

Scripted Instruction Programs in Dutch Primary

and Secondary Education

A Subscription to Scripted Learning?

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Abstract

In the field of education, the Dutch labor market is currently facing an enormous shortage (CentERdata, 2017a). The Anglo-Saxon tradition of Scripted Instruction Programs was implemented in the U.S. as a means to solve the teacher shortage of the 1980s, to ensure equal chances in the education system regardless of a student's socio-economic background, and to ensure a basic standard of quality of teachers (Venezky, 1990). This thesis aims to critically evaluate the concept of Scripted Instruction Programs, and to discover whether these initiatives would be in line with the Dutch educational goals. Therefore, the goals of education are addressed in the framework of philosophy of education, educational literature and policy manuals, followed by an assessment of empirical findings based on longitudinal studies. Lastly, a more philosophical approach is taken to argue for the autonomy and practical wisdom of teachers as an ineliminable aspect of teaching.

Key words: Scripted Instruction Programs, Practical Wisdom, Moral Development, Goals of Education, Teacher Shortage

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1. Introduction

On February 1st, 2018, 689 primary school children had stayed home. Those children did not voluntarily take the day off, instead they had to stay home because there were no teachers available to teach them (RTL Nieuws, 2018). The website lerarentekortisnu.nl is a Dutch online platform to which primary schools can report how many students were sent home or had classes from an uncertified adult. The numbers are growing every day: in the Netherlands at least forty schools have trouble finding a teacher for at least one class of 25 students (Erkelens & Goes, 2018), and that is only the schools that reported it themselves. Dutch society is currently facing enormous challenge on the education labor market. Not only in primary school, but in secondary teaching as well. The Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences predicts, as shown in figure 1 (CentERdata, 2017a), a shortage of 4053FTE (full time equivalent) of primary school teachers in 2020.



Figure 1: Expected shortage of teachers and principals in primary education (2015-2020)

Verwachte tekorten leraren en directeuren PO

CentERdata



Figure 2: Expected shortage of teachers and principals in secondary education (2015-2020)

Verwachte tekorten leraren en directeuren in het VO

CentERdata

As shown in figure 2 (CentERdata, 2017b), the projected teacher shortage in secondary education is a little less acute, but is still estimated to be around 1200 FTE in 2025. Measures such as grants to get into teacher training, special trainings to become a certified teacher after having followed a different career path and bonuses to teach in a certain municipality are all part of the national and local government's fight to diminish the teacher shortage.

The trouble on the education labor market in the Netherlands is not an exception. The United States suffered from a large teacher shortage in the 1980s. Before the 1980s, teacher training was developed by – and done in – universities and colleges, but due to the lack of qualified teachers, the state governments opened up different ways to become certified to teach (Dresser, 2012, p. 79). One of the ways in which the north-American education dealt with the situation at hand, was to implement scripted instruction programs (SI-programs). Scripted instruction programs are fully scripted lesson plans. The programs are standardized and written out word-by-word (Reeves, 2010, p. 241; Au, 2011, p. 33). The latter means that these teaching methods directs teachers how to teach, talk and act. A rationale can be found in the wish to ensure all children can receive the same education, regardless of their background (Timberlake, Thomas, & Barrett, 2017, p. 46), the quality of teacher performance (Cwikla,

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2007, p. 564), and to raise national test scores (Reeves, 2010, p. 247) with the help of a scripted program. Over the past four decades, scripted instruction programs have been used all over America. Today, over 12% of all school districts use of one of the commercial scripted programs, such as Reading Mastery or Open Court (Reeves, 2010, p. 242). Recently, the concept of Scripted Instruction has been adopted in Great Britain as well, and is now implemented in a growing number of schools. Meanwhile, what society asks from schooling is becoming more and more demanding. The task of education can be seen as a functionalist view on education, in which education is an instrument to solve societal issues, such as social cohesion, inclusion, citizenship, or respect. Currently, in the Netherlands, the teacher is deemed to execute the curriculum, but their intellectual freedom can be found in how they teach their classes (Biesta, 2011, p. 5).

Given the difficult situation the Dutch education system and government are facing, it is not unlikely that the idea to implement similar programs will be considered in the Netherlands. For this reason, I want to closely examine the effectivity and desirability of the concept of scripted instruction programs. The starting point is an intuition that teachers in scripted instruction programs are not autonomous actors anymore. If teachers are perceived as moral role models, and if rules and regulations dictate what the teacher ought to do, what does that imply for the future of morality in secondary teaching? Some suggest that scripted curricula are the solutions to maintain the quality standard when there is a shortage on certified teachers.

Following from the previous paragraph, the main research question is as follows: *To what extent is it morally desirable to adopt scripted instruction programs in primary and secondary teaching in the Dutch educational system?*

This thesis, therefore, aims to uncover the advantages and disadvantages of the concept of scripted instruction programs within the context of the Dutch education system, and will on this basis evaluate its potential implementation. In writing this research, no distinction will be made between primary and secondary education. It will, however, leave out considerations regarding special needs education and tertiary education, as these two forms of education are deemed significantly different from primary and secondary education. The reason for this is that tertiary education is occupied with professional and scientific training instead of general education. Special needs education, is however, typically performed in smaller groups in line with the special treatment plans for each individual student.

In order to thoroughly evaluate the different principles, I will start with a descriptive analysis of scripted curricula. It is important to frame the concept of scripted instruction

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programs to evaluate this form of education. This first step is followed in chapter three by defining the goals of education from a philosophical, educational and policy perspective. In chapter 4 I will provide an overview of the empirical findings of the effects on SI-programs in relation to the goals of education. The fifth chapter is a more conceptual, philosophical approach to the concept matter. The sixth and final chapter step is to draw some general conclusions on the main research question and to provide several recommendations with respect to the possible adoption of scripted instruction programs in the Netherlands. If the occasion occurs that the Government of the Netherlands discusses the circumstances under which they would allow for the adoption of scripted curricula, this thesis can be presented to them.

2. Scripted Curricula

Since the early 1900s, the educational system in the United States of America moved towards a system of standardization under the scientific management at that time (Au, 2011, p. 38). In the past century, the era of high-stake testing and standardization of curricula came into place. Before discussing the ethical dilemmas of the notion of scripted curricula, it is important to sketch a clear overview of the different dimensions. This chapter will first treat the history of scripted programs and the underlying values and goals of scripted curricula. Secondly, scripted curricula will be described and defined. Finally, a preliminary overview of the teachers' preferences and disapprovals will be given.

2.1 History

Already in 1888, Lewis and Adeline Monroe "published one of the earliest texts for teachers with complete scripts for teaching reading readiness, phonics and oral reading," (Commeyras, 2007, p. 404). The married couple published a series called the *Monroe Readers*. One could see the *Monroe Readers* as marking the final step in developing the first scripted lesson plan (Venezky, 1990, p. 24). The reading texts were accompanied by a teacher guide, explaining how to teach. This differed in the degree of precise instruction, ranging from suggestion to entire and complete scripts for all reading activities. Amongst others, activities were included to promote phonetics and oral reading practices and the relation of speaking and writing with that of reading (Venezky, 1990, p. 25). An example of the degree of scripting was as follows: "Then the teacher should proceed according to directions on Chart 4: 'Children, when you see this letter with three up-and-down lines in it, you should call it thus'; and the teacher makes the sound of *m* with closed lips," (Venezky, 1990, p. 25).

About eighty years later, in the 1960s, Siegfried Engelmann and Carl Bereiter developed the direct instruction method with the aim of improving the underprivileged children's level of reading comprehension (Commeyras, 2007, p. 404). Low test scores were considered problematic and scripted instruction programs were more and more developed. Today, about 130 years after the Monroes's first publication, a large increase of standardization and scripted curricula can be found in the Anglo-Saxon educational environment (Au, 2011, p. 25). In the United States, around 12% of the school districts have now adopted scripted instruction programs (Reeves, 2010, p. 242). Not only in the U.S. is a significant increase to be found, Great-Britain slowly adopts the programs as well. After the adoption of the U.S. Federal No Child Left Behind Act in 2001, the use of scripted curricula increased significantly. The act aims to support standards-based education. Along with federal school funding, came the mandate for a certain type of assessment, namely standardized high-stake tests. In order to achieve this level, scripted and standardized teaching has been utilized (Nicholson, Bauer, & Wooley, 2016, p. 228). Moreover, with the *Common Core State Standards Initiative* in 2010, language and mathematics learning objectives were standardized on a national level, specifying what students leaving high school are expected to know and to understand (Nicholson et al., 2016, p. 233). For the same reason as the *No Child Left Behind Act* in 2001, scripted programs are seen as a welcome aid to achieve the goals set. The next section will discuss the purpose of scripted instruction programs.

2.2 Purpose - what are they trying to achieve?

As previously stated, educators and administrators were seeking a method to tackle the various problems they encountered. Although there may be more reasons than outlined below, the following goals underlie the implementation of scripted instruction programs, both in the past and the present.

Low test scores

Despite the contestation of efficacy claims, the program aims to help low performing schools raising their students' level of achievement (Reeves, 2010, p. 242). As mentioned before, the increasing pressure to perform on national and high-stakes tests and the trouble in succeeding led for many school boards to ask how they could improve their school's results. Not only should the results improve, the results have to be documented as well (Cwikla, 2007, p. 554). A longitudinal study of five years shows how the scripted direct instruction program has helped considerably in the documentation of results (Cwikla, 2007, p. 564). However, the fact that administration improves, does not necessarily mean that education improves in the same way.

Less dependence on teacher performance

Proponents of SI-directed programs advocate teacher proof curricula, in which the student's learning curve does not depend upon teacher performance. They take the standardization mechanism as the solution to fight variability in teacher performance and to ensure that all students will have the same quality of instruction across the state (Reeves, 2010, p. 244). The idea is to have all teachers tell the same story, and explain material in the

same way. Moreover, they hope to improve the consistency of the different courses. Usually, teachers have the desire for freedom in how they teach, but if they are not capable of doing what they need to do, some measure must be taken. The scripted lesson plan ought to help structure the classroom (Cwikla, 2007, p. 561). The influence of individual teachers will become less dominant with the implementation of this program.

Lack of qualified teachers

Another reason to adopt scripted curricula is the lack of qualified teachers. In some schools, weak schools in particular, a serious lack of qualified teachers is common. When a class needs a mathematics teacher, they will put a social studies teacher in front of the class, when the English as a Second Language learners have no educator, the mathematics teacher will teach English for that day (Reeves, 2010, pp. 247-248). The (underperforming) schools that are not succeeding in attracting enough qualified teachers often implement scripted instruction programs. To support those teachers, who are asked to teach a subject outside of their comfort zone, scripted programs are seen as a solution to ensure some level of quality in schools.

Equal chance

In order to avoid the differences determined by birth, or so-called education by zip code, scripted curricular modules have been adopted. Social backgrounds, such as where a student lives, still (partly) determines how a student will succeed in the education system. Schooling is deemed highly important to get a well-paid job in our current society (Timberlake et al., 2017, p. 46). For this reason, one's background tends to determine whether one will succeed in the education system, as well as in life. The latter statement of course, only counts when speaking of success in monetary terms. The difference in level and quality in schools is too significant to ignore if it is commonly accepted to ensure social mobility and equal chances. Fairness from this perspective is that no matter where you come from, you will all receive the same education, so that the differences in background fade away before they enter university. The problem I observe, is that not all schools participate, and it has been proven that students from a privileged background will always have access to other resources than the underprivileged students. Fairness, in this respect, seems to entail that everybody gets the exact same, standardized, treatment. Maybe, not everybody is in need of the same treatment, but the same chance means to have a personalized treatment.

2.3 Definition

The next question to pose is what scripted instruction programs are and how they work. First of all, it is important to distinguish the conception of scripted curricula in the light of different terminology. Scripted curricula can be used as scripted direct instruction program, or as nationally centralized programs with general objectives. In other words, curriculum is the content to be learned, while instruction shows how that content should be taught (Eppley, 2011, p. 1). In the literature, the terminology of scripted instruction programs, scripted curricula and scripted (direct) instruction are used interchangeably. The same will be done in this thesis. Scripted instruction methods are available on multiple levels of sticking tight to the format. Mostly, scripted instruction on what he or she will have to cover, in what order and on what day. Moreover, the teacher will find instructions on what to say and what to ask (Au, 2011, p. 33).

Scripted instruction "directs teachers to teach, even to talk, from standardized, written scripts, which allows teachers virtually no latitude to make their own instructional decisions" (Reeves, 2010, p. 241). Not only is their speech directed, their actions are as well (Reeves, 2010, p. 242). Jenelle Reeves (2010) provides a clear overview of how a scripted instruction works.

[...] the words the teacher is to say are presented in plain and bold type. The teachers' actions are directed by the commands in parentheses, and student responses are presented in italics. Teachers are to repeat their words and actions until students respond correctly and in unison upon the teacher's signal, typically a snap of their fingers or clap of their hands. (p. 242)

The important elements of this description are *commands*, *repetition*, *responses*, *signals*. It might seem very strict and too strong, but in the tightest form of scripted instruction programs, one can envision the scripts exactly as a script for a theater play, in which every move is directed and previously determined by the author. An example of how a page of the teacher's hand guide can resemble is as follows:

Say cat.

Ask: What sound do you hear at the beginning of cat? What letter should I write in the *first box*? Write *c*.

Ask: *What sound do you hear next in cat?* Call on a child to come to the board and write *a* in the second box.

Ask: *What sound do you hear at the end of cat? What letter should I write in the last box?* Write *t*. (Au, 2011, p. 32)

Although the standard of the standardized instructions is rather strict, some teachers make deviating strategic decisions when, for instance, choosing a child for a particular question if that student needs to focus more on a certain topic than another student. Some teachers allow more students to reply to a question, whereas others proceed with the lesson after one correct answer (Commeyras, 2007, p. 405). DISTAR, Direct Instruction System for Teaching Arithmethic and Reading, now called Reading Mastery and DISTAR Arithmetic, is one of the leading institutions in the provision of scripted direct instruction methods. An example of a mathematics class is attached in Appendix A.

Especially in English literacy instruction, the number of schools using scripted instruction programs is increasing (Reeves, 2010, p. 242). Scripted Instruction is a form of a direct instruction approach (Commeyras, 2007, p. 405; Au, 2011, p. 33). Direct instruction has different connotations. In some occasions, direct instruction is seen as a system of structured teaching, while others perceive it as an educational management system. Direct instruction is the explicit and systematic strategy of teaching students (Gersten, 1986, p. 17). This means that direct instruction is when the teacher will explicitly lecture the information perceived as important to the students. It comes across as the classic teacher-student situation, in which the teacher relies on the teacher's authority, who teaches from the front of the class. Scripted instruction is always a form of direct instruction, yet direct instruction is not necessarily scripted, if the teacher explicitly instructs, for instance grammar, and if the teacher can create their own lessons. Indirect instruction is quite the opposite, when the students in a language course have to deduct the grammar rules from a text themselves, with the teacher as their guide. Thus, Scripted instruction is always direct instruction-based, as it always includes an explicit instruction plan. Direct instruction, however, is not necessarily scripted, when it is seen as a teacher-in-the-front construction allowing for his or her own creativity and input.

2.4 Conclusion

In this thesis, scripted instruction programs are used in the narrow sense, which means that whenever is spoken of scripted instruction programs, it must be understood as a program which specifies and instructs every step of a lesson plan, directing the teacher to speak, move and teach. The terms scripted instruction programs, scripted programs, scripted instruction methods or scripted curricula are used interchangeably. This thesis will, therefore leave out the high-stake testing that is normally an integral part of scripted curricula.

3. Goals of Education

This chapter aims to set out the goals of general education, meaning both primary and secondary education. First of all, the aims described by educational philosophers will be described, followed by the goals of education in educational literature, after which current educational policies will be analyzed on the same question: what are the goals of education presupposed by these policies? In order to provide a systematic and comprehensive answer to the main research question, it is important to know what we actually want to accomplish with education.

3.1 Philosophy of Education

Not only pedagogues think of and question the goals of education. Philosophy of Education, as a well-established field of research, may serve in finding an answer to the goals of education. This section, the philosophy of education from two important philosophers of education will frame some of the key characteristics of the goal of education. The ideas of both John Dewey and Ivan Illich will help in this process. Whereas John Dewey is generally seen as a traditional thinker in the philosophy of education, Ivan Illich is known for his more radical forms of argumentation. The combination of both of their theories, are an interesting base to develop the goals of education.

Dewey: Transmission, Development and Citizenship

To this day, Dewey is as a major pillar in philosophy of education and needs to be discussed in this thesis. This section is based on Dewey's *Democracy & Education*. The interpretation of Dewey is complemented with Nell Noddings' writings. Noddings is an American philosopher of education and specialist of Dewey's work.

Before the institutionalization of schooling, we were taught by our parents: by observation, by imitation. Direct sharing was the method of teaching, but it does not suffice anymore. The change or development of civilization led to a greater gap between the experience of adults and children due to the complex nature of advanced occupations. As a result, the task of teaching has been delegated to a special group of people. Informal education, what was once the standard has been replaced by formal education. Some suggest that formal education is a necessity in order to transmit all the necessary tools and information of a complex society. Yet, in the end, it is important to balance the formal and informal, the

intentional and incidental and the modes of education (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 1)¹. This means that we need to balance how we learn and what place we give education in our society. If formal education is just a transmission about the world and its challenges, without working on application of the educated material, children will not be faced with a reality check and will not develop into the participants of society Dewey strives towards. This does not mean that formal education cannot entail application, it is just that we have to ensure a balance between social, practical and theoretical knowledge. What is the greater value of having knowledge, but not the capacity to use the knowledge in a group, or at large in society?

The process of growth and social activities is highly important. Dewey considers schools to be an important tool of transmission. One of them is to form the 'dispositions of the immature' (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 1). This entails that we, as society, have the duty to allow our children to develop, and we have to guide them in developing a mature social disposition or attitude. In other words, children need guidance in developing their character, and education needs to contribute to this process.

Society carries on when there is transmission by communication, yet Dewey speaks of transmission in communication (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 1). This is of course connected to the idea that a democratic community or society needs to "shape social individuals" (Noddings, 2010, p. 282). They all have to work, cooperatively, towards the same common goals. This means that the goal of education is not only to pass on knowledge, but communicative skills as well. Patterns of communications are needed to engage the student in a democratic society (Noddings, 2010, p. 279). Dewey wants to avoid students to become a theoretical spectator, instead they should take part in society (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 11).

To Dewey, schooling must be personal. The uniqueness of the individual is leading (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 7). Every student, each individual, will find their own way to grow (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 4). Growth is one of Dewey's leading goals of education (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 4). So, every student needs something different. The education should be suited best to the individual child (Noddings, 2010, pp. 265-266). The process should not be fixed, but tailored to the individual. In this process, the teacher takes on the role of the guide or the facilitator. Imposing is the unthinkable, as it renders the process mechanical and slavish (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 8). The goal is, thus, to facilitate growth of the individual student. The growth of the individual student consists of a process to become a social individual, prepared to actively take part in society as a moral agent.

¹ The in-text referencing of *Democracy and Education*, refers to chapters instead of page numbers, as a Kindle edition is cited.

Another aim of education is to be an inspiration to students go keep on learning. Students should be eager to pursue growth and to advance (Noddings, 2010, p. 268). Yet, what if we only teach in ways that stops people from wanting to learn, which makes them glad to be finished with school? Instead, students should find meaning in their studies (Noddings, 2010, p. 270). Attention must be paid to not enlarging the undesirable split between what is taught in school and what is taught by experience (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 1). Students should thus be intrinsically motivated to learn, which means they must find something that sparks their interest. The importance of intrinsic motivation to learn is to find in the idea that we continue to develop ourselves. We can always become a better person; be it on a social or professional level.

Lastly, moral education needs to be addressed. Education should both be morally justified, and 'produce' moral people (Noddings, 2010, p. 282). The moral agent is ready to take part in the democratic life. By direct participation in society, one avoids the student to be curious to try what is morally forbidden. The creation of an environment in which everybody takes part, will create more awareness of the other. What would otherwise have been strange or foreign, is now not an object of taboo, but of comprehension (Dewey, 2018, Ch. 2). All of it works towards the common good.

In short, Dewey's view of good education, asks for the pursuit of the following goals. First of all, education should be the source of transmission. Transmission can be explained in two ways. It has the aim to transmit all the necessary tools and information of a complex society to the learners. On the other hand, transmission is understood as a way of communication. Students should not become a theoretical spectator, rather they should become communicative and participants of democracy. Secondly, education must personal. The corresponding goal is that everyone should develop in their own way, which means that each individual should follow their own path of growth, so they can contribute to society with their personal qualities. Moreover, the goal of education is to inspire learners to continue learning, which will help them to keep developing themselves. Lastly, education should also contain moral education. Children should become aware of their action and being in society, and should collaboratively work for the common good.

Illich: Individual Learning and Freedom

In the 1970s philosopher Ivan Illich published a critical essay on the current educational system. In *Deschooling Society* Illich tries to show what is wrong with the execution of schooling. According to him, the institutionalization of schooling defeats the goals of education. His critical review of our current society focused on degrees, is not explicit in the goals of education, but I will attempt to lay bare the underlying values.

Already in the 70's Illich observed that teaching is confused with learning, education with grade advancement, and diplomas with competence (Illich, 1970, p. 1). What this means, is that education should not be about getting a degree at the end of the road and that grades do not reflect on how competent you are. It also means that teaching should not be about teaching, but about learning, and learning does not only happen in the classroom. To him, the creation of education is positively intended, yet he believes the concept is not useful anymore: education lost its purpose. School has become its curriculum. Something that is a bundle of goods, according to someone (Illich, 1970, p. 41). Curricula are designed by someone who does not know the child, and thus does not know the individual needs of the child to lift his or her learning process. Illich sees standardized curricula as a product of western thought leading to the axiom of learning being the result of universally and curricularly teaching in institutional schools (Illich, 1970, p. 12). Yet according to Illich, the axiom is built on false premises. The form of education in which it is offered is not necessarily the best way for all individual learners. The idea that production demands learning, learning can only be done in school, and then the institution 'school' demands for production is what he calls the myth of unending consumption (Illich, 1970, p. 39). Students think of their studies as an investment with the highest monetary return. The criticism of Illich, may thus be that society has the wrong conception of what education is. School should not be a place of which you will walk away in four years ready to make a lot of money.

Then, what does Illich find important? He thinks that obtaining life skills and practical knowledge is much more important than having a degree. Education should be a learning web, which includes learning objects, exchanges of skills, communication and teachers serving as role models. What values are underlying his manifesto? I think the following four basic principles can be seen as the goals of education through the eyes of Ivan Illich.

First of all, education should not only be an investment to position yourself in the labor market. School is in the ideal case not a learning factory producing students turning into yes-men. It should be a place where students are intrinsically motivated to develop themselves on a cognitive, social and professional level, whilst finding their own voice. Each student is different and walks his or her own path to the future (Illich, 1970, p. 99) A curriculum should, therefore, not be restrictive in its nature and not fully standardized. In line with the perception that curricula should not be restrictive, freedom and autonomy can be derived as important values.

Secondly, following the previously mentioned, education suffers currently from an emphasis on measurability which Illich thinks is defeating the purpose of education. Therefore, something non-measurable is seemingly important in the goals of education. This can be different for each individual learner (Illich, 1970, p. 78). Illich remains rather vague on what this entails, but hints in the rest of his book towards strengthening each student's talent. Getting an A+ on a mathematics test does not reflect everything a student learns during his or her school time. Personal development is much harder to measure, and therefore Illich seems to take the measurability as destructive for education and its goals.

Lastly, life skills and practical knowledge are just as important as theoretical knowledge. Education should, therefore, contribute to the acquisition of life skills and practical knowledge. Life skills and practical knowledge for Illich are the capacity to actively participate in life, both socially and professionally. This entails that the gap between theory and practice needs to be bridged. From my perspective, this would imply that the theory taught must always be accompanied with a certain form of application. In this way, the goal of education is served again. As mentioned in the beginning of this section, a diploma is mistaken for competence. When theory and practice are combined and one learns the necessary life skills and grasp how life works, I think we are much more in line with what Illich tries to accomplish with his manifesto.

Concluding the section on Illich, the following can be said on the goals of education through the eyes of Ivan Illich. Even though Ivan Illich draws a radical picture of the downsides of education in the context of the 1970s, he does touch the raw nerve in the alienation of students in our current educational system. The measurability and the curricula are not leading towards the goals of education (Illich, 1970, p. 40). This is why he calls for a major reform, which does not mean that we should get rid of schools, but the created demand, the institutionalization of education does not contribute to raising better people. From my perspective, this concept of better people, asks for moral education. How can we become better, without practicing and guidance? Section 5.2 will take a closer look into this question. The "obligatory" nature of the curriculum, with which everybody has to work, both teachers and students is, according to Illich, destructive. Moreover, school should be a place where children want to learn. A place where there is room for development that is not measured via

standardized tests. Furthermore, education should pay attention to obtaining life skills and practical knowledge.

3.2 Educational literature

After discussing the philosophers of education, I will now discuss the contemporary educational specialists. Section 3.2 discusses the Dutch context only, for I want to set the stage to answer the question on whether it is morally desirable to implement scripted instruction programs in the Dutch education system. One of the leading educational researchers in the Netherlands is Gert Biesta. He is not only an expert in the field of pedagogics, he holds a degree in philosophy as well. Some overlap between Gert Biesta and John Dewey is present, as Biesta was highly influenced by Dewey. First and foremost, Biesta writes about the meaning of education. He writes that there is a lack of good literature about what good education and its goals should be (Biesta, 2012, p.16). Biesta advocates that education should have other dimensions than just "learning". What he means by just learning is that he acknowledges the importance of learning moments that are not easily assessed. Learning should have a place in the educational curriculum, yet it should become a wider notion than it is now (Biesta, 2011, p. 5). The goal of education is in his eyes that students learn something meaningful, rather than learning for the sake of learning (Biesta, 2011, p. 6). The problem encountered in the language of learning, is that it is merely a language of process, rather than a language that looks at what should be learnt in the first place and what the end goal is or should be. In other words learning does not reflect the goal of learning (Biesta, 2011, p. 6). Another issue at hand is, according to Biesta, that learning is a very individualistic term. Learning means that you can do something by yourself, yet education is always a process of interaction and relationships. At first sight, this discussion of Biesta appears to be an enumeration of dimensions of proper learning, but what has been previously mentioned shows that Biesta wants education to have an extra dimension. This dimension is explained in the following paragraph.

One could look at the goal of education as multidimensional. The three dimensions named by Gert Biesta are qualification, socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2011, p. 8). *Qualification* is one of the goals of education and has the task to teach knowledge, skills and comprehension. At the end of the qualification process, students should be able to judge, distinguish and do something. *Socialization* is the function of education aiming at becoming part of social, cultural and political life. It does not happen in just one way, but in many. Lastly, the additional goal of education should be *subjectification*, or the personal

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development of a child. Children should develop in their personal way to become a great individual. Biesta argues that subjectivation or individuation is equally as important. It aims at becoming aware of yourself within the rest of the world (Biesta, 2012, pp. 30-31). Biesta explains that in common educational sociology only qualification and socialization are distinguished. He believes however, that subjectification is equally important. The emphasis on these three dimensions are endorsed by the visions of both Dewey and Illich who argue for the individual development of a social, communicative and moral being as well.

Something Biesta perceives is that the question as to what good education is, and what it serves for is currently replaced by technical and organizational questions about the efficiency and effectiveness of processes. Like Illich, Biesta considers the culture of assessment and measurability a problem. He writes that the goal of the learning and efficient process is unknown and causes the exclusion of teachers, parents, students and society in general in the discussion on what good education should be (Biesta, 2012, pp. 15-16). He reckons the instrumentality of efficiency problematic (Biesta, 2012, p. 25). It is important to keep values in mind when judging the goals of education. The discussion of efficiency in education is a rather difficult one. Efficiency is seen as instrumental when it expresses the value of process quality and its outcomes. This is not always as desirable, especially when we consider it important to judge on the basis of ultimate values instead of instrumental values. Education is something more than just measurable results.

Auke Abma shows how from a practice-oriented researcher's point of view the current Dutch educational programs are too restrictive, too limited or one-sided. In his eyes the current programs/ teaching methods are not efficient at all (Abma, 2013, p. 10). It becomes —almost— a vicious circle of efficient programs not efficient. Instead, he proposes that the way in which we develop the teaching and learning methods and curricula influences the students' motivation (Abma, 2013, p. 13). Dewey and Illich already discuss the importance of intrinsic motivation. Auke Abma endorses motivation as one of the most important factors in getting students to learn. The teacher needs to adjust the classes to the needs of the students. They feel the need to autonomy, to be someone; they want to have relationship, to belong to the group; and they want to be competent, to be capable of doing or making things (Abma, 2013, p. 12).

Another goal of education is seen as the pedagogical task to help young people develop their social skills, societal involvement and autonomy (Leenders & Veugelers, 2004, p. 361). Within this school of thought, the idea is to teach adolescents the art of critical thinking, posing critical questions, deliberation of proof and to question what is generally accepted (Leenders & Veugelers, 2004, p. 366). Education has the goal to create a personal self-awareness to the students, as well as a broader societal and global awareness, ultimately, aiming at (global) citizenship. In our current society, critical thinking is an important life skill, one of which Illich could have referred to, to succeed in the complexity of our society. Just as Dewey emphasizes the importance of participating in democracy, global citizenship is important to Leenders & Veugelers.

In short, the important principles derived from the educational researchers are that education should be more than just learning hard skills. Learning in this sense is a narrow notion of the term, by which is meant to do math and to know how to read. Nonetheless, a wider notion of learning is endorsed by education experts and philosophers of education. The wider notion entails a non-measurable side, such as critical thinking and social skills. The balance of qualification, socialization and subjectification is seen as important. Moreover, the encouragement to keep learning must be present in education. Other issues of importance in the goal of education is to teach them the art of critical thinking, autonomy and self-awareness when striving for global citizenship.

3.3 Education Policy

Attention to the goals of education is not only paid in the philosophy of education and educational research, but in education policy as well. The following section will sketch an overview of the leading policy documents on education within the Netherlands. Documents from the European Commission, Dutch Education Council [Onderwijsraad], Dutch Secondary Education Council [VO-raad] and Education2032 [Onderwijs2032] will be subject to a review on (underlying) principles of the goals of education. The overview shows the main ideas present in almost all documents.

Citizenship

One of the goals of education, seen as highly important, is the preparation to become an (EU-) citizen (European Commission, 2009, p. 1). Part of this is the recognition of and respect for different cultures. Learners should be responsible, and education and its teachers should encourage awareness of diversity and help them in the identification of common values (European Commission, 2009, pp. 3-4). Social cohesion, inclusion in society and the ethical dimensions of the knowledge society are important factors to which education needs to contribute (European Commission, 2009, p. 4; Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 15). This is a large task for education, but it is important to offer a place to all children to understand and learn the importance of such values. The Dutch Education Council dedicates an entire policy advice on Education and Citizenship and what the role of educational institutions and the government is in the development of citizenship (Onderwijsraad, 2003). Citizenship education has the aim to shape all citizens into civilized and interpersonal human beings who want to participate in society (Onderwijsraad, 2003, p. 64; VO-raad, 2015, p. 2). The active presence of Citizenship is recommended by the council (Onderwijsraad, 2003, p. 64; Onderwijsraad, 2016, p. 11). Students need to be prepared for the future of tomorrow (VO-raad, 2015, p. 5; Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 21). Even though this comes across as a political catchphrase, it can be explained by Dewey's explanation of living in a complex society, in which formal education can provide help to find your place in society. Moreover, students should be prepared to actively participate in society. To be able to participate, it is important to acquire life skills, such as critical thinking. We can find the endorsement of this emphasis back in Illich's manifesto. In shaping the learners to critical global citizens of the future, attention should be paid to the core values of our society (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 42). Values such as respecting the others, living in harmony and willingness to contribute to our democracy and our society.

Democracy

Education should teach students to live and function in social communities. In this regard, education should contribute to a pluriform and democratic society (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 26). An important part of subjectification and socialization is learning how to live together. The Education Council phrases this as teaching young learners how to function, from their own ideals, values and norms, in a pluriform and democratic society, with the willingness to contribute to society (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 28; Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 35). We can see a tension between what has been said before, which is that on the one hand we should learn the core values of society, but on the other hand, we should keep our own. This is exactly what is important in a democracy proposed by Dewey, we should be critical towards what we want, should not become yes-men, but we have to respect the wishes of others as long as this does not cause major problems.

Social skills

High quality education should also be a place for the development of better social skills and personal fulfilment (European Commission, 2009, p. 1). Education should prepare learners to shape their own life, be independent, but maintain and build social networks

(Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 26). Schools should serve as a place to practice how to function in a social community and how certain norms, customs and values compare (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 27; Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 14). Looking back at Gert Biesta, social skills are highly important to function in society. Students will learn just as much out of the classroom, but the school serves as an important learning environment (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 15). Social skills are difficult to measure in terms of standardized assessments, but are important to complement global citizenship and active participation in society.

Skills and knowledge

Measurable results are currently seen as the most important criteria for quality. The Education council recommends having the discussion on more encompassing goals and meanings of education. This does, however, not undermine the importance of teaching students math and languages and their preparation to future employment; a strong foundation should be facilitated in the field of languages, mathematics, digital literacy and citizenship (Onderwijsraad, 2016, pp. 9-10; Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 29). It's all about the balance between the basic skills and the other goals of education (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 11). The Secondary Education Council endorse the importance of balance in the different goals of education and notes how all elements of knowledge, societal contribution and personal development should be equipped for the 21st century (VO-raad, 2015, p. 4). It is not just the hard skills that are important, soft skills such as critical thinking, self-reflection and collaboration are vital as well (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 21). Learning those soft skills may be the transmission of knowledge and tools, Dewey proposed, to succeed in a complex society. As our current society seems to be less dependent on the primary and secondary sector of the economy than fifty years ago, other skills will become more important.

Personal approach and personal development

While Dewey, Illich and Biesta stress the importance of a personal approach, the Educational Council supports subjectification as an objective of education (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 11). The student should have space to flourish, which entails that the student must be in the center of education. What was once unimaginable, is now receiving much attention. Both society and the individual student have interest in a personal approach to education (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 7). Education serves the public and individual interests and needs, and from this perspective differentiation and flexibility is needed to grow as a person.

However, the common, social good will always be more important than that of the individual: social cohesion, general wellbeing and economic growth are equally as important in society (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 7). The goals of education may also differ for each student. The child's development should be prioritized (Onderwijsraad, 2017, p. 16). The talents of the individual student should be encouraged and developed (VO-raad, 2015, p. 3). Education should offer *all* students, no matter what the difference in origin, capacity or intelligence is, the chance to develop themselves (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 15). Schools should therefore be working towards tailor made, personalized and differentiated education with a touch of flexibility (VO-raad, 2015, pp. 4-5). The individual approach should promote the curiosity to continue learning and posing critical questions (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 21). Education should be contributing to the subjectification and motivation of learners and be an inspiration to keep learning (Platform Onderwijs2032, 2016, p. 21).

3.4 Conclusion

After discussing the philosophers of education, the education experts and analyzing the important policy documents, it is clear that policy makers, researchers and philosophers agree to some extent. We have good reasons to assume that the goals of education encompass more than learning hard skills, meaning learning in a narrow sense. Then, what are those goals of learning —in a wider sense— in our education? We do not want to create yes-men, a homogenous group of students without the skill of critical thinking. If we want to progress in life and in society, we need to always critically examine opinions and developments, rather than accepting something unquestionably as given. Broadly speaking, the goals of education are not only seen as the qualification of students, but socialization as well. School should serve as a place where communication and social skills are taught, just as critical thinking and self-awareness. A place where young people learn how to take part in society and recognize the importance of global citizenship. A place where moral education is of importance and life skills and practical knowledge are cultivated. A curriculum that is fit to the individual student is important, for each learner has the right to develop and flourish. I would like to endorse Dewey's thought on transmission of knowledge and tools to succeed in a complex society. It is not sufficient anymore to be able to read or calculate an equation. In a world which is becoming increasingly complex, global and digital, essential skills are the capacity to solve problems; think outside the box; to position yourself as unique, yet social; and it is not to the elite anymore to govern anymore. Those who are denying the importance of the

complementary goals of education are showing an act of poor judgment. If we truly want to give everybody the same chance, we will need to see what each learner needs to succeed in his or her personal life to contribute to themselves and to society.

4. Empiric Findings

After having framed the concept of scripted instruction programs in chapter two, chapter three discussed the different goals of education. This chapter will discuss the empirical findings on the effectiveness of scripted instruction programs and how the results of implementation of SI-programs corresponds to the goals of education. Descriptive and longitudinal studies are used to complete the discussion, for it strengthens the argument which cannot only rest on conceptual thought.

4.1 The effects of scripted instruction programs

In order to answer the main question on the moral desirability of scripted instruction programs, this section discusses the empirical findings of the effectiveness of SI-programs in relation to the goals of education. Only a few longitudinal studies have been conducted without any prior commercial affiliation, such as a publisher of scripted instruction programs, and many authors only discuss the work of others without contributing themselves. A selection of the publications can be found below. All studies measuring the effects of scripted instruction programs were conducted in a classroom using one of the three major programs: Open Court, DISTAR or Reading Mastery.

The question is what happens to schooling when the classroom teachings are standardized by the script. In general, studies report how students participating in scripted instruction programs score significantly lower on tests than those students who are taught differently source. It is interesting to see, that the study conducted by McIntyre, Rightmyer and Petrosko (2008) intended to show the benefit of scripted direct instruction, but does not report results of improvement. Instead, they conclude that there are no significant differences in result between the different methods.

Elementary/highly necessary reading skills

Action research on the reading proficiency, conducted by Rocío Dresser (2012), shows how fourth-grade students, from a scripted instruction school, are proficient in reading a text, but struggle with reading comprehension and content knowledge (p. 72). What Rocío Dresser concludes is endorsed by larger studies conducted by McIntyre, Rightmyer and Petrosko (2008), Wiltz and Wilson (2006), Blanton, Wood and Taylor (2007), and Moustafa and Land (2002). They did not only investigate the effect on reading proficiency, but on reading comprehension as well. Only the superficial reading skills are accomplished.

A study by McIntyre, Rightmyer and Petrosko (2008), published on website of the American foundation of Scripted Direct Instruction, examined 56 first-grade students from scripted instruction groups and 52 students from other non-scripted groups. Both groups consisted of students who were struggling with reading achievements and phonics (McIntyre et al., 2008, p. 381). The researchers made use of a pretest-posttest design with a control group. Their hypothesis assumed that Scripted Direct Instruction would be more effective, than the regular methods (McIntyre et al., 2008, p. 386). They followed first-graders on their reading journey (McIntyre et al., 2008, p. 381). Even though the overall score of the students who followed the scripted instruction program was initially higher, Reading Mastery in this case, were followed through multiple years. As it turns out, after the first year, the students performed better than in the beginning, yet after the second year, a vast stagnation was observed (McIntyre et al., 2008, p. 382). In the end, the researchers had to refrain from confirming their hypothesis because of a lack of evidence. The students working with the scripted models are not necessarily better in phonological skills and reading than those instructed with a non-scripted instruction model (McIntyre et al., 2008, p. 392). They explain this by saying that in all programs, both scripted and non-scripted, some teachers have found the right balance, whereas others do not. If this is the case, scripted programs are not independent on teacher performance.

Wiltz and Wilson (2006) show something similar to McIntyre and colleagues (2008). Wiltz' and Wilson's sample consisted of a group of second grade students, divided into three different groups: Reading Mastery (n=25), Open Court (n=30), and Literacy Based (n=30) (2006, pp. 504-506). This research group concludes that those who work with scripted instruction programs do attain an average level (or just above) of phonics, but when it comes to retelling the story they have read, a serious lack of text comprehension is present (Wiltz & Wilson, 2008, p. 520).

Blanton, Wood and Taylor (2007) have concluded on the effectiveness of scripted instruction programs do not lead to accomplished readers, instead they will acquire incomplete or fragile knowledge, which is of course undesirable in a complex multi-textual society (p. 80). Dresser (2012) shows that the students' main problem is that they do not acquire a sufficient level of academic English needed to perform well in school (p. 78). If we would assume the truth of his research findings, this might even lead to an increase of the gap between the poor students forced into a scripted classroom, and the more privileged students. The latter is endorsed by the study of Moustafa and Land (2002) with their study in 153

schools. The results demonstrate how students from non-scripted programs perform better than those taking part in scripted programs, such as Open Court.

Less critical thinking

Despite some improvements in test scores of children taught by the script, the way in which the tests are designed has been criticized. Critics state that scripted instruction programs focus on low order skills, which are easier to measure than deep understanding (Sawyer, 2004, p. 12). A deeper understanding of the material, or the ability to critically reflect is not present in the way the children are tested. One of the goals of education is to ensure that students can follow their own path to the acquisition of knowledge and skills. R.K. Sawyer (2004) shows how the standardized learning is not only impersonal, but also lacks a contribution towards critical thinking. The drill-and-practice nature of scripted programs is, in his eyes, the problem. In contrast, he shows how students develop a profound understanding with the help of a collaborative discourse, in which students and teachers exchange arguments, listen to each other and synthesize at the end (Sawyer, 2004, p. 16). Dresser takes it one step further by following Giroux (2010) in saying that scripted instruction programs lead to classrooms dead zones, lacking critical thinking, self-reflection and imagination (p. 77). Nonetheless, what Sawyer (2004) and Dresser (2012) have suggested in their qualitative and action research is confirmed by Moustafa and Land (2002). Moustafa and Land's research sample consisted of 153 schools of which 130 schools used a non-scripted program and 23 schools were using the scripted program Open Court (2002, p. 14). It was a second to fifth grade study, and the socio-economic situation of the students was reported into percentiles from 97-100% of the children in a school receiving free or reduced-price meals in the school cafeteria (Moustafa & Land, 2002, p. 15). They monitored the scores on the standardized state test SAT-9, including the subtest on critical analysis, and the developments over the four grades. Students in the group of the scripted programs, scored lower on the SAT-9 than the students who participated in non-scripted programs (pp. 17-18). The latter may confirm Dresser's and Sawyer's suggestion that children participating in scripted instruction programs acquire less critical thinking skills than those participating in non-scripted programs. It should be kept in mind that standardized assessment may be up for discussion in measuring critical thinking.

Citizenship: no community involvement & Moral development

One research group was particularly interested in the moral development of underprivileged students who went to a scripted preschool. Schweinhart, Lawrence and Weikart (1998) followed the students (n=68) at age 3 or 4 until they reached the age of 23. All participants were born in poverty (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 57). This research is not focusing on soft and hard skills acquired in the classroom, but the researchers try to shed light on the moral development of the young learners. Three groups were part of the research with a comparative nature. The first group consisted of students enrolled in a Direct Instruction (DI) model, the second group worked with a high/scope curriculum (HSC) model, which works when teachers and children plan and initiate activities together, and finally the third group of a traditional nursery school (TNS) where children initiate activities and teacher respond to the children (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 58). Even though this research does not discuss students from elementary and secondary schools, this report does show the effects on the long term it is not unreasonable to expect similar results in primary and secondary education.

Firstly, it is interesting to note that 47% of the DI-group were in need of professional help for emotional impairment or disturbance at the time of their schooling, compared to 6% of the other two groups (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 58). Apparently, those who attend a non-scripted (pre)school will emotionally mature better than those attending a scripted (pre)school. Even though all participants were from a similar background, these strong results may be caused by external factors, such as bad influences from family or friends. Emotional instability limits a person in his or her personal development and chances of positive participation in our current society (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 58). When assuming the truthfulness of this research outcome, scripted direct instruction programs do not correspond to the goals of education, for it does not prepare the student for a healthy future.

Moreover, social responsibility and moral development were tested. Community involvement can be seen as one of the factors correlating to social responsibility. As mentioned in the previous chapter, participation in society and a contribution thereto are highly valued. Schweinhart and colleagues (1998) report that 11% of the DI-group volunteered on a regular base, compared to 43% of the HSC-group and 44% of the TNS-group (p. 58). Similarly, those who were in the other groups felt more responsible for their own actions. 36% of them felt that other people were giving them a hard time, and blamed others for their misery as opposed to 69% of the DI-group (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 59). The numbers seem rather high, but even with a margin, the difference is significant. It should

be taken into consideration that the exact numbers may be caused by other external factors as well.

Not only do the levels of personal development and citizenship show significant differences, levels of moral development do as well. 10% of the HSC-group had once been arrested for a felony compared to 39% of the DI-group (Schweinhart et al., 1998, p. 58). None of the HSC-group participants have committed a property crime, whereas 38% of the DI-group have disrespected private property. Apparently, those participants from the DI-group felt less responsible towards their fellow citizens, have less awareness or inclination of what is morally speaking the right thing to do. Schweinhart and colleagues (1998) explain the latter difference by saying that the HSC-group considers authority (teachers f.i.) as a way to find resources and support, whereas the DI-group considers authority as a source of power and control they are required to submit to, with the result of striking out of authority more often (p. 59).

What has been discussed in this section is important for moral character. Generally, citizens of moral character are emotionally stable, committed to action promoting other people's well-being, and have a strong sense of (social) responsibility. For this reason, the findings by Schweinhart and colleagues (1998) suggest that scripted instruction programs are significantly less effective in the cultivation of moral development in children in comparison to non-scripted programs.

Inspiration for further education

Another issue to address with regard to the goals of education is that of inspiring the students to pursue learning. Schweinhart and colleagues write that 70% of the HSC-group is planned to graduate from college as opposed to 36% of the DI-group (1998, p. 59). Thus, from a very young age onwards, the way in which information is provided or acquired makes a difference in intrinsic (or extrinsic) motivation to keep on learning.

4.2 Teachers' responses

The first section showed the effects of scripted instruction programs on the learning outcomes of children. This section will discuss teacher's observations, and is thus based on action research. Teachers feel powerless and overwhelmed. There is a gap between what they have to do with their jobs at stake, and what they *know* they should do to allow their students to learn and develop (Dresser, 2012, p. 71).

Influence of Teacher

Most of the researchers stress the importance of a teacher's influence on the children and in achieving the goals of education. One of the issues the researchers report on, is how scripted curricula are designed to exclude the reliance on teacher's expertise and creativity. The rationale is the wish to prevent discrepancies between the performance of teachers, and thereby to ensure the equal schooling amongst primary and secondary students. Once you can perform well from a script, you will be able to teach (Sawyer, 2004, p. 12).

Dresser (2012) already showed that there is a lack of personal adaptation in learning. He says that there is no time to take a closer look at the individual needs of the student (Dresser, 2012, p. 72). Sawyer (2004) says that teacher autonomy makes the job more attractive and pleasant (p. 18). In Sawyers' discourse (2004) on how students learn from the teacher and from each other in the exchange of arguments and knowledge, he concludes that effective teaching must be personal, partly improvised, for only then the students can coconstruct their own knowledge (p. 18). Allington (2002) argues why teacher autonomy leads to better results and less pressure. Allington has conducted a study on first and fourth grade teachers and students using data from a time span of a decade. He concludes that the teacher's expertise matters, because the achievements are significantly better when the teacher may rely on his own expertise (Allington, 2002, p. 742). By giving back autonomy to the teacher, the educator will make teaching more personal, giving all students the chance to get a good grade. The focus is not on achievement, but on effort and improvement, something which is unthinkable in the light of a scripted instruction framework. The reason for this is to be found in the competitive nature of the purpose of scripted instruction programs. One of the important goals is to raise the low standardized test scores, but in Allington's reasoning the test outcome is less important, than the personal effort and improvement of the student. The teachers must know their students well to adapt their teaching and grading to the personal need of the student (Allington, 2002, p. 745). Following this train of thought, the responsibility of learning shifts from the teacher to the student, because they get the chance to earn their grades, rather than having their grade based on answering a sheet of multiple-choice questions (Allington, 2002, p. 746). Similarly, the autonomy of the teacher leads to better results and less pressure on the teachers and students. Students generally outperform the students following a scripted program, for the reasons mentioned above by Sawyer. In addition, the side effect of this outperformance is that the pressure from performing well in the state testing schemes is taken away, for the students perform so well (Allington, 2002, p. 746).

Structure

Even though scripted instruction approaches have had a fair share of critique, the SI method can count on significant support by teachers and curriculum theorists. Apprentice teachers and pre-service teachers are particularly attracted to the structured method, which gives them a certain grip on the curriculum. They indicate the will to know how to successfully teach a group of students. Commeyras phrases this as a certain insecurity in the search to a successful teaching method (Commeyras, 2007, p. 405). Moreover, working with a SI-program allows for easy assessment, given the standardized nature of the curriculum (Au, 2011, p. 28). It could be said, that the teacher has less work pressure, for they do not have to prepare lessons, nor do they have to design tests and assignments.

In the English as a Second Language (ESL) programs, scripted instruction programs are even more popular as a teaching method. Reasons to adopt the SI-programs are: the feeling that they lack the competence to teach ESL to English Language Learners (ELL); the focus in the district lies on raising the test scores of the ELLs; the wish to find a way to get the ELLs ready for the standard curriculum faster; and the potential increase of the success rate of the ELLs' language acquisition (Reeves, 2010, pp. 247-248). One could explain this experience of ESL-teachers by the lack of teacher education in the field of ESL. The average ESL-teacher is generally qualified for a different subject, such as mathematics or literature. The ESL-teacher experiences the SI-program as a tool of support to not fail in a profession they are not trained for.

Demoralization of teachers

The two paragraphs above show cases in which teachers positively experience teaching from the script. This is, however, not the complete account of teacher experiences. One of the problems encountered is best described as a demoralization of teachers. "The rigid standardization procedures of SI programs –those that limit teacher input into texts, topics, and even teachers' own voice and actions– can, indeed, be demoralizing for teachers," (Reeves, 2010, p. 244). Teachers feel underappreciated for their knowledge and expertise. All is easily explained by the fact that no creativity nor expertise of subject matter is needed to teach well, when teaching according to the plan. As a result, teachers do not rely on their own knowledge and expertise anymore (Au, 2011, p. 34). Wayne Au even goes as far as to say that "Such scripted curricula make teachers 'alienated executors of someone else's plans," (Au, 2011, p. 33). As qualitative research shows; teachers feel like robots or puppets acting out what commercial programs, and district leaders, require them to do. As a concluding note, I

would like to follow an experienced teacher on his duty to teach: "You don't want to become just like a load of robots that just follow procedures and protocol and rules, each situation is different and you need to develop the skill to make judgments," (Arthur, Kristjánsson, Cooke, Brown & Carr, 2015, p. 10).

Lack of Freedom

Another issue is the limited space in which teachers can act. The script does not allow for individual needs of students. In general, the program fails to acknowledge the dedicated student who might not perform well on the high-stake tests (Reeves, 2010, p. 252). High stake tests are standardized assessments, with a clear pass/fail distinction with direct consequences such as receiving a diploma or admission to a university. A prime example is the SAT exam for American high school students. It is important to note that scripted instruction programs are not necessarily related to high stake testing, but the testing methods and the hope to improve the results are generally an important reason for schools to apply the programs. Wayne Au suggests that a correlation between standardization and scripted instruction programs for the precision of the curriculum can "be broken down into minute units of work that could be standardized, determined in advance, taught in a linear manner, and easily assessed," (Au, 2011, p. 28). SI's repetitive nature reads like a drill. "In most SI lessons there were exercises that required students to repeat answers as part of an extended drill and then to continue repetition until the entire class answered correctly in unison," (Reeves, 2010, p. 250). The limited space also means that current events are left out of the classroom, due to the continuous and strict assessment of teachers (Au, 2011, p. 31). The teachers in the studies by Jenelle Reeves (2010) and Wayne Au (2011) all report those negative aspects from first-hand classroom experience.

Critical Thinking

Moreover, teachers also report that in their view the improved program's results go at the expense of critical thinking, backing up the findings by Moustafa and Land (2002), Rocío Dresser (2012) and Sawyer (2004) that I discussed in the previous section. Experiments show that posing scripted questions to the students will not lead to an ability for critical thinking. The teachers report that the questions are too superficial in their nature (Commeyras, 2007, p. 405). Jenelle Reeves (2010) concludes that augmented reading scores go at the expense of comprehensive literacy and student engagement (p. 244). If a student does not know how to understand a text, he or she can also not critically reflect on what they learn. Wayne Au (2011) makes an analogy of the paint-by-numbers as writing-by-numbers (p. 33). In this analogy, the students follow a certain format, similar to the paint-by-numbers assignment. The end result is in this case not a painting, but a text. He asserts that the children do not learn to write in the SI-programs, but they learn how to follow a format (Au, 2011, p. 30).

In conclusion, on the basis of the available empirical data we can with relative certainty conclude that scripted programs do not result in better test scores than non-scripted programs. In fact, most studies show significantly lower results, except for phonic/phonetic skills. Especially in the domain of reading and literacy programs, it was shown that students working with SI receive a very low score on reading comprehension, as they only learn elementary reading skills. Critical thinking is not stimulated or trained, nor is there an incitement to pursue further education or development. On the level of participatory citizenship and moral development, there is a large discrepancy between students from scripted and non-scripted programs.

5. Theoretical Analysis

The previous section discussed the empirical findings of the effects of scripted instruction programs. The empirical studies show how scripted instruction programs are less successful in reaching goals of education. This chapter will treat the same question from a more theoretical and philosophical approach. On philosophical grounds, I will argue that good teachers, who require certain character traits, are essential to children's moral development. I continue the argument by saying that the latter is impossible to realize in scripted instruction programs. The argument is twofold: 1) A discussion of the personality of teachers and its instrumental value in the classroom. 2) The moral development of children. I will discuss these two dimensions with two central questions in mind: 1) What character traits do teachers need to teach well? And, is this possible in a situation where scripted instruction models shape the learning environment? 2) How do children develop morally? And, is this possible in a situation where scripted instruction models shape the learning environment?

5.1 Teachers: robotic instruments?

In this paragraph, I will argue that scripted programs limit teachers in their autonomy. It is important to note that autonomy in this instance is used simply as independence and freedom in action and should not be mistaken for, for instance, Kantian thinking. I will argue for the importance of teacher autonomy: opportunity to deviate from the standard curriculum, creativity and room for personal input will benefit the teacher sector. In line with the goals set in chapter three, I would like to follow David Carr (2018) in his way of phrasing what a teacher should be: "To be a good teacher—certainly qua educator—is to be not just an effective knowledge transmitter, but a particular kind of person capable of distinctive personal relationships and passions," (Carr, 2018, p. 654).

Instrumentality

SI-programs are criticized for the idea that teachers and students become numbers. They are objectified. "By reducing students to numbers, standardized testing creates the capacity to view students as things, as quantities apart from their human qualities," (Au, 2011, p. 37). Students are compared to other students at the hand of standardized tests, in which context is completely left out. One could argue, however, that it is justifiable to perceive the teacher as an instrument, to reach the goals for students. If education is fully focused on the student's wellbeing and learning curve, and therefore the teacher is seen as purely instrumental, then, what do those — may it be instrumental — teachers need in order to teach well?

Autonomy

In the previous chapter it was shown with the help of empirical findings that scripted instruction programs lack in-depth knowledge gained by the students. The knowledge acquired stays on a superficial level. Instead, the teacher should be guiding the students to become citizens of the world, help them to become a contributing participant to democracy, and facilitate the development of social skills in order to become a virtuous being in this world, capable of living with other people. School is, thus, not a place to be drilled, but a place where knowledge is critically evaluated in classroom discussions: a place where the teacher is not just transferring knowledge, but where the teacher is a pedagogue who wants the best for his or her students. For these reasons, it is important that the teacher has a certain degree of autonomy to act in ways he or she considers best. Yet, currently, teachers are being fired for not following the script (Romano, 2008, p. 88). This means that teachers cannot act autonomously when working with the script. To have a certain autonomy allows for practically wise action, as I will specify further on in this section.

Even though scripted curricula have been implemented to solve the issue of a great deficit of well-educated or qualified teachers, who will make sure that all students will reach a certain level of knowledge and/or competence. I want to argue for the autonomy of teachers instead of the scripted-bound derivation of autonomy. Autonomous action is one of the pillars of enjoyment in teaching. Those who advocate for the implementation and use of scripted instruction programs, could argue that freedom for teachers might improve their enjoyment, whilst putting the future of our children in the hands of someone who might not even be capable of teaching the pupils what they should learn. I will, however, argue that that we should take the risk of putting the future of our children in the hands of qualified teachers, instead of those who play by the script. The moment teachers become discouraged to teach, the quality of teaching will decrease. With this method, teachers are discouraged to think for themselves, given that every move is scripted. In the following sections, the it will become clear as to why autonomy is such an important factor.

The Good Teacher: Practically Wise

As Illich writes when speaking of education as a learning web, teachers serve as role models for their students (Illich, 1970, p. 98). If an executor of a script acts or behaves

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according to a script, it is not genuine and real. Instead, when having the freedom to act, teachers will flourish and help shape the students in becoming virtuous, bright citizens of the future. The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues (2015) has published a report on what character traits, or virtues, are needed to ensure good teaching. Their research draws upon 546 questionnaires and 95 interviews throughout Great Britain (Arthur et al., 2015, p. 7). In short, the report combines social science and ethics to research the importance of ethics in educational practice.

First of all, they report on how motivation to teach is an important pillar in good teaching (Arthur et al., 2015, p. 16). The analysis divided the responses into three possible categories: "altruism (to benefit others), intrinsic worth (because it matters to the self) and extrinsic benefits (external conditions or rewards)," (Arthur et al., 2015, p. 16). None of the participants have chosen a career in teaching exclusively based on extrinsic benefits. To teach well, teachers report to be impeded by a lack of time to reflect, increasing workload, a very narrow focus on academic success and the prescriptive nature of the education system (Arthur et al., 2015, p. 5). On a more personal level, The Jubilee Centre accounts for a widespread agreement on character traits or personal qualities necessary to be a good teacher. The result is a list of character traits from a virtue ethical perspective:

The majority of teachers surveyed saw fairness (78%), creativity (68%), a love of learning (61%), humour (53%), perseverance (45%) and leadership (40%) as the six most important character strengths for good teachers. However, in describing their own character strengths they reported kindness (49%) and honesty (50%) in place of leadership and perseverance in those top six. (Arthur et al., 2015, p. 5)

Even though this perspective comes from a center specializing in virtues in professions, the input remains descriptive in the sense of what the interviewees, teachers in this instance, deem important for their profession.

Nonetheless, more philosophical accounts of virtues in the teaching profession have been written. Some philosophers of education have interest in Aristotle's epistemic virtues, such as: "[...] attitudes or capacities as appetite for knowledge, intellectual curiosity, respect for truth, open-mindedness, scholarly rigor, academic scruple, and so forth," (Carr, 2018, pp. 652-653). I am, however, not as interested in *which* virtues should be present in a teacher's character, I do, however, consider virtuosity highly important in a teacher profession. A virtue is a disposition, a deep feature of the person, a characteristic (Annas, 2011, p. 8). In this way it is a reliable part of a person, for it will semi-ensure the way in which a person will most likely behave. It is not a static characteristic, because the person will need to act well,

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virtuous, every time again and will need to estimate what is virtuous in that particular situation. Julia Annas (2011) explains the latter with an example. Jane is a generous girl, she does not occasionally do a generous action, because it will make her come across better, it is because it is part of what makes Jane, Jane (Annas, 2011, p. 8). Generosity requires a notion of what people need, and to understand this notion, you need a certain intelligence (Annas, 2011, p. 84). Virtuous responses ask for intelligent responses. This intelligence may be called *Practical Wisdom*.

To this point one could still try to argue that current scripted programs do not suffice, but that one can develop scripts on how to behave for teachers. Yet, there is something in teaching that you cannot eliminate. The rest of this section will treat this ineliminable aspect of teaching. In recent Dutch pedagogical writing, much attention is paid to practical wisdom. After publications in educational journals and philosophical writings, it has been included in policy papers, such as *Leraar zijn* (Onderwijsraad, 2013) and the *Beroepstandaard* of teacher educators (VELON, 2016). Virtues are thus subdivided in both ethical and intellectual virtues. Even though I believe ethical virtues are important too, the intellectual virtue practical wisdom is the glue that finds a balance between intelligence and ethical conduct.

When speaking of intelligence, one could think that it is not possible for everyone to become fully virtuous. Yet, we can all acquire skills. For some people it is easier than it is for others, but as long as you will try to become wise, you will not be excluded (Annas, 2011, p. 86). Thus, as said before, virtue requires practical wisdom. First of all, what is practical wisdom? The origins of practical wisdom, or practical knowledge for that matter, are found in Aristotelian thinking. Practical wisdom, or *phronesis*, is one of the five intellectual virtues from the *Ethica Nicomachea* (Aristoteles, 2005, p. 192). Next to phronesis, *nous* (intuition), *episteme* (knowledge), *sophia* (theoretical wisdom) and *techne* (craftmanship) form the intellectual virtues (Eikeland, 2008, p. 78). Even though practical wisdom is an intellectual virtue, phronesis is an ethical virtue as well. The balance between phronesis and the ethical virtues is what makes a person virtuous. In this sense, practical wisdom is a disposition, an attitude to judge what to do in any given situation (Aristotle, 2005, pp. 192-199). When one naturally acts virtuous, without doing so for the right reasons, he will never be acting completely virtuously. Experience and practice are requirements to reach a certain standard of excellence in practical conduct (Aristoteles, 2005, p. 203).

Aristotle compares the wise human with an archer. The archer has knowledge of and sees its target, and can simultaneously estimate the situation and possible special circumstances. He knows how to reach the final goal. The same goes for the practically wise person. In the end it is about a collaboration of theory and praxis (Van Tongeren, 2008, pp. 65-66). It is the cohesion between intellect and virtue that makes people practically wise (Eikeland, 2008, p. 54). The interaction of phronesis and the ethical virtues is what makes a person act ethically. Practical wisdom is a disposition or an attitude with the aim to judge what to do or what not to do (Aristoteles, 2005, p. 199). Deliberation is a highly important part to make the act virtuous and wise (Eikeland, 2008, p. 108). In this regard, there must be a moment of conscious choice in a complex situation. This means, that practically wise individuals must choose long-term advantages, leading to a happier life, instead of pursuing short term goals.

So, why is practical wisdom of great importance in teaching? This chapter shows that a good teacher must be a certain kind of person. Even if teachers are just the instrument on the path of learning for children, the instrument needs freedom and enjoyment to perform well in his or her job. For this reason, the profession is not simply reducible to be an instrument, instead, the teacher has a value on its own. Scripting this profession devalorizes the entire nature of the job. This level of autonomy, combined with a virtuous character and practical wisdom is impossible to script. The intrinsic motivation to do good, the capacity to act well in the moment cannot be standardized months or years before a specific class. Practical wisdom allows teachers to act upon difficult complex situations in a classroom setting. The latter is not possible when teachers have to stick to a scripted instruction program. The reason for this is to be found in the complex nature of teaching. Pedagogue Wouter Pols (2009) calls the practice of teaching a complicated constellation of specialties (p. 28). Given this complexity, the teacher needs a reflective judgment in order to understand what needs to happen at that specific time and knows how to act upon it. Practical wisdom is the ability to really see and understand what is happening in the classroom, the ability to pick out the salient features, and to evaluate these in the right sort of way - leading to behavior and interventions that the particular situation calls for. It is an ability that is not possible to script, because every single situation will ask for a different judgment in line with that specific moment in time. If for instance, a teacher notices that Sophie and Jonathan are still chatting after a second warning, the teacher will have to analyze the situation. Even though the teacher does not know Sophie's home situation, the practically wise teacher will understand the situation and might not continue with punishment, but will know what to do, how to handle the situation and to act accordingly. Similarly, Gert Biesta (2011), who views practical wisdom in education as an educational pedagogic judgment, thinks it may help us in educating better. The reason for this, is that it can give an answer to the question of what needs to be done. Because education is all

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about bringing new knowledge and new people into the world, a form of pedagogical judgment allows us to orientate for the new and unexpected. The Educational Council (2013) concludes that teachers need a well-developed practical capacity to judge (p. 38). It will help them to evaluate the situation and take the decision when it is needed most. In this way, it is an Aristotelian way of knowing virtue. It is not a theoretical or scientific formula that will lead to become virtuous, rather it is the acknowledgment of particulars in individual lives. The standardization of scripted instruction programs, which do not allow for an individual or particular approach, prevents the teacher from realizing his or her disposition of practical wisdom. As a result, the teacher is obstructed in both realizing the (best possible) good life for both him- or herself and the students he or she teaches. Moreover, it has been shown that we want to prepare our children to become good citizens of our democracy. Practical wisdom needs to be developed in the character of people, to --in an Aristotelian sense-- become good citizens of their own political system (Reeve, 2006, p. 212). Yet, this raises the question: how can teachers teach their students to become virtuous and practically wise, if we do not allow our teachers to be virtuous and practically wise, by restricting them in a protocol of predetermined actions?

5.2 The moral development of children

This section will demonstrate the absence of moral development teaching in scripted curricula, and the impossibility of teaching moral development by means of scripts. This argument will take shape by discussing how children's moral development works and how this is impossible within a SI-setting.

Children's development

As has been established by empiric findings, those children who have attended a school which worked with a scripted instruction program, are less likely to complete their moral development. Then, how do children develop morally? Amongst many theories, modelling and deliberation are the two most dominant processes, which therefore also figure largely in the literature on moral development.

For example, the Swiss researcher Jean Piaget concludes from multiple experiments, that "children develop similar logical principles that enable them to make sense of the world they live in," (Sanderse, 2012, p. 41). Lawrence Kohlberg has extended his theories and concludes after many experiments that moral exemplary is essential to moral development. Moreover, moral discussions in schools have been proven to improve moral reasoning.

Especially when someone can discuss with a person that is in a higher stage of development, it will challenge the child to adapt his current evaluations, thereby exercising a basic form of practical reasoning.

Although some children will have a natural tendency to want to be virtuous, one cannot teach or learn virtues in isolation. "A child doesn't learn to be generous by just giving her things away, or sharing things whether they belong to her or not. Generosity involves consideration of fairness and justice," (Annas, 2011, p. 84). Moral development does not come at once, but needs continuous work to improve. Children's natural tendency need to be guided by parents and role models, to become aware of reasons to act or be in a certain way (Annas, 2011, p. 27). Even though Aristotle contrasts children and animals with morally mature adults, the idea is that children can learn to become moral (Sanderse, 2015, p. 386). At least, children already have deliberative capacities, which can be further developed. Schools are a place of development. This development needs to happen on the level of cognitive and moral knowledge. The question is how this development can be supported in the classroom.

Modelling and guidance

As mentioned in the beginning, modelling is one of the most important ways in which moral development proceeds in children. David Carr (2018), writes that examples of good character have "a morally significant formative effect on children and young people," (p. 646). Yet, in this context, it is of utmost importance that teachers, and prospective teachers are actually of good character. Students may be influenced by bad examples as well. Most teachers approach moral education in an implicit manner, infusing their character and manner in the classroom: also named modelling. Sanderse (2013) responds by saying that "if most of the modelling in (teacher) education is implicit, it can hardly be called a teaching *method*," (p. 30). For this reason, Sanderse likes to explore the topic of modelling in the light of Aristotelian habituation.

If modelling is perceived as Aristotelian habituation, it means "learning by doing virtuous things frequently and consistently under the guidance or authority of a virtuous tutor," (Sanderse, 2013, p. 35). Sanderse distinguishes two ways in which habituation can be understood. First of all, he considers instrumental conditioning as a way to influence the moral development of children. It stands or falls by the usage of a reward and punishment system (Sanderse, 2013, p. 35). If I were to praise my student on his or her behavior, he or she will have a pleasant experience, whereas if I would punish my student, he will have an opposite experience. In this sense, the student will not learn to comprehend the idea of moral

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concepts, they will just know in what situation they will have a pleasant or unpleasant experience, without knowing where the blame or praise comes from. In this situation, the student's moral development is conditioned by emotion, and the student will imitate the role model (Sanderse, 2013, p. 36). This idea of conditioning complementing the idea of modelling, does not seem to come close to an ideal notion of modelling.

The second way in which modelling takes place, is to educate students. In this model, students will not just imitate the role model based on conditioned behavior. The difference is that the teachers will motivate and guide the student in changing their behavior or action, without the teacher being the standard "measure of moral virtue and vice," (Sanderse, 2013, p. 36). The student will model the teacher, but based on personal judgment. This personal judgment is developed by the guided deliberation with his teacher. Yet, even though virtues and the role models are two different things, from a pedagogical point of view the only way to become virtuous is to mirror the role model. If the students will understand that the teachers are not the benchmark, but "[...] recognize that a distinction can be made between 'becoming like the teacher' and 'becoming like what the teacher exemplifies', the question rises what it means for the student to have this quality himself," (Sanderse, 2013, p. 36). To answer this question, deliberation is extremely important, as only through deliberation one can become virtuous in a complete sense. The students need to become virtuous, i.e. act on the basis of the right assessment and the right reasons, rather than just copying their role model. In the Nicomachean Ethics, Aristotle writes how practice and the wish to be good, are essential to become virtuous. Virtue needs to become a disposition, a part of your character, otherwise you can act virtuous for the wrong reasons (Annas, 2011, p. 4).

Moral development in SI-programs

To ensure moral development, we must allow teachers to help their students develop their abilities for sound judgment. Modelling is not enough to create moral beings: deliberation, guidance and reflection are equally as important. It does, however, raise the following question: if teachers have the task to be a role model, what happens to the bad seed amongst the teachers?

Without settling what needs to be taught, it is however important to contribute to moral development in general education. This is so not just because of some antique philosophical ideal: education researchers and policy makers repeatedly emphasize the importance as well. Moral development is an important goal in primary and secondary education. In enabling moral development in the classroom, three things are important.

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Firstly, true moral development requires an individual approach, as we have already seen. Secondly, a child depends on examples, observations and reflection. This means, that the virtuous teacher must set the right example. And thirdly, the virtuous teacher must be capable of explaining why something is of good action. The SI-programs leave out current events and the development of critical thinking by the students, which is the moment to reflect par excellence. In the scripted programs, there is no room for discussion, because everything that is to be discussed is predetermined by the publisher. However, "[...] educating for virtue is a subtle and sometimes invisible affair since it is connected to teacher's 'manner', i.e. to how their character is revealed through all kinds of small decisions and emotional reactions," (Sanderse, 2012, p. 16). This is something that is impossible to script beforehand. Moral education does not mean imposing certain values. The teacher needs to be a moral teacher, which is present in the nuances of his or her teaching, whilst being capable of explaining why good action is virtuous.

Moreover, not all students have the same learning style and the SI programs do not allow for differentiation, yet all students are treated in the same way. In other words, students are compared to other students at the hand of standardized tests. One could even say that students are reduced to just another number in the system. It is for these reasons, impossible to script moral development into one particular program.

It is important to bear in mind that there may be some overlap between the two arguments. At first sight, the first and the second argument of this chapter are the same, yet the notion of practical wisdom and autonomy go beyond moral development. It is not just a requirement to help children morally develop, but also will help to create a great learning environment.

5.3 Limitations

Although, I have argued for the ineffectiveness of scripted instruction programs, the following arguments provide further impetus for opposing scripted curricula.

Firstly, scripted instruction programs claim to be egalitarian, everybody will have the same education, and the same chances to climb the ladder of their respective system. In essence, the concept can be considered to argue for the implementation of the programs in the curriculum. Yet, if not all schools participate, the discrepancy will only increase, for it has been proven that other models are more effective in all aspects of what the Dutch aim for with general education.

Secondly, we are still facing the unresolved issue of a lack of qualified teachers. In this case, the use of scripted programs offers a short-term solution to the teacher shortage. If we could put unemployed people in front of the classroom, teaching from the script, it would solve the gap on the labor market and would help people get back to work. However, in that case we would sacrifice our standard of education. Instead, the resources that would be spent on the development of scripts, should be invested in making the profession more attractive to those teachers who would be capable of teaching well and who would be a great role model.

In the end, to all of the arguments proposed throughout the last three chapters, a proponent of the SI-programs could bring up that it means that we should improve the scripts, rather than cutting out the scripted programs of curricula in the U.S. or implementing the programs in the Netherlands. To those, I would like to refer to the arguments made in this chapter. There is something essential to a well-educated and formed teacher that you cannot eliminate to ensure a certain quality standard in education, namely the character and practical wisdom of a teacher and the individual approach to a child's moral development. Improving scripts will never solve the problems I have identified. From this perspective, it is impossible to script classes, for each day and each student will be different. The unique nature of the complex situation in a classroom demands a high level of comprehension from the teacher's side. In those situations, the teacher's practical judgment is essential to a good outcome of any given problem. The uniqueness of each student's process of growth is impossible to script as well. With all the different backgrounds and characters, there is not just one way to find their personal character, but a good teacher will help the student deliberate and find their own judgment in acting, living and being well.

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6. Conclusion

Scripted instruction programs have been under scrutiny ever since their application in the United States. Commentary within the American debate was mostly based on its effectivity and emotions that came along with the implementation. I have tried to provide insight into the different aspects of the subject, and moreover have contributed to the debate by adding an additional moral layer, which can be the decisive layer when the concept of Scripted Instruction Programs would land in The Hague. If the Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences wishes to explore the concept for a possible implementation in the Dutch education system, some preparatory work has already been done.

The second chapter described the history and purpose of scripted curricula, or scripted instruction programs for that matter. After those first two points, the emphasis shifted to what scripted instruction programs are. Installed to increase low test scores, to not depend as much on teacher performance, to solve the problem of a lack of qualified teachers, and to ensure that all students will have equal chances to succeed in the system. Although those aims are honorable, the execution needs to be topic of discussion to have a fruitful evaluation. It has been shown that scripted instruction programs contain page-by-page instructions, directing teachers how to teach and talk. Everything is standardized in the lesson plans, in which keywords are commands, repetition, responses and signals.

After clarifying the subject matter, the third chapter discusses the goals of education. To conclude whether scripted instruction programs would be morally desirable in the Dutch context, it is important to know what the goals of education are. This has been done in a systematic way, starting from philosophy of education, to educational research to Dutch education policies. What are we all trying to accomplish? The chapter discussed to regard the following as the goals of education: moral education, citizenship education, personal development, subjectification, socialization and evidently skills and knowledge.

The fourth chapter reviewed the existing (longitudinal) research on the effectivity of scripted instruction programs. The research conducted, shows how students only obtain the highly necessary reading skills, which means that students will know how to read, but will not acquire a full comprehension. It has also been suggested that those students taking part in a scripted instruction program do not learn the art of critical thinking, they accept information as the truth and do not question what is taught to them or what is happening around them. Another interesting result is that the students in the SI-programs score significantly lower on moral development and community involvement. Other goals such as inspiration to continue the pursuit of learning are also not met, according to the research. In the second section, the

teachers are given a voice. This response is not only negative, some teachers are attracted to the structure the methods offer, along with the less time-consuming way of assessing their students. However, more prevalent is the feeling that SI-programs are limiting their freedom and they feel less competent as teachers, as well as they find the restrictive nature of the programs demotivating to keep teaching. They feel like robots in a system, not capable of moving out and teaching their students what truly matters.

The fifth and final chapter, theoretically analyzed the topic at hand. Two arguments are presented in this chapter. The first one argues for the importance of autonomy and practical wisdom. I argued for autonomy as a condition for practical wisdom in teaching. Even if one could script an entire lesson, there is something ineliminable to a teacher's intuition and reason, namely practical wisdom. Practical wisdom allows the teacher to change direction in complex situations and augment the learning and social ambiance in a classroom. As this character trait is impossible to script and essential to teaching, scripted instruction programs pose some significant problems. The second argument follows the first by shifting from teachers to children in education. As one of the important goals is to morally educate our children, it is important to have virtuous and genuine role models. Deliberation and discussion is important for children to understand and develop their personal judgment. As it is impossible to script a personal route to moral development, scripted instruction programs, again, present significant difficulty.

I have taken four steps answer the research question: *"To what extent is it morally desirable to adopt scripted instruction programs in primary and secondary teaching in the Dutch educational system?"* First of all, I have thoroughly examined the concept of scripted instruction programs. The second step was to see what the goals of education actually are. The third and fourth step were to see whether those goals are met from an empirical and theoretical perspective. A social and philosophical approach are taken to come to the final answer to the question. In conclusion, I argue that it is morally undesirable to adopt scripted instruction programs in primary and secondary education in the Netherlands. The available evidence clearly shows that scripted instruction programs have failed to achieve their purported goals. Moreover, the education goals we strive for in the Netherlands are not achievable using scripted instruction programs. Students will not develop the life skills and personal development we wish for. Even if teachers are seen as purely instrumental in the learning process of children, we cannot afford to ignore the position of teachers in education. Practical wisdom, an ineliminable aspect of teaching is not possible to script, nor is it possible

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to script moral development of children. When we devalorize the profession of teaching to bringing a script alive, it has significant effects on both teachers and students. Teachers will, most likely, start to leave their profession, for the scripted instruction programs have been reported to demotivate teachers, since they will experience less enjoyment at work. The latter could, instead of solving the teacher shortage, reinforce the problem. To the argument that the implementation is cost efficient, I would like to propose the following as an alternative. Instead of investing in scripted instruction programs, invest in the character education of teachers, so they have a greater chance to become the role model the children deserve. The resources that would otherwise have been spent to adopt, adapt and develop the scripted instruction programs for the Dutch schooling is better spent on research how to attract new teachers, how to improve the current curriculum, and what changes should be made.

7. References

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8. Appendix A

Call on some children to identify two symbols



1	m
	z
	0
	0
	m
	-
	m
	ŝ
	ŝ
	2
	z

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