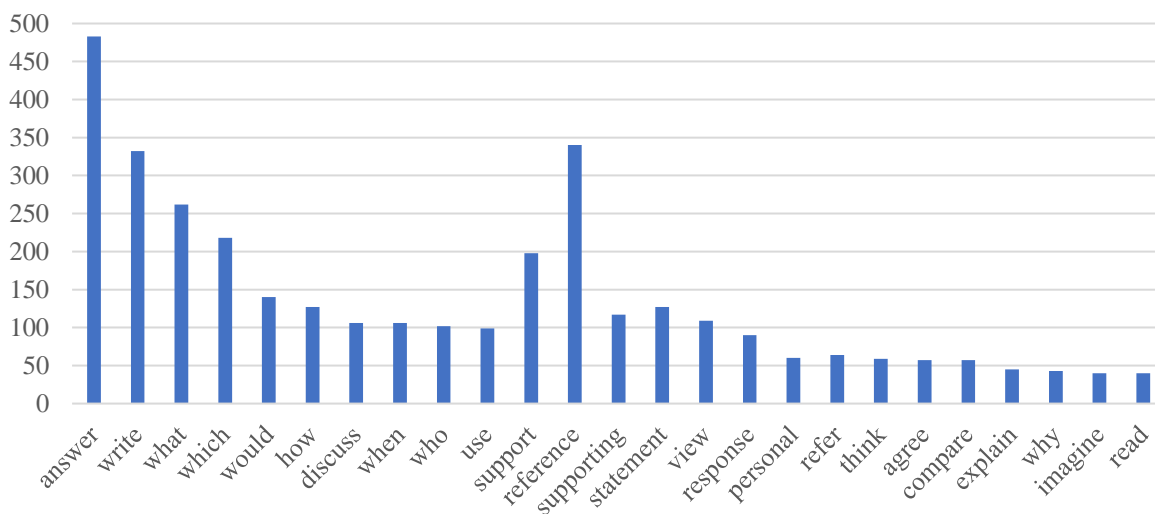
This approach has allowed students greater scope to respond to aspects of poetry that they have enjoyed rather than questions that ask for specific information as in the earlier eras. For example, in 2008 students were offered questions on four poets. Each question was framed in the following manner: "'John Donne uses startling imagery and wit in his exploration of relationships'. Give your response to the poetry of John Donne in the light of this statement.

Support your points with the aid of suitable reference to the poems you have studied" (State Examinations Commission 2008). In this way, students could agree or disagree with the statement and were autonomous in which poems they chose to write about. As such, students are afforded greater autonomy in all aspects of the examination (see Table 8.6 below).

Table 8.6: Choice in Questioning Response (2001-2016).

Question Type	Number of Options Given	Answer
Reading Comprehension	3	1
Part B	3	1
Composing	7	1
Single Text	2	1
Comparative	4	1
Unseen Poetry	2	1
Studied Poetry	4	1

Table 8.3 above, shows the multitude of options available for students and the autonomous nature of the examination. In addition, there are also many options for study for Single Text, but in the examination, there is a further option of question choice. Questions in Paper Two largely ask for the student's opinion, or to what extent do they agree or disagree with the statement given. A student's personal opinion is valued as it features so regularly in questioning. This is in keeping with the expanded syllabus which encourages students to grow, be autonomous thinkers and be responsible agents for their lives.

8.6.4 Wellbeing

In this era (2001-2016), there was a greater emphasis placed on mental health. In 2008 students were presented with the question "'Writing about unhappiness is the source of my popularity'. In light of Larkin's own assessment of his popularity, write an essay outlining your reasons for liking/not liking his poetry. Support your points with the aid of suitable reference to the poems you have studied" (State Examinations Commission 2008). In 2013, the following question appeared "'Plath's provocative imagery serves to highlight the intense emotions expressed in her poetry'. To what extent do you agree or disagree with this assessment of her poetry? Support your answer with suitable reference to the poetry of Sylvia Plath on your course" (State Examinations Commission 2013c). Plath was the most answered poet of that year (State Examinations Commission 2013a b) and has proved enormously popular every year she has appeared for study. Plath's struggles with mental health and her personal narrative may be a

reason that students resonate with her. Throughout the era, there has been a focus on student experience and personal development. In 2005 the essay title "Write an article for a magazine for young adult readers in which you give advice to people on the best way to find a healthy balance between work and play in their lives" appeared (State Examinations Commission 2005).

In the recessionary and post-recessionary period in Ireland, there was an increased emphasis on student wellbeing. Students are encouraged to use their imagination and focus on aspects of happiness. In 2007 students were asked to "Write an article for a popular magazine on the importance of the imagination" (State Examinations Commission 2007). In 2009 the visual text "The Decisive Moment", included imagery of moments of joy contrasted with images of struggle. This dichotomy continued in 2009 with imagery of discord being included in the visual images Reading Comprehension and in 2014 students were again encouraged to focus on the positive with the question "Write a descriptive essay about what you find beautiful or exotic in everyday life" (State Examinations Commission 2014). Increasingly, the focus of essay titles and Part B questions has been on seeking balance, comfort, happiness and finding a voice to express dissatisfaction with intolerance. This displays how questioning has attempted to empower students to express their feelings and emotions.

8.6.5 The Environment

The environment and global warming have been one of the defining topics in this era. In 2010 students were presented with the Part B question "Write a letter (dated June 2010) intended to be read by future generations, in which you express your hopes for planet Earth in the year 2050" (State Examinations Commission 2010). This followed the reading comprehension of a speech given by Al Gore on the environment. In other years, questions were presented as more open-ended, where students could choose to mention the environment or not. In 2015 students were presented with the essay title "Write a thought-provoking speech, to be delivered at a United Nations Youth Conference in which you consider some of the causes and possible solutions to what you see as the defining struggles of our time" (State Examinations Commission 2015).

In 2012 and 2015 there were reading comprehensions that mentioned Mary Robinson and Bono's work to combat world hunger and inequality. There was also a reading comprehension

on the need for space exploration in 2016. During this era, the conferences held by the G8 countries and other global organisations have attempted to coordinate action against climate change.

8.7 Conclusion

Although this era is the shortest era of the study, the greatest changes occurred within it. Irish society altered rapidly due to economic fortunes, the demise of the Catholic Church and a redefining of the Irish family. Examination papers have reflected themes such as the digital age, globalisation, the need for leadership and the place of the citizen in society. There is evidence that the examination papers reflect the changes that have taken place in the economy, with an emphasis on wealth and questions on hobbies, clothes, concerts and travelling. Questions also reflect the changes that have occurred in the place of the child in society. Students are encouraged to be thoughtful, critical participants in our world and through language are empowered to express their opinions, emotions and experiences. They are given the opportunity to imagine themselves representing Ireland at the UN or other international platforms. This is important because it allows students to understand that their voice matters and with the right language skills they can use it to great and lasting effect. They are encouraged to lead with language. The new English syllabus has afforded the space for students to explore their place through personal, argumentative and persuasive language. They are encouraged to decode knowledge through the Language of Information and create with the Language of Narration.

The range of texts for study during this era is reflective of the changes that have taken place in Irish society since 2001. The English classroom is a far more diverse place than in other eras and students now display a range of cultural knowledge and experience. The classroom is now a more inclusive place and students come to school with a range of educational needs. The papers that are offered for Leaving Certificate seek to present students with texts that are understanding or reflective of these needs and experiences. The range of questions offered at examination seek to offer students autonomy of choice, which is representative of the wider syllabus. Students take responsibility for the options they choose. Overall, the examination seeks to afford students the space to make their own choices. This agency, it is hoped, will be further developed for their adult lives.

There is little doubt that it has been a more complete programme than what had come before it. The average grade achieved is a H4 and the average grade at composition is 67/100 (State Examinations Commission 2013a). This is far from an ideal outcome. In a digital world, it is important to question if a terminal written paper is still fit for purpose. Rapid changes have occurred in Ireland, yet the examination has altered little. Across the four eras discussed in this thesis, the terminal examination has changed only by ten minutes in length. However, it has changed greatly in terms of structure and the manner of questioning. Whether it is appropriate to change the method of delivery remains to be seen. Chapter nine will reflect on the senior cycle examination over the 138 years covered in this study. This concluding chapter will also explore the possibilities for assessing this syllabus in the modern world.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

> The Leaving Certificate is seen as a very 'high stakes' exam, with many students viewing it as the first exam that 'really matters'.

> (Smyth 2019, p. xvii)

This study investigated how cultural, political and social change is reflected in the examination papers at senior cycle English in Ireland. Across the chapters, there are key messages to be highlighted in terms of examination papers as useful social primary sources and important cultural documents. They provide a lens through which the social, cultural and political history of Ireland can be viewed and interpreted. As noted in the quote above the Leaving Certificate is an examination that is widely viewed as a high-stakes examination, with entry to universities and colleges linked to success in this set of examinations. Four eras were analysed to determine how they reflect or are impacted by societal and cultural alterations.

Ireland, in its history and politics, is very much tied to British Colonialism. It is a complex relationship between the coloniser and the colony that has led to socio-cultural interdependence (O'Brien 2005). This is felt not only in Ireland but around the colonised world, where colonial traditions and culture have persisted long after colonialism ended (Said 2012). The political status of the colonies of Britain has affected the development of English as a school subject in this country as it has in other former colonies (Rajan 1986). Language is often used to control a people and English has a political, psychological and historic importance that is deep-rooted in an Irish context (Payne 1921; Coleman 2002). The issue of finding suitable reading material for English classrooms was not just problematic only in Ireland but also in other colonies like India for example. Hence, the Canon was championed as the best there was to be learned (Rajan 1986). Certain colonial identity issues resulted from imperialism and imperial education. It can be argued that identity searching as a feature of life in Ireland post-independence dominated the discourse up to the new millennia. Questions abounded of what constituted 'Irishness' that went beyond the *who* and *what* we are (Lloyd 1993). The difficulty of identity in Ireland has been that colonialism is a legacy that is difficult to reconcile (O'Brien 2008). It is a legacy that

both established intermediate education and a system of examinations based on integrity and meritocracy and a legacy that Ireland has found difficult to divest.

This chapter focuses on the findings of the overall study and aims to provide a synthesis of these findings with the overarching research questions outlined in chapter one. The key conclusions are discussed in relation to the theoretical framework that has underpinned the research. The overarching contribution to the existing research is discussed. The contribution made by the methodological approach is explained and the use of AntConc as a methodological tool for research outside of the linguistical realm is defended. Similarly, the limitations of the research are highlighted. The gaps are also identified which permits for future research to take place in this field.

9.2 Theoretical Framework

This thesis adopted social history as a framework, rather than the 'factographic' approach that is often seen as a criticism of the History of Education (Kelly and Hegarty 2017). This framework was deemed suitable due to the inextricable link between political and academic developments throughout the second half of the last century in Ireland. The development of the History of Education to include social history has allowed the field to be more inclusive, permitting for greater and new perspectives and advocating for change (Kelly and Hegarty 2017). It has a complex context as it overlaps with the history of the Catholic Church, Colonisation, Anglicisation, Gaelicisation and government policy.

Ball (1993) refers to policy as a complex social issue. While there is a need to view the structural macro-level analysis of school systems and policies, there is also a need for a micro-level investigation which can at times seem awkward or theoretically challenging. He discusses the complexity of understanding policy and the importance of using more than one research tool. Considering the difficulties surrounding policy, therefore, a historical approach was deemed the most suitable in this research. Silver (1990) argues that history is concerned with origins and intentions. Historical analysis seeks to address the complexities of competing and conflicting values and goals, the explicit and inexplicit representation of objectives which spring from diverse economic and social realities. It is concerned with the policy choices that are made, the decisions that are made, by whom they are made, with what timing and with what

authority. It is concerned with the guidelines, the rules, the regulations, the machineries of information, the interpretation in practice and the outcome. At its most theoretical, the analysis is concerned with what happens and why. At its most pragmatically historical it asks what, in known instances, seems to have happened (Silver 1990). This approach was deemed necessary considering the longitudinal nature of the period and the complex relationship between examination and the syllabus it seeks to access. In this way, policy and syllabi design is important in understanding the examinations. The examination papers as evidenced in this research can be viewed as translations of policy and syllabus in practice.

In the context of a historical framework, the theoretical lens for this thesis stemmed from the connectivity between government policy, syllabus design and examination design in Ireland. This became the central analysis lens. Within each era, the events and data are examined from these three perspectives. This interplay was important in highlighting the decisions made at examination level and how content and rubric altered over time. It was also important in analysing not only how examination papers reflect social and cultural change but can also spur change in and of themselves. Given the length of some eras, the examination papers stretched the limits of the syllabus and spurred curricular and syllabi change. This was particularly evident in Era 2. While government policy, syllabus and examination content have altered and progressed as society changed and developed, examination design has not. The historical lens of change provides an insight into what has been pliable, malleable and progressive and what has remained static and stagnant. When investigating examination and assessment in education it is vital to appreciate if these elements are as organic, developmental and transformative as the syllabus and educational policy itself. If aspects of assessment such as design remain steadfast and unchanging it is important to not only identify this but also to document it in an impartial and unbiased manner. The historical framework and theoretical lens has allowed for this critical analysis to occur. The findings of this thesis, under such a paradigm, endure rigorous scrutiny.

9.3 Methodological Framework

Goodson (1983, 1994) discusses the multifaceted nature of the history of curriculum and how school subjects evolve. Referencing the tendency of viewing a school subject once established as a *fait accompli*, he argues that the social history of a school subject must be taken into

account to understand the forces which push and influence the elevation of some aspects of the subject over others. Furthermore, the strategies employed in the development and promotion of school subjects are often informed by the social history and backgrounds of those same subjects. Therefore, in analysing the creation of the syllabus as well as the examination process of school subjects, it is important to remain aware of the wider socio-political context that the decisions are made in.

Adopting a theoretical lens of the interaction between policy, syllabus and examinations, and their reflection of contextual factors such as social, cultural or economic transitions, exemplifies the challenges of writing history. Such complexity underscores the value of a mixed-methods approach. The purpose of such a historical analysis is to examine change. In a study of this magnitude, change and changing patterns, trends and norms abound. They dominate the discourse and are present in various facets in every era examined. A documentary analysis not only provided the backbone of this research but was a necessary factual and data orientated platform. The examination papers, as stated, are important artefacts in this process. As the researcher is a Leaving Certificate English teacher there was potential for unintended and tentative bias. Therefore, triangulation with AntConc was a valuable tool to provide objectivity and to keep bias in check. AntConc according to its founder is most useful in its data-driven approach to learning (Anthony 2004). This methodological approach allowed for a micro-level analysis of examination papers to challenge or substantiate the macro-level discourse.

A composite approach was employed which allowed for greater depth to understanding the developments in examination over time. The composite approach is useful in maintaining neutrality (Barakat *et al.* 2002). This is a novel approach in the History of Education as it provides an insight into examination which enabled deeper analysis of the trends across an extended period of history. The development of this original approach shows that innovation and discovery in methodology are possible even when examining historical documents and primary sources. Digital literacy and technology allow for boundless possibilities to look at data in new and fresh ways. To the best of this researcher's knowledge, the primary material in this study has never been investigated in this way. This shows that English educational primary documents in Ireland are a vast untapped resource. The value of this is incalculable as historical analysis can inform our present and enlighten future policy.

250

9.4 Central Questions and Sub-Questions

The central question of this thesis pertains to the extent to which the examination papers of each of the four eras reflect the political, economic, social and cultural context of the period. For this research, society was understood to be related to people and their interactions, while culture refers to an amalgam of values and norms at a particular time. This study encompasses the period 1878-2016. This was a turbulent, dramatic and transformative period in Irish history. The influence of colonialism, gender, the Catholic Church, independence and the economy were ubiquitous in every facet of Irish life. Undoubtedly these factors would influence education in Ireland. The central question of this thesis is whether senior cycle examinations which are ingrained in the Irish psyche would also be influenced by these overarching themes.

There were three sub-questions in this study. The first sub-question concerned itself with the connectivity between policy, syllabus and examination. This triumvirate was vital to the study. The Intermediate Education Board established a system that has essentially lasted since 1878. Payment by Results had a lasting effect on examinations in Ireland and the fact that teachers were paid a bonus when their students achieved high grades engrained a culture of assessment by examinations and competitiveness. Although the concept of meritocracy has altered as student numbers increased and Ireland became more progressive, attitudes to the validity and reliability of the examination results have persisted. The Leaving Certificate has a central position in the examination culture that has continued since the intermediate examinations. English Paper One has been the first scheduled examination each year and has become synonymous with examination culture within the Irish psyche. The discussion that takes place within the Irish media regarding the examination is testimony to the unusual position examinations hold in Irish society (Smyth *et al*. 2011; O'Donoghue *et al*. 2017).

Above all else, the examination papers reflect a deeply postcolonial curriculum. Before 1922, the Intermediate Education Board participated in the promotion of imperialist values. After 1924, when the Free State government abolished the Intermediate Education Board and replaced the Senior Grade examination with the Leaving Certificate, the state advanced nationalist ideals. In this manner, examinations were not politically neutral.

Unravelling the relationship between the state, syllabus design and examinations is vital for understanding the roles of Church and State and particularly the role the Catholic Church played in Irish education. When the British government introduced intermediate education, they introduced a system of examinations but did not overhaul the school structure. There was no attempt to create a 'system'. The intermediate examinations allowed for the financial support of schools through Payment by Results without interfering with the ownership of schools which was left to the Churches. This decision had a two-fold and long-term impact. The first of these was the fact that access to secondary schooling was unevenly distributed across the country and it developed as a private and exclusive system. Therefore, access was restricted and not universal. The so-called 'Secondary Tops' was a novel approach to provide some limited access to exceptional students in their local national school. The second significant result of intermediate education was that the Churches retained immense power over education in Ireland. This influence dominated policy decisions in Irish education from the establishment of the Free State until the 1990s.

The relationship between government policy, syllabus design and examinations is a key component of understanding how examinations came to hold such a central position in Irish education. The concept of meritocracy that was introduced and promoted through the Payment by Results' process had a long-term impact. It established an examination system based on competitiveness that has endured long after the Payment by Results' system was abolished in 1924. Since then the innate value, fairness and objectivity of the examination process has remained largely unchallenged. Moreover, government policy has affected syllabi design. Initially in Era 1, The Canon was promoted to impart a certain set of imperial values. In Era 2, after independence the Irish Free State policy of conservatism had a widespread impact on the syllabus, and the examination design. The content available for study was largely impacted by nationalism, Catholicism and censorship. Change began to occur only with the policy of free education, which allowed the secondary school system to undergo a period of transition and change in Era 3. It was the end of this era that provided the most seminal piece of educational legislation since the foundation of the state, namely, the Education Act of Ireland (1998) (see section 8.3). This paved the way for widespread educational change in relation to inclusion/partnership and also the syllabus that followed suit.

The second of the sub-questions pertains to the wider theme of inclusion. The issue of inclusion is represented in various ways throughout this thesis. For example, in access to education, identity, gender and diversity of ability. In Era 1, a system of examinations was established to serve the needs of the elite. As secondary school had to be paid for, there was no provision for equality of access. Intermediate examinations were offered at three levels but the vast majority of students within the system only completed Junior Grade or Middle Grade. Although the Senior Grade examinations were available there was limited access for students to complete them. The examinations themselves promoted an elite version of what was deemed appropriate content or suitable content for those who wished to pursue a career in the civil service or access university. Vast sections of society were excluded by the nature of intermediate education. This elitism lasted after the establishment of the Free State. Full access to education was not available in Ireland until the introduction of free education at the end of Era 2. Consequently, Era 3 was a transitionary era. Student numbers increased exponentially and policy changes were made to promote inclusion. The meritocratic system had to make considerations for inclusion when free education was introduced. The syllabus altered simultaneously to promote individual empowerment through language. The themes in the examinations in Era 4 provide an insight into the centrality of the individual, with themes of identity and teenage culture as well as promoting storytelling.

Throughout Era 4 substantial efforts were made to ease the burden on students with special or additional needs, and those of economically disadvantaged backgrounds. Supports were introduced with RACE (Reasonable Accommodations at Certificate Examinations), DARE (Disability Access Route to Education) and HEAR (Higher Education Access Route). These initiatives provided more access to education for those of varying needs and abilities. The brief investigation carried out on readability in examinations across the eras also points to inclusion (see section 8.6.1). This had not been considered by the researcher when beginning this project. However, in Era 4, when students were offered three reading comprehensions and were required to answer one there is clear evidence that one reading comprehension is always of a lower reading age than the others. This is not an indication of lowering standards, rather with greater breadth to the readability of the papers, the examination has been designed to incorporate all students, to promote achievement for the less able students and at the same time test the most able with higher-order questioning and higher readability. Inclusion of various

educational abilities is only a recent feature of Irish education but readability shows a clear indication towards the consideration of inclusivity and inclusion policy.

Gender issues are evident across all of the eras examined. Female education has been an important aspect of what is now referred to as inclusion as it was marked in the early eras by exclusion and omission. Initially excluded from intermediate education examinations, female students faced challenges in acceptance, access and female-specific curriculum amendments. Female writers were omitted or ignored and content was male orientated. Equality of gender in Ireland has been complicated further by conservatism post-independence and the vision for Irish women in *Bunreacht na hÉireann*. Gender is a significant characteristic of inclusion. Although it was not an initial consideration for the researcher, gender within the curriculum emerged as a theme throughout this thesis. There was little consideration given to inclusion and gender equality until free education was introduced. Since 2001 there has been a greater gender equilibrium of writers and poets. Now the examinations are gender-neutral and students are asked to "relate texts to their own experience, generate personal meanings, discuss and justify those meanings, and express opinions coherently" (State Examinations Commission 2013a, p. 19). While it could not be argued that the ratio of male to female writers is now equal there has been a significant re-balancing of gender representation in the content for English studies. Since 2000, female poets like Eavan Bolan, Adrienne Rich, Elizabeth Bishop, Sylvia Plath and Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin have all been introduced for study. The number of girls participating in education by 2016 is significant. In 1879, fifty nine girls in total took the Senior Grade English examination. By 2015 over 2,000 girls achieved the A grade alone in Leaving Certificate Higher English. Increased female student numbers are a testament to the great change in female education since 1878. When the support system and syllabus that are currently in place are compared with the examination system introduced in 1878 it is clear that the focus has shifted from one of elitism to inclusion.

The third sub-question pertained to the impact meritocracy has had on the growth and development of examinations in Ireland. Meritocracy is concerned with the introduction of a system of fair examinations where the best candidate is rewarded on merit, not status. It is a vital component of this research as it clearly defines a move away from patronage which had been popular in the Middle Ages (see section 1.2). As a system meritocracy did not improve access to education, so when it was introduced only the privileged in society could sit

examinations. Meritocracy led to an atmosphere of open competition among candidates, therefore, although originally the system only affected a small portion of the population these examinations were seen to be based on integrity and fairness because of their meritocratic focus. This has a lasting effect even as access improved.

The Intermediate Education Board was largely concerned with the integrity of the system and after independence, the Free State government, despite introducing minor changes to the structure, retained the terminal nature of examinations. There were several reasons for this decision. When the Free State came into being, it was immediately faced with the Civil War and the lack of change for several years could be explained by the difficulties that faced the new government. However, it does not explain how the imperial meritocratic system came to last throughout the eras. One possible explanation is fear. Ireland's colonial past has resulted in an inferiority complex that has been the true legacy of colonialism in Ireland. This inferiority complex and fear within the Irish psyche is well documented (Moane 1994; Fabricant 1999; O'Reilly 2001). To change a system of examinations that was deemed so successful across the colonies and was seen to uphold standards would have been considered as politically disorientating. There was a fear that any change might lead to lower standards. This reluctance in 1924 to remove a highly regarded system of examinations is understandable. Other former colonies retained the system and the Free State proved to be no exception. With a crumbling infrastructure and failing economy, where 30% of the national budget was spent on defence, revamping the structure of examination was not a top priority. However, the Department of Education made changes to the syllabus. Although the government relied on the standards of the British Empire and were guided by The Canon for reading material, lest standards were not maintained. Given this, Irish writers were introduced and the content became more Irish in outlook. Although the syllabus has changed several times since 1878 the terminal examination structure has not. The exam structure introduced by The Intermediate Education Board is striking in its similarity with the examination structure in place in 2016 (see Table 9.1 below).

Table 9.1: Changes in English Examinations (1880 and 2016).

Examination Year	Examination Name	Paper	Duration
1880	Senior Grade	First Paper	3 hours
	Senior Grade	Second Paper	3 hours
2016	Leaving Certificate H.L.	Paper One	2 hours 50 minutes
	Leaving Certificate H.L.	Paper Two	3 hours 20 minutes

In all, the duration of the examination has increased by ten minutes. Over the 138 years of senior cycle examination for English, the layout has remained broadly the same. Paper One remains a paper that tests composition and reading comprehension and Paper Two tests literary criticism. The English examination is still a terminal examination, in that all of the marks available must be achieved on the day of the examination. The move to include alternative assessments has been made in recent years across a wide range of subjects but English has been omitted from these changes. There is a culture of trust in the system that has persevered. There is evidence that the founding beliefs in meritocracy persist. For example, in 2017, the State Examinations Commission's Annual Report states that the maintenance of public trust and confidence is one of its key values, it strives to live up to that trust and is committed to the highest standards of integrity (State Examinations Commission 2017). However, DARE (Disability Access Route to Education) and HEAR (Higher Education Access Route) being introduced there is a growing acceptance that there are limitations to fairness in a terminal examination.

9.5. Central Findings

Throughout this study, the examination papers have proved to be insightful portals into political, social and cultural change in Ireland. They reflect periods of Colonial power, political strides toward independence and periods of educational stagnation. They also reflect periods of economic advancement and cultural conservatism. These issues will be discussed in the following sections.

9.5.1 The Syllabus and Examinations

As portals in documenting social and political change in Ireland, the examination papers reflect altering attitudes to religion, the role of women in society, the values a citizen should hold and how the subject English could cultivate the population. In Era 1 the imperialist values are strongly represented by The Canon writers. The essayists promoted moral values that were deemed essential for students, punctuation and grammar taught discipline and history and geography provided knowledge of the Empire. The examination papers of this era reflect a very elitist and imperialist outlook. In Era 2 steps were taken to introduce Irish writers who promoted nationalist values. The examination papers of the era display a deficit in Anglo-Irish writers who were overlooked in favour of writers of Catholic and native Irish backgrounds. This mirrors the conflict within Irish society as the Anglo-Irish community were outcast after independence. The examination papers of this era also reflect a fear of lowering standards after such changes. Therefore, The Canon is well represented in this era, especially Shakespeare. Consequently, the examination papers of this era display a mix of writers like Canon Patrick Sheehan, Daniel Corkery, William Hazlitt, Thomas Carlyle, Sir Walter Scott, Charles Dickens and Charles Kickham. These writers and others of the era promote varying values as they were either nationalists, imperialists, industrialists and/or religious. Periods of stagnation and fear of change were marked by examination papers in this way. In Era 3 the introduction of the Modern Novel was an attempt to move away from the colonial narrative as American writers were introduced for the first time. However, the change was limited, as evidenced by the book of poetry *Soundings*. It was only in Era 4 that dramatic transformation in both student choice and student voice occurred.

Literature that is offered for study since the beginning of Era 4 is more diverse in theme and cultural outlook. Texts from many countries and writers from a multitude of cultural backgrounds are represented. Narratives move from South Africa to India, America and Europe. Included on the prescribed list since 2001 are texts such as *The Poisonwood Bible*, *The Life of Pi*, *The Purple Hibiscus*, *Regeneration, I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings, A Doll's House* and *Lies of Silence* to name but a few. In addition, motion pictures *Inside I'm Dancing, The Truman Show, Cinema Paradiso* and more recently *Juno, Some Like It Hot* and *Brooklyn* have been included. Many of the texts included for study are not set in Ireland and offer students an insight into different settings and cultures. Texts have been included for study that represent

257

and examine marriage equality, gender roles, the recession in Ireland, rape, teenage pregnancy, war zones and terrorism. These texts contrast with the moralising tones of Francis Bacon, Charles Lamb, Thackery and Newman which dominated the content in Era 1. The landscape of text has altered beyond The Canon or those who avoided censorship. Era 4 contrasts with the other eras so completely because texts are no longer solely representative of Caucasian, imperialist values and tradition. Instead, they are representative of the human experience across social, cultural, gender and racial divides. This has meant that English as a school subject is more inclusive of other cultures, which reflect the changes that have occurred in Irish society. Just as Irish society is no longer homogenous, the literature offered for study is no longer solely drawing from The Canon or traditional Irish authors. This altering view of Irish society and the needs of students is also evident in Paper One where the examination paper in Era 4 revolves around a given theme (see section 8.5.1). Themes have been offered since 2001 and have incorporated inclusive themes like journeys and identity. Offering a different theme each year in the examination papers provides a more complete picture of social and personal values of the zeitgeist.

Throughout the examination papers, cultural and societal attitudes are reflected. This is evident in the transitioning from the Classics to The Canon and eventually to more varied literature. It is apparent in the changing attitudes to the Church and the increased value placed on female writers over the years. Furthermore, it is also evident in the changing nature of both questioning and composing.

9.5.2 Skill Development

The focus on skills has changed and the modern syllabus has moved away from seeing language as a static set of skills. Although there is still evidence of the Skills Model and the Cultural Model, the modern syllabus is much more about empowering the individual to enjoy language, to comprehend and communicate in different genres. In the earlier eras, the models evident were the Great Tradition, through the Reading Comprehension, and the Skills Model through the punctuation, grammar and composing sections. It is now clear that all three models are evident throughout the two examination papers. The Great Tradition had lost its prominence in the Reading Comprehension section by Era 3 and although it remained prominent in Paper Two as evidenced in Shakespearean studies, novels and poets even that decreased by Era 4. The

syllabus in Era 4 promotes a world where students live competently and develop the ability to analyse their world more critically. The Growth Model is a significant aspect of Era 4. Letter writing, newspaper articles, diary writing, reports, memos and blogs are now all common aspects of Paper One. Speech writing and discursive writing is also prominent. In 2013 the most answered Part B question was to write the text of a talk (State Examinations Commission 2013a). In Era 4 there is more transparent preparation for students to live competent lives and express their needs clearly. In Era 4 students are also being prepared more for the world of work. In both of these ways, the aspirations of the syllabus are being largely met by examination. Students are encouraged to offer their experience of studying texts, for example, poetry in Paper Two and personal writing has been a major feature of composing since 2001. This is the most popular composing style in 2013 (State Examinations Commission 2013a). It is important to note that the composing section has remained at approximately the same percentage of the overall grade over the four eras.

Although History and Geography were afforded their own examination papers before the end of intermediate education, political issues are still raised throughout the English examination papers. This is the case in the Reading Comprehension most overtly and in speech writing or discursive writing in a more veiled manner. In 2016 there was an adapted speech from President Barrack Obama at the Kennedy Space Centre in Florida as part of the Reading Comprehension section on the importance in investing in space travel; in 2015 a speech from Bono on the importance of taking action on the big issues of our time; in 2014 Seamus Heaney's piece urges students not to forget or abandon the past; and in 2012 there was a speech from former President Mary Robinson to an international conference on hunger, where she discusses the Great Famine. Historic and current affairs appear with regularity, where questions draw from the contemporary social, cultural and political world. Examinations, therefore, have provided the capacity to stretch and re-imagine the syllabus, which has remained static since 2001. They reinterpret the aims of the syllabus in new ways each year. They also reflect an expectation that students read not only for pleasure but to learn about their physical, social and political environment.

9.5.3 Values and Citizenship

As the eras developed there has been a greater focus on the person. In Era 1 and Era 2 the moral development of the person was valued and was an important element of the educational process. The works of the Essayists, Shakespearean plays and poets were utilised to teach moral values. A typical example of this appeared in 1899: "wise men ne've sit and wail their woes, but presently prevent the ways to wail" (Intermediate Education Board 1899). There was an emphasis on British and Imperial values. Numbers were low and students were typically of a similar socio-economic background and destined for the professions or the civil service.

In Era 2 great efforts were made by the Free State to include European translations of texts and certain Irish writers to signify difference with what had gone before. The Irish language was given priority over English in classrooms and attempts were made through English as a subject to mould the citizen to a particular view. The introduction of texts with religious or Catholic tones and the exclusion of Anglo-Irish writers was an attempt by the Catholic Irish government to display difference. Although the Free State government did not change the examination structure or remove The Canon from the syllabus, out of apparent fear of lowering standards, they introduced European translations of texts that were deemed appropriate for study to decrease the reliance on the writings of British origin. Although the purpose of these changes may have been to assert Irish independence in education, the impact of it was to expound a conservative and Catholic ethos. This research has found that English as a subject has often been utilised to deliver a particular set of values for students to emulate. In Era 1 those values were imperialist, disciplined and moral. In Era 2, students were offered Catholic, nationalist and conservative values. Here, censorship tightly controlled reading material. In Era 3 a period of great transition took place. The student experience was mentioned for the first time. Students were encouraged to be more open-minded, progressive and to embrace the outside world. These values are evidenced in the examination papers through the essay titles, scientific and technological language and unprescribed prose. By Era 4 students were encouraged to write personally and to engage with various language styles and genres to make meaning from the world they live in. They are encouraged to utilise language to express their needs and to enable them to live happy lives.

Overall, the effect of the issues discussed above has been to put the child at the centre of the examination. There has been a retreat from the moral citizen building of the intermediate education era towards the development of a happy functioning citizen who can function as capable participants in their own lives and society in general.

9.5.4 The Changes in Questioning

Consideration must be given to the rapid and unprecedented change that has occurred in Ireland since 2001. Although Era 4 is the shortest, it is the one the experienced the greatest changes. Era 1 was forty six years long. Era 2 was forty five years and Era 3 was twenty nine years in total. In contrast Era 4 is only fifteen. Over time, syllabi have become notably longer and greater direction was given to the teacher on what was required. By Era 4 greater autonomy was given to the teacher in the choice of text to be taught. Question words have altered from lower-order question words like 'what', 'who', 'identify' to 'discuss' and in recent years to a more evaluative type of questioning for example 'to what extent (do you agree or disagree)', 'explain', 'account for'. Personal writing has been included in Era 4 where it did not feature in Era 1.

While it is the role of historical analysis to define and question patterns there are important issues in this research. While the past and the present are identified in this documentation of the examination process the future implications must be considered. The data shows that patterns of questioning trends in text content and the focus of the syllabus have all changed. However, there is a notable mismatch between the evolving social, cultural and digitised world and that static written examination process. The syllabus is outdated in terms of digital literacy and multimodal possibilities. For example, in 2000 there were 784,000 internet users in Ireland or 20.9% of the population. By 2010 this figure had increased to over 3 million or 65.8% of the population (European Union Directory 2010). This displays the extraordinary changes that occurred in the early years of Era 4 in internet usage. This was only the beginning in terms of digital capabilities. The opportunities and changes the internet has brought in terms of various literacies is advancing at an unprecedented rate every year. In 2001 the syllabus that was introduced was unparalleled from the viewpoint of elasticity but this has been stretched. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the written examination platform. The possibilities the digital world offers has to be considered for assessment. Modern digital devices have an

autocorrect function or predictive text. For example, in 2013 the importance of writing correctly is highlighted in the Chief Examiner's Report of that year (State Examinations Commission 2013a, b). Although correct written English is important for communicative understanding, the researcher would suggest the pedagogic focus should lie more on developing communication, organisational and interpersonal skills, team-work and digital skills so that students advancing to university or work can express themselves clearly (Smyth *et al.* 2018).

In contrast to the radical policy and syllabus changes over the last two decades, the absence of change in the structure of the examinations is particularly notable. The policy move towards a more student-focused, modern and relevant education in order to prepare the student for life as a happy competent citizen is at odds with the current model of assessment. Current discourse in the media regarding the Leaving Certificate English examination runs contrary to the development of happy and competent learners and citizens.

The Leaving Certificate examinations reportedly cause anxiety and worry (Smyth *et al.* 2011; Doran Hamilton 2014) and the terminal nature of the English examination makes it a high-stakes one. The 2012 examination caused consternation amongst students and was described in the media as a 'game-changer'. It was constructed as unpredictable and portrayed as difficult by the national media in Ireland. Moreover, there were negative connotations associated with its unpredictability (Baird *et al.* 2014). A large-scale study *Predictability in the Irish Leaving Certificate* was carried out by Queens University Belfast and the University of Oxford the same year. They found that about 70% of English students felt that they predicated the examination questions and 68.8% of students admitted to attempting to learn all the material they were taught off by heart (Baird *et al.* 2014). This is despite the fact that the study found that the English exam was largely unpredictable. This displays that student perception of the Leaving Certificate is at odds with reality. Likewise, there is a popular belief that the standard of the examination has dropped. Baird *et al.* (2014) also considered the potential issue of dumbing down as in recent years the level of readability can vary from one reading comprehension to another. This is because there are now three reading comprehensions offered, as in Eras 1,2 and 3 there was only one reading comprehension. However, preliminary results into readability found in this thesis shown that despite highs or lows in readability in any given year, overall the standard of the examination has held fast.

Perceptions of ease or predictability are important. English has been seen by teachers to be skills' driven not content driven and students who narrowed the curriculum by using memorisation strategies do not score well in examination (Baird *et al.* 2014). However, this study found that teachers could choose to significantly narrow the curriculum in order to grind students for examination. The example they use is the teaching of the poet Sylvia Plath. Teachers could teach three poems well, that students could declare as 'favourites' in the examination, instead of teaching a wide section of her poetry as the syllabus envisaged. Students personal experience is incorporated in the answering with these 'favourite' poems but in reality, the students might not have chosen them, they might be the sum of all they studied (Baird *et al.* 2014). Overall, certain written skills tend to always be asked, so there was a certain level of predictability. However, the process of learning these skills was seen as more important than changing what was asked to be less predictable (Baird *et al.* 2014). This has important implications as the process must always be seen to be more important than the product. Student learning is the goal. However, the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) report *From Leaving Cert to Leaving School* found that students were impatient with teachers who did not teach to the examination, this was considered to be poor teaching by highly academic students whose goal was to enter college. The report discusses the narrowing of the curriculum which inevitably takes place when the stakes are as high as a college place (Smyth *et al.* 2011).

These concerns surrounding stress, predictability and pedagogic or the limitation of the syllabus all combine to highlight important issues surrounding the value of terminal examination. Culture and society have altered deeply since 1878 and student learning has been revolutionised by the digital world and globalisation. Considering this, assessment for senior cycle English must shift away from the model of terminal examination. This approach to examinations and their suitability for all students have been highlighted in several recent reports (Banks *et al.* 2018; Smyth *et al.* 2019) as a review of senior cycle education in Irish schools has now begun. Project work must be considered for English. It is one of few subjects that still relies on the 100% terminal examination model. Music students, construction students, art students, language students and students of other practical subjects complete 20%-50% of the assessment before exam day. This approach is available for traditional academic subjects like history and geography also. Smyth *et al.* (2019) advocate for the Leaving Certificate to be brought into tandem with the changes that were introduced to the junior cycle, which is now characterised as continuous assessment. The English examination is too long and students often

underperform due to stress (Smyth *et al.* 2019). Entire sections should be removed from the exam in June. Smyth *et al.* (2018) note that the content laden nature of the curriculum at senior cycle and argue that it leads to rote learning. Consideration should be given to composition, drama studies or comparative studies as these are afforded the majority of the marks under the current system. A project or series of assignments should be submitted during the school year instead. This would also allow students to use their digital and co-curricular skills in their research. There is an appetite for such a move as Smyth *et al.* (2018) and Smyth *et al.* (2019) demonstrate. Thus, continuous professional development for teachers is key to this.

The Leaving Certificate, and Senior Grade before it, has stood the test of time largely due to the integrity of the process. Meritocracy, as seen in chapter one, has proved a vital component of the examination structure. Any changes that are to be made to the Leaving Certificate English examination, which afford students access to the future places in third level educational institutions, must be made with care. The integrity of the examinations was foremost on the mind of the Intermediate Education Board and it is a system that has lasted since its induction. The process of assessment must be held to the highest standard. Teachers are often reluctant to suggest methods of assessment as they worry about the implications and who will be responsible for correcting them (Smyth *et al.* 2019). Teachers worry about workload and the stress of being responsible for their students' futures (Smyth *et al*. 2018). These factors have resulted in some resistance to change. The anonymity of the current external correction process is seen as a benefit of the system as it is seen as fair, transparent and equal. It is a highly regarded exam nationally and internationally. Any changes to the system need to remain aware of these factors (Smyth *et al.* 2018; Smyth *et al.* 2019).

This thesis provides a platform for the reconceptualisation of the structure of examination. Although the integrity of the meritocratic system is vital, any obsession with the integrity of the system must not be the reason for an unwillingness to change. Covid-19 in 2020 has resulted in a dramatic and swift pivot from examinations to school-based grading and has disrupted an examination culture in existence for 140 years. This rupture with the past will challenge the traditional approaches and assumptions. The time has never been more suited to change and greater liberation from a traditional terminal, time-bound examination structure that has its origins in an imperial past.

9.6 Contribution to Knowledge

This study has sought to bridge the gap in existing research. Although in recent years there have been several key studies conducted into the current senior cycle system (Smyth *et al.* 2011; Banks 2018; Smyth *et al.* 2018; Smyth *et al.* 2019) these studies are not subject-specific. A longitudinal study has never been carried out on the impact of culture and society on the Leaving Certificate English examination. The initial aims of the research were modest and given the broad span of years many themes discussed here are deserving of further investigation. Nevertheless, this thesis makes an important contribution to the research of one of the core subjects for senior cycle examinations in Irish schools.

English, as a school subject has, reflects Ireland's colonial past. Arising out of the work of the Intermediate Education Board, the examination papers, in their recording of cultural and social values, are important social documents. Topics for questioning across the eras mirror many historical and cultural moments. The reliance on The Canon, the introduction of Irish writers after 1924, the exclusion of Anglo-Irish writers, the introduction of the Modern Novel after 1970 and later comparative studies, all display the varying cultural messages and values of the system.

This research also makes an important contribution to methodology. In adopting a mixed methodological approach many angles of the examination papers were considered. In utilising the computer programme AntConc for tracking frequency only, new methodological possibilities are suggested. As far as the researcher is aware AntConc has not been used for this purpose in relation to these examination papers before. This introduces novel approaches to data collection and data analysis. AntConc is a tool that can be used for many other investigations into the same examination papers with different research questions in mind. Although the results of this research are specific to the research questions of this thesis, the methodological approach may be useful to those who wish to record and track frequency across a corpus.

The final contribution of this research is the fact that the corpus was digitised in the process of this work. Examination papers are available online from 1995. However, examination papers from the inception of the Senior Grade, where papers were locatable, have now been digitised.

This is a corpus across four eras of syllabi and resultant examinations which provide scope for future manipulation and investigation.

9.7 Limitations

The limitations of the study are multifaceted. Research only concentrated on Higher Level Leaving Certificate, Honours Leaving Certificate and Senior Grade between 1878-2016. It does not include Ordinary Level Leaving Certificate examinations or Pass Leaving Certificate. Where these levels are listed in the Appendices, mention is limited to those guidelines that were included in a syllabus document and the document would be incomplete if they were omitted. Likewise, matriculation examinations, Preparatory Grade and Middle Grade are not included. It was not possible to investigate all of these examinations and incorporate them into this thesis. Moreover, the research does not account for junior cycle examinations at any level or in any era. However, this leaves a variety of possibilities for further research.

Another limitation of the research is the nature of the eras themselves. It was statistically difficult to make comparisons across the eras due to different lengths in the examination papers or the varying duration of the eras. The eras were chosen as they link with syllabi and educational change in Ireland, as such eras developed organically through the research and were not artificially created. This proved problematic from the statistical point of view for creating comparisons. Instead, the research sought to identify patterns or trends of social and cultural change in order to identify what has been valued to examine. Therefore, the results are representative rather than statistic.

A limitation of a longitudinal study of this nature is that themes emerge cannot be explored to their fullest extent. Readability of the examination papers has been briefly explored but this is an area that could be investigated further. Although the reason for investigating readability was the premise that the English paper may be getting easier, readability for inclusion was a significant finding. As readability was only a small aspect of this research this result is a preliminary one. Readability for inclusion specifically needs to be explored further. Several educational supports are mentioned for those sitting examinations with additional needs or social disadvantage. It is not within the scope of this study to explore these supports more and they are mentioned here only to briefly document policy change.

9.8 Concluding Remarks

This thesis aimed to investigate how culture and society are reflected in and impact on questioning at senior cycle examinations in Ireland from the introduction of Senior Grade in 1878 to the Leaving Certificate examination in 2016. To identify how culture and society have been reflected in examinations, papers were analysed across four eras: 1878-1924, 1925-1970, 1971-2000 and 2001-2016. The analysis investigated cultural and societal themes, works of literature and authors, rubric, the culture of questioning, and readability. Cultural and societal themes emerged that were explored across the eras, namely, religion in Ireland, especially the role the Catholic Church has played in Irish education, gender, the role of English in the development of the citizen and the effect British Colonialism had on Irish education, and particularly in the school subject English. Payment by Results, coupled with the complex historiography of the English language in Ireland has meant that English as a school subject in Ireland is political in nature.

Question words across the eras highlight a cultural and societal shift in rubric. Opinion and personal experience are now features of questioning. Preliminary investigations into readability would suggest that the overall reading age over the senior cycle examinations has remained on a similar trajectory and therefore the standard has decreased. Instead, there is now an awareness for inclusion that was not present in the past.

The overarching aims of this thesis were accomplished by employing both qualitative and quantitative methods to gather relevant data. A novel approach was taken by utilising the linguistic tool AntConc. The data presented in the preceding sections reveals that examination papers are important social records and are culturally sensitive. The examinations provide valuable insights into the periods under study. Changes in culture and society were noticeable, as was the rate of change and aspects that did not change. Overall, the examinations displayed an enduring aim for students to develop the capacity to communicate, comprehend, examine and discuss issues of relevance within the zeitgeist. Over the eras, they document a changing understanding of citizenship and of the skills a citizen needs to develop. Our understanding of meritocracy and values has transformed. There is now a greater understanding of inequality of access, gender imbalance and intellectual ability. Despite the significant societal change discussed throughout this thesis, examination has remained constant. Digital skills,

interpersonal understanding and intertextual consciousness needed for the modern cultural and societal landscape of Ireland need to be carefully considered. The examinations have previously been overlooked as an important primary source, however, they offer a multitude of possibilities for societal and cultural archaeology.

References

Adler, S. (1991) 'The reflective practitioner and the curriculum of teacher education', *Journal of Education for Teaching*, 17(2), 139-150.

Ahearne, A. (2016) 'Whitaker's work is as relevant as ever to today's Ireland: core lesson remains that we must be competitive internationally to prosper', *The Irish Times*, 8 Dec, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/whitaker-s-work-is-as-relevant-as-ever-to-today-s-ireland-1.2896529 [accessed 09 Feb 2018].

Alexakos, K. (2015) *Being a Teacher | Researcher: A Primer on Doing Authentic Inquiry Research on Teaching and Learning*, Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Aley, R.J. (1920) 'The place of the classics', *The Journal of Education*, 92(20), 546-547.

Alibhai-Brown, Y. (2016) 'Romeo and Juliet: why William Shakespeare's romantic tragedy can still break hearts-and families. The Bard's 13th play is an archetypal story of forbidden, young passion crushed by customs and tribal hostilities', *The Independent*, 7 Mar, available: https://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/features/romeo-and-juliet-william-shakespeare-romantic-tragedy-can-still-break-hearts-a6917886.html [accessed 30 Mar 2019].

Anderson, L.W., Krathwohl, D.R., Airasian, P.W., Cruikshank, K.A., Mayer, R.E., Pintrich, P.R., Raths, J. and Wittrock, M.C., eds. (2001) *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, Pennsylvania: Longman.

Andrews, R. (2001) *Teaching and Learning English: A Guide to Recent Research and its Applications*, London: Continuum

Anglo-Irish Treaty (1921) *Article 12*, signed on 6th December 1921, 10 Downing Street: London.

Anthony, L. (2004) 'AntConc: A learner and classroom friendly, multi-platform corpus analysis toolkit', *proceedings of IWLeL*, 7-13.

Arnold, M. (1911) *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*, London: Macmillan and Company.

Bacon, F., Whately, R. and Heard, F.F. (1884) *Bacon's Essays*, Boston: Lee and Shepard.

Baird, J.A., Hopfenbeck, T.N., Elwood, J., Caro, D. and Ahmed, A. (2014) 'Predictability in the Irish leaving certificate', *Oxford University Centre for Educational Assessment* (*OUCEA) Report*, 14(1), 1-110.

Baldick, G.C. (1983) *The Social Mission of English Criticism 1848-1932*, London: Blackwell.

Ball, S.J. (1993) 'What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolboxes', *The Australian Journal of Education Studies*, 13(2), 10-17.

Ball, S.J., Kenny, A. and Gardiner, D. (1990) 'Literacy, politics and the teaching of English', in Goodson, I. and Medway, P., eds., *Bringing English to Order: The History and Politics of a School Subject*, London: Falmer Press, 197-241.

Banks, J., MacCoy, S. and Smyth, E. (2018) '+ Review: Analysis of discussions in schools on the purpose of senior cycle education in Ireland', *ESRI Working Paper*, No. 607.

Barakat, S., Chard, M., Jacoby, T. and Lume, W. (2002) 'The Composite Approach: Research Design in the Context of War and Armed Conflict', *Third World Quarterly*, 23(5), 991-1003.

Barden, L.M. (1995) 'Effective questioning & the ever-elusive higher-order question', *The American Biology Teacher*, 57(7), 423-426.

Bartlett, A.E. (1912) 'The psychological value of the classics', *The School Review: University of Chicago Press Journals*, 20(3), 186-190.

Beaumont, C. (1997) 'Women, citizenship and Catholicism in the Irish free state, 1922-1948', *Women's History Review*, 6(4), 563-585.

Beaumont, C. (2018) 'Reference to woman's place in home must be removed from Constitution', *The Irish Times*, 4 Oct, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/reference-to-woman-s-place-in-home-must-be-removed-

from-constitution-1.3650608?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fopinion%2Freference-to-woman-s-place-in-home-must-be-removed-from-constitution-1.3650608 [accessed 23 Sep 2019].

Beckett, J.C. (1962) 'Gladstone, Queen Victoria, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church, 1868-9', *Irish Historical Studies*, 13(49), 38-47.

Bernstein, B. (1977) *Class, Codes and Control: Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions*, Vol. 3, London: Routledge.

Biggam, J. (2015) *Succeeding with your Master's Dissertation: a step-by-step handbook*, 3rd ed., Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Boston College Magazine Front Row (2018) 'Sex and the Archbishop: John Charles McQuaid and Social Change in 1960s Ireland', [video], available: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6cPZEKAcXF8 [accessed 26 April 2019].

Bourdieu's (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Breathnach, E. (1980) 'Images of the Irish Woman', *The Crane Bag*, 4(1), 47-54.

Breen, M.J. (2000) 'The good, the bad and the ugly: media coverage of scandals in the Catholic Church in Ireland', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 89(356), 332-338.

Breen, M.J. and Erbe Healy, A. (2014) 'Secularization in Ireland: Analyzing the relationship between religiosity and demographic variables in Ireland from the European Social Survey 2002-2012', *The International Journal of Religion and Spirituality in Society*, 3(4), 113-125.

Brittain, E. (2003) 'The larger project within fantasy literature: The Lewis/Pullman Divide', *English in Education*, 37(1), 48-58.

Britton, J. (1970) *Language and Learning*, Penguin Books: New York.

Building Ireland's Smart Economy (2008) https://www.gov.ie/en/organisation/department-of-the-taoiseach/?referrer=/eng/publications/publications_archive/publications_2008/, Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Bunreacht na hÉireann (1937) The Constitution of Ireland, Government of Ireland: Dublin.

Burns, S. (2019) 'Ireland ranks second in Good Country Index', *The Irish Times*, 29 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/ireland-ranks-second-in-good-country-index-1.3774652?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Fireland%2Firish-news%2Fireland-ranks-second-in-good-country-index-1.3774652 [accessed 09 Aug 2019].

Butts, R.F. and Cremin, L.A. (1953) *A History of Education in American Culture*, New York City: Holt.

C.K. (1920) 'The Classics in British Education', *The Classical Weekly*, 13(4), 105-106.

C.K. (1921) 'Supporting the Cause of the Classics', *The Classical Weekly*, 15(1), 1-2.

C.T. O'Doherty (1997) *William Joseph Myles Starkie (1860-1920): the last resident commissioner of national education in Ireland*, unpublished thesis (Ph.D.), University of Limerick, Limerick.

Canby, H.S. (1920) 'What is "English"?', *The English Journal*, 9(7), 367-373.

Casey, J. (2019) 'Female pupils 'don't know enough about STEM subjects', *The Irish Examiner*, 11 Sep, available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30950220.html [accessed 16 Sep 2019].

Cassidy, C. (2003) 'McGee case led Cabinet to push for legal reforms', *The Irish Times*, 02 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/mcgee-case-led-cabinet-to-push-for-legal-reforms-1.344066?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Fmcgee-case-led-cabinet-to-push-for-legal-reforms-1.344066 [accessed 09 Sep 2017].

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (1974) *Census of Population of Ireland 1971*, Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (1991) *Census of Ireland 1991 (Volume 5 Religion)*, available: https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/census1991results/volume5/C1991_V5_T1-_T2.pdf [accessed 19 Jan 2020].

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2004) *Ireland and the EU (1973-2003): Economic and Social Change*, available: https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/releasespublications/documents/statisticalyearbook/2004/ireland&theeu.pdf [accessed 25 Apr 2020].

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2016) *Women and Men in Ireland 2016*, available: https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-wamii/womenandmeninireland2016/employment/ [accessed 09 Jan 2020].

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2017a) *Census of Population 2016-Profile 7 Migration and Diversity*, available: https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp7md/p7md/ [accessed 19 Mar 2020].

Central Statistics Office (CSO) (2017b) *Statistical Yearbook of Ireland 2017 Household Budget*, available: https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-syi/psyi2017/soc/householdbudget [accessed 19 Jun 2020].

Cheney, G. (2005) Irish Education Report, available: http://ncee.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Irish-Education-Report.pdf [accessed 09 Feb 2019].

Clancy, M. (1990) 'Aspects of women's contribution to the Oireachtas debate in the Irish Free State, 1922-1937', in Luddy, M. and Murphy, C., eds., *Women Surviving: Studies in Irish Women's History in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Dublin: Poolbeg, 206-232.

Clarke, M. (2016) 'Education for girls in Ireland: secondary and vocational curricular provision 1930-1960', *History of Education Journal*, 45(1), 79-102.

Coffey, P. (2000) 'Assessment in English-Principles and Practices', in Bates, D., Galvin, C., Swan, D. and Williams, K., eds., *Words Alone: The Teaching and Usage of English in Contemporary Ireland*, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 129-144.

Coleman, M.C. (2002) 'Representations of American Indians and the Irish in Educational Reports, 1850s-1920s', *Irish Historical Studies*, 33(129), 33-51.

Coles, J. (2013) ''Every child's birthright'? Democratic entitlement and the role of canonical literature in the English National Curriculum', *The Curriculum Journal*, 24(1), 50-66.

Collins, S. (2008) 'Air of unreality as plan's long view ignores storm now raging', *The Irish Times*, 19 Dec, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/air-of-unreality-as-plan-s-long-view-ignores-storm-now-raging-1.1275124?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fopinion%2Fair-of-unreality-as-plan-s-long-view-ignores-storm-now-raging-1.1275124 [accessed 01 Jun 2019].

Conneely, C., Lawlor, J. and Tangney, B. (2013) *Technology, teamwork and 21st Century skills in the Irish classroom: Shaping Our Future: How the Lessons of the Past Can Shape Educational Transformation*, Liffey Press: Dublin.

Connolly, L. (2015) 'Investigating the "Irish" family', Dublin: Review of Books.

Conway, D. (2010) *Liberal Education and the National Curriculum*, London: Civitas.

Coogan, T.P. (2009) *Ireland in the 20th Century*, London: Random House.

Coolahan, J. (1981) *Irish Education: It's History and Structure*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Coolahan, J. (1986) 'The secondary school curriculum experiment 1924-1942: the case for English', in Greaney, V. and Molloy, B., eds., *Dimensions of Reading*, Dublin: Education Company of Ireland, 42-62.

Coolahan, J. (2004) 'The historical development of teacher education in the Republic of Ireland', in Burke, A., ed., *Teacher Education in the Republic of Ireland: Retrospect and Prospect*, Dublin: Standing Conference on Teacher Education, North and South (SCoTENS), 3-10.

Coolahan, J. (2007) A Review Paper on Thinking and Policies Relating to Teacher Education in Ireland, available: https://www.teachingcouncil.ie/en/Publications/Research/Documents/A-

Review-Paper-on-Thinking-and-Policies-Relating-to-Teacher-Education-in-Ireland.pdf [accessed 17 Sep 2019].

Coolidge, C. (1921) 'Value of the classics', *The Classical Journal*, 17(1), 28-35.

Corcoran, T. (1923a) 'How English may be taught without Anglicising', *The Irish Monthly*, 51(600), 269-273.

Corcoran, T. (1923b) 'How the Irish language can be revived', *The Irish Monthly*, 51(595), 26-30.

Corr, P.J. (1966) 'Introducing modern fiction in the secondary school', *The Secondary Teacher*, 1(1).

Courtney, K. (2019) 'Figuring out why women don't figure in Stem industries', *The Irish Times*, 21 Feb, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/science/figuring-out-why-women-don-t-figure-in-stem-industries-1.3792633?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Fscience%2Ffiguring-out-why-women-don-t-figure-in-stem-industries-1.3792633 [accessed 24 Aug 2019].

Cox, B. (1991) *Cox on Cox: An English curriculum for the 1990's*, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Cremin, L.A. (1970) *American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783*, New York City: Harper and Row.

Cremin, L.A. (1980) *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876*, New York City: Harper and Row.

Creswell, J. (2008) *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 4th ed., London: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. and Poth, C.N. (2018) *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, London: Sage.

Criminal Law Amendment Act (1935) Dublin: Irish Statute Book.

Crowe, C. (2018) 'How Irish women won the right to vote in 1918', *The Irish Times*, 10 Dec, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/how-irish-women-won-the-right-to-vote-in-1918-1.3697389 [accessed 10 May 2019].

Cullen, M. and Luddy, M., eds. (1995) *Women, Power and Consciousness in 19th Century Ireland: Eight Biographical Studies*, Dublin: Attic Press.

Dáil Éireann (1941) *Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Dáil Éireann (1970) *Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Dáil Éireann Debates (1923) *Committee on Finance (Estimates for Public Services-Intermediate Education)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1923-07-20/8/ [accessed 20 Jul 2018].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1924) *Dáil Debates*, Vol. 8, col. 595.

Dáil Éireann Debates (1927a) *Orders of the Day (Juries Bill, 1927-Second Stage)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1927-02-15/33/ [accessed 01 Apr 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1927b) *Orduithe an Lae (Juries Bill, 1927-Committee)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1927-02-23/41/ [accessed 01 Apr 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1928a) *Appropriation Bill (1928-Second Stage)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1928-11-28/9/ [accessed 01 Apr 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1928b) *Central Fund Bill (1928-Second Stage)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/bills/bill/1928/35/ [accessed 01 Apr 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1936) *Dáil Debates*, Vol. 61, Col. 91.

Dáil Éireann Debates (1937) *Bunreacht na hEireann (Dréacht)-(Tuarasgabháil (d'ath-thógaint))*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/ga/debates/debate/dail/1937-06-14/16/ [accessed 23 Mar 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1939) *Committee on Finance (Resolution No. 10)*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1939-05-16/11/?highlight%5B0%5D=shakespeare [accessed 04 May 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1941) *Dáil Debates*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1941-05-27/ [accessed 20 May 2020].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1962) *Questions. Oral Answers*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1962-11-29/27/ [accessed 05 Jun 2019].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1965) *Committee on Finance (Motion by Minister for Finance (Resumed))*, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1965-02-23/52/ [accessed 12 Jan 2020].

Dáil Éireann Debates (1968) 'Dáil Debates, 9th July 1968.

Dáil Éireann Debates (2019) *Search "Shakespeare"*, https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/search/?page=4&datePeriod=all&debateType=all&q=Shakespeare&searchType=debates&sort=relevance&originalFilter=%2Fen%2Fdebates%2Ffind%2F%3FdatePeriod%3Dall%26debateType%3Dall%26resultsPerPage%3D20&resultsPerPage=20 [accessed 17 Mar 2020].

Daly, M.E. (1990) 'Literacy and language change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', in Daly, M. and Dickson. D., eds., *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language, Change and Educational Development 1700-1920*, Dublin: Trinity College and University College Dublin, 153-166.

De Valera, É. (1943) *On Language and the Irish Nation*, speech 17th May, Raidió Éireann, in Moynihan, M., ed., *Speeches and Statements by Éamon De Valera: 1917-73*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 466-468.

Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (1907) *Report of the Departmental Committee of Inquiry: Minutes of Evidence*, Chairmanship of Kenelm Digby.

Department of Education (1924a) *Proposed Rules and Programme for Secondary Schools*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1924b) *Report of the Secondary Education Branch for the Year 1924*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1925) *Programme and Regulations Regarding Curricula, Certificates, Examinations and Scholarships for the Year 1925-1926*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1926a) *Additional Specimen Questions on Poetry Stationery Office*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1926b) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1927) *Report of the Department of Education for the School Years 1925-26-27 and the Financial Administrative Year 1926-27*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1928) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1930) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1931) *Report of the Department of Education, 1930-1931*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1936) *Pass Lists*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1940) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1941a) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1941b) *Report of the Department of Education 1940-1941*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1944) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1950) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1954) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1958) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1964) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1965a) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1965b) *Statistic Report 1964-1965*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1970) *Rules and Programmes for Secondary Schools*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1971) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1972) *Statistical Report 1966/1967-1968/1970,* Dublin: Stationary Office

Department of Education (1974) *Statistical Report 1971/72-1973/74*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1976) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1977) *Statistical Report 1976-1977*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1977-1980) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1978) *Statistical Report 1977-1978*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1979) *Statistical Report 1978-1979*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1980) *Statistical Report 1979-1980*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1983) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1989) *Junior Cycle English Syllabus*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education (1991) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1992) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1993) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1993) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Department of Education (1994) *Examination Papers: English (Leaving Certificate Honours)*, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Department of Education and Science (1998) *Leaving Certificate English Syllabus 1998*, Dublin: Stationery Office.

Devitt, J. (1978) *Post Primary English in Ireland: An Analysis of Curriculum Provision and Teaching Methods in Literature in the Senior Cycle*, unpublished thesis (M.Ed.), Trinity College Dublin.

Dickens, C. (1996) Hard times, Peterborough: Broadview Press.

Dillon, M. (2015) *Debating Divorce: Moral Conflict in Ireland*, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky.

Dixon, J. (1967) *Growth through English*, Sheffield: NATE.

Donnelly, K. (2019) 'Gender pay gap: Females with a degree earn significantly less than male peers, report reveals', *The Independent*, 10 Sep, available: https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/education/gender-pay-gap-females-with-a-degree-earn-significantly-less-than-male-peers-report-reveals-38484873.html [accessed 14 Jan 2020].

Donnelly, S. and Inglis, T. (2010) 'The media and the Catholic Church in Ireland: reporting clerical child sex abuse', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 25(1), 1-19.

Dooley, B.A. and Fitzgerald, A. (2012) *My world survey: National study of youth mental health in Ireland*, Dublin: Headstrong and UCD School of Psychology.

Doran Hamilton, M. (2014) *An Ethnography Exploring How Hegemony and Power Mediate Agency and Structure Among a Group of 6th Year Irish Girls in a Middle-Class Post-Primary School*, unpublished thesis (Ph.D.), Mary Immaculate College, Limerick.

Drudy, S. and Lynch, K.M. (1993) *Schools and Society in Ireland*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Duffy, P.S. (1967) *The Lay Teacher: A Study of the Position of the Lay Teacher in an Irish Catholic Environment*, Dublin: Fallons.

Duggan, M. (2018) 'Grounded in Ireland, reaching for heaven', *Catholic Herald*, 7 Jun, available: https://catholicherald.co.uk/grounded-in-ireland-reaching-for-heaven/ [accessed 10 Feb 2019].

Duncan, P. (2013) 'Women at Work: 40 years of change', *The Irish Times*, 8 Jun, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/women-at-work-40-years-of-change-1.1420721?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Flife-and-style%2Fpeople%2Fwomen-at-work-40-years-of-change-1.1420721 [accessed 09 May 2018].

Eagleton, T. (2008) *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 3rd ed., Oxford: Blackwell.

Earls, M. (1984) 'The Late Late Show, Controversy and Context', *Television and Irish Society*, 21, 107-123.

Edition (1969) 'Shakespeare', *The Secondary Teacher ASTI*.

Editor (1934) Leitrim Observer, 20th January.

Editor (1968a) 'Literate without Letters', *The Irish Times*, Letters to the Editor.

Editor (1968b) 'Teachers oppose Lenihan's Proposals for English: Shakespeare and Journalism Compared', *The Irish Times*, 04 Jul 1968.

Editorial (2018) 'Fewer foreign nationals living in Ireland, Census shows', *The Irish Examiner*, 18 Sep, https://www.irishexaminer.com/news/arid-30869780.html [accessed 09 May 2019].

Emig, J. (1978) 'Hand, eye, brain: some "basics" in the writing process', in Cooper, C. and Odell, L., eds., *Research on Composing: Points of Departure*, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), 59-71.

Emly, L. (1878) 'Intermediate education in Ireland. An Address', *The Irish Monthly*, 6(1878), 108-116.

Engler, B. (1991) 'Shakespeare in the Trenches', in Wells, S., ed., *Shakespeare Survey*, vol. 44, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 105-112.

European Union Directory (2010) Internet World Stats: Usage and Population Statistics, available: www.worldstats.com [accessed 06 June 2020].

Eurostat (2019) *Total number of employees in the information and communication technology (ICT) services sector in Ireland from 2009 to 2016*, available: https://www.statista.com/statistics/419559/number-of-employees-ict-services-sector-ireland/ [accessed 01 May 2019].

Fabricant, C. (1999) 'Speaking for the Irish Nation: The Drapier, the Bishop, and the Problems of Colonial Representation', *English Literary History*, 66(2), 337-372.

Farren, S. (1995) *The Politics of Irish Education 1920-1965*, Queen's University of Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.

Feldman, A., Ndakengerwa, D.L., Nolan, A. and Frese, C. (2005) 'Diversity, civil society and social change in Ireland: A north-south comparison of the role of immigrant/"new" minority ethnic-led community and voluntary sector organisations', *Geary Institute*, University College Dublin.

Ferriter, D. (2007) 'Playboy of the Western World' 100 years on', *The Irish Times*, 27 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/playboy-of-the-western-world-100-years-on-1.1292026?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fopinion%2Fplayboy-of-the-western-world-100-years-on-1.1292026 [accessed 12 Aug 2018].

Ferriter, D. (2010) *Occasions of sin: Sex and society in Modern Ireland*, London: Profile Books.

Ferriter, D. (2017) 'Diarmaid Ferriter: how OECD reports came to replace the papal encyclicals', The Irish Times, 15 Jul, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/diarmaid-ferriter-how-oecd-reports-came-to-replace-the-papal-encyclicals-1.3149566?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fculture%2Fbooks%2Fdiarmaid-ferriter-how-oecd-reports-came-to-replace-the-papal-encyclicals-1.3149566 [accessed 25 Nov 2018].

Fisher, D. (2012) 'The legacy of Vatican II', 10th October, available https://www.rte.ie/news/special-reports/2012/1010/341062-vatican-ii-50-years-on/ [accessed 04 Sep 2019].

Fitzgerald, G. (2014) *Ireland in the World: Further Reflections*, Dublin: Liberties Press.

Fitzgerald, T. (2020) *Handbook of Historical Studies in Education: Debates, Tensions, and Directions*, Singapore: Springer.

Fleming, J. and O'Grady, S. (1996) *St. Munchin's College Limerick 1776-1996*, Limerick: St. Munchin's College.

Fontes, P.J., Kellaghan, T., Madaus, G.F. and Airasian, P.W. (1980) 'Opinions of the Irish Public on Examinations', *The Irish Journal of Education*, 14(2), 53-74.

Foster, R.F. (2008) *Luck and the Irish: A Brief History of Change from 1970*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Freedman, C. (1981) 'Writing, Ideology, and Politics: Orwell's "Politics and the English Language" and English Composition', *College English*, 43(4), 327-340.

Gander, K. (2014) 'Ireland is officially the 'best country in the world', says study', *The Independent*, available: https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/ireland-best-country-world-according-good-country-index-9557358.html [accessed 25 Feb 2018].

Gardiner, F. (1992) 'Political interest and participation of Irish women 1922-1992: the unfinished revolution', *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 18(1), 15-39.

Garvin, T. (2004) *Preventing the Future: Why was Ireland so poor for so long?* Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Gialanella-Valiulis, M. (2012) 'Denial of citizenship', *The Irish Times*, 17 Oct, https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/heritage/century/century-women-and-the-vote/denial-of-citizenship-1.553543 [accessed 04 May 2018].

Gibson, R. (2016) *Teaching Shakespeare: A Handbook for Teachers*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gilmartin, M. (2012) *The changing landscape of Irish migration, 2000-2012*, Maynooth, County Kildare: National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis.

Ging, D. and O'Higgins Norman, J. (2016) 'Cyberbullying, conflict management or just messing? Teenage girls' understandings and experiences of gender, friendship, and conflict on Facebook in an Irish second-level school', *Feminist Media Studies*, 16(5), 805-821.

Girvin, B. (2008) 'Contraception, moral panic and social change in Ireland, 1969-79', *Irish Political Studies*, 23(4), 555-576.

Gleeson, J. (1991) 'Girls into technology: Issues arising from the evaluation of a curriculum development project', *Irish Educational Studies*, 10(1), 163-176.

Goodlad, L.M. (2003) *Victorian Literature and the Victorian State: Character and Governance in a Liberal Society*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Goodson, I.F. (1983) 'School Subjects and Curriculum Change: Case Studies in Curriculum History' in Goodson, I.F., ed., *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*, 3rd ed., Abingdon: Routledge.

Goodson, I.F. (1994) *Modern Educational Thought: Studying Curriculum Cases and Methods*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Gorman, S. (2007) 'Al Gore takes center stage at Oscars', *Reuters*, 26 Feb, available: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-oscars-gore-idUSN2524880920070226 [accessed 01 May, 2019].

Government of Great Britain and Ireland (1871) *General Report of the Census of Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Government of Great Britain and Ireland (1878) *Intermediate Education (Ireland) Act*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Green, B. (1990) 'A Dividing Practice: 'Literature', English Teaching and Cultural Politics', in Goodson, I. and Medway, P., eds., *Bringing English to order: The history and politics of a school subject*, New York: The Falmer Press, 135-161.

Greene, M. (1993) 'Diversity and inclusion: toward a curriculum for human beings', *Teachers College Record*, 95(2), 211-221.

Gurdgiev, C., Lucey, B.M., Mac an Bhaird, C. and Roche-Kelly, L. (2011) 'The Irish economy: Three strikes and you're out?', *Panoeconomicus*, 1(2011), 19-41.

Gutmann, A. and Ben-Porath, S. (2014) 'Democratic Education', in Gibbons, M., ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 863-875.

Hall, K., Curtin, A. and Rutherford, V. (2013) *Networks of Mind: Learning, Culture, Neuroscience*, New York: Routledge.

Hammond, B. (2001) 'The city in eighteenth-century poetry', in Sitter, J., ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Eighteenth Century Poetry*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 84-103.

Hanafin, J. (1991) 'Gender issues in classroom dynamics: The need for research at second level', *Irish Educational Studies*, 10(1), 42-54.

Harmon, M. (2010) 'A Breath of Fresh Air', *Poetry Ireland News* [online], available: https://www.poetryireland.ie/writers/articles/a-breath-of-fresh-air [accessed 02 Jan 2018].

Healy, G.W. (1974) 'After *Humanae Vitae*: Contraception and Abortion', *Philippine Studies*, 22(3/4), 263-279.

Heffer, S. (2013) *High Minds: The Victorians and the Birth of Modern Britain*, New York: Random House.

Hinchion, C. and Hennessy, J. (2009) 'Reading other worlds, reading my world', *Policy and Practice: A Development Education Review*, 9(2009), 7-22.

His Britannic Majesty's Government (1926) *Imperial Conference 1926*.

Hodges, G.C., Moss, J. and Shreeve, A. (2000) 'The future of English', *English in Education*, 34(1), 1-11.

Horgan, J. (1997) *Mary Robinson: An Independent Voice*, Dublin: O'Brien Press.

Hull, A.M. (1917) 'New classics for old', *The English Journal*, 6(8), 542-550.

Hunt, P. (2000) 'An Irishman's Diary', *The Irish Times*, 6 Jun, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/an-irishman-s-diary-1.1159023 [accessed 19 May 2019].

Hyde, D. (1892) 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland'.

Hyland, Á. (1986) 'Schools and values', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 75(299), 250-266.

Hyland, Á. and Milne, K., eds. (1987) *Irish Educational Documents*, Vol. 1, Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education.

Hyland, Á. and Milne, K., eds. (1992) *Irish Educational Documents*, Vol. 2, Dublin: Church of Ireland College of Education.

Industrial Development Authority (2016*) IDA Ireland Annual Report and Accounts 2016*, https://www.idaireland.com/idaireland/media/docs/about-ida/ida_annual_report_2016.pdf., Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Ingle, R. (2017) 'The Ann Lovett letters: sorrow, shame, anger and indignation', *The Irish Times*, 31 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/life-and-style/people/the-ann-lovett-letters-sorrow-shame-anger-and-indignation-1.1673920 [accessed 01 Mar 2019].

Inglis, T. (1998) *Moral Monopoly: The Rise and Fall of the Catholic Church in Modern Ireland*, Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Inglis, T. (2000) 'Irish civil society: from church to media domination', in Inglis, T. and Zdzislaw, M. And Mazanek, R., eds., *Religion and politics: East-west contrasts from contemporary Europe*, University College Dublin Press: Dublin, 49-67.

Inglis, T. (2005) 'Origins and legacies of Irish prudery: Sexuality and social control in modern Ireland', *Irish American Cultural Institute*, 40(2), 9-37.

Inglis, T. (2007) 'Catholic identity in contemporary Ireland: Belief and belonging to tradition', *Journal of Contemporary Religion*, 22(2), 205-220.

Inglis, T., ed. (2015) *Are the Irish different?*, Manchester, Manchester University Press.

Intermediate Education Board (1878) *Report of the Intermediate Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1878-1888) *Minutes Books of the Intermediate Education Board*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1880) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board of Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1881) *Pass Lists*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1882) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1884a) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1884b) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1885a) *Examination Papers: Guidelines: English: (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1885b) *Examinations Paper: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1885c) *Rules of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1886a) *Examinations Paper: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1886b) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1887) *Examinations Paper English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Majesty's Stationery Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1888a) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1888b) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1889) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1897) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1898) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland 1898*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1899) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1900) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1901) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: His Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1902) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1904) *Report of the Intermediate Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Printing Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1905) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1906) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1907) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1909) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1913) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1915) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1920) *Examination Papers: English (Senior Grade)*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1921) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland 1921*, Dublin: Her Majesty's Stationary Office.

Intermediate Education Board (1923) *Report of the Intermediate Education Board for Ireland*, Dublin: Dáil Éireann Stationery Office.

Irish Statute Book (1935) *Criminal Law Amendment Act 1935*, available: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1935/act/6/enacted/en/print.html [accessed 09 Feb 2019].

Johnson, R. (2013) 'Administrators in education before 1870: patronage, social position and role', in Sutherland, G., ed., *Studies in the Growth of Nineteenth Century Government*, London: Routledge, 119-147.

Joyce, J. (2008) *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Keating, S. (2006) 'Bringing tales of the tailor back home', *The Irish Times*, 27 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/bringing-tales-of-the-tailor-back-home-1.1007386 [accessed 16 Oct 2018].

Keatinge, P. (1984) 'The Europeanisation of Irish foreign policy', *Ireland and the European Community*.

Keena, C. (2017) 'Court applications for judicial separation and divorce down last year', 25 Jul, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/crime-and-law/court-applications-for-judicial-separation-and-divorce-down-last-year-1.3166631?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Fcrime-and-

law%2Fcourt-applications-for-judicial-separation-and-divorce-down-last-year-1.3166631
[accessed 19 Jun 2019].

Kellaghan, T. and Hegarty, M. (1984) 'Participation in the Leaving Certificate examination 1961-1980', *The Irish Journal of Education*, 18(2), 72-106.

Kelleher, M.J., Chambers, D. and Corcoran, P. (1999) 'Suicide and religion in Ireland: An investigation of Thomas Masaryk's theory of suicide', *Archives of Suicide Research*, 5(2), 173-180.

Kelly, J. and Hegarty, S. (2017) *Schools and Schooling, 1650-2000: New Perspectives on the History of Education: the Eighth Seamus Heaney Lectures*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Kelly, M. (1984) 'Twenty years of current affairs on RTE', *Television and Irish society*, 21, 89-107.

Kenny, A., Larkin, C.J., Mac Sithigh, D. and Thijssen, J. (2012) *Irish education policy for a globalised world: A policy for chasing black & white swans*, Dublin, The Swan Group.

Kenny, C. (2009) 'Significant Television: Journalism, Sex Abuse and the Catholic Church', *Communications Review*, 11(2009), 63-76.

Keogh, D. (1988) *Ireland and Europe: 1919-1948*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Keogh, D. (1994) *Twentieth Century Ireland: Nation and State*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Keogh, D. (2005) *Twentieth Century Ireland: Revolution and State-Building-The Partition of Ireland, the Troubles and the Celtic Tiger*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Keogh, D. (2015) '*Our Boys*: the Christian Brothers and the formation of youth in the "New Ireland" 1914-1944', *History of Education*, 44(6), 700-716.

Kiberd, D. (2011) 'The riotous history of The Playboy of the Western World', *The Guardian*, 23 Sep, available: https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2011/sep/23/playboy-western-world-old-vic [accessed 19 Oct 2019].

Kincheloe, J.L. (2011) 'The Knowledges of Teacher Education: Developing a critical complex epistemology', *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 31(1), 49-66.

Koch, M. (2012) 'A Worldwide Consumption Norm (Based on Debt) and the Financial Crisis', in Koch, M., McMillan, L. and Peper, B., eds., *Capitalism and Climate Change*, London: Springer, 112-121.

Kracke, E.A. (1957) 'Region, family and individual in the Chinese examination system', in Fairbank, J.K., ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 111-112.

Kress, G. (1995) *Writing the Future*, Sheffield: NATE.

Landy, M. (1972) 'Kinship and the role of women in "Paradise Lost"', 4(1972), *Milton Studies*, 3-18.

Lane, D.A. (2004) 'Vatican II: The Irish experience', *The Furrow*, 55(2), 67-81.

Lee, J.J. and Lee, J.L. (1989) *Ireland, 1912-1985: Politics and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lee, J.L. (1989) *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lenihan, B. (1968) 'Full text of Brian Lenihan's speech', *The Irish Times*, available https://www.irishtimes.com/news/full-text-of-brian-lenihan-s-speech-1.836875 [accessed 12 May 2019].

Lenus: The Irish Health Repository (1985) *Building on Reality 1985-1987*, Dublin: The Stationery Office.

Lewalski, B.K. (1974) 'Milton on women-yet once more', *Milton Studies*, 6(1974), 3-20.

Lewis, M. and Kellaghan, T. (1987) 'Vocationalism in Irish second-level education', *The Irish Journal of Education/Iris Eireannach an Oideachais*, 1(1), 5-35.

Lloyd, D. (1993) *Anomalous states: Irish writing and the post-colonial moment*, Durham: Duke University Press.

Logan, J. (1990) 'Sufficient to their needs: Literacy and Elementary Schooling in the Nineteenth Century' in Daly, M.E. and Dickson, D., eds., *The Origins of Popular Literacy in Ireland: Language Change and Educational Development 1700-1920*, Dublin: Trinity College Dublin, 113-137.

Logan, J. (1999) 'Book learning: reading in the national school 1831-1900', in Cunningham, B. and Kennedy, M., eds., *The Experience of Reading: Irish Historical Perspectives*, Dublin: Economic and Social History Society of Ireland, 173-195.

Lucey, A., Roche, B., Smyth, P. and McMahon, A. (2018) 'Kerry Babies: Taoiseach apologises to Joanne Hayes and is open to discussing compensation with her', *The Irish Examiner*, 17 Jan, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/kerry-babies-compensation-issue-should-be-dealt-with-quickly-1.3358640 [accessed 05 May 2019].

Lynch, K. (1987) 'Dominant ideologies in Irish educational thought: consensualism, essentialism and meritocratic individualism', *Economic and Social Review*, 18(2), 101-122.

MacAodha, L.O. (1969) 'Letter to the Editor', *The Secondary Teacher*, November.

Maclure, J.S. (1979) *Educational Documents: England and Wales 1816 to the Present Day*, 4th ed., London: Methuen Publishing.

MacManus, F. (1934) 'The background of the Catholic novel (Notes on literature about life)', *The Irish Monthly*, 62(733), 433-440.

MacNiocaill, G. and Ó Tuathaigh, M.A.G. (1984) 'Ireland and continental Europe: the historical dimension' in Drudy, P.J. and McAleese, D., eds., *Irish Studies 3: Ireland and the European Community*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 269-282.

Maher, M. (1916) 'Religious instruction in Irish Catholic intermediate schools', *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 5(17), 44-62.

Maignant, C. (2015) 'The Celtic Tiger and the new Irish religious market', in Maher, E. and O'Brien, E., eds., *From prosperity to austerity: A socio-cultural critique of the Celtic Tiger and its aftermath*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 34-45.

Mangan, J. (1978) 'Eton in India: The imperial diffusion of a Victorian educational ethic', *History of Education*, 7(2), 105-118.

Marshall, A. (1899) *Elements of Economics in Industry: Being the First Volume Elements in Economics*, London: Forgotten Books.

Marshall, B. (2013) 'What does it mean to 'know' in English?', *National Association for the Teaching of English (NATE): International Perspectives on Teaching English in a Globalised World*, Abingdon: Routledge, 3-24.

Martin, A. (1966) 'Teaching the Irish Short Story', *The Secondary Teacher ASTI*, 2(1).

McCarthy, M. (1996) 'The teaching of Shakespeare: a semiotic approach', *Irish Educational Studies*, 15(1), 221-236.

McCormack, C. (2014) 'Superior schooling: the legacy of the endowed schools commissions 1791-1894 to Irish Education', in Raftery, D. and Fischer, F., eds., *Educating Ireland: Schooling and Social Change 1700-2000*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 22-41.

McCourt, F. (1997) *Angela's Ashes: A Memoir*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

McCutcheon, F. (1889) *The Teaching of English*.

McDonagh, D. (1973) 'A survey of reading comprehension in Dublin city schools', *The Irish Journal of Education*, 7(1), 5-10.

McDonnell, C. (2018) 'Girls of tomorrow: iWish conference inspires young women to pursue STEM careers', *The Irish Examiner*, 11 Dec, available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/lifestyle/arid-30891195.html [accessed 06 Nov 2019].

McElligott, T.J. (1981) *Secondary Education in Ireland: 1870-1921*, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

McGreevy, R. and S., Burns (2018) 'What does the suffragette movement mean to young Irish women? Votail marks the 100th anniversary of the vote for Irish women', *The Irish Times*, 5 Feb, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/what-does-the-suffragette-movement-mean-to-young-irish-women-1.3381219 [accessed 10 Nov 2019].

McGuinness, S., Bergin, A., Kelly, E., McCoy, S., Smyth, E., Whelan, A. and Banks, J. (2014) 'Further education and training in Ireland: past, present and future', Dublin: ESRI.

McKernan, J. (2008) *Curriculum and Imagination: Process Theory, Pedagogy and Action Research*, Abingdon: Routledge.

McLaren, L.M. (2004) 'Opposition to European integration and fear of loss of national identity: Debunking a basic assumption regarding hostility to the integration project', *European Journal of Political Research*, 43(6), 895-912.

McManus, A. (2014a) *Irish Education: The Ministerial Legacy 1919-99*, Dublin: The Irish History Press.

McManus, A. (2014b) 'The Irish hedge school and social change', in Raftery, D. and Fischer, F., eds., *Educating Ireland: Schooling and Social Change 1700-2000*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 124-129.

McWilliams, D. (2008) *The Generation Game: Boom, Bust, and Ireland's Economic Miracle*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

McWilliams, D. (2018) *Renaissance nation: How the Pope's Children Rewrote the Rules for Ireland*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Meadows, T.T. (1847) *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China, and on the Chinese Language: Illustrated with a Sketch of the Province of Kwang-Tûng, Shewing its Division into Departments and Districts*, London: William H. Allen and Company.

Meadows, T.T. (1856) *The Chinese and Their Rebellions: Viewed in Connection with their National Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, and Administration. To which is added, an Essay on Civilization and its Present State in the East and West*, London: Smith, Elder and Company.

Miller, S. (1993) *Textual Carnivals: The Politics of Composition*, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.

Moane, G. (1994) 'A psychological analysis of colonialism in an Irish context', *The Irish Journal of Psychology*, 15(2/3), 250-265.

Moore, R.J. (1964) 'The abolition of patronage in the Indian civil service and the closure of Haileybury College', *The Historical Journal*, 7(2), 246-257.

Morgan, R. (1990) 'The "Englishness" of English teaching', in Goodson, I. and Medway, P., eds., *Bringing English to Order: The History and Politics of a School Subject*, London: The Falmer Press, 197-241.

Mulhall, D. (2016) 'A productive triangle: Ireland, the UK and the EU Ambassador Mulhall's speech at the Strand Group, King's College, London', available: https://www.dfa.ie/irish-embassy/great-britain/news-and-events/2016/a-productive-triangle-ireland-uk-eu/ [accessed 02 Feb 2018].

Mullins, T.G. (1980) *Literature as Play: Thesis Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Regulations Governing the Award of the Degree of Master of Education*, unpublished thesis (Master of Education), University College Cork, Cork.

Mullins, T.G. (1996a) 'Masters and miscreants images of the teacher in Anglo-Irish literature', *Irish Educational Studies*, 16(1), 28-39.

Mullins, T.G. (1996b) 'Shakespeare: To be or not to be…', *Irish Educational Studies*, 15(1), 210-220.

Mullins, T.G. (1999) *Resource Materials for Teaching Language: Leaving Certificate English Syllabus*, available: https://www.education.ie/en/Schools-Colleges/Information/Curriculum-and-Syllabus/Senior-Cycle-/Syllabuses-and-Guidelines/lc_english_resource_materials_teaching.pdf [accessed 12 Jul 2019].

Mullins, T.G. (2000) 'Making it "real" will make it happen: approaches to literacy development in the new second-level English syllabi', in Bates, D., Galvin, C., Swan, D. and Williams, K.,

eds., *Words Alone: The Teaching and Usage of English in Contemporary Ireland*, Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 117-129.

Mullins, T.G. (2002) *A Historical and Comparative Study of the Development of English as a Secondary School Subject in Ireland with Special Reference to the Period 1984-2001*, unpublished thesis (Ph.D.), National University of Ireland, Cork.

Munir, F., Mason, C., McDermott, H., Morris, J., Bagilhole, B. and Nevill, M. (2013) *Advancing women's careers in science, technology, engineering, mathematics and medicine: Evaluating the effectiveness and impact of the Athena SWAN charter*, London: Equality Challenge Unit.

Murphy, C. (2019) 'NCCA interview (Evelyn O'Connor)', INTO: Dublin.

Murphy, D.J. (1973) 'Curriculum Change in English', *The Secondary Teacher ASTI*, 3(2), 17-20.

Murray, P. (2018) 'Fifty years ago, 'Humanae Vitae' put Irish doctors and bishops on a collision course', *The Irish Times*, 29 Jul, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/fifty-years-ago-humanae-vitae-put-irish-doctors-and-bishops-on-a-collision-course-1.3578258 [accessed 01 Jun 2019].

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (1999) *Draft Guidelines for Teachers of English Leaving Certificate English Syllabus*, Dublin: NCCA.

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2004) *Proposals for the future of Senior Cycle Education in Ireland*, Dublin: NCCA.

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2017a) *Curriculum and Assessment*, available: http://ncca.ie/en/Curriculum_and_Assessment/Post-Primary_Education/Senior_Cycle/Key_Skills/Key-Skills.html, [accessed 03 March 2019].

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2017b) *Curriculum and Assessment* available: http://ncca.ie/en/Curriculum_and_Assessment/Post-Primary_Education/Senior_Cycle/Key_Skills/Key_Skills_Framework.html, [accessed 3 March 2017].

National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NCCA) (2018) *Senior Cycle Review: What is the purpose of senior cycle education in Ireland?*, Dublin: NCCA.

Nordquist, R. (2019) 'Definition and Examples of Linguistic Purism', *ThoughtCo* [online], available: https://www.thoughtco.com/purism-language-1691704 [accessed 29 Jan 2020].

Nowlan-Roebuck, C. (2014) 'The Presentation order and national education in Nineteenth Century Ireland', in Raftery, D. and Fischer, F., eds., *Educating Ireland: Schooling and Social Change 1700-2000*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 124-145.

Ó Buachalla, S. (1988) *Education Policy in Twentieth Century Ireland*, Dublin: Wolfhound Press.

Ó Conaill, N. (1991) 'Girls and science: Equality in school or society? (A case for macro and micro analysis)', *Irish Educational Studies*, 10(1), 82-95.

Ó Drisceoil, D. (2017) 'The Irish writer's banned in their own land', *The Irish Examiner*, 20 Jul, available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/lifestyle/artsfilmtv/the-irish-writers-banned-in-their-own-land-455179.html [accessed 21 Feb 2018].

Ó Faolain, S. (2013) 'Editor's Choice: Knocknagow-Case history of an Irish Best-seller by Seán Ó Faolain', *The Irish Times*, 7 Oct, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/editor-s-choice-knocknagow-case-history-of-an-irish-best-seller-by-se%C3%A1n-%C3%B3-faolain-1.1552822?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fculture%2Fbooks%2Feditor-s-choice-knocknagow-case-history-of-an-irish-best-seller-by-se%25C3%25A1n-%25C3%25B3-faolain-1.1552822 [accessed 04 Sep 2019].

Ó hÓgartaigh, M. (2009) 'A quiet revolution: women and second-level education in Ireland, 1878-1930', *New Hibernia Review (Iris Éireannach Nua)*, 13(2), 36-51.

Ó Súilleabháin, S.V., C.F.F. (1971) 'Secondary Education', in Corish, P.J., ed., *A History of Irish Catholicism*: *The Church Since Emancipation*, Vol. 5, Dublin: Gill and MacMillan.

O'Brien, E. (2005) 'Recharging the Canon: Towards a Literary Redefinition of Irishness' in Thompson, H., ed., *Having our own Field Day: Essays on the Irish Canon*, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 101-121.

O'Brien, E. (2007) 'The Language of Empire and the Empire of Language: Joyce and the Return of the Postcolonial Repressed', in Flannery, E. and Mitchell, A., eds., *Enemies of Empire: New Perspectives on Imperialism, Literature and History*, Four Courts Press: Dublin, 160-171.

O'Brien, M. (2008) 'Well-being and post-primary schooling', Dublin: NCCA.

O'Brien, V. (1969) 'Shakespeare Prescribed', *The Secondary Teacher ASTI*.

O'Carroll, N. (1993) 'Unmasking the Myth: English, the School Subject', *Directions: Journal of Educational Studies*, 28(1), 81-88.

O'Connell, T.J. (1968) *One Hundred Years of Progress: History of the Irish National Teacher's Organisation, 1868-1968*, Dublin: The Irish National Teacher's Association (INTO).

O'Connor, B. (2005) 'Sexing the Nation: discourses of the dancing body in Ireland in the 1930s', *Journal of Gender Studies*, 14(2), 89-105.

O'Connor, J. (2010) 'Review: Soundings, edited by Augustine Martin', *The Irish Independent*, 10 Oct, available: https://www.independent.ie/entertainment/books/review-soundings-edited-by-augustine-martin-26804056.html [accessed 26 Apr 2018].

O'Connor, M. (2007) 'Sé Sí: Gender in Irish Education', 04 Sep, available: https://www.education.ie/en/Publications/Statistics/Se-Si-Gender-in-Irish-Education-Introduction-to-Chapter-9.pdf [accessed 10 Dec 2019].

O'Donoghue, T. (1999) *The Catholic Church and the Secondary School Curriculum in Ireland 1922-1962*, New York: Peter Lang.

O'Donoghue, T. (2000a) *Australia: Centre for Irish Studies Monograph Series*, Perth: Murdoch University.

O'Donoghue, T. (2000b) *Bilingual Education in Ireland 1904-1922*, Perth: Murdoch University.

O'Donoghue, T. (2004) *Come Follow Me and Foresake Temptation: Catholic Schooling and the Recruitment and Retention of Teachers for Religious Teaching Orders, 1922-1965*, Germany: Peter Lang Publishing.

O'Donoghue, T. (2005) 'Catholic Influence and the Secondary School Curriculum in Ireland 1922-1962', in McCulloch, G., ed., *The Routledge Falmer Reader in the History of Education*, Abingdon: Routledge, 179-192.

O'Donoghue, T. and Harford, J. (2011) 'A comparative history of Church-State relations in Irish education', *Comparative Education Review*, 55(3), 315-341.

O'Donoghue, T., Gleeson, J. and McCormack, O. (2017) 'National newspaper-reporting on state examinations: An historical exposition of the exceptional case of the Irish Leaving Certificate', *Encounters in Theory and History of Education,* 18(2017), 134-148.

O'Flaherty, L. (1992) *Management and Control in Irish Education: The Post Primary Experience*, Dublin: Drumcondra Teacher's Centre.

O'Flynn, G. (1987) 'Our age of innocence', in Cullen, M., ed., *Girls Don't Do Honours: Irish Women in Education in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, Dublin: Arlen House, 79-99.

O'Hagan, T. (1878) *The Right Hon. Lord O'Hagan in the House of Lords, on the Second Reading of the Intermediate Education (Ireland)*, speech 28 Jun, Dublin Bill, 1878, Dublin: M.H. Gill and Son.

O'Keeffe, A., McCarthy, M. and Carter, R. (2007) *From Corpus to Classroom: Language use and Language Teaching*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

O'Mahony, E. (1967) 'Father Conmee and His associates', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 4(4), 263-270.

O'Reilly, C.C. (2001) 'Irish Language, Irish Identity: Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland in the European Union' in O'Reilly, C.C., ed., *Language, Ethnicity and the State, Volume 1: Minority Languages in The European Union*, London: Springer, 78-103.

O'Toole, B. (2006) *The Ideal of Public Service: Reflections on the higher civil service in Britain*, Abingdon: Routledge.

O'Toole, F. (2010) *Enough is Enough: How to Build a New Republic*, London: Faber and Faber.

Oireachtas (1935) Conditions of Employment Bill.

Oireachtas (1973) Commission on the Status of Women: Motion, 75(7), available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/seanad/1973-07-25/14/ [accessed 06 Jun 2019].

Oireachtas (1979) Dáil Debate, available: https://www.oireachtas.ie/en/debates/debate/dail/1979-04-05/6/ [accessed 22 May 2019].

Oireachtas (2014) 'Higher education in Ireland: for economy and society?', No. 5 of 2014, *Oireachtas Library and Research Service*, 1-16.

On the classification and framing of educational knowledge', *Knowledge and Control*, 3(1), 245-270.

Opinion (2009) 'The savage reality of our darkest days', *The Irish Times*, 21 May, available: https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/the-savage-reality-of-our-darkest-days-1.767385 [accessed 17 Sep 2019].

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2013) *Education Policy Outlook: Ireland*, available: http://www.oecd.org/ireland/EDUCATION%20POLICY%20OUTLOOK%20IRELAND_EN .pdf [accessed 01 Feb 2020].

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (1965), *Investment in Education – Report of the Survey Team*, Dublin: Stationary Office

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2018) *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)*, available: https://www.oecd.org/pisa/ [accessed 24 May 2020].

Orwell, G. (1946) *Politics and the English Language*, New York: Penguin Books.

Oser, L. (2007) *The Ethics of Modernism: Moral Ideas in Yeats, Eliot, Joyce, Woolf and Beckett*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Parfitt, R. (2020) *Musical Culture and the Spirit of Irish Nationalism, 1848-1972*, New York: Routledge.

Parkes, J. and Harris, M.B. (2002) 'The purposes of a syllabus', *College Teaching*, 50(2), 55-61.

Parks, S.M. (2010) *A Guide to Sources for the History of Irish Education 1780-1922*, Dublin: Four Courts Press.

Payne, A.A. (1921) 'Education for Leisure as Well as for Vocation', *The English Journal*, 10(4), 208-216.

Pearse, P. (1904) *An Claidheamh Soluis*, 27 September.

Pearse, P. (1924) 'The Murder Machine' in Pearse, P., ed., *Collected Works of Pádraic Pearse: Political Writings and Speeches*, Dublin: The Talbot Press, 5-50.

Peim, N. (2003) *Changing English? Rethinking the Politics of English Teaching*, Sheffield: NATE.

Pollak, S. (2019) 'School subjects strongly influence whether girls study Stem at college', *The Irish Times*, 18 Mar, https://www.irishtimes.com/news/education/school-subjects-strongly-influence-whether-girls-study-stem-at-college-1.3829645?mode=sample&auth-failed=1&pw-origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.irishtimes.com%2Fnews%2Feducation%2Fschool-subjects-strongly-influence-whether-girls-study-stem-at-college-1.3829645 [accessed 21 Sep 2019].

Prenderville, P. (1988) 'Divorce in Ireland: An analysis of the referendum to amend the Constitution', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 11(4), 355-363.

Price, J.W. (1957) 'Education and the civil service in Europe, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 10(4), 817-832.

Professional Development Service for Teachers (PDST) (2019) Drop Everything and Read, available: https://pdst.ie/node/918, [accessed 17 Oct 2019].

Protherough, R. and Atkinson, J. (1994) *Making of English Teachers*, Milton Keynes, Open: University Press.

Raftery, D. (2009) 'The legacy of legislation and the pragmatics of policy', in Drudy, S., ed., *Irish Education: Challenge and Change*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 9-23.

Rajan, R.S. (1986) 'After 'Orientalism': Colonialism and English Literary Studies in India', *Social Scientist*, 14(7), 23-35.

Relihan, M. (2014) 'The Church of Ireland, The State and education in Irish language and Irish history 1920s-1950s', Raftery, D. and Fischer, F., eds., *Educating Ireland: Schooling and Social Change 1700-2000*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 147-172.

Reppen, R. (2010) 'Building a corpus: what are the key considerations?', in O'Keeffe, A. and McCarthy, M., eds., *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, Abingdon: Routledge, 59-65.

Robinson, M. (2000) 'What is(n't) this subject called English?' in Davison, J. and Moss, J., eds., *Issues in English Teaching*, London: Routledge, 90-104.

RTE (1971) 'Women's Lib and Contraceptive Train (1971)', available: https://www.rte.ie/archives/exhibitions/1666-women-and-society/370226-contraceptive-train/ [accessed 26 Nov 2019].

Ruhs, M. and Quinn, E. (2009) 'Ireland: From rapid immigration to recession', *Migration Information Source*, Sep, 1-12.

Rumrich, J. (1995) 'Milton's God and the matter of chaos', *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 110(5), 1035-1046.

Ryan, Á. (2014) *The Road to Democracy in Irish Primary School Education*, unpublished thesis (Ph.D), University of Sheffield, Sheffield.

Ryan, D. (2013) *The Spinning Heart*, Lonodon: Random House.

Ryle-Dwyer, T. (1988) *Strained Relations: Ireland at Peace and the USA at War 1941-45*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Ryle-Dwyer, T. (2010) 'There was some truth in Paisley's tirades against our priestly republic', *Irish Examiner*, 14 Aug, available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/columnists/ryle-dwyer/there-was-some-truth-in-paisleys-tirades-against-our-priestly-republic-127774.html [accessed 02 Jun 2018].

Ryle-Dwyer, T. (2016) 'This is how the Late Late Show helped spark a cultural revolution in Ireland', *The Irish Examiner*, 11 Feb, available: https://www.irishexaminer.com/viewpoints/analysis/this-is-how-the-late-late-show-helped-spark-a-cultural-revolution-in-ireland-381177.html [accessed 19 Aug 2019].

Saorstát Eireann: Office of the Attorney General (1922) 'Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Eireann) Act, 1922', http://www.irishstatutebook.ie/eli/1922/act/1/schedule/1/enacted/en/html [accessed 04 Feb 2020].

Savage, R. (2019) 'Window and mirror. RTÉ television: 1961-2011', *History Ireland*, available: https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/window-and-mirror-rte-television-1961-2011/ [accessed 20 Sep 2019].

Savage, R.J. and Smith, J.M. (2003) 'Sexual abuse and the Irish church: Crisis and responses', *The Church in the Twenty-First Century: Occasional Papers*, 1-5.

Schubert, W.H. (1993) 'Curriculum reform', in Cawelti, G., ed., *Challenges and Achievements of American Education*, Alexandria: The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 80-112.

Seanad Éireann (1925) Civil Service Regulation (amendment).

Seanad Éireann (1942) 'Censorship of Publications-Motion (Resumed)', 9th December.

Shah, R. and Tewari, R. (2016) 'Demystifying 'selfie': a rampant social media activity', *Behaviour and Information Technology*, 35(10), 864-871.

Sheehan, A., Berkery, E. and Lichrou, M. (2017) 'Changing role of women in the Irish society: an overview of the female consumer', *The Irish Journal of Management*, 36(3), 162-171.

Shen, F. (1989) 'The classroom and the wider culture: identity as a key to learning English composition', *College Composition and Communication*, 40(4), 459-466.

Silver, H. (1990) *Education, Change, and the Policy Process*, Abingdon-on-Thames: Taylor and Francis.

Silverman, D. (2005) 'Instances or sequences? Improving the state of the art of qualitative research', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research (Sozialforschung)*, 6(3), 1-16.

Simmie, G.M. (2012) 'The Pied Piper of Neo Liberalism Calls the Tune in the Republic of Ireland: An Analysis of Education Policy Text from 2000-2012', *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies (JCEPS)*, 10(2), 1-30.

Simon, H.W. (1934) 'Why Shakespeare', *The English Journal*, 23(5), 363-368.

Smyth, E. (2019) 'Senior Cycle Review: Analysis of Discussions in Schools on Senior Cycle Pathways and Structures in Ireland', *ESRI Working Paper*, No. 621.

Smyth, E. and Banks, J. (2012) 'High stakes testing and student perspectives on teaching and learning in the Republic of Ireland', *Educational Assessment, Evaluation and Accountability*, 24(4), 283-306.

Smyth, E., Banks, J. and Calvert, E. (2011) From Leaving Certificate to leaving school: A longitudinal study of sixth year students, *ESRI Research Series*, Dublin: The Liffey Press.

Smyth, E., Banks, J. and McCoy, S. (2018) Senior Cycle Review: Analysis of Discussions in Schools on the Purpose of Senior Cycle Education in Ireland, *ESRI*, Dublin: ESRI.

Smyth, E., Darmody, M., McGinnity, F. and Byrne, D. (2009) *Adapting to Diversity: Irish Schools and Newcomer Students*, ESRI Research Series, Dublin: The Liffey Press.

Smyth, J. (1993) 'Dancing, depravity and all that jazz: the public dance halls act of 1935', *History Ireland*, available: https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/dancing-depravity-and-all-that-jazz-the-public-dance-halls-act-of-1935-by-jim-smyth/ [accessed 07 May 2018].

Stake, R.E. (2005) 'Qualitative case studies', in Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., eds., *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3rd ed., London: Sage, 443-466.

Stanford, M. (1994) *A Companion to the Study of History*, New Jersey: Blackwell.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2005) *Leaving Certificate Examination: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2007) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2008) *Leaving Certificate Examination: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2009) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2010) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2011) *Leaving Certificate Examination: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2011) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2012) *Leaving Certificate Examination: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2013a) *Chief Examiner's Report: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2013b) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Marking Scheme: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2013c) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2014) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2015) *Leaving Certificate Examination Papers: English: Higher Level*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2017) *Chief Examiner's Report: English: Leaving Certificate*, Dublin.

State Examinations Commission (SEC) (2018) *Accommodating Students with Special Educational Needs in the State Examinations*, available: https://www.examinations.ie/misc-doc/BI-AU-69965912.pdf [accessed 07 Feb 2019].

Steiner, G. (1984) 'To Civilise our Gentlemen', in *George Steiner a Reader*, Steiner, G., ed., London: Penguin Books, 25-36.

Stockley, W.F.P. (1936) 'Ur-Ugh! How We Speak English', *The Irish School Weekly Letters to the Editor*.

Strauss, V. (2015) 'Teacher: why it is ridiculous not to teach Shakespeare in school', *The Washington Post*, 13 Jun, available: https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2015/06/13/teacher-why-it-is-ridiculous-not-to-teach-shakespeare-in-school/ [accessed 07 Feb 2018].

Sutherland, K. (2014) 'Female education, reading and Jane Austen', [online], available: https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/female-education-reading-and-jane-austen [accessed 16 Jun 2019].

Têng, S.Y. (1943) 'Chinese influence on the Western examination system', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 7(4), 267-312.

The Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse (2006) *Transcripts of Public Hearings in 2004, 2005, 2006*.

The Inspectorate (2016) *School Self Evaluation Guidelines 2016-2020 Post Primary*, Dublin: Department of Education and Skills.

The Journal (2015) 'Is the Leaving Certificate getting easier', *The Journal*, 02 Jun, available: https://www.thejournal.ie/leaving-cert-easier-2132187-Jun2015/ [accessed 29 Sep 2019].

Thompson, B. (1940) 'Pupils Bordering on Illiteracy', *The Irish School Weekly Letters to the Editor*.

tical Report 1968/69-1971/72, Dublin: Stationary Office.

Tierney, M. (1972) *Modern Ireland 1850-1950*, Dublin: Gill and MacMillan.

Tierney, M. (1988) *Ireland since 1870*, Dublin: Fallon.

Titley, B.E. (1983) *Church, State and the Control of Schooling in Ireland 1900-1944*, Dublin: McGill Queen's University Press.

Tonra, B. (1999) 'The Europeanisation of Irish foreign affairs', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, 10(1999), 149-165.

Travers, M. (1976) 'A second replication of a survey of reading comprehension in Dublin City schools', *The Irish Journal of Education*, 10(1), 18-22.

UCLES (The University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate) (2019) 'Our Heritage' [online], available: https://www.cambridgeassessment.org.uk/about-us/who-we-are/our-heritage/ [accessed 01 Aug 2019].

University of Northern Iowa (1820) 'Study of the Classics', *The North-American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*, 11(29), 413-423.

Walpole, M. (1889) *Physical Training for Girls*.

Walsh, B. (2011) *Education Studies in Ireland: The Key Disciplines*, Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.

Weaven, M. and Clark, T. (2013) ''I guess it scares us'-Teachers discuss the teaching of poetry in senior secondary English', *English in Education*, 47(3), 197-212.

Webb, S. (2015) 'MY LEAVING CERT MEMORIES Leaving Certificate 1987', *The Irish Independent*, 27 Jan, available: https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/education/exams/my-leaving-cert-memories-leaving-certificate-1987-30940450.html [accessed 22 Sep 2019].

West, A.F. (1884) 'Must the Classics Go?' *The North American Review*, 138(327), 151-162.

West, E.G. (1978) 'Literacy and the industrial revolution', *The Economic History Review*, 31(3), 369-383.

Wheeler, M. (1994) *Heaven, Hell, and the Victorians*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Whyte, J. (1983) 'How much discrimination was there under the unionist regime, 1921-68?', *Contemporary Irish Studies*, 1(1), 1-36.

Wilby, P. (2013) 'Margaret Thatcher's education legacy is still with us-driven on by Gove', *The Guardian*, 15 Apr, available: https://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/apr/15/margaret-thatcher-education-legacy-gove [accessed 23 May 2019].

Williams, J., Nixon, E., Smyth, E. and Watson, D. (2016) *Cherishing all the Children Equally? Ireland 100 years on from the Easter Rising*, available https://www.esri.ie/system/files?file=media/file-uploads/2016-10/BKMNEXT325.pdf [accessed 23 Sep 2019].

Wilson-Davis, K. (1974) 'The contraceptive situation in the Irish Republic', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 6(4), 483-492.

Wilson-Davis, K. (1975) 'Some results of an Irish family planning survey', *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 7(4), 435-444.

Yeats, W.B. (1970) 'Uncollected prose by W.B. Yeats, Vol. 1.', by Frayne, J.P.

Young, M. (1961) *The Rise of the Meritocracy: An Essay on Education and Equality*, London: Thames and Hudson.

Young, M.A. (2016) *High School English Teachers' experiences with Poetry Pedagogy*, unpublished thesis (Ph.D.), Northeastern University Boston, Boston.

Yu, S.T. (2018) *Milton Impregnated: Feminizing Chaos in Paradise Lost*, unpublished thesis (M.A.), University of British Columbia.

Appendices

Appendix 4.1: Tracing Quotations

Appendix 4.2: Tracing Battles, Classical and Mythological References

Tracing Battles

Tracing Classical References

Tracing Mythological References

Appendix 4.3: Tracing Question Words Era 3

Tracing Question Word 'Answer'
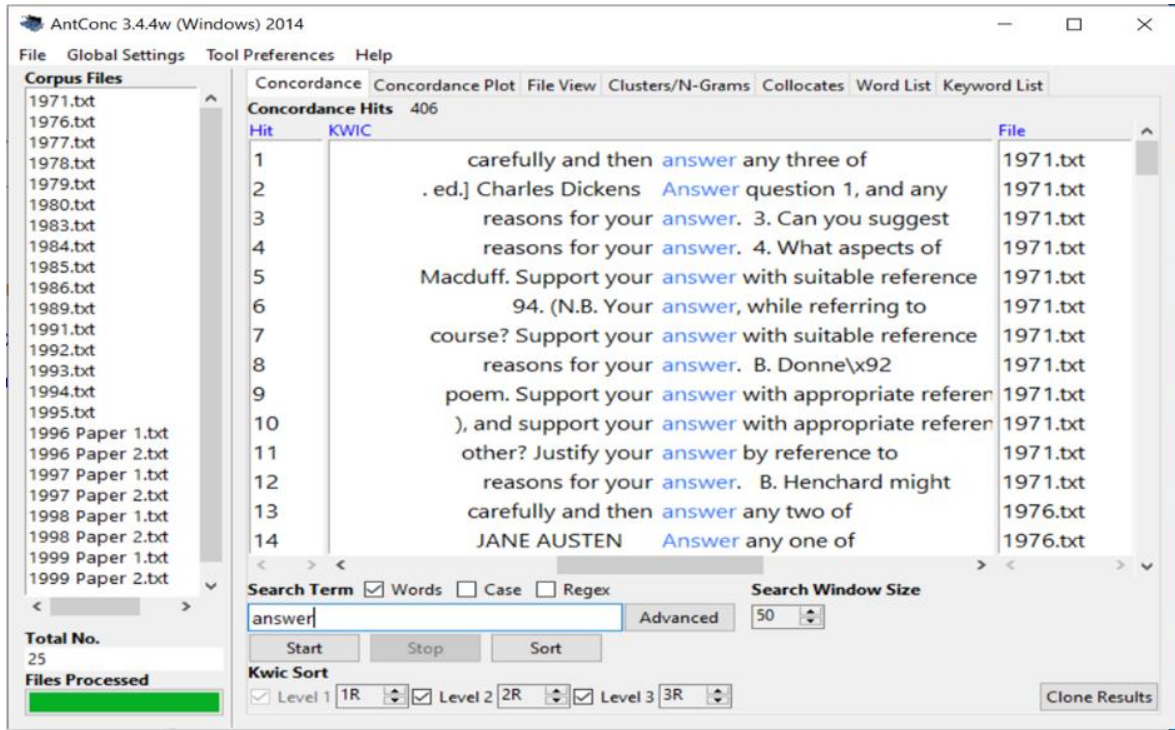
Tracing Question Word 'Answer'
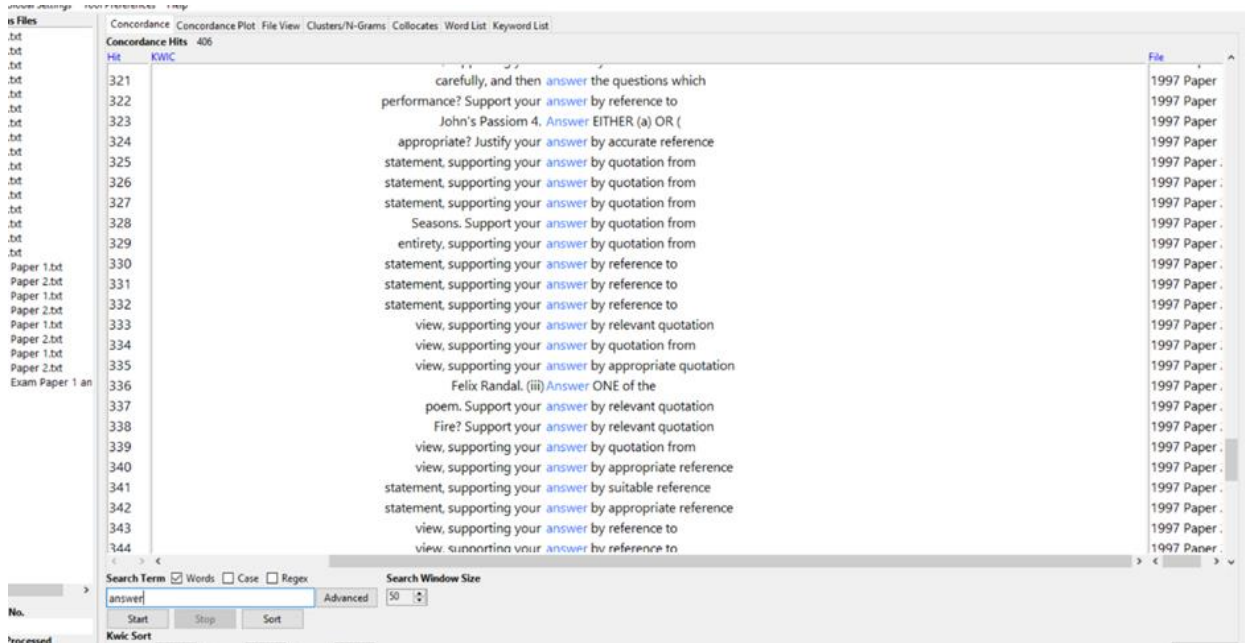
Tracing Question Word 'Explain'

Hit	KWIC	File
58	85the discipline of pessimism.\x94 (iii) Explain the words underlined. B. [20.] Sh	1940.txt
59	a noun, adjective, or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1948.txt
60	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1950.txt
61	noun, adjective or adverb clause ; and explain its connection with the clause upon	1951.txt
62	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1952.txt
63	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1953.txt
64	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1954.txt
65	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1955.txt
66	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1956.txt
67	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1957.txt
68	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1958.txt
69	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1959.txt
70	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1960.txt
71	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1961.txt
72	a noun, adjective, or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1962.txt
73	a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon	1963.txt
74	-third of its present length. (b) Explain the underlined words, as used in	1963.txt
75	OR (c) Explain the underlined words, as used in	1964.txt
76	-third of its present length. (b) Explain the underlined words, as used in	1965.txt
77	and Arnold\x92s Scholar Gipsy? Explain. v. Wordsworth writes:	1944.txt
78	) Paraphrase the last seven lines. (c) Explain the words \x93pursuivant,\x94 \x93	1930.txt
79	leading up to it. [20 marks.] (b) Explain:- Black vesper\x92s pageants; the	1933.txt
80	thought of the above passage. (ii) Explain briefly what you think is meant	1940.txt
81	, The Two Races of Men, and explain how, in your opinion, he gains	1948.txt

Tracing Question Word 'Discuss'

Hit	KWIC	File
1	Falstaff, Pistol, Bardolph, and Nym? (b) Discuss Shakespeare\x92s treatment of Frenchmen.	INTERMEDIA
2	he was to be judged.\x94 Discuss this. Or Milton has said that	1926.txt
3	Town. e) Empire and Nationality. f) Discuss and compare two great novelists. ENGLIS	1928.txt
4	its own aspirations and working.\x94 Discuss this briefly. What is meant by	1929.txt
5	(40) Discuss this briefly. Or, \x93Ah ! Two	1929.txt
6	are not told to him.\x94 Discuss. IV [30 marks.] Consider Shakespeare\x	1930.txt
7	92s women are extraordinarily alive.\x94 Discuss. V [30 marks.] Consider the pastoral e	1930.txt
8	for the absence of rhyme.\x94 Discuss with illustrations. V [30 marks.] (a) Na	1931.txt
9	part of the common speech.\x94 Discuss and quote. Or, (c) \x93He	1931.txt
10	the subtle use of language.\x94 Discuss, with examples. Or, (d) \x93Many	1931.txt
11	the memory like beautiful music.\x94 Discuss, with examples. Or, (e) \x93In	1931.txt
12	Love is stronger than Death.\x94 Discuss. Or, (f) \x93His women are	1931.txt
13	refuge and sanctity of faith.\x94 Discuss and illustrate, expressing agreement or di	1931.txt
14	hardly less rich in thought.\x94 Discuss. or 2. \x93 The weakness of Richard	1932.txt
15	is called philosophy or humour.\x94 Discuss. or 3. \x93 The tragedies of Shakespeare	1932.txt
16	is his only possible victory.\x94 Discuss with reference to two tragedies you	1932.txt
17	-water mark of human genius.\x94 Discuss. V. [40 marks.] Treat briefly any one	1932.txt
18	its size in any language.\x94 Discuss with reference to other long poems	1932.txt
19	92s heroes meet death bravely.\x94 Discuss and illustrate. [20 marks.] (d) Analyse b	1933.txt
20	.] (c) Explain: - purple patch [10 marks.] (d) Discuss briefly the place in English Literature	1933.txt
21	Literature. Quote freely. d) [40 marks] i. Discuss the metre of the poem, scanning	1934.txt
22	mystery of significance and music.\x94 Discuss and illustrate. (d) [40 marks] \x93The	1935.txt
23	all things sub specie aeternitatis\x94 Discuss and illustrate. (e) [40 marks] \x93The	1935.txt
24	favourite theme in English poetry.\x94 Discuss and illustrate. II [80 marks.] KING	1935.txt

Appendix 4.4: Tracing Poets, Poems, Characters and Writers

Tracing Milton

Tracing Shakespearean Characters

Tracing Poets and Poems

Tracing Poems Further

AntConc 3.4.4w (Windows) 2014

File   Global Settings   Tool Preferences   Help

Corpus Files
1926.txt
1927.txt
1928.txt
1929.txt
1930.txt
1931.txt
1932.txt
1933.txt
1934.txt
1935.txt
1936.txt
1940.txt
1941.txt
1942.txt
1944.txt
1945.txt
1946.txt
1947.txt
1948.txt
1950.txt
1951.txt
1952.txt
1953.txt
1954.txt
1955.txt

Total No.
35
Files Processed

Concordance   Concordance Plot   File View   Clusters/N-Grams   Collocates   Word List   Keyword List

Concordance Hits   26

Hit	KWIC	File
1	trace that it had ever been. Shelley closes for a time the rec	1929.txt
2	reference to the lives of Byron, Shelley, Wordsworth.	1929.txt
3	plays. 5. The poetry of Keats (or Shelley). 6. The historical import	1930.txt
4	try. Refer to Milton, Arnold, and Shelley. Or - Consider the ode i	1930.txt
5	. or 2. The poetry of Milton (or Shelley or Tennyson or Keats). c	1932.txt
6	ur three favourite stanzas from Shelley\x92s Ode to a Skylark,	1944.txt
7	meant by the personal note in Shelley\x92s Ode to the West	1944.txt
8	this: \x93The personal note in Shelley\x92s Ode to the West	1944.txt
9	) Quote the last two stanzas of Shelley\x92s To the Night, and	1946.txt
10	us, Milton was for us Burns, Shelley were with us \x96 they v	1947.txt
11	orks of both poets. (e) Examine Shelley\x92s poem To The Nigh	1948.txt
12	us. Milton was for us. Burns, Shelley were with us \x96 they v	1951.txt
13	support of Shakespeare and of Shelley? Quote from the poem t	1951.txt
14	biographical note on Milton. D. Shelley in his Defence of Poetry	1953.txt

Search Term ☑ Words ☐ Case ☐ Regex   **Search Window Size**

shelley   [Advanced]   50 ⇕

[Start]   [Stop]   [Sort]

Kwic Sort
☑ Level 1 1R ⇕ ☑ Level 2 2R ⇕ ☑ Level 3 3R ⇕   [Clone Results]

318

Appendix 4.5: Readability Results 1926

Flesch Reading Ease score: 66.3 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: standard / average.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 14.7 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: hard to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 11
Grade level: Eleventh Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 6
Grade level: Sixth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 9.3
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 12
Grade level: 17-18 yrs. old (Twelfth graders)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 16.6
Grade level: College Graduate and above.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 11
Reading Level: standard / average.
Reader's Age: 15-17 yrs. old (Tenth to Eleventh graders)

319

Appendix 4.6: Readability Tool and Reading Comprehensions (1936 Exam Paper)

IV. [40 marks.]

Wang Ho then, let it be stated was one who had early in life amassed a considerable fortune by advising those whose intention it was to hazard their earnings in the State Lotteries as to the numbers that might be relied on to be successful or, if not actually successful, those at least that were not already predestined by malign influences to be absolutely incapable of success. These changes Wang Ho at first forecast by means of dreams, portents, and other supernatural things ; but as the number of his clients increased vastly, while his capacity for dreaming remained the same, he found it no less effective to close his eyes and to become inspired of numbers thus revealed to him. Occasionally he received a bag of money from one who had profited by his advice ; but he did not rely on this contingency as a source of income, nor did he ever return the amount agreed on (and invariably deposited in advance) as the reward of his inspired efforts. To those who cynically inquired whey he did not secure the prizes for himself he replied that his enterprise consisted in forecasting the winning numbers for State Lotteries and not in solving enigmas. As this plausible evasion was accompanied by a courteous display of the many weapons which he always wore at different convenient points of his attire, the incident invariably ended in a manner satisfactory to Wang Ho.

Answer question A and one of the questions B, C, D, E.

A. [20 marks.] (i) Briefly summarise the character of Wang Ho.

(ii) Explain any two of the following: -

Contingency ; cynically ; malign ; portents ; predestined ; enigma ; lotteries.

B. [20 marks.] Write a brief critical appreciation of the passage, indicating the

Security check - *Are you human?:* ✔ Yes. (Click the box)

Check Text Readability   **Clear**

320

Appendix 4.7: Readability Results 1936

Gunning Fog: 12 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: hard to read.
[f] | [a] | [r].

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 9
Grade level: Ninth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r].

The Coleman-Liau Index: 9
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r].

The SMOG Index: 9
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r].

Automated Readability Index: 7.7
Grade level: 12-14 yrs. old (Seventh and Eighth graders)
[f] | [a] | [r].

Linsear Write Formula : 9.1
Grade level: Ninth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r].

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 9
Reading Level: fairly difficult to read.
Reader's Age: 13-15 yrs. old (Eighth and Ninth graders)

Appendix 4.8: Readability Results 1946

Flesch Reading Ease score: 52.9 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: fairly difficult to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 15.9 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: difficult to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 12.6
Grade level: College.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 8
Grade level: Eighth grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 10.9
Grade level: Eleventh Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 12.8
Grade level: 18-19 yrs. old (college level entry)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 17
Grade level: College Graduate and above.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 12
Reading Level: fairly difficult to read.
Reader's Age: 17-18 yrs. old (Twelfth graders)

Appendix 4.9: Readability Tool and Reading Comprehensions (1996 Exam Paper)

11. UNPRESCRIBED PROSE (60 marks)
Read this passage carefully, and then answer the questions which follow it.

The single greatest shift in the history of mass-communication technology occurred in the fifteenth century and was well described by Victor Hugo in a famous chapter of "Notre Dame de Paris". The prevailing technology was the size of a city block. It was a cathedral. On all pans of the giant building, statuary and stone representations of every kind, combined with huge windows of stained glass, told the stories of the Bible and the saints, displayed the intricacies of Christian theology, adverted to the existence of highly unpleasant demonic winged creatures, referred diplomatically to the majesties of political power, and, in addition, by means of bells in bell towers, told time for the benefit of all Paris and much of France. tt was an awesome engine of communication.

Then came the transition to something still more awesome. The new technology of masscommunication was portable, could sit on your table and was easily reproduced, and yet, paradoxically, considering its compact size, contained more information, more systematically presented, than even the largest of cathedrals. It was the printed book. And, though Gutenberg's book had certain limitations compared with a cathedral - provided no bells, could not tell the time - the overall superiority of the new invention was unmistakable. In the next several centuries, civilisation produced more books and fewer cathedrals, and the technological shift was complete.

When you think about the triumph of the book over the cathedral, it's easy to imagine that progress for civilisation was not necessarily progress for every individual person. The cathedral corresponds to a certain kind of human personality, the book to another kind. Cathedrals are for bell lovers, statue admirers, partisans of colour and shape as narrative forms, people who gasp at spectacles of height and depth. Books are for people who find silence absorbing, who make pictures in their heads, who find nothing daunting about parallel lines of black type. To go from cathedrals to books was fine for civilisation; but it must have been sheer misery for the cathedral personalities.
OVER*

Security check - *Are you human?*: ☐ Yes. (Click the box)

[Check Text Readability] [Clear]

Appendix 4.10: Readability Results 1996

Flesch Reading Ease score: 50.8 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: fairly difficult to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 13.4 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: hard to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 10.1
Grade level: Tenth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 11
Grade level: Eleventh Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 9.9
Grade level: Tenth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 9.7
Grade level: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 10.8
Grade level: Eleventh Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Readability Consensus

Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 10
Reading Level: fairly difficult to read.
Reader's Age: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)

Show Word Statistics

Total # of words: **746**
Total # of unique words: **394** (53% of total text)
(show all unique words)
Total # of repeat words: **352** (47% of total text)
(show all repeat words)
Hello

Average # of words per sentence: **16**
Total # of sentences: **47**

Total # of characters: **3670**
Average # of characters per word: **4.9**
(show words that exceed avg. chars)

Average # of syllables per word: **2**
Total syllables in text: **1245**

Total # of words with double syllables: **133**
Percent of double syllables in text: **18%**

Total # of words with single syllables: **478**
Percent of single syllables in text: **64%**

Percent of 3+ syllables in text: **18%**
Total # of words with 3+ syllables: **135**
3+ syllable words: (show all 'hard' words)

Appendix 5.1: Programme for Examinations 1885, 1905, 1907 and 1922

1885 Programme for Examinations in the Senior Grade

1.Literature   25

William Shakespeare: *Julius Caesar*

Samuel Johnson: *Lives of Pope and Johnson*

2. Grammar and Composition   25

A Short Essay

 3. History and Geography   25

      Outlines of the History of Great Britain and Ireland from AD 1649 to AD 1872 (Hume or Lingard as above)

      The Geography of Africa, America, and Australasia (Johnston, as above pp330-492)

 4. The History of English Literature   25

      Elementary questions on Philogogy and on the History of the English Language

      Outlines of English Literature (Smith's *Smaller History of English Literature*)

NB- In all grades of the English Examination, marks will be deducted for faults in Spelling."

<div align="right">(Senior Grade)</div>

<div align="right">Percentage of Marks</div>

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION

A – LITERATURE

I.   WORDSWORTH – The following Sonnets and Poems: -   25

"I thought of thee"; "There! Said a stripling; "Scorn not the Sonnet"; "The World is too much with us;" "Where lies the Land to which you ship must go?" Personal talk (4 Sonnets); Composed on Westminster Bridge; King's College Chapel (2 Sonnets); "When I have borne in memory;" "Two voices are there;" A Pleasure in Poetic Pains; To B.R. Haydon; To Sleep (3 Sonnets); "A Poet! – He hath put his heart to School;"

Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey; Ode to Duty; To the Cuckoo; Nutting; The leech Gatherer; The Affliction of Margaret; Peele Castle; A Poet's Epitaph; Simon Lee; The Solitary Reaper.

B – COMPOSITION

Work to be read: -   75

COLERIDGE: Biographia Literaria, Chap. xix and Chap. xxi

RUSSELL LOWELL: Essays on Wordsworth.

Senior Grade

**Percentage
Of Marks**

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION

A – LITERATURE

SHAKESPEARE: Richard II. (School text.)   35

LAMB: Essays of Elia: - viz.;

      Oxford in the Vacation; The Two Races of Men; New Year's Eve;

Mrs. Battle's Opinions on Whist; All Fools' Day; Imperfect Sympathies;

Witches and other Night Fears; The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers;

A Dissertation on Roast Pig.

B – COMPOSITION

Work to be read: -   65

SCOTT: Waverley. (School text.)

English Programme of Examinations in the Senior Grade 1922

1. **English Composition**   **40**

2. **Literature**   **25**

   SHAKESPEARE: Henry V. (School Edition).

   Questions may be asked on the aesthetic principles involved in the structure of the play. Philological questions will not be asked.

   M. ARNOLD: Thyrsis.

   LAMB: Essays of Elia, viz., Oxford in the Vacation; The Two Races of Men; New Year's Eve; Mrs. Battle's Opinion's on Whist; All Fools' Day; Imperfect Sympathies; Witches and Other Night Fears; The Praise of Chimney Sweepers; A Dissertation on Roast Pig.

3. Outlines of History:

   Europe, with special reference to Ireland, Great Britain, and France, A.D. 1748 to A.D. 1832.

4. Geography: **35**

   a. General geography of America and Australasia.

   b. The British Empire in America and Australasia in more detail.

      Questions on Physical Geography may be asked.

5. General private reading should be done by all students from lists of books drawn up by the Board.*

   * The selection made by the school should be intimated to the Office not later than October 1st.

Appendix 5.2: English Examinations 1905 and 1907

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION

FRIDAY, 16th JUNE. 1905 – AFTERNOON, 3 *to* 5.30 P.M.

Examiner, WILLIAM MAGENNIS, M.A.

ENGLISH COMPOSITION

RUSSELL LOWELL: *Essay on Wordsworth.*

COLERIDGE: *Biographia Literaria.*

Write an essay on *one* of these subjects :-

- *(a.)* The "substance" of Poetry and its "subsidiary qualities."
- *(b.)* "The faith of mankind is guided to a man only by a well-founded faith in himself."
- *(c.)* The nature and the requirements of narrative poetry.
- *(d.)* "None of our great poets can be called popular in any exact sense of the word."
- *(e.)* The duty of the Critic to Literature.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

WORDSWORTH: *Selected Poems.*

[Candidates must not attempt more than *four* questions]

1. *(a.)* Compare *Simon Lee* and *The Solitary Reaper* as regards (1) choice of subject and (2) treatment.

   (*b*.) Which do you regard as the more pleasing poem?

   (*c*.) Is *The Solitary Reaper a ballad?* Discuss the classification here suggested.

2. Explain the meaning of *The Poet's Epitaph*. By what passages from *Tintern Abbey* might some of its views be illustrated?

3. Wordsworth has sometimes been spoken of as a lover of his fellow man: is this description justified by his sonnets *Personal Talk?* How is your view of the question affected by reference to *Resolution and Independence* and *The Afflictions of Margaret?*

4. By what epithets does Wordsworth characterise Burns, Chatterton, Dante, Spenser? Could you infer from his references to them with which of these poets Wordsworth had most in common as regards either (1) selection of themes or (2) habitual cast of thought?

5. From the sonnets (1) *A Poet*, (2) *High is our calling*, (3) *There is a pleasure in poetic pains*, together with the *Elegiac Stanzas on a picture of Peele Castle*, what do you learn as to Wordsworth's conception of the Fine Arts, Poetry and Painting?

6. Explain the thoughts with which Wordsworth ends the sonnets *I thought of Thee, The World is too much with us,* and *Tax not the Royal Saint with vain expense.*

7. (*a.*) How does Wordsworth style *Duty*, and why?

   (*b.*) What is the dominant notion in the *Ode to Duty?*

   (*c.*) Quote and comment on what you consider the finest passages in the *Ode*.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION

THURSDAY, 13th JUNE. – MORNING, 10 A.M. to 12.30 P.M. 1907

Examiner, P. J. MERRIMAN, M.A.

ENGLISH COMPOSITION

Write an essay on *one* of the following subjects (they are all suggested by Scott's *Waverley*) :-

(f.) "The object of my tale [*i.e. Waverley*] is more a description of man than manners." – Scott.
(g.) The True End of Education.
(h.) Highland superstitions.
(i.) Flora MacIvor's relations with Rose Bradwardine
(j.) The loyalty of the Jacobites.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

[Candidates must not attempt more than *four* questions; of these, two must be selected from Section A and *two* from Section B.]

SECTION A.

SHAKESPEARE: Richard II.

8. It has been said that *Richard II,* deals with the problem of hereditary claim versus personal fitness as a title to sovereignty. What solution, if any, does the play offer? Refer in your answer to utterances of Gaunt, York, and Carlisle.

9. – (a) What light does his conduct in the Bolingbroke-Mowbray quarrel throw on Richard's character?

(b) What was Bolingbroke's motive in returning to England? Refer to passages in the play.

10. – (a) Why is the Garden Scene in Act III introduced? Why, in Act V, is the Groom introduced?

(b) In the Deposition Scene Richard is asked to read over articles of accusation. Draw up a list of the articles. How does Richard retort on Northumberland in this context?

11. Contrast and compare Aumerle and Northumberland, particularly in their relations with Richard and Bolingbroke.

12. Explain clearly the meaning of *any four* of the following passages: -

    (a)   "I am disgraced, impeach'd and baffled here."

    (b)   "Bushy – 'Tis nothing but conceit, my gracious lady.

                Queen – 'Tis nothing less: conceit is still derived

                  From some forefather grief."

    (c)   "Whilst you have fed upon my signories,

              Dispark'd my parks and fell'd my forest woods,

              From my own windows torn my house-hold coat."

    (d)   "Me rather had my heart might feel your love

              Thou my unpleased eye see your courtesy."

    (e)   "Worst in this royal presence may I speak,

              Yet best beseeming me to speak the truth."

    (f)   "Better far off than near be ne'er the near."

SECTION B.

LAMB: *Essays of Elia.*

13. How does Lamb defend Quakers from the charges of evasion and equivocation, and explain their "admirable presence of mind"?

14. What does Lamb say about the belief of our ancestors in witchcraft? What does he find peculiar in their attitude towards witches?

15. –(a) Why did Mrs. Battle prefer square games? What objection had she to games of pure skill?

 (b) "I love a Fool." Why?

16. Give the pith of Lamb's remarks about *book-borrowers,* and give from them some samples of his humour.

17. – (a) "A man may have leave to love himself, without the imputation of self-love." Explain.

 (b) What idea do the teeth of a true sweep suggest to Lamb?

Appendix 5.3: English Examinations 1885, 1888, 1897 and 1916

1885

Senior Grade - English - First Paper

Wednesday, 17th June. 10A.M. – 1P.M.

Examiner - Rev. J. B. Dougherty, M.A.

COMPOSITION.

(250 marks are assigned to Composition. "No student shall be awarded a pass in English who shall not have obtained at least 20 per cent of the Marks assigned to English Composition" Rule 12.)

1. Write an Essay on: -
    a. The virtues and the failings of our national character;
                        Or

    b. The daily newspaper
                        Or

    c. "The bells of Time are ringing changes fast.
        Grant, Lord, that each fresh peal may usher in an era of advancement."

JOHNSON'S LIVES OF DRYDEN AND POPE

2. Write explanatory notes on the following passages: -
    a. "There was, therefore, before the time of Dryden no poetical diction."
    b. "A mode of writing which the Italians call *rifacimento."*
        Which of Dryden's works are examples of this mode?

    c. It happened that Cibber played 'Bayes' in the 'Rehearsal.'"

3. What is Dryden's claim to the title of "the Father of English criticism"? Give the substance of Johnson's criticism of Dryden's prose style.

4. State as fully as you can Johnson's parallel between Dryden and Pope.
5. Give an outline of Johnson's analysis of Pope's intellectual character, *or* of his account of Pope's method of composition.

GRAMMAR

6. What classes of words in our language are of Saxon origin?
7. State what you know of the history of the plural affixes *s* and *en,* of the suffixes that mark the gender of English nouns, and of the sign of the possessive case.
8. Give the history, and state precisely the functions of the relative pronouns *who, which*, and *that.*
9. Distinguish and illustrate the uses of the various forms in *ing* – the Participle, the Infinitive, the Gerund, and the Verbal Noun.

Wednesday, 17th *June. 3 –* 6P.M.

Examiner – John Park, M.A.

I – SHAKESPEARE; JULIUS CAESAR.

1. Write brief explanatory notes on these passages: -
   a) "Now is it Rome indeed and room enough,
      When there is in it but one only man."

   b) "He plucked me ope his doublet."

   c) "The Genius and the mortal instruments are then in council."

   d) "We are two lions litter'd in one day,
      And I the elder and more terrible."

   e) "Turn pre-ordinance and first decree
      Into the law of children."

2. Quote, as fully and as accurately as you can, Caesar's estimate of Cassius; and *either* the conspirators' estimate of Cicero, *or* that formed of Brutus by Mark Antony.

3. Compare Brutus' speech in the Forum with Antony's; *or* give Shakespeare's theory of the conditions of sound sleep, and his description of "a hot friend cooling."

4. Explain these allusions: -

"I have a man's mind, but a woman's might."

"Do not talk of him

But as a property."

"I held Epicurus strong

337

And his opinion: now I change my mind."

"The sun of Rome is set! Our day is gone."

"This was the noblest Roman of them all."

HISTORY

5.   State the relation between these princes and their immediate predecessors and successors:
     - Richard II., Elizabeth, William III., and George III.

6.   (a) What important event occurred in the years 1314, 1415, 1485, 1558, 1644, 1666, 1707, 1745, 1779, and 1801 respectively?

   (b) Mention approximately the dates, and the issues, of *four* of these battles :- Barnet,

      Edgehill, Dunbar, Dettingen, Plassey, Saratoga, and Vittoria.

7.   Give a short account of *three* of these personages: - Montrose, Leslie, Lambert, Oliver Plunket, Halifax, and Stafford.

8.   Sketch briefly but clearly –

   (a) The relations between England and Holland from 1651 till 1674.
   (b) The last plot against Charles II.

GEOGRAPHY

9 (a) Where are Adelaide, Demarara, Halifax, Kingston, Montreal, and Sydney?

(b) Describe generally the courses of the rivers Orange, Murray, and St. Lawrence.

10. What are the valuable products of Victoria, Cape Colony, and the Dominion of Canada?

11. State the prominent physical features of the coasts of North America and East Australia ;

or

 Account for the climate of Jamaica and of Newfoundland.

12. Mention the names (with, if possible, the dates) of these works:-

 (a) *"*The stately work of Richard Hooker.*"*

 (b) *"*The great prose allegory conceived as an epic poem.*"*

 (c) *"*The epos of society under Queen Anne.*"*

 (d) *"*The foremost of English satires.*"*

 (e) "The most thoughtful of Byron's productions."

13. Explain these remarks:

 (a) "These two writers began – with Hobbes – the second period of English prose."
 (b) "The Prose Literature of Pope's time collects itself round four great names."
 (c) " All that he did excellently might be bound up in 20 pages, but it should be bound in pure
    gold."
 (d) "It is the only kind of literature in which women have done excellently."

14. Indicate briefly the influences that coloured and are reflected in (A) *As You Like It,*

Hamlet, Julius Caesar, and The Tempest: or (B) *Paradise Lost, Samson Agonistes, The Task,*

and Queen Mab.

1888 SENIOR GRADE - ENGLISH - FIRST PAPER

Wednesday, 13th June, 10 A.M. – 1 P.M.

Examiners – {DANIEL CROLY, M.A.
            {JOHN PARK, M.A. D.Lit.

COMPOSITION.

(250 marks are assigned to Composition. "No student shall be awarded a pass in English who shall not have obtained at least 20 per cent of the Marks assigned to English Composition" Rule 12.)

1. Write an Essay on one of the following subjects:-

  (a) "Cowards die many times before their deaths;
       The valiant never taste of death but once."
                                  (*Shakespeare.)*

  (b)   *"*Printing, gunpowder, and the compass . . . these three have changed the appearance and state of the whole world."
                                    (Bacon.)

  (c) The social or the literary aspects of the reign of Anne.

GRAMMAR

2. *(a)* In what respects is the influence of the Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon element in Modern English well marked?

    (b) Trace *ten* of the following words to the sources from which they are drawn:- alcohol, Armada, bankrupt, basket, brother, cherub, chief, clan, dale, fellow, jubilee, mattock, muslin.

3. *(a)* What are the various meanings and constructions of the verbs *owe, own, dare,* and t*hink*, respectively?
    (b) When did the word *its* first come into use, and how had its place been previously supplied?

4. Analyse *one* of the following passages, and parse fully the italicised words in that you select.

    (a) Denying, *as* I am well warranted *to do*, that the nobility had any considerable share in the oppression of the people, in cases in *which* real oppression existed, I am ready to admit that *they* were not without considerable faults and errors."

    (b) "If I could *pray* to move, prayers *would move* me;
      But I am constant as the northern star,

Of *whose* true fixed and resting quality
There is no *fellow* in the firmament.

BURKE. – *Reflections on the Revolution in France.*

5. Write brief explanatory notes on *five* of these passages:

   (a) "They have ordained that the provision of this establishment might be as stable as the earth on which it stands, and should not fluctuate with the Euripus of funds and actions."

   (b) "I do not recognize, in this view of things, the despotism of Turkey."

   (c) "It is the Corinthian capital of polished society. *Omnes boni nobilitati semper favemus,* was the saying of a wise and good man.

   (d) "Your child comes into the world with the symptoms of death; the *facies Hippocratica* forms the character of its physiognomy, and the prognostic of its fate.

   (e) "They have reversed the Latonian kindness to the landed property of Delos."

   (f) "But these ministers, who were chosen by affairs, not by affections, acted in the name of, and in trust for, kings."

   (g) "John Doe was to become security for Richard Roe."

6. *(a)* In what things, and between whom, is society, or the State, a partnership?

   (b) Why did Bolingbroke prefer a Monarchy to other governments?

   (c) How should the land-bank have been established if its founders had proceeded like men of business, methodically and rationally?

7. *(a)* Give the substance of *any one* of these passages :

   (1) "Never, never more, shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex", ending "all its grossness."

   (2) "Because half a dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink," ending "troublesome insects of the hour."

   (3) "Some charitable dole is wanting to these, our often very unhappy brethren," ending "the wish and the accomplishment."

   (b) Mention two remarkable predictions, or two grave errors, in the portion of Burke's Reflections prescribed for examination.

SENIOR GRADE - ENGLISH - SECOND PAPER

SHAKESPEARE: *Julius Caesar.*

1.   Write short explanatory notes to the words in italics in the following passages:-

"Between the acting of a dreadful thing.
And the first motion, all the *interim* is.
Like a *phantasma,* or a hideous dream:
The *Genius* and the *mortal instruments*
Are then in council; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection."

                "Cicero.
Looks with *such ferret and such fiery eyes*
As we have seen him in the *Capitol*,
Being *cross'd* in conference by some senators."

"This was the *most unkindest* cut of all;"

"The deep of night is crept upon our talk,
And nature must obey necessity;
Which we will *niggard* with a little rest."

"Are yet two Romans living such as these?
The *last of all the Romans* fare thee well!
It is impossible that ever Rome
Should breed thy fellow."

2. Give the substance of the passage commencing –
      "The evil that men do lives after them;"
  And ending –
      "Ambition should be made of sterner stuff."

3.   "O, you and I have heard our fathers say,
There was a *Brutus* once that would have brook'd
The *eternal devil* to keep his state in Rome
As easily as a king."

Who was this Brutus?

The passages furnishes an indication as to the date when the play first appeared. How?

4. Reproduce, as far as you can in the words of Shakespeare, the character of Cassius as given by Caesar.

LITERATURE

5. Who were the authors of the following works? What was the nature of each? And when was each written?

> L'Allegro.
> Novum Organon.
> Tale of a Tub.
> Hudibras.
> Christabel
> Tam O'Shanter.
> Adonais.
> Ode for St. Cecilia's Day.
> Anatomy of Melancholy.
> Wealth of Nations.

6. Discuss, briefly, the influence of the French Revolution on the poetical literature of the nineteenth century.

HISTORY

7. Mention briefly, and in chronological order, the chief events of the reign of Henry IV.; giving the dates which you regard as of most importance.

8. State concisely, but clearly, the principal events that occurred in Ireland in the reign of Edward II.

9. Under what circumstances did England take part in the war of the Austrian Succession? Mention the chief events of the war, and state when and by what treaty it was concluded.

10. Give an account of the agitation in Ireland in reference to "Wood's Halfpence." What part did Swift take in the matter?

11. What were the principal legal enactments in the first year of William and Mary? Mention the chief provisions of the Bill of Rights.

GEOGRAPHY

12. Name the four principal tributaries of the Mississippi. State where Tennessee and Ohio are situated as regards Kentucky. What are the three largest rivers of South America?

13. Mention in which of the United States each of the following towns is situated, viz., Baltimore, New Haven, Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Philadelphia, Charleston, New York, and New Orleans.

What are the boundaries of Manitoba?

First Paper

WEDNESDAY, 16th JUNE – MORNING, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.

Examiners {W. MAGENNIS, M.A.
{G. F. SAVAGE –ARMSTRONG, M.A., D.LIT.

_____

COMPOSITION.

14. Write a composition on *one* of the following subjects: -

 (a) "Man by nothing is so well betrayed
    As by his manners." – SPENSER.

 (b) The advantages of Public Libraries.

 (c) Men of Thought and Men of Action.

GRAMMAR

15. Give examples of words of classical origin in the English language representative of the successive periods of Latin influence.

16. Write grammar notes on the italicized words in the following passages: -

 (*a*.) "Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
    Which *would* be worn now in their newest gloss."

 (*b*.) "Thou *wouldst* be great."

 (*c*.) "'Tis better thee without than *he* within."

 (*d*.) "As *who* should say."

 (e.) "Ere human statute purged the *gentle* weal."

17. Describe the metrical structure of the Sonnet.

5. Analyse: -

"When Nero perish'd by the justest doom,
Whichever the destroyer yet destroy'd,

345

```
*        *         *          *
*        *         *          *
```
Some hands unseen strew'd flowers upon his tomb;
Perhaps the weakness of a heart not void
Of feeling for some kindness done, when power
Had left the wretch an uncorrupted hour."

SHAKESPEARE: *Macbeth.*

6. When in your opinion, does Macbeth first entertain the thought of making himself King?

 Support your view by quotation.

7. For what purposes and with what effect are the two Doctors introduced into the play?

8. Explain the italicized words and phrases in the following passages?

 (a.) "*Infected* minds

 To their *deaf* pillows will discharge their secrets."

 (b.) "The *flighty* purpose never is o'ertook

 Unless the *deed go with it*."

 (c.) "Saw you the *weird sisters*?"

 (d.) "The *pauser*, reason."

9. Repeat, as nearly as you can in Shakespeare's words, the portion of Macbeth's soliloquy

which follows the line –

 "They hailed him father to a line of kings."

Second Paper

WEDNESDAY, 16ᵗʰ JUNE – AFTERNOON, *3 to 6* P.M.

Examiners {JOHN D. COLCLOUGH
{JOHN PARK, D. LITT.

BACON: *Selected Essays.*

1. In what connexion, and with what view, does Bacon use the following expressions? -

   (*a.*) "The solecism of power";
   (*b.*) "The helmet of Pluto";
   (c.) "Keep the plough in the hands of the owners."

2. (*a.*) What according to Bacon, is a sufficient justification for going to war?
   (*b.*) How does Bacon reach the conclusion "that no people overcharged with tribute is fit for Empire"?

3. (*a.*) Explain the Baconian use of *assay, plausible, staddles, vena porta.*

   (b.) Mention any errors which you may have noticed in these Essays.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND FROM A.D. 1714

to A.D.1837.

4. (*a.*) State the circumstances that led to the Royal Marriage Act; the loss of Minorca; Thurot's

   Expedition.

   (*b.*) Mention any three great Constitutional questions discussed in the reign of George III.,

   and name the statesmen who took a leading part in the discussion of them.

5. Name, with dates and very brief exposition, the battles *subsequent* to 1750 which were most

   influential in determining the fortunes of Canada, India, and the United States.

6. Mention some famous reforms, social or municipal, which mark the period 1760-1830.

7. (*a*.) With what was Irish art chiefly concerned ? When did it degenerate, and why? Write a note on the ornamentation of the ancient Celtic Cross.

(*b*.) Explain the meaning of any *three* of the following: - Desmond; Thomond; Cashel; Fes of Tara; the Pentarchy.

GEOGRAPHY.

8. (*a*.) Define longitude. What is the length of a degree of longitude (1) at the Equator, and (2) in the latitude of London? Account for the difference of time in the Eastern and Western worlds.

(*b*.) To what branch of the human family do the Hindoos, Thibetans, and North American Indians respectively belong?

9. (*a*.) State accurately the position of New Brunswick, Manitoba, Fundy Bay, Rhode Island.

(*b*.) Name the States whose shores are washed by Lake Michigan, giving the chief town of each.

OUTLINES OF ENGLISH LITERATURE FROM A.D. 1674

to A.D.1832.

10. (*a*.) What events of literary interest occurred in the years 1674, 1690, 1744, 1745, 1765, 1776, 1814, 1832?

(*b*.) Show, by examples, that in the reigns of William III. And Anne literary merit was a passport to the highest favours of the State.

11. (*a*.) Name the principal works of Edmund Burke, and indicate the qualities of thought and style in which he excelled.

(*b*.) Name four books, written during the period prescribed, which illustrate Irish life.

12. (*a*.) Name the authors and indicate the subjects of Gulliver's Travels, Lallah Rookh, the Hermit, The Critic, and Adonais, respectively.

(*b*.) Name the most typical poet, and name also the most powerful prose writer of (1) *English,* (2) *Irish*, and (3) *Scottish* birth, belonging to the latter half of the 18th century.

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION

BOARD FOR IRELAND.
_____

EXAMINATIONS, 1916.
_____

SENIOR GRADE

ENGLISH

FRIDAY, 16ᵗʰ JUNE. – MORNING, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.

Examiner, W. Magennis, M.A.

_____

I. ENGLISH COMPOSITION

2. Write a *short* essay on *one* of the following subjects: -

  (a.)"A thought which seems to run through the whole of The Tempest . . . . is the thought that THE TRUE FREEDOM of MAN CONSISTS IN SERVICE."

  (b.) The Sin of Prospero.

  (c.) The greatness and the weakness of Burke.

  (d.) In reviewing a notable career may we set off great public services against great sins?

II. ENGLISH LITERATURE

3. Quote from *The Tempest* the "admirable passage" which Hazlitt says every schoolboy knows.

  Or

2. Quote *two* of Ariel's songs, and show the metrical structure of *one* of these.

4. *(a)* In what sense is *The Tempest* a Comedy?
  (b) Hazlitt says this play "*is full of grace and grandeur*":
  Indicate the scenes and elements which Hazlitt probably had in mind
  when he spoke of *grace.*
  (c) Are there *grotesque* elements also in the comedy?

  Or,

350

3. Show by a detailed account of Caliban's conduct in the conspiracy the superiority of "the monster" to Stephano and Trinculo. How was Caliban disillusioned regarding "King Stephano"?

5. *(a)* What, in Hazlitt's view, is the chief defect of Hamlet's temperament and character? *(b)* To what famous soliloquy of Hamlet does Hazlitt refer in support of his view?

Or,

4. Comparing Hazlitt's analyses of Hamlet and Richard II, can you discover points of resemblance in these two characters?
(b) Is there any notable resemblance between (1) Hamlet and Prospero? and (2) between Hamlet and Ferdinand?

Or,

4. Compare, with the aid of Hazlitt's criticism the three old men, Polonius, Gonzalo and the Duke of York: and say in what respect your result agrees or differs with the comment of Pope on the *individuality* off Shakespeare's creations.

6. What incidents in the life of Warren Hastings reminds Macaulay of *(a)* "the instability of all human things," and *(b)* "the inconsistency of human nature" respectively?

7. What does Macaulay consider "the two great elements of all social virtue"?

Or,

6. Which ambitions of Hastings were realised and which frustrated?

Or,

6. Reproduce the terms in which Macaulay refers to the orators who conducted the impeachment of Hastings.

III. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

8. Compare Australia and New Zealand in regard to *(a)* farming, *(b)* ranching, and *(c)* mining. Give a slight account of their inter-trade.

9. *(a)* Name five great rivers of South America. Mark on an outline map of the continent the position of the mouths of these five. *(b)* Can you account for the comparative paucity of great towns on these rivers? *(c)* Contrast the rivers of South America and the rivers of Australia.

10. Give, on a sketch map of North America, the situation of the principal mountain ranges. Explain what effects these situations have on the climate and the vegetation.

Or,

9. Describe the formation, or features, of Canada between the Rockies and the Great Lakes. What provinces lie in this region? What are the chief employments of the people in each province?

Or,

9. Name the States of the United States of America which border the West Coast; and the States between those and the Mississippi, and say which of these were until recently the great *ranching* States, which the *mining*, and which the *cereal growing* States.

11. Write a short notice of the Seven Years War, making special reference to William Pitt.

12. Give an outline sketch of the American War of Independence.

13. Trace the gradual improvement in the position "before the law" of Irish Catholics in the period 1778-1832.

14. Write a note on;-
Wilkes, Castlereagh, Carnot, Wilberforce, and Fitzgibbon Earl of Clare.

Appendix 5.4: 1919 Senior Grade Examination

INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION

BOARD FOR IRELAND.
_____

EXAMINATIONS, 1919
_____

SENIOR GRADE

ENGLISH

THURSDAY, 12ᵗʰ JUNE. – MORNING, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.

_____

ENLISH COMPOSITION

15. Write a *short* essay on *one* of the following subjects: -

   (a.) Henry V, as Patriot King.

   (b.) "We are too hasty when we set down our ancestors in the gross for fools."

   (c.) National prejudices

   (d.) Man's increasing control over nature.

   (e.) Geography and World Power.

   (f.) Thoughts on looking out of a window.

HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

16. Give an account of the part played by France in the American War of Independence. How did it come about that emigrants from Ireland formed a part of the American Forces?

17. Give some account of the Irish Rebellion of 1798.

18. Narrate shortly the series of events which led to the abdication of Napoleon in 1814.

19. What are the chief productions of the Argentine Republic, Brazil and Chili? What do you know about the Falkland Islands.

Or-

18. Show by means of a sketch map the boundaries, the chief mountain ranges and rivers of the United States of America. Mark the New England States.

19. Write short notes on the following subjects: -
    (a.) The sea-ports of Canada
    (b.) The mineral wealth of Canada.
    Or,
20. . Give a geographical description of New South Wales.

    (a) Write a note on the difficulties caused by physical conditions in marking out the political boundaries of Poland, the Ukraine, Lithuania.
    (b) Show by a sketch map the courses of the Tigris and the Euphrates, marking the more important towns on their banks.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

21. Some critics consider Henry V, a dull play. Discuss this opinion.

22. *(a)* How far and by what means, has Shakespeare over-come the difficulty of representing war upon the stage?

    (b) Can you suggest any reason why Shakespeare introduced into the play a Welshman, a Scot, and an Irishman?

23. Explain with reference to the context: -
    (a) His heart is fracted and corroborate.
    (b) O, not to-day, think not upon the fault
    　　　　My father did in compassing the crown.
    (c) Moy shall not serve: I will have forty moys.
    (d) There is a river in Macedon; and there is also more-
    　　　　over a river at Monmouth.

24. Write a note on Lamb's humour, illustrating it from "A dissertation on Roast Pig."
    Or,
    11. "Old prejudices cling about me." Illustrate this from Lamb's Essays.

25. Write brief explanatory notes on the following:-

    (a) He is the true Propontic which never ebbeth.
    (b)   Pope was her favourite author; his Rape of the Lock her favourite work.

    (c) He cannot conquer the Shibboleth.
    (d) I have a kindly yearning towards these dim specks –
    　　　Poor blots – innocent blacknesses.

26. How does Matthew Arnold describe the despair of those who wait in vain for the spark from heaven?

   Or,

   13. Quote or give the substance of, the stanzas in which Matthew Arnold contrasts a stormy and a brilliant summer.

Appendix 5.5: Counts Gender Lady Macbeth (1878-1924)

Appendix 5.6: Counts 'his' and 'hers' 1878-1924

Concordance Hits 108

Hit	KWIC	File
1	the army. (b) How far Waverley brought his misfortunes on himself. LITERATURE Students m	ENGLISH 19
2	clearly. When does Lamb feel more especially his \x93intolerable disinclination to dying\x94?	ENGLISH 19
3	94 (c) \x93So is Alcides beaten by his page.\x94 (d) \x93Some to conceit	English 1911
4	92s motives, real or alleged, in making his bond? (b) Why is the story about	English 1911
5	\x92s knight introduced by Pope into his poem? What do you know of the	English 1911
6	Pope\x92s intellectual character, or of his account of Pope\x92s method of	1885.txt
7	.\x94 b) \x93He plucked me ope his doublet.\x94 c) \x93The Genius and	1885.txt
8	of the conditions of sound sleep, and his description of \x93a hot friend cooling.\	1885.txt
9	.\x94 \x93I held Epicurus strong And his opinion: now I change my mind.\x94 \	1885.txt
10	limited to a narrow circle for indulging his passion for books, and must necessarily make	1886.txt
11	Bradwardine. 8. (a) \x93He was indeed within his little circle as perfect a politician as	1886.txt
12	, my boy; old Andrew Ferrara shall lodge his security.\x94 d. \x93A sort of	1886.txt
13	licised words in the following passage : - \x93 His two chamberlains Will I with wind and	1886.txt
14	for Ireland, and give the terms of his two Resolutions. GEOGRAPHY 7. Descri	1886.txt
15	each, and mention the one on which his fame as a lyric poet rests. 12. \x93	1886.txt
16	the literary lives of one man and his friends.\x94 Name the writer referred to,	1886.txt
17	94 Name the writer referred to, and mention his principal works. 13. \x93The poets have alwa	1886.txt
18	I had lost one shaft I shot his fellow of the self same flight The	1887.txt
19	) \x93 How far that little candle throws his beams ! So shines a good deed in	1887.txt
20	\x92d The eternal devil to keep his state in Rome As easily as a	1888 Senior
21	) \x93The Baron, infinitely more master of his weapon, would, like Sir Toby Belch, have	1889 INTER
22	, would, like Sir Toby Belch, have tickled his opponent other gates than he did, had	1889 INTER
23	takes the reason prisoner?\x94 (b) \x93 His spongy officers, who shall bear the guilt	1889 INTER
24	, Macbeth\x92s speech on hearing of his wife\x92s death. 4. Explain, by paraphrase :-	1889 INTER

Concordance | Concordance Plot | File View | Clusters/N-Grams | Collocates | Word List | Keyword List

Concordance Hits 13

Hit	KWIC	File
1	of Nations.\x94 (Discuss the value of her colonies to England.) (c) \x93 Manners with	1893 INTER
2	declaration of Portia to Shylock consistent with her subsequent condemnation of Shylock ? 8. (a.)	1895 INTER
3	in the struggle between Great Britain and her American Colonies? (b.) How was Ireland affect	1898 SENIO
4	reformed Parliament ? (c.) How did Greece obtain her independence ? 7. (a.) Give an account of th	1898 SENIO
5	, represented in the play as due to her own wit? 5. \x93Holy men at their	1906 SENIO
6	92s death. 3. How does Lady Macbeth criticise her husband\x92s character? Or, 3. What has	1917 INTER
7	d betray The heart that loved her; \x91tis her privilege, Thro	1918 INTER
8	The heart that loved her; \x91tis her privilege, Through all the y	1918 INTER
9	Propontic which never ebbeth. (b) Pope was her favourite author; his Rape of the Lock	1919 INTER
10	favourite author; his Rape of the Lock her favourite work. (c) He cannot conquer the	1919 INTER
11	the eagle England being in prey, To her unguarded nest the weasel Scot Comes stealing.	1922 INTER
12	of our common Adam. (c) Pope was her favourite author, his Rape of the Lock	1922 INTER
13	favourite author, his Rape of the Lock her favourite book. (d) Master Shallow, your wors	1922 INTER

Appendix 5.7: Grammar 1893 and the History of English Literature 1897

GRAMMAR

20. Mention at least five ways in which native English words may be distinguished from those of a classical origin.

21. Give five examples of English words which have changed their meaning, and five of words which have become obsolete.

22. Write a philological note on each of the following words:-

assassin, dunce, panic, protean, tawdry, daisy, proxy, peal, must needs, seldom, piece-meal, idiot, miscreant, ostler, sycophant.

23. Say whether the following forms be correct, and give reasons for your statements :-

(a.) Shall you go to Chicago this summer?

(b.) It was my intention to have gone to London last winter.

(c.) Nobody knows what adversity is until they have experience of it.

(d.) Six foot is a good height.

(e.) "I had rather be a dog and bay the moon, than such a Roman."

24. Analyse one of the following passages :-

(a.) " It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words than in that speech, 'Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god.'"

(b.) " The sense to value riches, with the art

T'enjoy them, and the virtue to impart

Not meanly nor ambitiously pursued,

Not sunk by sloth, nor raised by servitude,

To balance fortune by a just expense,

Join with economy magnificence,

With splendour charity, with plenty health,

O teach us, Bathurst! yet unspoiled by wealth."   (Intermediate Education Board

1893)

OUTLINES OF ENGLISH LITERATURE FROM A.D. 1674

to A.D.1832.

10. (*a*.) What events of literary interest occurred in the years 1674, 1690, 1744, 1745, 1765, 1776, 1814, 1832?

(*b*.) Show, by examples, that in the reigns of William III. And Anne literary merit was a passport to the highest favours of the State.

11. (*a*.) Name the principal works of Edmund Burke, and indicate the qualities of thought and style in which he excelled.

(*b*.) Name four books, written during the period prescribed, which illustrate Irish life.

12. (*a*.) Name the authors and indicate the subjects of Gulliver's Travels, Lallah Rookh, the Hermit, The Critic, and Adonais, respectively.

(*b*.) Name the most typical poet, and name also the most powerful prose writer of (1) *English,* (2) *Irish*, and (3) *Scottish* birth, belonging to the latter half of the 18th century.

Appendix 6.1: Example of Religion

LAST SECTION ON THIS PAPER

8. Summarise briefly, and compare the following passages. Comment on the style:-

(a) On all sides, are we not driven to the conclusion that, of the things which man can do or make here below, by far the most momentous, wonderful and worthy are the things we call Books! Those poor bits of rag-paper with black ink on them – from the daily newspaper to the sacred Hebrew Book, what have they not done, what are they not doing! – For indeed, whatever be the outward form of the thing (bits of paper, as we say, and black ink), is it not verily at bottom, the highest act of man's faculty to produce a Book. It is the *Thought* of man; the true thaumaturgic virtue; by which man works all things whatsoever. All that he does, and brings to pass, is the vesture of a Thought.

(b) The proper force of words lies not in the words themselves, but in their application. A word may be a fine-sounding word, of an unusual length, and very imposing from its learning and novelty, and yet in the connection in which it is introduced may be quite pointless and irrelevant. It is not pomp or pretension, but the adaptation of the expression to the idea that clinches a writer's meaning:--as it is not the size or glossiness of the materials, but their being fitted each to its place, that gives strength to the arch : or as the pegs and nails are as necessary to the support of the building as the larger timbers, and more so than the mere showy, unsubstantial ornaments. I hate anything that occupies more space than it is worth. I hate to see a load of band-boxes go along the street, and I hate to see a parcel of big words without anything in them.

Appendix 6.2: Examination Papers 1928, 1933, 1944, 1953, 1961

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
(Department of Education)

BRAINSE AN MHEÁN-OIDEACHAIS
(Secondary Education Branch)

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1928.

HONOURS
ENGLISH

WEDNESDAY, 13th JUNE. – Morning, 10 A.M. to 1 P.M.
_____

The marks placed after each question indicate the total for all
the sections of that question.

1. Write a *short* essay on one of the following subjects:–
                                        (160 marks.)

    a) Poetry of Adventure.
    b) Loyalty, Ancient and Modern.
    c) Serving-men and Serving-women in Fiction and Drama.
    d) The Humours of an Irish Country Town.
    e) Empire and Nationality.
    f) Discuss and compare two great novelists.

ENGLISH LITERATURE

2. Forsake me not thus, Adam! Witness Heaven,   (60 marks)
    What love sincere, and reverence in my heart
    I bear thee, and unweeting have offended,
    Unhappily deceived ! Thy suppliant,
    I beg and clasp thy knees ; bereave me not
    Whereon I live-thy gentle looks, thy aid,
    Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
    My only strength and stay. Forlorn of thee,
    Whither shall I betake me? Where subsist?
    While yet we live-scarce one short hour perhaps-
    Between us two let there be peace, both joining,

As joined in injuries, one enmity
Against one foe by doom express assigned us,
That cruel Serpent. On me exercise not
Thy hatred for this misery befallen,
On me already lost-me than thyself
More miserable. Both have sinned
Against God only, I against God and thee.

a) Set down the thoughts of the speaker in due sequence.

b) Quote, or refer to, other pathetic passages in Ancient or Modern Literature.

c) Mention any irregularities of metre which occur in the above passage.

d) When is it legitimate to put the adjective after the noun in English Literature. Give examples from your reading.

3.   *Angelo.* Your brother is a forfeit of the law   (40 marks)
                And you but waste your words.

      Isabella.   Alas, alas!
              Why, all the souls that were forfeit once;
              And He that might the vantage best have took
              Found out the remedy. How would you be,
              If He, which is the top of judgment, should
              But judge you as you are? O, think on that;
              And mercy then will breathe within your lips,
              Like man new made.

      Angelo.   Be you content, fair maid:
              It is the law, not I, condemn your brother;
              Were he my kinsman, brother, or my son,
              It should be thus with him : he must die tomorrow.

a)   Give the thoughts of the speakers in sequence, and suggest a title for the passage.

b)   Refer to, and quote if you can, other passages in English Literature on this theme.

c)   Comment on any expressions in the above which are at variance with modern usage.

4. (a) Give examples of stichomythia, or dialogue in which each speech consists of a single line. Is it effective in each case or does it seem artificial?

                                                      (50 marks.)
                  Or,

Show how Shakespeare's metre changed as he became older.

                  Or,

Give some account of the setting and surroundings of the Elizabethan stage.

b). Name the authors of *five* of the following passages.
   Quote, if you can, any similar examples in poetry or prose:-

   a) Only the actions of the just
       Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

What is the other reading of the second line?

   b) Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,
       I see the lords of humankind pass by.

   c) Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
       Like to the Lark at break of day arising
       From sullen earth, sings hymns at Heav'n's gate.

   d) Rose Almer, whom these wakeful eyes
          May weep, but never see,
       A night of memories and of sighs
          I consecrate to thee.

   e) Strew on her roses, roses,
          But never a spray of yew!
        In silence she reposes,
           Ah, would that I did too!

   f) Seasons may roll,
       But the true soul
       Burns the same, where 'ere it goes.

   g) I have had playmates, I have had companions,
       In my days of childhood, in my joyful school-days;
       All, all are gone, the old familiar faces.

   h) "Orphan Hours, the year is dead!
          Come and sigh, come and weep!"
       "Merry hours, smile instead,
          For the year is but asleep."

   i) But now I often wish the night
          Had borne my breath away.

   j) Why faintest thou? I wander'd till I died.
          Roam on!   The light we sought is shining still.

   k) Oh tarnish late the Wenlock Edge
          Gold that I never see;

Lie long, high snow-drifts in the hedge
    That will not shower on me.

5. Every century feels the need of translating the great Classical authors afresh. Give some account of English writers who have thus interpreted the Classics to their own time.

(40 marks.)

Or,

"Matched on his own ground," said Swinburne, "Pope never has been, nor can be." What did the critic mean? Illustrate your answer, if you can.

Or,

A French critic has said of Macaulay's "History of England"; "The chief feature, the most singular, the least English of this History, is, that it is interesting." Try and explain what he meant.

6. (a) Analyse in tabular form:-   (50 marks.)

I shall never see her more
Where the reeds and rushes quiver,
    Shiver, quiver;
Stand beside the sobbing river,
Sobbing, throbbing, in its falling
    To the sandy lonesome shore;
I shall never hear her calling,
Leave your meadow-grasses mellow,
    Mellow, mellow.
Quit your cowslips, cowslips yellow;
Come uppe Whitefoot, come uppe Lightfoot;
    Quit your pipes of parsley hollow,

   (b) Give a brief abstract of each of the following passages. Compare them and criticise the style:-

A.

Doyle: Now give your mind to what I am going to say; for it's a new and important scientific theory of the English national character.   A caterpillar—

Broadbent: Look here, Larry, don't be an ass.

Doyle [insisting]: I say a caterpillar. I mean a caterpillar, you'll understand presently. A caterpillar (Broadbent mutters a slight protest, but does not press it) when it gets into a tree, instinctively makes itself look exactly like a leaf; so that both its enemies and its prey may mistake it for one, and think it not worth bothering about.

365

Broadbent: What's that got to do with our English national character?

Doyle: I'll tell you. The world is as full of fools as a tree is full of leaves. Well, the Englishman does what the caterpillar does. He instinctively makes himself look like a fool, and eats up all the real fools at his ease while his enemies let him alone and laugh at him for being a fool like the rest. Oh, nature is cunning, cunning

B.

The English rule, as a living reality, was confined and concentrated in the narrow limits of the Pale. The hostile power planted in the heart of the nation destroyed all possibility of central government, while it was itself incapable of fulfilling that function. Like a spear-point embedded in a living body, it inflamed all around it and deranged every vital function. It prevented the gradual reduction of the island by some native, Clovis, which would necessarily have taken place if the Anglo-Normans had not arrived, and instead that peaceful and almost silent amalgamation of races, customs, laws, and languages which took place in England, and which is the source of many of the bet elements in English life and character, the two nations remained in Ireland for centuries in hostility.

Is the author of A. serious?

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
[Department of Education]

BRAINSE AN MHEÁN-OIDEACHAIS
[Secondary Education Branch]

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1933.

FULL COURSE.

ENGLISH COMPOSITION

TUESDAY, 20th JUNE. – Morning, 10.00 to 11 A.M.

_____

[140 Marks.]

Write an essay on *one* of the following subjects:-

[Candidates are warned not to reproduce prepared passages.]

(a) Irish history as a source for the historical novel.

(b) The romance of a railway station.

(c) Boundaries, natural and political.

(d) The ideal school.

(e) How to brighten life in our country towns.

(f) Books, their charm and value.

BRAINSE AN MHEÁN-OIDEACHAIS
[Secondary Education Branch]

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1933.

FULL COURSE.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

TUESDAY, 20th JUNE. – Morning, 11.15 A.M. to 1.15 P.M.

_____

I.

BEES

Nay, whether it be in the gay apple-orchards of May,
when the pink bunches spread their gold hearts to the sun,
nor yet rude winds have snowed their petals to the ground;
or when a dizzy bourdon haunteth the sweet eymes
that drop at Lammas-tide the queenly foliage
of a tall linden tree, where yearly by the wall
of some long-ruined abbey she remembereth her
of glad thanksgivings and the gay choral Sabbaths,
while in her leafy tower the languorous murmur
floateth off heavenward in a yellow dome of shade;-
or when, though "summer hath o'erbrimmed their clammy cells",
the shortened days are shadowed with dark fears of dearth,
bees ply the more, issuing on sultry noons to throng
in the ivy blooms – what time October's flaming hues
surcharge the brooding hours, till passionate soul and sense
blend in a rich reverie with the dying year;-
when and wherever bees are busy, it is the flowers
dispense their daily task and determine its field;
the prime motive, may-hap, of all bee-energy,
as of bee-industry they are surely the whole stuff.

Not more than four of the following questions are to be answered; but (a) must be one of the four:-

(a) Give the central idea of the last four lines of this poem. Trace very briefly the sequence of thought leading up to these lines.

[20 marks.]

(b) Comment on: - "Summer hath o'erbrimmed their clammy cells." What is the source of the quotation? Give other references to bees; quote if you can.

<div align="right">[20 marks.]</div>

(c) The author of the poem calls his metre a metre of "loose alexandrines." Define and exemplify "alexandrine"; examine the metre of the poem, scanning any three lines and testing the justice of the description "loose alexandrines."

<div align="right">[20 marks.]</div>

(d) Refer briefly to the treatment of Nature in longer reflective poems by Milton *or* Wordsworth *or* Tennyson.

<div align="right">[20 marks.]</div>

(e) Write a brief critical appreciation of the poem and analyse the literary qualities that make it memorable.

<div align="right">[20 marks.]</div>

II.

Scene, Egypt, Cleopatra's palace

Antony.

Sometime we see a cloud that's dragonish,
A vapor sometime like a bear or lion,
A towered citadel, a pendant rock,
A forked mountain, or blue promontory
With trees upon it, that nod unto the world,
And mock our eyes with air; thou hast seen these signs;
They are black vesper's pageants.

Eros

Ay, my lord.

Antony

That which is now a horse, even with a thought
The rack dislimns, and makes it indistinct
As water is in water.

Eros

It does, my lord.

Antony

My good knave Eros, now thy captain is
Even such a body; here I am Antony,
Yet cannot hold this visible shape, my knave.
I made these wars for Egypt, and the Queen,
Whose heart I thought I had, for she had mine—
Which whilst it was mine had annexed unto it
A million more, now lost—she, Eros, has

Packed cards with Caesar and false-played my glory
Unto an enemy's triumph.
Nay, weep not, gentle Eros; there is left us
Ourselves to end ourselves.

Not more than four of the following questions are to be answered; but (a) must be one of the four:-

(a) Give the central idea of Antony's concluding speech and trace very briefly the thoughts leading up to it.

[20 marks.]

(b) Explain:- Black vesper's pageants; the rack; dislimns; false-played my glory; knave

[20 marks.]

(c) "Shakespeare's heroes meet death bravely." Discuss and illustrate.

[20 marks.]

(d) Analyse briefly a typical scene from one of Shakespeare's great tragedies, using the headings: dramatic situation; dialogue; action; climax.

[20 marks.]

(e) What qualities make this passage (or any portion of it) memorable?

[20 marks.]

(f) Consider Shakespeare's power of description; refer to plays you know well.

[20 marks.]

III.

Not more than four of the following questions are to be answered; but (a) must be one of the four:-

(a) Analyse, giving for each clause the subject, the predicate, and the kind of clause:-

If it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well,
It were done quickly: if the assassination
Could trammel up the consequence, and catch
With his surcease success; that but this blow
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,
But here, upon this bank and shoal of time-
We jump the life to come-.

[30 marks.]

(b) Indicate in any suitable way the pronunciation of:-
 Indictment; inventory; lieutenant; longitude ; precedent (noun)

(c) Criticise and correct (if necessary) with reasons:-

A man of honour prefers to lose than win by trickery.
Every age reads their Shakespeare differently.
I fear you neither realise or purposely ignore the importance of economy.

[10 marks.]

(d) Explain any five of the following: - lathe; lath; antipathy; prig; automatic; metonymy; Philistine; cynic; sardonic; meteoric; simony; alimony.

[10 marks.]

(e) Express in one word:-

A man who eats no meat; a man who is strict with discipline; a man 100 years old; a man who habitually takes a gloomy view of things; a man who always thinks himself ill.

[10 marks.]

IV

I think that, upon examination, literature – which, after all, is memorable speech – will be found in practice very much on the side of the purple patch. Thucydides sewed on these patches deliberately; so did Plato ; so did Cicero; so did Malory, Donne, Milton, Browne, Berkeley, De Quincey, Hazlitt – to pursue no further. Aristotle, it is true, never troubled himself to define prose; but he does admit the existence of a medium persuading men's opinion, and he allows its right to cultivate the grand style. The man could not, after all, escape the witchery, the noble charm of Plato, his beloved master. He was the most austerely practical of philosophers; he himself habitually used bald words as the medium for some definite and ascertained knowledge; yet with his eye intent on prose, he admits the value of emotion and the purple patch. It is reasonable to argue that men's opinions about things – their speculations, memories, aspirations, glimpses of the unseen and infinite – are actually of more importance, of more meaning to mankind, than any amount of ascertained fact. This is why books of exact science may be antiquated by new ones, but we can never spare from our shelves a Shakespeare or a Dryden or even a Gibbon.

Not more than four of the following questions are to be answered; but (a) must be one of the four:-

(a) Give the central idea of the two concluding sentences, and trace very briefly the sequence of the thoughts leading up to it.

[10 marks.]

(b) What literary qualities make the passage admirable?

371

[10 marks.]

(c) Explain: - purple patch

[10 marks.]

(d) Discuss briefly the place in English Literature of: -
Gibbon *or* Dryden *or* Hazlitt *or* De Quincey.

[10 marks.]

(e) Give a brief account of your favourite prose author.

[10 marks.]

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS

(Department of Education).

BRAINSE AN MHEADHON-OIDEACHAIS

(Secondary Education Branch).

_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1953.

_____

ENGLISH-HONOURS PAPER I.

FRIDAY, 12ᵗʰ JUNE. – MORNING, 10 to 12.

_____

I. - [120 Marks.]

1.   Write an essay on *one* of the following subjects :-

   a) Ambition
   b) A Liberal Education
   c) Bores
   d) Newspapers
   e)   "Peace hath her victories
        No less renowned than War."

II. - [30 marks.]

2.   Victorious men of earth, no <u>more</u>
              Proclaim how wide <u>your</u> empires are;
          <u>Though</u> you bind in every shore,
              And your triumphs reach as far
                  <u>As</u> night or day,
          Yet you, proud monarchs, must obey,
          And <u>mingle</u> with forgotten ashes, when
          Death calls ye to the crowd of common men.

   (a) Write out in full each of the clauses into which you would separate the above, and attach an identifying number to each. Say of each whether it is principal or subordinate. Of each subordinate clause say whether it is a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon which it depends.

   (b) Point out the subject of each clause.

   (c) Parse fully the words underlined.

373

3.   Whatever has been once in a book may be put into a book again; but an original character, taken at first hand from the sheepwalks and from Nature, must be seen in order to be known. A man, to be able to describe – indeed, to be able to know – various people in life, must be able at sight to comprehend their essential features, to know how they shade one into another, to see how they <u>diversify</u> the common uniformity of civilised life. Nor does this involve simply intellectual or even imaginative pre-requisites, still less will it be <u>facilitated</u> by exquisite senses or <u>subtle</u> fancy. What is wanted is, to be able to appreciate mere clay – which mere mind never will. If you will describe the people – nay, if you will write for the people, you must be one of the people. You must have led their life, and must wish to lead their life. However strong in any poet may be the higher qualities of <u>abstract</u> thought or conceiving fancy, unless he can actually sympathise with those around him, he can never describe those around him. Any attempt to produce a likeness of what is not really liked by the person who is describing it, will end in the creation of what may be correct, but is not living – of what may be <u>artistic,</u> but is likewise artificial.

   (a)   Give in your own words the substance of the above passage in about a third of its present length.

   (b)   Give the meaning of the underlined words, as used in the passage.

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
(Department of Education).

BRAINSE AN MHEADHON-OIDEACHAIS
(Secondary Education Branch).

———————————

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1953.

———————

ENGLISH-HONOURS PAPER II.

FRIDAY, 12th JUNE. – AFTERNOON, 3 to 5.30

———————————————

I.– MACBETH. – [80 marks].

Answer Question 1 and *either* Question 2 *or* 3 from this Section.

1. Briefly explain *four (and only four)* of the following extracts; name the speaker and give the context.

    (a)   I'the name of truth,
        Are ye fantastical, or that indeed
        Which outwardly ye show?

    (b) The wine of life is drawn, and the mere lees
        Is left this vault to brag of.

    (c)   Two truths are told,
        As happy prologues to the swelling act
        Of the imperial theme.

    (d) We shall not spend a large expanse of time
        Before we reckon with your several loves,
        And make us even with you.

    (e) Who then shall blame
        His pester'd senses to recoil and start,
        When all that is within him does condemn
        Itself for being there?

2. "Macbeth has physical courage, but moral weakness, and is subject to excited imaginative fears." Discuss this estimate of Macbeth, quoting freely from the play.

3. "There is at once a grossness, a horrible reality about the witches, and a mystery and grandeur of evil influence." Discuss, with suitable quotations from the play.

375

4. Answer *two (and only two)* of the following: A, B, C, D, E, F.

A. Choose *four (and only four)* of the following extracts. In each case give the name of the
    poet and the title (or first line) of the poem from which the extract is taken; and say
    briefly what the extract means. Quote four additional lines from each of the four poems.

      (i)   Let the world's riches, which dispersed lie,
                        Contract into a span.

      (ii)   We are such stuff
          As dreams are made on, and our little life
          Is rounded with a sleep.

      (iii)   Great wits are sure to madness near allied,
          And then partitions do their bounds divide.

      (iv)   And beauty born of murmuring sound
                  Shall pass into her face.

      (v)   Careless their merits or their faults to scan,
          His pity gave ere charity began.

      (vi)   Earth, the mother and consoler,
                  Winds soft arms about the lonely tomb.

      (vii)   But we have hidden in our hearts the flame out of the eyes
          Of Cathleen, the daughter of Houlihan.

      (viii)   Chanter of the Pollio, glorying
                  in the blissful years again to be,
          Summers of the snakeless meadow,
                  unlaborious earth and oarless sea.

B. Beauty is but a flower
    Which wrinkles will devour;
    Brightness falls from the air;
    Queens have died young and fair.

    From what poem are these lines taken? Who wrote the poem? Name one other poem
    on your course which refers to the swift passing of Youth and Beauty. Quote about five
    relevant lines from it and wire a brief appreciation of them.

C. "In *Il Penseroso* Milton gives vivid pictures of Nature and of Art." Discuss, quoting in
    support of your answer. Write a brief biographical note on Milton.

D. Shelley in his *Defence of Poetry* defines Poetry as "the expression of the imagination."
    Discuss, supporting your views by quotations from the prescribed poems of Shelley.

E. Paraphrase Wordsworth's sonnet *The World is too much with us.* Give a metrical analysis of the poem. Explain the references to *Proteus* and *Old Triton.*

F. "Much of Matthew Arnold's poetry is pessimistic, imitative, and unreal." Does this criticism, in your opinion, apply to the *Scholar-Gipsy*? Quote freely from the poem in support of the points you make.

5. Answer *either (a) or (b)*:-

   (a) What is a Pastoral Poem? Illustrate your answer by appropriate quotations from "Lycidas." What does Milton say of Fame in this poem?

   (b) What is the central theme of Wordsworth's Ode on Intimations of Immortality? Show how the theme is developed in the poem. Quote or summarize the lines which begin "Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting" and end "And fade into the light of common day."

Or,

> *"well pleased to recognise
> In nature and the language of the sense,
> The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
> The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
> Of all my moral being."*

What does Wordsworth mean by these words?
Show by suitable quotations from Lines composed above Tintern Abbey that Nature meant different things to him at different periods in his life.

III. – PRESCRIBED PROSE. – [50 marks].

6. Answer *one (and only one)* of the following:-

(a) "Feuds of this nature, though too frequent in the country, are very fatal to the ordinary people." To what kind of feuds does Addison refer here and why does he think they are "very fatal to the ordinary people"? Write a critical appreciation of the essay from which this extract is taken.

(b) "There is yet another cause of error not always easily surmounted, though more dangerous to the veracity of itinerary narratives than imperfect mensuration." Explain, with reference to its context, what this sentence means. What characteristics of Johnson's style does it exemplify? Refer to other instances of these characteristics in the essay.

(c) "With such sources, it was a wonder how he (Bigod) contrived to keep his treasury always empty." How did he do so, according to Lamb, and how did he replenish his

treasury "when new supplies became necessary"? Write a critical note on Lamb's characterisation of Ralph Bigod.

(d) "…and I again set myself to study the problem. At length I solved it to my own satisfaction; and my solution is this." What was the problem and what was De Quincey's solution of it?

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
(Department of Education).

BRAINSE AN MHEÁN-OIDEACHAIS
(Secondary Education Branch).
_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1961.
_____

ENGLISH-HONOURS-PAPER I.

MONDAY, 12ᵗʰ JUNE. – MORNING, 10 To 12.
_____

I. - [120 Marks.]

Write an Essay on *one* of the following subjects :-

(a) Fame.

(b) Lyric Poetry.

(c) Education has for its object the formation of character.

(d) The future of Africa.

(e) " The fairest things have fleetest end."

II. - [30 marks.]

There is not any difficulty in <u>conceiving</u> that the successive murders of <u>so</u> many emperors had loosened the ties of allegiance which <u>should</u> exist between prince and people. The caprice of armies, which had long been habituated to frequent and violent revolutions, might any day raise to the throne the most obscure of their fellow-soldiers.

(a) Write out in full each of the clauses into which you would separate the above, and attach an identifying number to each. Say of each whether it is principal or subordinate. Of each subordinate clause say whether it is a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Explain its connexion with the clause upon which it depends.

(b) Point out the subject of each clause.

(c) Parse fully the words underlined.

III. – [30 marks].

We are all meant to be makers ; and the <u>instinct</u> to make lies deep in us. See what happens when the instinct is <u>thwarted</u> and the personality robbed of its wholeness. You cannot kill an instinct ; you can only suppress it for a time ; and if you rob it of fulfilment it will have its revenge. It is man's <u>destiny</u> first to love and then by love to master and mould his environment. And if you prevent him, if you take his art from him, you will eventually take his love away also and he will forget how to see ; but you will not kill the original instinct and it will find another outlet, and all the energy and skill that should have been used in moulding material things into loveliness in the service of love will be used sooner or later in destruction in the service of hate. The real artist is concerned about money, yes ; he is concerned about his daily bread. But he is even more concerned about the work in itself and the beauty of it, and its rightness for the purpose for which it is designed. And so you find that <u>penury</u> and hunger will not turn him aside from his chosen work ; you find that his work makes him happy because it is enlarging him and making him whole. But if you take men's <u>birthright</u> from them and make them forget it, and force them to give their lives to what is not a form of making but a form of dull half-human doing, then they will be unhappy, and sooner or later there will be an explosion ; they will enlarge themselves by force and in hatred and blindly, not knowing what they want, and you will have crimes of cruelty and violence, you will have economic unrest and piracy and competition, you will have the political horrors of aggressive nationalism, hatred and war.

(a) Give in *your own words* the substance of the above passage in about *one-third* of its present length.

(b)   Give the meaning of the underlined words, as used in the passage.

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
(Department of Education).

BRAINSE AN MHEÁN-OIDEACHAIS
(Secondary Education Branch).

_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1961.

_____

ENGLISH-HONOURS-PAPER II.

MONDAY, 12ᵗʰ JUNE. – AFTERNOON, 3 ᴛᴏ 5.30

_____

I.– HAMLET. – [80 marks].

Answer A *or* B. Do *not* answer *both*.

A. (i) *Briefly* explain the following extracts; name the speaker and give the context.

    (a) This must be known; which, being kept close, might move
      More grief to hide than hate to utter love.

    (b) The king doth wake to-night and takes his rouse,
      Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels.

  (ii) "What Hamlet *says* is more important than what he *does* ; he reveals his true character in his talk, and particularly in his soliloquies." Discuss with relevant quotation from the play.

B. (i) *Briefly* explain the following extracts ; name the speaker and give the context.

    (a) Assume a virtue, if you have it not,
      That monster, custom, who all sense doth eat,
      Of habits devil, is angel yet in this.
      That to the use of actions fair and good
      He likewise gives a frock or livery
      That aptly is put on.

    (b) You cannot speak of reason to the Dane,
      And lose your voice.

  (ii) "Horatio represents something essential in the play. He is Hamlet's admiring and faithful friend ; he is like Hamlet in some ways, and quite different from him in others." Discuss with relevant quotation from the play.

II.-PRESECRIBED POETRY. –[90 marks].

Answer A and *one (and only one)* of B, C, D.

A. Write a careful appreciation of either *Lycidas* or *Ode on Intimations of Immortality* under the following headings : - *(a)* Subject Matter *(b)* Diction and Imagery. Quote freely in support of the points you make.

B. Compare and contrast the two Shakespearean sonnets, *That Time of Year* and *Like as the Waves.* Quote freely from both poems in support of the points you make. Indicate the rhyming scheme of either sonnet.

C. "Goldsmith and Mangan are both Anglo-Irish poets, but their poetic talent and approach are quite different." Discuss with relevant and accurate quotation from the poems of these two poets on your course.

D. What qualities in Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* particularly appeal to you ? Illustrate your answer by apt and accurate quotation from the poem.

III.-PRESCRIBED PROSE.-[50 marks.]

Answer *one (and only one)* of A, B, C.

A. Mention *four* of the main differences which Bacon says exist between young men and old men. Comment *briefly* on what Bacon says, indicating whether you agree with him or not, and giving your reasons.

B. Describe *briefly and in your own words* what Macaulay says of Boswell and of his relations with Dr Johnson. Do you think that Macaulay is quite fair to Boswell? Give reasons for your viewpoint.

C. Mention *five* benefits which, according to Newman, a University education confers. Why, apart from moral considerations, would Newman "have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun"?

Do you agree with what Newman says in this connexion? Give reasons for your viewpoint.

Appendix 6.3: 1964 Examination Paper and Gender

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1964.
_____

ENGLISH-HONOURS-PAPER I.

MONDAY, 8ᵗʰ JUNE. – Morning, 10 to 12.
_____

I. – (120 Marks.)

Write an essay on one of the following subjects:-

    (a) Ireland in 1970 A.D.

    (b) Are school examinations really necessary?

    (c) Women in literature.

    (d) The influence of the United States of America in the world of today.

    (e) "He makes no friend who never made a foe."

II. – (30 marks.)

Many people think that the Suez Canal, which enables ships to pass quickly from Europe to the Far East without having to sail round Africa, is comparatively modern. Although the present canal was not opened until November 1869, there are records that mention previous canals.

    (a) Write out <u>in full</u> each of the clauses into which you would separate the above. Say of each whether it is principal or subordinate. Of each subordinate clause say whether it is a noun, adjective or adverb clause. Point out the subject of each clause.

    (b) Parse each of the underlined words in the passage.

III. – (30 marks.)

What we have to keep in our minds is a picture of English literature growing up not merely side by side with Latin but in opposition to it, and sometimes with difficulty maintaining itself against this rival. The feeling among educated persons was that if a man hoped to produce something of permanent value he would have to write it in Latin. It is a feeling that persisted much longer than is usually imagined; it was not entirely extinct in the eighteenth century. It was so strong in the Early English period, and then again (with a new rival in Norman French) after the Conquest, that we may almost say that throughout these ages English literature led an

383

underground life. Even after the triumph of Chaucer there was, when the Renaissance began to operate in England, a marked tendency for authors to revert to Latin. Thus Sir Thomas More, who could write admirable English, writes "Utopia" in less admirable Latin. It is alarming to think that, if Milton had lived a century earlier, he would not have written "Paradise Lost" but a Latin epic, perhaps not much more <u>sprightly</u> than Petrarch's "Africa". This age-long rivalry is hardly enough remarked in the more popular histories of English literature. It may have deprived us of some masterpieces in the <u>vernacular</u>, but no doubt it was on the whole an immense advantage. English literature has learned too much from its rival to have room for regrets. The language needed to be enriched by Latin words, the thought by Latin wisdom, the native forms and metres by the varied accomplishment of Latin art. That is the truth which no impartial judgement will refuse to admit. But for serious students it is not enough to accept the fait accompli; we must consider how it came to be <u>accomplished</u>. Having got the problem in its <u>setting</u> we are in a position to examine the process by which it was solved. But before we do this it will be found useful to <u>disengage</u> the elements of the problem itself, those elements, that is, with which we do not assume familiarity. In other words we must discuss the nature of the classical influence.

    (a) Give in your own words the substance of the above passage in about <u>one-third</u> of its present length.

    (b) Write a <u>brief</u> note on Chaucer, <u>or</u> on Sir Thomas More, <u>or</u> on Petrarch.

<div align="center"><u> OR</u></div>

    (b)   Explain the underlined words, as used in the passage.

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1964.
_____

ENGLISH-HONOURS-PAPER II.
_____

MONDAY, 8ᵗʰ JUNE. – Afternoon, 3 ᴛᴏ 5.30
_____

I. – HAMLET. – (80 marks.)

(i) <u>Briefly</u> explain the following extracts; name the speaker and give the context.

    (a) For nature, crescent, does not grow alone
        In thews and bulk, but, as this temple waxes,
        The inward service of the mind and soul
        Grows wide withal.

    (b) No, let the candied tongue lick absurd pomp,
        And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee
        Where thrift may follow fawning.

(ii) Answer A <u>or</u> B.

  A. "Hamlet can be courtly and rude, gentle and severe, plain-spoken and ironical."
     Discuss, with suitable quotations, this estimate of Hamlet.

  B. "In the scenes that mainly concern Claudius Hamlet shows himself histrionic and even
     hysterical." Discuss with suitable quotation from the play.

II.- PRESECRIBED POETRY. – (90 marks.)

Answer A <u>and</u> <u>one</u> of B, C, D.

A. "Poetry should open our ears and let us hear beautiful sounds, and it should open our eyes
   to the wonder in the world around us."
   How far is this statement true I n respect of the three poems, 'Lycidas', Ode on Intimations
   of Immortality, and 'Thyrsis'? Quote from at least two of these poems in support of the
   points you make.

B.   'They are all gone into the world of light !
                      And I alone sit ling' ring here;
              Their very memory is fair and bright,
                      And my sad thoughts doth clear.

Who wrote these lines and in what poem? Trace briefly the sequence of thought of the poem. Scan the second line of the stanza quoted, marking the stresses. Quote another stanza from the poem which you like and say why you like it.

C. "The greatest marvel of 'The Ancient Mariner' is the vividness of imagery, the verisimilitude of atmosphere, the accumulated effect of awful eeriness."
Discuss this view of the poem, quoting freely.

D. 'Manoa: Come, come; no time for lamentation now,
                         Nor much more cause…

   Write a brief appreciation of Manoa's speech, quoting freely.
   Mention some lines from the speech which seem to suggest that Milton's poetry was influenced by his personal misfortunes.

III.-PRESCRIBED PROSE. - (50 marks.)

Answer <u>one</u> of A, B, C.

A.   "Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams."
     What does 'a certain rabbin' infer from this text ?

   "There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes."
    Into what three classes does Bacon divide these? What has he to say about each class?

B. To one like Elia, whose treasures are rather cased in leather covers than closed in iron coffers, there is a class of alienators more formidable than that which I have touched upon."
    Who were these 'alienators', and what has Lamb to say of them?
    What was Comberbatch's theory about title to ownership?
    What is the justice which Lamb said he must do his friend?
    What are deodands?

C. "On the other hand the question sometimes raised – whether, in the Quantock time, when the pair learned to be poets, Coleridge owed more to Wordsworth, or Wordsworth to Coleridge – is, as Sir Thomas Browne would say, puzzling, but not beyond all conjecture."
    What has Quiller-Couch to say on this issue?
    Write brief notes on 'Quantock time', 'Sir Thomas Browne'.
    Comment briefly on Quiller-Couch's style.

Appendix 7.1: 1971 Examination Paper

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1971.
_____

ENGLISH-HIGHER LEVEL -PAPER I.
_____

MONDAY, 14th JUNE. – MORNING, 9.30 to 12.30
_____

TOTAL MARKS: 200

All three sections of this paper (Composition, Prescribed Prose, and Special Section) must be attempted.
_____

I. COMPOSITION – (100 Marks.)

Write a composition on **one** of the following subjects:

(a) Adult Education.

(b) Your vision of a European Community.

(c) A centenary tribute to John Millington Synge.

   Or

   Significant developments in Anglo-Irish literature during the century since the

   birth of Synge in 1871

(d) Music (*or* Art) today.

(e) Pollution-the plague of to-day – and how to deal with it.

(f) Loneliness.

(g) Preserving the relics of our past.

(h) Oratory – a lost art.

II. PRESCRIBED PROSE (NON-FICTION) – (50 marks)

Read this passage carefully and then answer any three of the questions, (a), (b), (c), (d), (e),
which follow –

387

I will tell you, Gentlemen, what has been the practical error of the last twenty years, — not to load the memory of the student with a mass of undigested knowledge, but to force upon him so much that he has rejected all. It has been the error of distracting and enfeebling the mind by an unmeaning profusion of subjects; of implying that a smattering in a dozen branches of study is not shallowness, which it really is, but enlargement, which it is not; of considering an acquaintance with the learned names of things and persons, and the possession of clever duodecimos, and attendance on eloquent lecturers, and membership with scientific institutions, and the sight of the experiments of a platform and the specimens of a museum, that all this was not dissipation of mind, but progress. All things now are to be learned at once, not first one thing, then another, not one well, but many badly. Learning is to be without exertion, without attention, without toil; without grounding, without advance, without finishing. There is to be nothing individual in it; and this, forsooth, is the wonder of the age.

What the steam engine does with matter, the printing press is to do with mind; it is to act mechanically, and the population is to be passively, almost unconsciously enlightened, by the mere multiplication and dissemination of volumes. Whether it be the school boy, or the school girl, or the youth at college, or the mechanic in the town, or the politician in the senate, all have been the victims in one way or other of this most preposterous and pernicious of delusions. Wise men have lifted up their voices in vain; and at length, lest their own institutions should be outshone and should disappear in the folly of the hour, they have been obliged, as far as they could with a good conscience, to humour a spirit which they could not withstand, and make temporizing concessions at which they could not but inwardly smile.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

  (a) From your reading of the passage given above, state briefly what you have learned of Newman's views on the process of learning.
  (b) How does the structure of this passage help, in your opinion, to make it a persuasive piece of oratory?
  (c) "… and this, forsooth, is the wonder of the age." – What is the tone of this remark, and how is that tone conveyed?
  (d) Newman's skill in using strikingly effective words or phrases has often been praised. Point out any two examples of this skill in the passage given above. Justify your choice in each case.
  (e) From your prescribed prose course select another writer whose prose style you prefer (or whose prose style you do **not** prefer) to that of Newman. Give reasons for your preference.

III. SPECIAL SECTION (on texts prescribed for both Ordinary and Higher Courses) (50 marks)

HARD TIMES

Well, Stephen,' said Bounderby, in his windy manner, 'what's this I hear? What have these pests of the earth been doing to you? Come in, and speak up.'

It was into the drawing-room that he was thus bidden. A tea-table was set out; and Mr. Bounderby's young wife, and her brother, and a great gentleman from London, were

388

present. To whom Stephen made his obeisance, closing the door and standing near it, with his hat in his hand.

'This is the man I was telling you about, Harthouse,' said Mr. Bounderby. The gentleman he addressed, who was talking to Mrs. Bounderby on the sofa, got up, saying in an indolent way, 'Oh really?' and dawdled to the hearthrug where Mr. Bounderby stood.

'Now,' said Bounderby, 'speak up!'

After the four days he had passed, this address fell rudely and discordantly on Stephen's ear. Besides being a rough handling of his wounded mind, it seemed to assume that he really was the self- interested deserter he had been called.

'What were it, sir,' said Stephen, 'as yo were pleased to want wi' me?'

'Why, I have told you,' returned Bounderby. 'Speak up like a man, since you are a man, and tell us about yourself and this Combination.'

'Wi' yor pardon, sir,' said Stephen Blackpool, 'I ha' nowt to sen about it.'

Mr. Bounderby, who was always more or less like a Wind, finding something in his way here, began to blow at it directly.

'Now, look here, Harthouse,' said he, 'here's a specimen of 'em. When this man was here once before, I warned this man against the mischievous strangers who are always about - and who ought to be hanged wherever they are found - and I told this man that he was going in the wrong direction. Now, would you believe it, that although they have put this mark upon him, he is such a slave to them still, that he's afraid to open his lips about them?'

'I sed as I had nowt to sen, sir; not as I was fearfo' o' openin' my lips.'

[Bk. II, Ch. V, pp. (130-131), Everyman p/b. ed.]

<div align="right">Charles Dickens</div>

Answer **question 1, and** any one of the questions, 2, 3, or 4, on this extract:

1. Show how the contrast of character between Bounderby, Stephen, and Harthouse, is brought out in the extract given above.

2. What is the importance of this encounter between Stephen and Bounderby? Give reasons for your answer.

3. Can you suggest any points of resemblance between the role of Stephen and the role of Louisa in this novel? Give reasons for your answer.

4. What aspects of English life are portrayed in the characters of Bounderby and Harthouse? What attitude do you think Dickens reveals towards these characters in this novel?

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
_____

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1971.
_____

ENGLISH-HIGHER LEVEL -PAPER II.
_____

MONDAY, 14th JUNE. – AFTERNOON, 2 to 5
_____

TOTAL MARKS: 200

Four questions must be attempted, one from each of the three sections (Drama, Poetry, and Fiction), and the fourth from any one of those three sections. Every question on this paper carries 50 marks.

N.B. – In the sections on Drama and Fiction, if a question contains alternatives, you may **not** attempt both alternatives in that question.

I. DRAMA

A. "In the play, *Macbeth*, Shakespeare has heightened our experiences of wickedness and disorder by setting them against a background of goodness and order."
  Discuss this view with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation.
    or
Discuss the view that Lady Macbeth has more in common with the Witches than with Lady Macduff. Support your answer with suitable reference or quotation.

B. "The characters in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* inhabit an unreal world that has little relevance to everyday life."
  Discuss this view with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation.
    or
MALVOLIO: I'll be reveng'd on the whole pack of you.
OLIVIA: He hath been most notoriously abus'd.
                    [Act V, Scene 1, lines (866-7)]

  Would you agree with what Olivia says here about Malvolio? How important do you think the part of Malvolio is in *Twelfth Night*?
    Support your answers with suitable reference or quotation.

C. "*In Murder in the Cathedral* Eliot is so much preoccupied with Becket the martyr that he fails to show us Becket the man."
  Discuss this view with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation.

    or

Discuss the view that Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral* has " a simple outline in which, although the end of the story is known to the audience, there is nevertheless a sense of increasing tension".

(N.B. Your answer, while referring to the course of events in the play, should not be a mere summary.)

D. How satisfactory do you find the endings of any two of the three plays on your course? Support your answer with suitable reference to the texts. Which of these endings do you prefer, and why?

II. POETRY

A. Do you think Milton succeeds in convincing us of the reality of hell and its inhabitants in Paradise Lost, Bk. I? Give reasons for your answer.

B. Donne's poetry has been adversely criticised because of its alleged complexity of thought and lack of harmonious expression. Discuss this view in the light of your reading of the poems by John Donne that are on your course.

C. "Her use of unusual imagery and her conciseness of expression lend an air of detachment and resignation to Emily Dickinson's poetry."

Discuss this statement in the light of your study of the poems of Emily Dickinson that are on your course.

D. Taking any **one** of the following poems by W.B. Yeats – *Sailing to Byzantium, Among School Children, The Circus Animals' Desertion* – say what you find of the poet's personal life reflected in it, and discuss his use of symbolism in this poem. Support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.

E. Select from your course one poet who has appealed to you because of his analysis of human experience and another who has appealed to you because of his technical skill as a poet. Then compare and contrast both poets in relation to **either** one of the qualities mentioned (i.e. analysis of human experience or technical skill), and support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.

III. FICTION

A. It has been suggested that the characters in a Dickens novel have little real communication with one another. To what extent would you say that this is true of any two characters in *Hard Times* who are in frequent close contact with each other? Justify your answer by reference to the text.

or

"When Dickens withholds his sympathy, or feels a strong moral disgust or contempt, the result is a character not so much of humour as of savage comedy with no good nature in it at all. These characters are most evident when he is attacking social injustice or flaws in the social code."

It has been suggested that Mr. Gradgrind is a character to whom this comment might be applied. Would you agree? Give reasons for your answer.

B. Henchard might be described as " a vehement gloomy being who had quitted the ways of vulgar men without light to guide him on a better way."
Discuss this estimate of Henchard's character in the light of your reading of *The Mayor of Casterbridge.*

or

Discuss the effects of chance and improbability in *The Mayor of Casterbridge.*

C. "Besides entertaining us, a novel should make us think about life and should teach us more about ourselves and others."
To what extent, in your opinion, is this statement true of any of the modern novels on your course?
(N.B., You may confine your discussion to one novel only, or you may refer to more than one of the modern novels prescribed).

Appendix 7.2: Examination Papers 1977, 1979 and 1986

Examination Paper 1977

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
————————————————

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1977.
————————————————

ENGLISH-HIGHER LEVEL -PAPER I.
————————————————

FRIDAY, 10 JUNE. – MORNING, 9.30 to 12.00
————————————————

TOTAL MARKS: 200

All three sections of this paper (Composition, Prescribed Prose, and Special Section) must be attempted.
————————————————

I. COMPOSITION – (100 Marks.)

Write a prose composition on **one** of the following subjects:

(a) Man as victim and master of his environment

(b) The sweet security of streets.

(c) Nothing venture, nothing win.

(d) Science without conscience is the ruin of a people

(e) The artist and society.

(f) A good book is the best of friends.

(g) The world does not progress; it merely changes.

(h) Physical fitness.

II. PRESCRIBED PROSE (NON-FICTION) – (50 marks)

Read this passage carefully and then answer **any two** of the questions, *(a), (b), (c), (d),* which follow –

It must not be supposed that, because I so speak, therefore I have some sort of fear of the education of the people: on the contrary, the more education they have, the better, so that it is really education. Nor am I an enemy to the cheap publication of scientific and literary works, which is now in vogue: on the contrary, I consider it a great advantage, convenience, and gain; that is, to those to whom education has given a capacity for using them. Further, I consider such innocent recreations as science and literature are able to furnish will be a very fit occupation of the thoughts and the leisure of young persons, and may be made the means of keeping them from bad employments and bad companions. Moreover, as to that superficial acquaintance with chemistry, and geology, and astronomy, and political economy, and modern history, and biography, and other branches of knowledge, which periodical literature and occasional lectures and scientific institutions diffuse through the community, I think it a graceful accomplishment, and a suitable, nay, in this day a necessary accomplishment, in the case of educated men. Nor, lastly, am I disparaging or discouraging the thorough acquisition of any one of these studies, or denying that, as far as it goes, such thorough acquisition is a real education of the mind. All I say is, call things by their right names, and do not confuse together ideas which are essentially different. A thorough knowledge of one science and a superficial acquaintance with many, are not the same thing; a smattering of a hundred things or a memory for detail, is not a philosophical or comprehensive view. Recreations are not education; accomplishments are not education.

Do not say, the people must be educated, when, after all, you only mean, amused, refreshed, soothed, put into good spirits and good humour, or kept from vicious excesses. I do not say that such amusements, such occupations of mind, are not a great gain; but they are not education. You may as well call drawing and fencing education, as a general knowledge of botany or conchology. Stuffing birds or playing stringed instruments is an elegant pastime, and a resource to the idle, but it is not education; it does not form or cultivate the intellect. Education is a high word; it is the preparation for knowledge, and it is the imparting of knowledge in proportion to that preparation. We require intellectual eyes to know withal, as bodily eyes for sight. We need both objects and organs intellectual; we cannot gain them without setting about it; we cannot gain them in our sleep, or by haphazard. The best telescope does not dispense with eyes; the printing press or the lecture room will assist us greatly, but we must be true to ourselves, we must be parties in the work. A University is, according to the usual designation, an Alma Mater, knowing her children one by one, not a foundry, or a mint, or a treadmill.

(a) What inadequate notions of education does Newman refer to here?

(b) What kind of a person do Newman's writings reveal him to be? Support your answer by reference to at least two of the extracts by Newman on your course.

(c) Compare or contrast Newman's idea of education as it is presented in the extracts on your course with the idea of education implied in Stevenson's 'An Apology for Idlers.'

(d) How does Newman's style of writing help to persuade the reader to accept his opinion? Illustrate your points from the above passage.

III. SPECIAL SECTION (on texts prescribed for both Ordinary and Higher Levels) (50 marks)

Wuthering Heights

'How long is it since I shut myself in here?' she asked, suddenly reviving.

'It was Monday evening,' I replied, 'and this is Thursday night, or rather Friday morning, at present.'

'What! of the same week?' she exclaimed. 'Only that brief time?'

'Long enough to live on nothing but cold water and ill-temper,' observed I.

'Well, it seems a weary number of hours,' she muttered doubtfully: 'it must be more. I remember being in the parlour after they had quarrelled, and Edgar being cruelly provoking, and me running into this room desperate. As soon as ever I had barred the door, utter blackness overwhelmed me, and I fell on the floor. I couldn't explain to Edgar how certain I felt of having a fit, or going raging mad, if he persisted in teasing me! I had no command of tongue, or brain, and he did not guess my agony, perhaps: it barely left me sense to try to escape from him and his voice. Before I recovered sufficiently to see and hear, it began to be dawn, and, Nelly, I'll tell you what I thought, and what has kept recurring and recurring till I feared for my reason. I thought as I lay there, with my head against that table leg, and my eyes dimly discerning the grey square of the window, that I was enclosed in the oak-panelled bed at home; and my heart ached with some great grief which, just waking, I could not recollect. I pondered, and worried myself to discover what it could be, and, most strangely, the whole last seven years of my life grew a blank! I did not recall that they had been at all. I was a child; my father was just buried, and my misery arose from the separation that Hindley had ordered between me and Heathcliff. I was laid alone, for the first time; and, rousing from a dismal doze after a night of weeping, I lifted my hand to push the panels aside: it struck the table-top! I swept it along the carpet, and then memory burst in: my late anguish was swallowed in a paroxysm of despair. I cannot say why I felt so wildly wretched: it must have been temporary derangement; for there is scarcely cause. But, supposing at twelve years old I had been wrenched from the Heights, and every early association, and my all in all, as Heathcliff was at that time, and been converted at a stroke into Mrs. Linton, the lady of Thrushcross Grange, and the wife of a stranger: an exile, and outcast, thenceforth, from what had been my world. You may fancy a glimpse of the abyss where I grovelled! Shake your head as you will, Nelly, you have helped to unsettle me! You should have spoken to Edgar, indeed you should, and compelled him to leave me quiet! Oh, I'm burning! I wish I were out of doors! I wish I were a girl again, half savage and hardy, and free; and laughing at injuries, not maddening under them!

Why am I so changed? why does my blood rush into a hell of tumult at a few words? I'm sure I should be myself were I once among the heather on those hills. Open the window again wide: fasten it open! Quick, why don't you move?'

'Because I won't give you your death of cold,' I answered.

'You won't give me a chance of life, you mean,' she said, sullenly. 'However, I'm not helpless yet; I'll open it myself.'

And sliding from the bed before I could hinder her, she crossed the room, walking very uncertainly, threw it back, and bent out, careless of the frosty air that cut about her shoulders as keen as a knife.

[Ch. 12, pp. (141-142), PAN. ed.]   Emily Brontë

Answer **any one** of the following questions, 1, 2, or 3, on this extract:

1. Can you suggest why Catherine, in her present delirium should imagine herself back in the oak-panelled closet of Wuthering Heights? How important is this closet in the structure of the novel as a whole? Support your answer by reference.

2. Is there, in your opinion, any truth in Catherine's accusation that Nelly has 'helped to unsettle' her at this point in the story? How important, in your opinion, is the role of Nelly in the novel as a whole. Support your answers by reference.

3. What does Catherine's determination to have the window open reveal of her nature and of her present life at Thrushcross Grange? Where else in the novel has a window been used for symbolic purposes? Explain your answer.

Four questions must be attempted, one from each of the three sections (Drama, Poetry, and Fiction), and the fourth question from any one of those three sections. Every question on this paper carries 50 marks.

N.B. – In the sections on Drama and Fiction, if a question contains alternatives, you may **not** attempt both alternatives in that question.

I. DRAMA

A. (i) From your reading of Shakespeare's *King Lear* would you agree with Lear's view of himself

that he was 'a man more sinn'd against than sinning'?
Support your answer by appropriate reference or quotation.

or

  (ii) The Storm scenes in *King Lear* are perhaps the most dramatic scenes in the play. Do you find this so? Give reasons for your answer supporting them by appropriate reference or quotation.

B. (i) Discuss the view that *The Tempest* is essentially a revenge play. Support your answer with relevant quotation or reference.

or

(ii) In Act V. Scene I of *The Tempest*, Alonso declares:

'These are not natural events; they strengthen from strange to stranger.'
Would you agree that this statement of Alonso's could be regarded as a fair comment on the entire play?
Support your answer by reference to events and characters in the play.

C. (i) Wilde's *The Importance of being Earnest* interests us more by its wit than by its action and characters.
Do you agree with this statement? Support your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

397

or

(ii)   Did you enjoy *The Importance of being Earnest*? Give reasons for your answer.

D. The climax of a play is marked usually by a major shift in personal relationships. Test the truth of this statement by applying it to any *two* of the three plays on your course. Support your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

II. POETRY

A. Tension and harshness are features of Donne's poetry. Discuss this statement with reference to any two of the poems by Donne on your course.

B. 'Milton's Satan is a magnificent character.' Discuss this statement, indicating clearly in your answer the poetic, and dramatic techniques used by Milton in the creation of this character. Illustrate your points from "Paradise Lost", Book One.

C. It has been said of Emily Dickinson's poetry: (a) her themes are original 'to the point of eccentricity' and (b) her expression is economic 'to the point of obscurity'. State clearly whether you accept or reject these views and support your points by relevant reference to, or quotation from, the poems by Emily Dickinson on your course.

D. Bitter disillusionment lies at the root of Yeats's poetry. Support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.

E. Select any **two** poems on the prescribed course and examine in each of them the contribution made by sound to the over-all impression. Support your answer by relevant quotation from, or reference to, the poems you select.

III. FICTION

A.   (i)   Would you agree that Maria Edgeworth's greatest strength as a novelist is her power to present humorously the oddities of Irish life and manners. Support your view by relevant reference to *Castle Rackrent.*

or

(ii) ' Old Thady is not the loyal family servant he pretends to be, he is, in reality a cynical, self-seeking rascal.' Comment on this view of Thady, supporting your points by relevant reference to the novel.

B.   (i)   'After Catherine's death in Wuthering Heights our interest in the novel declines.' Would you agree. Give reasons for your answer supporting them by reference to the novel.

or

(ii) 'Heathcliff wins our sympathy because we recognise a rough moral justice in what he does and   because we understand why he is inhuman.' Discuss, supporting your points by relevant reference to the novel.

C. (**N.B.** In answering either of the following questions on the modern novel you may not take either *Castle Rackrent* or *Wuthering Heights* as a modern novel.)

(i) 'Suspense is an essential ingredient in the plot of a novel.' Discuss the validity of this statement with reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

or

(ii) 'The modern novelist presents and interprets a recognisable world'. Develop this statement, supporting the points you make by relevant reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS
––––––––––––––––––––

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1979.
––––––––––––––––––––

ENGLISH-HIGHER LEVEL -PAPER I.
––––––––––––––––––

FRIDAY, 8 JUNE. – MORNING, 9.45 to 12.15
––––––––––––––––––––

TOTAL MARKS: 160

BOTH SECTIONS of this paper (Composition and Prescribed Prose) must be attempted.
––––––––––––––––––

I. COMPOSITION – (100 Marks.)

Write a prose composition on **one** of the following subjects:

i.   Every man for himself.

ii.   Magic.

iii. What every parent should know.

iv.   'Music is the greatest of the Arts.' What do you think?

v.   Happiness: a good bank account, a good cook, and a good digestion.

vi.   Is science the enemy of poetry?

vii. The role of women in Ireland today.

viii. The preservation of Wild Life.

II. PRESCRIBED PROSE (NON-FICTION) – (60 marks)

Read this passage carefully and then answer **any three** of the questions, (a), (b), (c), (d) (e), which follow –

Already, however, by the time I was grown up, this judgement had been a little reversed. The scale on which Dickens lay was rising, ever so slowly; while that upon which Meredith had been deposited was sinking, I may add, far too low. It was at least acknowledged by now that Dickens had been responsible for a whole population of characters, although he was still accused, in his fashioning of them, of "exaggeration"; a charge the complete refutation of which is found in the mere fact that every saying and every doing of each person in his books proclaims itself, by its intrinsic rhythm, as pertaining to that particular character. All the

properties of his characters are perfectly fitted to them, and have been designed to reveal their disposition and heighten the appropriateness of it to their appearance, and, beyond that, to facilitate their various courses through the book. For these purposes, he makes use of a wilful and superb distortion, perfectly maintained and congruous throughout each novel, and one which bestows upon its objects ever so much more of an authentic existence than could any merely "life-like" method. Imagery now comes to his aid, to endow him with an unthinkable virtuosity. Take, for example, the following extract from David Copperfield, describing the activities of Miss Murdstone:

She began to 'help' my mother next morning, and was in and out of the store closet all day, putting things to rights and making havoc in the old arrangements. Almost the first remarkable thing I observed in Miss Murdstone was her being constantly haunted by a suspicion that the servants had a man secreted somewhere on the premises. Under the influence of this delusion she dived into the coal-cellar at the most untimely hours and scarcely ever opened the door of a dark cupboard without clapping it to again, in the belief that she had got him. Though there was nothing very airy about Miss Murdstone, she was a perfect Lark in point of getting up. She was up (and, as I believe to this hour, looking for that man) before anybody in the house was stirring.

No commercial writer, no pure student of life, no simple philanthropist, no one but a consummate artist ever slanted his pen at such an angle; yet this swift and masterly distortion is exactly what those who attempt to dismiss this great writer mean by their charge of "exaggeration"!

In Dickens's use of language, even when he is being sentimental, there is nothing namby-pamby: he carried us through these perilous straits in his novels by the rush and energy of his prose. "Energy" I use for want of a better word, seeking to indicate a singular fusing of fluency and a continual sense of direction with the power to depict in words that will automatically arouse the emotion intended in the reader. Furthermore, it is possible that in addition to this quality of energy, there is another reason for the success with which he leads on, so triumphantly, to the end of each book. As a thing apart and by itself, the design of his novels, I hold, is of a finer order than many people allow; and who knows but that the sickly passages alluded to help to observe throughout the book an abstract function of integral balance which is of actual aesthetic service to it. And then the vulgarity, such as it is, of these portions is so evident, frank, and child-like, so small a thing compared with that fire of generosity which is its counterpart and flickers under every page, that we are disarmed.

<div align="right">Sir Osbert Sitwell.</div>

(a) Explain **in your own words** how Sitwell refutes the charge of "exaggeration" levelled at Dickens.

(b) Select three examples of effective use of metaphor by Sitwell in the above extract. Justify your choice in each case.

(c) Do you think Sitwell establishes a convincing case in defence of Dickens in his "Note on Charles Dickens"? Give reasons for your answer.

(d) 'The best literary criticism illuminates and clarifies.' In the light of this statement assess the achievement of Sitwell in this essay and of De Quincey in "On the Knocking at the Gate in Macbeth".

(e) What tribute does Sitwell pay to Dickens and Shakespeare in this essay? How does he elaborate it?

Four questions must be attempted, as follows: -
Candidates must attempt question A in Section I (Drama). They must also attempt one question from Section II (Poetry), and one question from Section III (Fiction). They make take their fourth question from which ever section they wish.

Every question on this paper carries 60 marks.

N.B. – In the sections on Drama and Fiction, if a question contains alternatives, candidates may **not** attempt **both** alternatives in that question.

I. DRAMA

A (i) 'Their partnership in guilt, which at the beginning of the play is a strong bond between them,   gradually drives Macbeth and his wife apart, until they go down to their separate dooms, isolated and alone.'
  Discuss this view with the aid of suitable reference or quotation.

or

  (ii) 'Lady Macbeth is no monster. She is a loyal (though misguided) wife, not without tenderness and not without conscience.' What do you think of this estimate of Lady Macbeth? Support your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

B. (i) 'Olivia's unrequited passion for the hostile Cesario is just as ridiculous as Malvolio's feeling for her. Yet, whereas Malvolio's love is treated derisively by the other characters, Olivia's inspires at most their indifference or pity.' Discuss this view with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation.

or

  (ii) *Twelfth Night,* it has been said, walks a tight-rope between comedy and tragedy. Would you agree with this view of the play? Support our answer with relevant reference or quotation.

403

C. **(i)** '… the true martyr is he who has become the instrument of God, who has lost his will in the will of God, and who no longer desires anything for himself, not even the glory of being a martyr.'

In the light of this quotation from his Christmas Sermon, and bearing in mind the views of him expressed by the Tempters and the Knights, assess the character and motivation of Thomas Becket.

Support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.

or

(ii) 'While the movement of *Murder in the Cathedral* frequently appears to be static, nevertheless this play is often intensely dramatic and exciting.' Discuss this view with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation.

D. 'The opening of a good play sets the mood and atmosphere for what is to follow.'
Consider any **two** of the three plays on your course in the light of this statement. Support your answer by relevant reference or quotation.

II. POETRY

A.   **O, MY BLACK SOUL**

O, my black soul, now thou art summoned
By sickness, Death's herald and champion;
Thou'rt like a pilgrim, which abroad hath done
Treason, and durst not turn to whence he's fled;
Or like a thief, which till death's doom be read,
Wisheth himself deliver'd from prison,
But damn'd and haled to execution,
Wisheth that still he might be imprisoned.
Yet grace, if thou repent, thou canst not lack;
But who shall give thee that grace to begin?
O, make thyself with holy mourning black,
And red with blushing, as thou art with sin;
Or wash thee in Christ's blood, which hath this might,
That being red, it dyes red souls to white.

John Donne.

(e) Do you find the imagery used in the first eight lines of this sonnet effective? Give reasons for your answer supporting them by appropriate reference to the poem.

(ii) A change, involving both theme and tone, is a normal feature of the sonnet form. Does such a change occur in this sonnet? Give reasons for your answer supporting them by reference to the poem.

(iii) Answer one of the following:

(a) Discuss the significant use of colour in this poem.
(b) Discuss any two significant points of comparison or contrast between this sonnet and Donne's "Batter My Heart". Support your answer with appropriate reference or quotation.
(c) Would you regard this as a typical Metaphysical poem? Explain your answer.

B. 'The poetry of Thomas Hardy springs from his search for the permanent in the midst of change and bereavement.'
Discuss this statement with reference to at least **two** of the poems by Hardy on your course.

C. Taking either Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" **or** Eliot's "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" –

(i) outline carefully, with the aid of appropriate reference or quotation, what you consider to be the main preoccupation of the poet in the poem you have chosen.

(ii) Point out any two ways in which the poem you have chosen may be said to have marked a new departure in English poetry, and support your answer with suitable reference or quotation.

D. Clarke's poetry has little of permanent value to communicate; its chief merit lies in its attempt to adapt Gaelic modes to English verse.'
Discuss this view, supporting your answer with suitable reference to or quotation from the work of Clarke on your course.

E. Grief, social criticism, and spiritual exploration are themes that are common in poetry. Select one of these themes and compare, by means of appropriate reference or quotation, the manner in which it is treated by each of **two** poets on your course.

III. FICTION

A. (i) 'It has been said that in his novels, from beginning to end, Dickens is making the same point always: that to the English governing classes the people they govern are not real.
Would you agree that this statement is true in relation to *Hard Times*?
Justify your answer by reference to the text.

or

(ii) 'Many of the characters in *Hard Times* may be regarded both as symbols of political or social viewpoints and as human beings for whom Dickens shows real concern.'
Discuss this view in relation to at least **two** of the characters in the novel.

B. (i) On the first night on which Elizabeth-Jane sees Farfrae in the Three Mariners' Inn she reflects:

'He seemed to feel exactly as she felt about life and its surroundings – that they were a tragical rather than a comical thing; that though one could be gay on occasion, moments of gaiety were interludes, and no part of the actual drama.'

(The Mayor of Casterbridge – Chapter VIII.)

How applicable is this philosophy of life to the general theme of *The Mayor of Casterbridge?* Support the points you make by relevant reference to the novel.

or

(ii) In Chapter XXVII of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* Hardy says of Henchard:

'The momentum of his character knew no patience.'

Assess the degree to which this impetuosity of character led to the downfall of Henchard. Support your answer by relevant reference to the novel.

C. (**N.B.** In answering either of the following questions on the modern novel you may **not** take *Hard Times* or *The Mayor of Casterbridge* as a modern novel.)

(i) 'What the modern novel lacks is the saving grace of humour; it is too concerned with railing against the follies of the age.' Discuss this view with reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

or

(ii) 'The modern novel is primarily concerned with an examination of man's motivation and of his relationship with his fellow-man.' Discuss this view with reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

Examination Paper 1986

AN ROINN OIDEACHAIS

LEAVING CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION, 1986.

_____

ENGLISH-HIGHER LEVEL-PAPER II.

_____

WEDNESDAY, 11 JUNE – AFTERNOON, 2 to 5

_____

TOTAL MARKS: 240

Four questions must be attempted, as follows: -

Candidates must attempt **Question A** in **Section I** (Drama). They must also attempt one question from Section II (Poetry), and one question from Section III (Fiction). They make take their fourth question from whichever section they wish.

Every question on this paper carries 60 marks.

N.B. –   In the sections on Drama and Fiction, if a question contains alternatives, candidates **may not** attempt **both** alternatives in that question.

I. DRAMA

A. (i) "Othello does not kill Desdemona in jealousy, but from conviction forced upon him by the almost superhuman art of Iago."
Discus this view, supporting your answer by relevant quotation or reference.
or

(ii) "Desdemona and Iago are at opposite poles in the play, *Othello,* the o ne representing pure love, the other hate incarnate."
Discus this view, supporting your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

B. (i) "The first three acts in *The Winter's Tale* examine the nature of evil and its consequences; the final two show how that evil can be overcome by good."
Discuss this view supporting the points you make by relevant quotation or reference.
or
(ii) Discuss the part played by humour in *The Winter's Tale.*
Support your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

C. (i) *"*The comedy of *Heartbreak House* lies, partly in the absurd characters, partly in the ridiculous situations, and partly in the amusing and witty language."

Discuss this statement, supporting the points you make with relevant quotation or reference.

or

(ii) "At its core, *Heartbreak House* is a serious play with an urgent and disturbing social message."
Discuss this view, supporting the points you make with relevant quotation or reference.

D. "Suspense and surprise are essential ingredients of good drama."
Discuss <u>any</u> <u>two</u> of the three prescribed plays in the light of this statement.
Support your answer by relevant quotation or reference.

II. POETRY

A. "A preoccupation with man as an alien in a world that can never fully satisfy his needs, and the use of elaborate imagery, are characteristics of the poetry of Henry Vaughan."
Discuss this view, supporting your answer with appropriate quotation from or reference to the poems by Vaughan on your course.

B. "In Shelley's poetry we find a view of the poet as visionary and as victim which is enhanced by elaborate imagery."
Discuss this view, supporting the points you make with appropriate quotation from or reference to the poems by Shelley on your course.

C. **Choric Song of the Lotus-Eaters**

The Lotos blooms below the flowery peak: 100
The Lotos blows by every winding creek:
All day the wind breathes low with mellower tone:
Thro' every hollow cave and alley lone
Round and round the spicy downs the yellow Lotos-dust is blown.
We have had enough of action, and of motion we,   105
Roll'd to starboard, roll'd to larboard, when the surge was seething free,
Where the wallowing monster spouted his foam-fountains in the sea.
Let us swear an oath, and keep it with an equal mind,
In the hollow Lotos-land to live and lie reclined
On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind.   110
For they lie beside their nectar, and the bolts are hurl'd
Far below them in the valleys, and the clouds are lightly curl'd
Round their golden houses, girdled with the gleaming world:
Where they smile in secret, looking over wasted lands,
Blight and famine, plague and earthquake, roaring deeps and fiery sands,   115
Clanging fights, and flaming towns, and sinking ships, and praying hands.
But they smile, they find a music centred in a doleful song
Steaming up, a lamentation and an ancient tale of wrong,
Like a tale of little meaning tho' the words are strong;
Chanted from an ill-used race of men that cleave the soil,   120
Sow the seed, and reap the harvest with enduring toil,
Storing yearly little dues of wheat, and wine and oil;

Till they perish and they suffer—some, 'tis whisper'd—down in hell
Suffer endless anguish, others in Elysian valleys dwell,
Resting weary limbs at last on beds of asphodel.   125
Surely, surely, slumber is more sweet than toil, the shore
Than labour in the deep mid-ocean, wind and wave and oar;
O, rest ye, brother mariners, we will not wander more.

Lord Tennyson.

(i)   Give three of the arguments which are put forward in this passage for opting out
       of conventional ways of living.

(ii)   Discuss any two devices used by Tennyson to create mood and atmosphere in
       the poem. Support your answer by quotation or reference.

(iii) Answer <u>one</u> of the following: -

   (a)   What overall effect is produced by the first five lines quoted above?
         How is this effect achieved?

   (b)   "All things have rest: why should we toil alone,
         We only toil, who are the first of things…" (lines 15-16)
         Show how this idea is developed in the opening section of the poem (lines
         1-)
         Support your answer by appropriate quotation or reference.

   (c)
         What qualities as a poet does Tennyson display in this poem that <u>either</u>
         appeal to your <u>or</u> do not appeal to you? Support your answer by
         appropriate quotation or reference.

D. "The greatness of Yeats lies in his ability to take a parochial or personal theme and
       transform it into something universal and eternal."

       Discuss this view, giving due attention to (a) the nature of these parochial or personal
       themes, and (b) the manner in which they have been transformed into great art. Support
       your answer with appropriate reference to or quotation from the poems by Yeats on your
       course.

E. The society into which he is born, the culture in which he is reared, become part of the
       mental baggage of the mature poet and influence his work."

       Discuss this view by reference to the prescribed work of one Irish and one non-Irish poet
       on your course.
       (<u>N.B.</u> you may <u>not</u> select a poet on whom you have already answered in this section.)

III. FICTION

 A. (i)   "Two different codes of religious practice come under scrutiny in *Silas Marner.* One
              is treated with tolerant approval; the other is dismissed with savage scorn."

              Discuss this view, supporting your answer by reference to the novel.
                                                   or

(ii) "The prose style of *Silas Marner* is distinguished (a) by an irony that is often gentle and occasionally severe, (b) by a freshness of imagery, drawn from the author's observation of the world around her, and (c) by the use of realistic dialogue that gives the true flavour of the rich Raveloe culture."

Discuss this view, supporting your answer by reference to the novel.

B. (i) "The interaction between American innocence and European decadence is a central theme of *The Portrait of a Lady."*

Discuss this view, supporting your answer by reference to the novel.

or

(ii) "Caspar Goodwood and Lord Warburton represent what is best in t heir very different and distinctive worlds. Yet Isabel rejects both of them."

Discuss this view and explain why Isabel refuses their proposals of marriage. Support your answer by reference to the novel.

C. (N.B. In answering either of the following questions on the modern novel you may <u>not</u> take either *Silas Marner* or *The Portrait of a Lady* as a modern novel.)

(a) "The loss of innocence and the corruption of human beings is a frequent theme in the modern novel."
Discuss this view, supporting your answer by reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

or

(ii) "The unusual and the unexpected are characteristic features of the plot of a good novel."
Discuss this view, illustrating the points you make by reference to one or more of the modern novels on your course.

Appendix 8.1: Prescribed Material for Leaving Certificate English 2008

Leaving Certificate Examination, 2008

English

Herewith is the list of prescribed texts for the Leaving Certificate Examination, 2008

As the syllabus indicates, students are required to study from this list:

1. <u>**One text**</u> **on its own** from the following texts: -

BRONTË, Emily	Wuthering Heights (H, O)
ISHIGURO, Kazuo	The Remains of the Day (H, O)
JOHNSTON, Jennifer	How Many Miles to Babylon? (O)
MC CABE, Eugene	Death and Nightingales (H, O)
MILLER, Arthur	The Crucible (H, O)
MOORE, Brian	Lies of Silence (O)
O'CASEY, Sean	The Plough and the Stars (O)
SHAKESPEARE, William	Othello (H, O)
WILDE, Oscar	The Importance of Being Earnest (O)

    - One of the texts marked with H, O may be studied on its own at Higher Level and at Ordinary Level.

    - One of the texts marked with O may be studied on its own at Ordinary Level.

2. <u>**Three other texts**</u> **in a comparative manner, according to the comparative modes prescribed for this course.**

    - Any texts from the list of texts prescribed for comparative study, **other than the one already chosen for study on its own**, may be selected for the comparative study.
    - At Higher Level and at Ordinary Level, a film may be studied as one of the three texts in a comparative study.

3. **The Comparative Modes for Examination in 2008 are:**

<u>Higher Level</u>	(i)	Theme or Issue
	(ii)	The Cultural Context
	(iii)	Literary Genre

411

Ordinary Level   (i)   Relationships

(ii)   Theme

(iii)   Social Setting

4. Shakespearean Drama

At **Higher Level** a play by Shakespeare **must be one of the texts chosen**. This can be studied on its own or as an element in a comparative study.

At **Ordinary Level** the study of a play by Shakespeare is **optional**.

5. Poetry

Higher Level:

A selection from the poetry of **eight** poets is prescribed for Higher Level.

Students will be expected to have studied **at least six poems** by each poet.

Ordinary Level:

A total of **36 poems** is prescribed for Ordinary Level.

Texts prescribed for comparative study, for examination in the year 2008

BRANAGH, Kenneth (Dir.) Much Ado About Nothing (Film)

BRONTË, Emily Wuthering Heights

CAREY, Peter True History of the Kelly Gang

COETZEE, J.M. Boyhood: Scenes from Provincial Life

DEANE, Seamus Reading in the Dark

DESAI, Anita Fasting, Feasting

DEVLIN, Anne After Easter

FRAYN, Michael Spies

FRIEL, Brian Philadelphia, Here I Come!

HADDON, Mark The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-time

HAMILTON, Hugo The Speckled People

HARDY, Thomas Under the Greenwood Tree

ISHIGURO, Kazuo The Remains of the Day

JOHNSTON, Jennifer How Many Miles to Babylon?

JOYCE, James A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man

KINGSOLVER, Barbara The Poisonwood Bible

LUHRMANN, Baz (Dir.) Strictly Ballroom (Film)

LUMET, Sydney (Dir.) Twelve Angry Men (Film)

MAC LEOD, Alistair No Great Mischief

MARTEL, Yann Life of Pi

MC CABE, Eugene Death and Nightingales

MILLER, Arthur The Crucible

MONK KIDD, Sue The Secret Life of Bees

MOORE, Brian Lies of Silence

NAIPAUL, V.S. An Area of Darkness

O'CASEY, Sean The Plough and the Stars

O'CONNOR, Frank My Oedipus Complex and Other Stories

PATCHETT, Ann Bel Canto

SHAKESPEARE, William Othello

SHAKESPEARE, William Hamlet

SHAKESPEARE, William As You Like It

SHERIDAN, Jim (Dir.) My Left Foot (Film)

SHIELDS, Carol Unless

TOIBIN, Colm	The Blackwater Lightship
TORNATORE,	Guisseppe (Dir.) Cinema Paradiso (Film)
WEIR, Peter (Dir.)	The Truman Show (Film)
WILDE, Oscar	The Importance of Being Earnest
WOLFF, Tobias	Old School
YOSHIMURA, Akira	Shipwrecks

Poets Prescribed for Higher Level

BOLAND, Eavan
The War Horse

Child of Our Time

The Famine Road

The Shadow Doll

White Hawthorn in the West of Ireland

Outside History

The Black Lace Fan my Mother Gave Me

This Moment

The Pomegranate

Love

DONNE, John

The Sunne Rising

Song: Go, and catch a falling star

The Anniversarie

Song: Sweetest love, I do not goe

The Dreame (Deare love, for nothing less than thee…)

A Valediction Forbidding Mourning

The Flea

Batter my heart

At the round earth's imagined corners

Thou hast made me

FROST, Robert

Morning Song

Finisterre

Mirror

Pheasant

Elm

Poppies in July

The Arrival of the Bee Box

Child

RICH, Adrienne

Aunt Jennifer's Tigers

Uncle Speaks in the Drawing Room

Power

Storm Warnings

Living in Sin

The Roofwalker

Our Whole Life

Trying to Talk with a Man

Diving Into the Wreck

From a Survivor

Appendix 8.2: 2006 Leaving Certificate English Examination

SECTION I
COMPREHENDING (100 Marks)

TEXT 1
"WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE PROBLEM, LADY SARAH?"

In this extract (adapted from A Border Station, by Shane Connaughton) a father and son are cutting down a tree. The father, a garda sergeant, has been given permission by Lady Sarah, a member of the landed gentry, to cut down a small tree on her lands. However, he decides to ignore her wishes and cut down a magnificent beech tree on the avenue leading to the Great House. We join the story as the tree falls....

"She's going," said his father. Branches quaking, the huge tree tilted, twisted and, fighting to stay upright, grabbed at a neighbouring tree but, bowing to its fate, keeled over and with a creaking goodbye-sigh rushed to the earth with a thunderous hurricane crash. The boy felt the shock waves in his feet and saw the light flood in to the space where the tree had stood. It was mad, he thought. Ridiculous. Lady Sarah was bound to find out. His father grinned.

"It'll see us in firewood for the winter, thank God."

Tired out he sat on the tree-stump beside his father and had alternate swigs at the bottle of cold tea.

Hearing a noise he turned his head and instantly his body and blood went cold. Approaching along at the wheel of her antiquated Rolls Royce was Lady Sarah. Time stopped dead. His father gave a strangled groan and his face iced over in hatred. They were caught like rats in a trap.

The car crunched to a halt. He was terrified in case his father did something desperate and was all the more amazed when he saw him smiling and in high good nature waving to Lady Sarah as she, horror-stricken, stepped onto the drive. Wearing a peculiar 1920s hat and a flapping plastic mack she dismissed his father's greeting and staggered towards the tree.

"What have you done, Sergeant, what have you done!" she wailed. "You have killed one of my beauties!"

Grabbing and clutching the stricken branches she buried herself in the copper coloured leaves.

"Oh Beatrice, Beatrice, my beauty, how has this occurred?"

His father winked.

"What's wrong, what seems to be the problem, Lady Sarah?"

"The problem," she replied, stepping from the tree, "is that you have murdered the wrong tree." Behind the thick lenses of her spectacles her eyes were tiny red dots of dismay.

"Oh no, we haven't, have we?" howled his father, his face a dancing mask of pantomime surprise. "Good Lord, I can't believe it. Are you sure Lady Sarah?"

"Oh yes I'm sure alright. I gave you a weakling ash, not this!"

Suddenly he turned on the boy and made as if to strike him.

"Didn't I tell you it wasn't this one? I told you all along."

The boy hung his head in shame and didn't dare look at Lady Sarah because he knew she knew his father lied.

"I'll do anything I can by way of reparation, anything. I remember you saying the tree's name is Andy. I think that's what confused me. That and the boy. Beech wood is no good to me anyway. It's a poor burner. A weakling ash is just what I wanted, Lady Sarah."

Once more he blamed the boy and made a run at him as if to hit him. Darting out of his way he went close to Lady Sarah and looked into her eyes.

She knew.

Turning away she faced the dead Beatrice and with her frail hand plucked a copper leaf.

Resting on her fingers like a clot of blood, she held it to her mouth and nose and sighed as if kissing goodbye to a loved one. Tears welled in the boy's eyes. Lady Sarah looked very old, very sad, and a little frightened. She owned the great demesne, employed many people, but up against his father she knew the truth. He was the Garda Sergeant and she was just a lonely spinster, powerless to command. She needed him to protect her property. The law was hers but it was on his word that it was carried out.

Getting into her car, she spoke softly, her pride hurt, her spirit shocked.

"You may as well finish what you so cruelly started."

"Well that's the only damn thing we can do now, Lady Sarah."

Hours later as they drove home, though his body ached, the boy's soul raged rampant at the conquering smirk on his father's face.

N.B. Candidates may NOT answer Question A and Question B on the same text.

Questions A and B carry 50 marks each.

QUESTION A

(i)   Do you consider the first paragraph to be an example of good descriptive writing? Explain your view.   (15)

(ii)   How do the boy's feelings towards Lady Sarah change as the narrative progresses? Support your answer by reference to the text.   (15)

(iii)   A reader of the passage has commented: "Both Lady Sarah and the father are powerful, but in different ways."
What, in your opinion, would have led the reader to this conclusion?   (20)

QUESTION B

"Hours later…the boy's soul raged…"

Imagine that, in an attempt to control his feelings, the boy writes into his diary an account of the incident and his reactions to it.
Write out his diary entry.   (50)

420

TEXT 2
GHOST WRITING

Jan Stevens is a ghost writer; that is, someone who writes books that are published as the work of someone else.

On Ghost Writing

I am a ghost writer. I write books that other people take credit for – people more famous than me, or busier, or who simply can't be trusted with a pen.

I have written for well-known authors, celebrities, and even for other ghost writers who found themselves over-worked. I have written legal thrillers, historical non-fiction, mysteries, and even ghost stories. However, my name doesn't appear on the covers of any of these books, or on their copyright page. My anonymity is complete. Sometimes, even the publishers don't know I exist. My name, of course, does appear on my contracts. To prevent confusion, the language of these contracts calls me the *ghost writer* and the other party is referred to as the *author*. Under the terms of my contracts, I'm forbidden from revealing the identity of my authors. Ghost writers have to keep their secrets, or face lawsuits.

Ghost writing can be challenging. For one thing, ghost writers have to write very quickly. We are often given work that has a looming deadline. I once wrote a 120,000-word novel in twelve weeks. That's 2,000 words every day for five days a week. Maintaining this sprinter's pace at marathon length was painful, requiring much solitude and coffee. However, I made my 2,000-word count every single day without fail. One of the advantages of ghost writing is that the *almost* right word will serve as well as the *right* word.

Some ghost writers I know are haunted by the loss of recognition and go to great lengths to put secret codes into their ghost novels. They concoct sentence-length acronyms or give minor characters anagrams of their own names, so that future historians will decipher the work's true author. Others enjoy private jokes: inserting the names of cats, roommates, or favourite restaurants into their ghosted books as a kind of petty claim to ownership.

A common question asked of ghost writers is, "So, what do the *authors* actually do?" The answer covers a considerable range. I once wrote a novel from a fifty-page outline that provided specific adjectives and images for each chapter. Other authors provide only a paragraph or two. Some offer little guidance, but attack the finished work in minute detail. This ghost writer cares little because, by then, I'm busy haunting somewhere else.

As a rule, the most "prolific" authors are the most detached. I've written five books for one man whom I've never met or spoken to, or even e-mailed. His editors, however, assure me that he has actually *read* the books, and that he rather enjoyed them.

A good ghost writer is expected to pick up an author's style by reading the author's other books. I often wonder if these were, in fact, written by yet another ghost writer. Am I a copy of a copy?

So, what of the ethics of ghost writing? Is ghost writing a case of false advertising? Is it simply bad manners? It can be argued that a book is simply a product; you either enjoy it or you don't, and the author's name is no more a personal signature than the Nike logo or any other well-known trademark. Moreover, publishing is a business like any other. As in every business in a market economy, the aim is to make profit from someone else's labour. I don't object to this. Indeed, someday I hope to come up with a get-rich idea, a detective or adventure series that will be hugely successful with the reading public. I'll write the first few books in the series, and then let some other poor ghost writer follow *my* instructions for a while.

After all, I've got to know quite a few ghost writers in the last decade. Between us, I could author twenty books a year without too much effort. Indeed, when I mentioned I was going to write this essay, one of them volunteered to write it for me!

(And how do you know she didn't?)

N.B. Candidates may NOT answer Question A and Question B on the same text.

Questions A and B carry 50 marks each.

QUESTION A

(i)   On the evidence of this passage, what is the attitude of Jan Stevens to ghost writing?

(15)

(ii)   In your view, what is lost **and** gained by the '*author*' in a ghost writing arrangement? Support your answer by reference to the text.   (15)

(iii)   Jan Stevens sets out to inform the reader on the topic of ghost writing. What features make this an interesting piece of informative writing?   (20)

QUESTION B

Write a letter to a famous writer **or** celebrity **or** sports personality of your choice offering your services as a ghost writer for a future book. In your letter you should outline the reasons why you believe you would make a successful *ghost writer* for your chosen *author*.

(50)

TEXT 3
PRETENCE

The following text consists of a visual and a written element.

Masters of pretence

Diving!!

Make-believe

PRETENCE – Everybody's doing it!

Psychologists tell us that the habit of pretending is unique to the human species and begins in very early childhood. From about two years of age children engage in imaginary conversations with make-believe characters (talking to a doll, inventing an imaginary companion) or pretending to engage in a variety of adult activities (talking into a banana as if it were a telephone, pretending to cook and eat mud pies, pretending to be a teacher, a soldier, a Garda). The young of no other creature on earth behave like this.

It seems that this childhood role-playing is just training for later life where pretence is widespread. From the actor on stage shedding tears as he plays a tragic role for the hundredth time, to Ronaldo diving in the penalty area (again!), we are the masters of pretence.

Indeed, pretence often soothes the friction between people and promotes smoother relationships. Without it our world would be a crueller place.

Can you imagine if everyone said, "Let's stop all this pretence! Let's tell each other the unvarnished truth for a change!"

Imagine it's St. Valentine's Day and the young not so gallant lover comes to his tender lady's door. She twirls in her new dress and utters the invitation to praise. "Well? How do I look?" And he replies truthfully, "Well, let me see, dear. Hm… You know… I'd prefer you in something else!" In this case the absence of pretence might lead to a shorter than expected lifespan!

So why do we have this fascination with pretence?

Well, it is an expression of the two great gifts which make human beings unique: the gift of imagination and the ability to make one another happy.

N.B. Candidates may NOT answer Question A and Question B on the same text.

Questions A and B carry 50 marks each.

QUESTION A

(i) In your opinion which of the visual images best expresses the theme of pretence? Explain your choice. (15)

(ii) Taking the images as a group, do you think they go well with the written passage? Explain your answer. (15)

(iii) Do you think the writer is justified in the conclusions drawn in the final paragraph? Explain your view. (20)

QUESTION B

Advertising and young people – You report to the Advertising Standards Authority.

There is much discussion as to whether or not young people are being exploited by advertisers. Write a short report to the Advertising Standards Authority outlining your views on the matter. (50)

SECTION II
COMPOSING (100 marks)

Write a composition on **any one** of the following.

Each composition carries 100 marks.

The composition assignments below are intended to reflect language study in the areas of information, argument, persuasion, narration and the aesthetic use of language.

1. "Let's stop all this pretence! Let's tell each other the unvarnished truth for a change!"
   (TEXT 3)

   Write a personal essay in response to the above statement.

2. "Maintaining this sprinter's pace at marathon length was painful..." (TEXT 2)

   Write an article for a magazine for young adult readers in which you give them advice about how to cope with the pressures of modern living.

3. "It was mad...Ridiculous."   (TEXT 1)

   Write a short story suggested by the above title.

4. "...Someday I hope to come up with a get-rich idea..."   (TEXT 2)

   Write a magazine article (serious or light-hearted) in which you outline a get-rich idea of your own.

5. "What seems to be the problem...?"   (TEXT 1)

   Write the speech you would deliver to a group of world leaders in which you persuade them to deal with one or more of the world's problems.

6. "Imagine it's St. Valentine's Day...."   (TEXT 3)

   Write an article for a popular magazine on the importance of romance in our lives.

7. **Write a short story prompted by one or more of the images in TEXT 3.**

Appendix 8.3: Visual Text A (Comedy of Errors)

Appendix 8.4: Gender Analysis 2001-2016

2001-2016: Variety of the word 'women' in Canon texts

Appendix 8.5: Variety of Writers and Characters

Appendix 8.6: Prescribed Texts-Leaving Certificate English 2001-2016

Achebe	Chinua	Things Fall Apart
Angelou	Maya	I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings
Atwood	Margaret	Cat's Eye
Austen	Jane	Pride and Prejudice
Austen	Jane	Emma
Abranhamson	Lenny	Garage (Film) (Director)
Adiga	Aravind	The White Tiger
Beckett	Samuel	Waiting for Godot
Barner	Julian	Arthur and George
Banville	John	Kepler
Ballard	James G.	Empire of the Sun
Bell	Sam Hanna	December Bride
Branagh	Kenneth	Much Ado About Nothing (Film) (Director)
Bronte	Charlotte	Jane Eyre
Barker	Pat	Regeneration
Bronte	Emily	Wuthering Heights
Bielenberg	Christabel	The Past is Myself
Binchy	Maeve	Circle of Friends
Bennett	Alan	The Uncommon Reader
Bolger	Dermote	New Town Soul
Branagh	Kenneth	As You Lile It (Film) (Director)
Bowen	Elizabeth	The Last September
Branagh	Kenneth	Henry V (Film) (Director)
Chang	Jung	Wild Swans
Chatwin	Bruce	In Patagonia
Costner	Kevin	Dances With Wolves (Film) (Director)
CuarÓn	Alfonso	Children of Men (Film) (Director)
Curtiz	Michael	Casablanca (Film) (Director)
Coetzee	J.M.	Boyhood: Scene from Provincial Life
Carey	Peter	True History of the Kelly Gang.
Chevalier	Tracey	Girl with a Pearl Earring
Deane	Seamus	Reading in the Dark
Dickens	Charles	Great Expectations
Desai	Anita	Fasting, Feasting
Devlin	Anne	After Easter
Dickens	Charles	Hard Times
Daldry	Stephen	Billy Elliot (Film) (Director)
Eliot	George	Silas Marner
Friel	Brian	Dancing at Lughnasa
Fitzgerald	F. Scott	The Great Gatsby
Fitzgibbon	Ian	Death of a Superhero (Film) (Director)

Friel	Brian	Translations
Fuller	Alexandra	Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An Afrian Childhood
Friel	Brian	Philadelphia Here I Come
Frayn	Michael	Spies
Gordimer	Nadine	The House Gun
Gage	Eleni	North of Ithaka
Hardy	Thomas	Far From The Madding Crowd
Huston	John	The Dead (Film) (Director)
Hamilton	Hugo	The Sailor in the Wardrobe
Hazanavicius	Michel	The Artist (Film) (Director)
Hooper	Tom	The King's Speech (Film) (Director)
Hamid	Moshin	The Reluctant Fundamentalist
Hardy	Thomas	Tess of the d' Urbervilles
Harris	Robert	Pompeii
Hemingway	Ernest	The Old Man and the Sea
Hamilton	Hugo	The Speckled People
Hardy	Thomas	Under the Greenwood Tree
Haddon	Mark	The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night- Time
Hosseini	Khaled	The Kite Runner
Ishiguro	Kazuo	The Remains of the Day
Ivory	James	A Room With a View (Film) (Director)
Ibsen	Henrik	A Doll's House
Ishiguro	Kazuo	Never Let Me Go
Johnston	Jennifer	How Many Miles To Babylon?
Joyce	James	A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man
Joyce	James	The Dead (in a dramatization by Frank McGuinness)
Jones	Lloyd	Mister Pip
Joyce	James	Dubliners
Keenan	Brian	An Evil Cradling
Kazan	Elia	On the Waterfront (Film) (Director)
Kay	Jackie	Red Dust Road
Keane	John B.	Big Maggie
Keegan	Claire	Foster
Keane	John B.	Sive
Kingsolver	Barbara	The Poisionwood Bible
Lee	Laurie	A Moment of War
Leonard	Hugh	Home Before Night
Lurhmann	Baz	Strictly Ballroom (Film) (Director)
Lumet	Sydney	Twelve Angry Men (Film) (Director)
Lessing	Doris	The Grass is Singing
Loncraine	Richard	Richard III (Film) (Director)
Levy	Andrea	Small Island
Lively	Penelope	City of the Mind
Lively	Penelope	Moon Tiger
Madden	Deirdre	One by One in the Darkness

Malouf	David	Fly Away Peter
McGahern	John	Amongst Women
Mehta	Gita	A River Sutra
Miller	Arthur	A View from the Bridge
Moore	Brian	The Statement
Moore	Brian	Lies of Silence
Monk Kidd	Sue	The Secret Life of Bees
Miller	Arthur	The Crucible
McCabe	Eugene	Death and Nightingales
Martel	Yann	Life of Pi
MacLeod	Alister	No Great Mischief
McCarthy	Cormac	The Road
Miller	Arthur	All My Sons
McGuinness	Frank	Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme
McDonagh	Martin	The Lonesome West
Meirelles	Fernando	The Constant Gardener (Film) (Director)
Miller	Madeline	The Song of Achilles
McDonagh	Martin	A Skull in Connemara
Macken	Walter	The Silent People
Maclaverty	Bernard	Lamb
Miller	Arthur	Death of a Salesman
Murphy	Dervla	Wheels Within Wheels
McGuinness	Frank	Someone Who'll Watch Over Me
McMahon	Brian	The Master
McEwan	Ian	Atonement
Murphy	Tom	A Whistle in the Dark
Naipaul	V.S.	An Area of Darkness
Ngozi Adichie	Chimamanda	Purple Hibiscus
O' Casey	Sean	Juno and the Paycock
O' Hanlon	Redmond	Into the Heart of Borneo
Oz	Amos	Panther in the Basement
O' Connor	Frank	My Oedipus Complex and Other Stories
O' Casey	Sean	The Plough and the Stars
Orwell	George	Nineteen Eighty Four
O'Brien	Kate Cruise	The Homesick Garden
O' Brien	Kate Cruise	The Land of Spices
O'Donnell	Damien	Inside I'm Dancing (Film) (Director)
Patchett	Ann	Bel Canto
Proulx	E. Annie	Heart Songs
Priestley	J.B.	An Inspector Calls
Picoult	Jodi	My Sister's Keeper
Petterson	Per	Out Stealing Horses
Quinn	Marian	32A (Film) (Director)
Radford	Michael	Il Postino (Film) (Director)
Reed	Carol	The Third Man (Film) (Director)

Reitman	Jason	Juno (Film) (Director)
Rosoff	Meg	How I Live Now
Shakespeare	William	The Tempest
Shakespeare	William	As You Like It
Sansom	C.J.	Dissolution
Scott	Ridley	Blade Runner (Film) (Director)
Shakespeare	William	Twelfth Night
Shakespeare	William	Macbeth
Shakespeare	William	King Lear
Shakespeare	William	Othello
Shakespeare	William	Henry V
Shakespeare	William	Hamlet
Sheridan	Jim	My Left Foot (Film) (Director)
Sophocles		Antigone
Sophocles		Oedipus the King
Synge	J. M.	The Playboy of the Western World
Spark	Muriel	The Prime of Jean Brodie
Steinbek	John	Of Mice and Men
Shakespeare	William	A Winter's Tale
Salvatores	Gabriele	I'm Not Scared
Salinger	J.D.	The Catcher in the Rye
Shields	Carol	Unless
Steinbeck	John	The Grapes of Wrath
Seierstad	Asne	The Bookseller of Kabul
Tobin	Colm	The Blackwater Lightship
Tornatore	Guisseppe	Cinema Paradiso (Film) (Director)
Twain	Mark	The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn
Taylor	Mildred	The Road to Memphis
Trevor	William	The Story of Lucy Gault
Toibin	Colm	Brooklyn
Tyler	Anne	A Slipping Down Life
Wolff	Tobias	Old School
Waters	Sarah	The Little Stranger
Welles	Orson	Citizen Kane (Film) (Director)
Wilder	Thornton	Our Town
Winterson	Jeanette	Why Be Happy When You Could Be Normal?
Wolff	Tobias	This Boy's Life: A Memoir
Weir	Peter	Witness (Film) (Director)
Weir	Peter	The Truman Show (Film) (Director)
Wilde	Oscar	The Importance of Being Earnest
Yoshimura	Akira	Shipwrecks
Zusak	Markus	The Book Thief

Appendix 8.7: Prescribed Material 2014

Rannóg Pholasaí, Cháilíochtaí,
Curriculum u Churaclaim agus
and Assessment Policy Unit,
An Roinn Oideachais agus
Education and
Scileanna, Bloc 2, Sráid Skills,
Marlborough
Maoilbhríde, Street,
Baile Átha Cliath 1 Dublin 1

Qualifications,
Mheasúnachta,

Department of

Block 2

Fax (01) 8892040
(01) 8892384

Circular Letter 0001/2012

To: Management Authorities of Second-Level Schools

Prescribed Material for English in the

Leaving Certificate Examination in 2014

1. The Department of Education and Skills wishes to inform the management authorities of second-level schools that the prescribed material for English in the Leaving Certificate Examinations in 2014 is as indicated on the attached list.

2. Please bring this Circular and the attached list to the notice of the teachers concerned.

3. Please provide a copy of this Circular to the appropriate representatives of parents and teachers for transmission to individual parents and teachers.

Margaret Kelly

Principal Officer

February 2012

<p style="text-align:center">Leaving Certificate Examination, 2014</p>

<p style="text-align:center"><u>English</u></p>

Herewith is the list of prescribed texts for the Leaving Certificate Examination, 2014

As the syllabus indicates, students are required to study from this list:

1.   <u>**One text**</u> **on its own** from the following texts: -

AUSTEN, Jane	Pride and Prejudice (H/O)
BINCHY, Maeve	Circle of Friends (O)
BALLARD, J.G.	Empire of the Sun (H/O)
FRIEL, Brian	Translations (H/O)
ISHIGURO, Kazuo	Never Let me Go (H/O)
JOHNSTON, Jennifer	How Many Miles to Babylon? (O)
KEANE, John B.	Sive (O)
LEONARD, Hugh	Home Before Night (O)
SHAKESPEARE, William	Macbeth (H/O)

- One of the texts marked with H/O may be studied on its own at Higher Level
and at Ordinary Level.

- One of the texts marked with O may be studied on its own at Ordinary Level.

2.   <u>**Three other texts**</u> **in a comparative manner, according to the comparative modes prescribed for this course.**

       •   Any texts from the list of texts prescribed for comparative study, **other than** **the one already chosen for study on its own,** may be selected for the   comparative study. **Texts chosen must be from the prescribed list for the   current year.**

       •   At Higher Level and at Ordinary Level, a film may be studied as <u>**one**</u> of the three texts in a comparative study.

3.   **The Comparative Modes for Examination in 2014 are:**

    <u>Higher Level</u>   (i)   The Cultural Context

                               (ii)   The General Vision and Viewpoint (iii)   Theme or Issue

    <u>Ordinary Level</u>   (i)   Relationships

                                 (ii)   Social Setting

                                 (iii)   Theme

4.   **Shakespearean Drama**

    At **Higher Level** a play by Shakespeare **must be one of the texts chosen**. This can be studied on its own or as an element in a comparative study.

    At **Ordinary Level** the study of a play by Shakespeare is **optional.**

5. Poetry

<u>Higher Level:</u>

A selection from the poetry of **eight** poets is prescribed for Higher Level.

Students will be expected to have studied **at least six poems** by each poet.

<u>Ordinary Level:</u>

A total of **36 poems** is prescribed for Ordinary Level.

Texts prescribed for comparative study, for examination in the year 2014

ABRAHAMSON, Lenny (Dir.)	Garage (Film)
ADIGA, Aravind	The White Tiger
AUSTEN, Jane	Pride and Prejudice
BALLARD, J. G.	Empire of the Sun
BINCHY, Maeve	Circle of Friends
BRANAGH, Kenneth (Dir.)	Much Ado about Nothing (Film)
BRONTË, Emily	Wuthering Heights
CUARÓN, Alfonso (Dir.)	Children of Men (Film)
CURTIZ, Michael (Dir.)	Casablanca (Film)
FRIEL, Brian	Translations

HAMILTON, Hugo	The Sailor in the Wardrobe
HARRIS, Robert	Pompeii
HEMINGWAY, Ernest	The Old Man and the Sea
IBSEN, Henrik	A Doll's House
ISHIGURO, Kazuo	Never Let me Go
JOHNSTON, Jennifer	How Many Miles to Babylon?
JONES, Lloyd	Mister Pip
KAY, Jackie	Red Dust Road
KEANE, John B.	Sive
KEEGAN, Claire	Foster
LEVY, Andrea	Small Island
LEONARD, Hugh	Home Before Night
LESSING, Doris	The Grass Is Singing
McCARTHY, Cormac	The Road
McGUINNESS, Frank	Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme
MILLER, Arthur	All My Sons
NGOZI ADICHIE, Chimamanda	Purple Hibiscus
ORWELL, George	Nineteen Eighty Four
PICOULT, Jodi	My Sister's Keeper
ROSOFF, Meg	How I Live Now
SALVATORES, Gabriele (Dir.)	I'm Not Scared (Film)

SALINGER, J.D.	The Catcher in the Rye
SANSOM, C.J.	Dissolution
SCOTT, Ridley (Dir.)	Blade Runner (Film)
SHAKESPEARE, William	Macbeth
	Othello
TÓIBÍN, Colm	Brooklyn
TREVOR, William	The Story of Lucy Gault
TWAIN, Mark	Huckleberry Finn

Poets Prescribed for Higher Level

BISHOP, Elizabeth The Fish
The Bight
At the Fishhouses
The Prodigal
Questions of Travel
The Armadillo
Sestina
First Death in Nova Scotia
Filling Station
In the Waiting Room

DICKINSON, Emily "Hope" is the thing with feathers
There's a certain Slant of light
I felt a Funeral, in my Brain
A Bird came down the Walk
I Heard a fly buzz – when I died
The Soul has Bandaged moments
I could bring You Jewels – had I a mind to
A narrow Fellow in the Grass
I taste a liquor never brewed
After great pain, a formal feeling comes

HEANEY, Seamus The Forge
Bogland
The Tollund Man
Mossbawn: Two Poems in Dedication (1) Sunlight
A Constable Calls
The Skunk
The Harvest Bow
The Underground
Postscript
A Call
Tate's Avenue
The Pitchfork
Lightenings viii. (The annals say…)

KINSELLA, Thomas Thinking of Mr D.
Dick King
Mirror in February Chrysalides *from* <u>Glenmacnass</u>
VI *Littlebody*
Tear

Appendix 8.8: Text One Readability Results 2016

Text Readability Consensus Calculator

Purpose: Our Text Readability Consensus Calculator uses 7 popular readability formulas to calculate the average grade level, reading age, and text difficulty of your sample text.

Your Results:

Your text: It was June 2012, and I had come to the Globe Theatre...(show all text)

Flesch Reading Ease score: 60.3 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: standard / average.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 11.5 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: hard to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 9.6
Grade level: Tenth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 9
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 9.1
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 9.7
Grade level: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 12
Grade level: Twelfth Grade.

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 10
Reading Level: standard / average.
Reader's Age: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)

Appendix 8.9: Text Two Readability Results 2016

Text Readability Consensus Calculator

Purpose: Our Text Readability Consensus Calculator uses 7 popular readability formulas to calculate the average grade level, reading age, and text difficulty of your sample text.

Your Results:

Your text: The following edited extract is adapted from Sara ...(show all text)

Flesch Reading Ease score: 72.7 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: fairly easy to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 8.9 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: fairly easy to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 6.4
Grade level: Sixth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 9
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 6.6
Grade level: Seventh Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 6.6
Grade level: 11-13 yrs. old (Sixth and Seventh graders)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 6.9
Grade level: Seventh Grade.

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 7
Reading Level: fairly easy to read.
Reader's Age: 11-13 yrs. old (Sixth and Seventh graders)

Appendix 8.10: Text Three Readability Results 2016

Text Readability Consensus Calculator

Purpose: Our Text Readability Consensus Calculator uses 7 popular readability formulas to calculate the average grade level, reading age, and text difficulty of your sample text.

Your Results:

Your text: TEXT 3 � JOURNEY INTO SPACE This edited text is a ...(show all text)

Flesch Reading Ease score: 57.4 (text scale)
Flesch Reading Ease scored your text: fairly difficult to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Gunning Fog: 12 (text scale)
Gunning Fog scored your text: hard to read.
[f] | [a] | [r]

Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level: 9.6
Grade level: Tenth Grade.
[f] | [a] | [r]

The Coleman-Liau Index: 10
Grade level: Tenth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

The SMOG Index: 9.1
Grade level: Ninth Grade
[f] | [a] | [r]

Automated Readability Index: 9.5
Grade level: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)
[f] | [a] | [r]

Linsear Write Formula : 11.1
Grade level: Eleventh Grade.

Readability Consensus
Based on 8 readability formulas, we have scored your text:
Grade Level: 10
Reading Level: fairly difficult to read.
Reader's Age: 14-15 yrs. old (Ninth to Tenth graders)

(Pink color) = U.S. average grade level.

= Your text

The average sentence length for U.S. high school and adult readers is between 13-16 words. Your average sentence length is 17.

(Green color) = Name of graph

(Pink color) = U.S. average grade level.

= Your text

The average reading level for U.S. high school and adult readers is between 7th and 8th grade. Your text's grade level is 10.