

Literacies in and for a changing world: What is the evidence?

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ABSTRACT

The level of literacy among many pupils when they leave statutory education may be higher than in the past. Yet even in the most advanced societies there are still adults, including young adults who have recently left school, whose literacy competence is not adequate to meet the demands of life and work in an increasingly digitalised world. Many make every attempt to hide their inadequacy. Successful adult literacy programmes, are one way of breaking the cycle of intergenerational illiteracy, as the children most likely to fail are those from families where the parents' literacy is low. Evidence is now available on the complexity of understanding and processing written language for a variety of purposes and it is clear that no one simple method meets the needs of all children or all languages. There are additional problems in learning to read in a language where the sound to symbol relationship is less regular. In countries where the formal teaching of reading starts at an earlier age the standard of literacy is not higher; there is evidence that this may also lead to a negative attitude to reading, particularly among boys. Successful schools and adult literacy programmes have a number of things in common: early intervention with sound diagnostic procedures; well trained teachers using imaginative curricula, including the new technologies; the importance of high expectations.

OUTLINE

In this chapter brief reference will be made to implications from several of my own researches; studies of preschool children; a longitudinal community study of reading difficulties; a detailed case study of young children who read fluently and with understanding on entry to school and a study of pupils in the first year of secondary school. In the secondary school study the literacy demands made by the subject teachers and the pupils' response within different subject areas, also the attitudes of the various subject departments to their literacy needs were investigated. The remainder of the paper will be devoted to evidence from selected researches and official reports as to how functional literacy is currently being defined; what has so far been achieved; and who has been left behind. The role of families, schools and the community will be considered. Finally I will consider how and when we can identify and assist those with difficulties, both children and adults. The annotated reference list at the end of the chapter will enable readers to find further information.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a *written* version of a paper delivered in Brussels on 29th March 2011. While the message is the same, it is important to stress the distinction between these two modes of communication, spoken and written. For many years emphasis was placed on the similarities between spoken and written language, almost as if printed language was merely speech written down, a visual representation of speech rather than a language communication in a different medium to an unknown person. Coupled with this assumption was the idea that only teachers of younger children, or those involved with older backward readers, needed expertise in literacy. Over the years there have been claims for one or other method as *the* method for teaching all beginner readers, and solving the problem of backward readers. In some instances, and in the hands of the initial enthusiasts, there may have been a dramatic rise in standards. Evidence is against such a simple solution, or that one approach meets the needs of all children, or all languages. There is now a greater appreciation of the cognitive processing involved in comprehension of written language for different purposes. A sound foundation in spoken language is now seen as an important prerequisite for learning to read. Furthermore, *there is no evidence that school systems where there is a rush to introduce the formal teaching of reading at an earlier and earlier age achieve higher levels of literacy among the adult population.* Early formal reading programmes also result in negative attitudes to reading in some of the children, particularly boys, who seldom read and thus do not maintain even their limited literacy skills into adulthood. Stories read, and reread to children, coupled with dialogue around the story with the mother, father or other adult, provide a valuable foundation for young children, extending their vocabulary, helping them to appreciate the forms and features of written language, and not least to enjoy its variety and richness. Orally presented written language, for example on tape, also has an important role to play in helping older pupils with learning difficulties, or dyslexia, to come to appreciate the language of print and to enjoy a wide curriculum hampered less by their late development or lack of fluency in reading.

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In short, teaching children to read is not a simple task merely of word and sentence recognition, completed in the first few years of schooling, and thereafter merely practised.

The comprehension of narrative prose, extraction of information from textbooks, understanding of written instructions and digital literacy all require very different skills. What is important is that children have a sound foundation in spoken language and that their initial experiences of written language are comprehensive, stimulating and meaningful to them. Thus all teachers in primary schools and subject teachers in secondary schools, have a part to play in partnership with each other and with parents. There is evidence of intergenerational illiteracy, that parents who cannot read are likely to have children with limited literacy. However, in many instances a self-fulfilling prophecy, where professionals have too limited aspirations for some pupils, may lead to lowered expectations, and even a more limited curriculum for some groups of pupils. Successful schools, those where there is a stimulating curriculum, good leadership, partnership between professionals and with parents, high expectations of all pupils, clear diagnostic procedures followed by early intervention, can enable virtually all pupils to become literate. The involvement of parents in intervention programmes, even those with limited literacy themselves, has been shown to have the greatest success. Furthermore the parents may also be stimulated to become 'functionally literate', breaking cycles of deprivation, and enabling them to achieve longer term employment and a richer cultural life for themselves ('When mama can't read: counteracting intergenerational literacy', Cooter 2006).

Pupils in secondary schools who are described as illiterate are unlikely to be completely unable to read; rather they have such a low level of competence that they are unlikely to read for pleasure or to understand the complex meanings in various forms of written language. As adults they will avoid situations requiring them to read, and their level of literacy will become lower rather than be maintained. Many adults with limited literacy make every attempt to hide this; thus, even where support programmes are available there may be problems in identifying those adults who need support.

There is a reciprocal relationship between reading and writing, each helping to develop the other. It is simplistic to assume a sequential development from oral to silent reading and from reading to writing, or that children should only be encouraged to write when they have acquired a certain level of reading fluency. Many with limited competence in reading think they are more competent than is the case, and have a negative attitude to books and other printed materials. They are thus unlikely to broaden their knowledge of written language, and as a consequence when required to write they produce writing that fails to communicate, or is little more than colloquial speech written down, a far cry from the richness of real written language. (See *Awakening to Literacy* Goelman, Oberg and Smith 1984 and *New Directions in the Study of Reading*, Clark 1985)

Selected researches by Margaret M Clark with continuing relevance

My interest in literacy and child development was stimulated early in my career when as a primary school teacher I was responsible for a class of 54 children aged 7-8 years of age

who had started school at five years of age. As I became aware of a number of issues with policy implications I was able to secure funding to investigate these with a wide range of children from preschool to secondary age, children who were advanced in their literacy development and others who were struggling in learning to read and write. When preparing for this lecture I became aware that there were still lessons to be learnt from my researches. I have, therefore given a brief outline of a selection of these.

Preschool studies: The focus of one of a series of observational studies of children aged three and four in nursery schools was on children who had high or low interest in books and stories. We were able to show the influence of their homes and also the effect of stories on their appreciation of written language (Clark and Cheyne 1979). In another study, also as early as the 1970s, parents who would have been labelled 'disadvantaged' were supported as they interacted with their young preschool children around books and discussed these experiences with other parents. Not only were the parents' expectations and self confidence raised, but also the teachers who would be receiving the children were more positive in their expectations of the parents and children (Donnelly in Clark and Cheyne 1979). A recent study of three and four-year-old children showed how competent with a variety of technologies are many of today's children even before they enter school, leading us to consider whether their teachers take sufficient advantage of this in planning their curriculum (Stephen in Clark and Tucker 2010).

A community study of reading difficulties: The aim of this study was to assess the incidence and characteristics of children with specific reading difficulties, or dyslexia, in a normal primary school population. An age group of 1544 children were initially tested aged seven years of age. Those who were not yet reading were tested again more extensively a year later, and those still behind in their reading and of average intelligence were followed for a further year. We found only 19 children of average intelligence still having difficulties at age nine (16 of these were boys). This was not a homogenous group with similar characteristics or that would have required specialist treatment. It was not concluded that there was no such thing as dyslexia, but only that within this sample there were not children with the cluster of characteristics claimed from selective clinic studies. Early identification and intervention appropriate to their individual needs, together with support for their families was important for at risk children such as these. Within the research we studied matched boy/girl pairs attending the same school and matched for intelligence. In all cases the girl was reading at a higher level than the boy, something found in many other studies (Clark 1970 reprinted 1979).

Young fluent readers: This contrasting case study of 32 young children who were already reading silently, and with understanding at five years of age when they started primary school was published in 1976. The aim was to analyse not only the strengths of these children and their homes, but also weaknesses in spite of which they had acquired literacy

without formal teaching and at such an early age. Some features of these children and their families were unique, but there were lessons for teachers from the findings. The contribution of dialogue with at least one adult, the contribution of libraries to their progress and their growing sensitivity to the functions and features of written English were all impressive. Not least it was clear that they already had a wide range of interests further stimulated by their access to written language. Many were fascinated by a variety of printed material, in their environment, in story books, and information texts of a kind not always available to such young children. See *Understanding Research in Early Education: the relevance for the future of lessons from the past* (Clark 2005) for discussion of the three researches noted above and an evaluation of research by others.

Pupils with learning difficulties in secondary schools: The focus of this research was 12 year-old pupils in their first year in seven secondary schools in Scotland. A new policy for helping pupils with difficulties was being introduced in these schools where all first year classes were of 'mixed ability'. Sixty-three target pupils were observed in a number of classrooms. They were nominated by subject teachers, three within a class, one nominated by all subject teachers as good, one as poor, one whose performance fluctuated from subject to subject. Samples of their written work were analysed and writing tasks were set involving three different types of communication: narrative writing, a science report following a video presentation and a description for a younger child of how to play a game of their choice. The views of promoted/senior staff and subject teachers were sought on the level of competence in literacy required for their subject and whether they felt any responsibility for identifying and supporting those with limited literacy. We found that in its early stages this initiative was still dependent on the continuing presence of a few key individuals. We were disturbed at the lack of support for the pupils with difficulties, many of whom were not sufficiently competent to benefit from the formal curriculum and type of assessment expected of them; even the spelling level of some was still too low for them to communicate in writing. It was therefore a matter of great concern that many subject teachers, including English teachers, did not regard it as one of their responsibilities to improve the literacy level of the least competent, or make allowance for their deficits. This research dates from 1980s (Clark, Barr and McKee 1982). The evidence from a recent research in 11 countries on *Teaching Struggling Adolescent Readers* (ADORE 2010) would suggest that there is still a long way to go in developing whole school policies that provide those with difficulties with both a stimulating curriculum and support to enable them to overcome their difficulties.

What is also of concern is that in most countries there are many children who leave school with very limited literacy skills and also with no desire to engage in any literacy activities or to improve their level. Their failure has adverse consequences for their employability, their family and their social life.

What has been achieved?

Literacy levels in schools: Evidence from a variety of sources on literacy (narrative and informational) in schools has raised concern in many European countries, including the United Kingdom. Two main sources are the IEA PIRLS study in 2001 of 10-year-olds in 35 countries who will now be reaching adulthood and the more recent OECD PISA study in 2009 of 15-year-olds in 65 countries (24 members of EU) where not only levels of achievement but attitudes to literacy and school factors were explored. Many governments are disturbed at their ranking and whether they are retaining their place in league tables. What is also of concern is that in most countries there are many children who leave school with very limited literacy skills and also with no desire to engage in any literacy activities or to improve their level. Their failure has adverse consequences for their employability, their family and their social life. In all countries the level of literacy in boys seems to be lower than that of girls, and many have negative attitudes to books; some ethnic groups and socially disadvantaged groups also have low literacy levels. If pupils reach adulthood without becoming functionally literate there are likely to be problems in identifying them to provide them with the necessary support, as many deny they have problems, or do all they can to hide their illiteracy. Successful schools can achieve literacy for most if not all their pupils. One study in England by Ofsted (the inspection body for England) considered what features appeared to be crucial in the schools and other institutions inspected, particularly for those at risk (*Removing Barriers to Literacy*, Ofsted 2011). The following were stressed: the importance of an emphasis on speaking and listening skills from an early age; teachers with high expectations; carefully planned provision to meet individual needs with early diagnosis and early intervention for those with problems; literacy training for all staff and partnership with parents.

There was a wide variation between countries in the extent of inequality in the population distribution of literacy skills; countries with the highest levels had been most successful in bolstering the literacy levels of their least advantaged. Initial education was the main factor in improving the literacy levels, particularly of youth from lower socio-economic backgrounds

Raising literacy levels in adults: Historically, there has been a deep distrust of literacy, and possibly still is in some cultures, or for some people. Limited access to everyday contact with written language and a lack of access to other readers and writers who might support literate competence creates a complex obstacle to literacy (Whitescarver and Kalman 2009). Yet there is a link between adult learning and civic activities such as voting, and those with the poorest literacy skills often lead an isolated life. However, marginalized communities may use reading and writing for a variety of purposes that are unacknowledged by mainstream institutions and some may have a sophisticated oral tradition. *Literacy in the Information Age* (OECD 2000) is a valuable source of information with data collected between 1994–98, from a nationally representative sample in 20

countries, from the age group 16–65. Three aspects of literacy and at several levels of functioning were assessed: prose literacy; document literacy and quantitative literacy. There was a wide variation between countries in the extent of inequality in the population distribution of literacy skills; countries with the highest levels had been most successful in bolstering the literacy levels of their least advantaged. Initial education was the main factor in improving the literacy levels, particularly of youth from lower socio-economic backgrounds (p 89). Even in the most economically advanced societies a 'literacy deficit' was reported, with many adults without a suitable minimum skill to cope with the demands of modern life and work. The following points are stressed in the report: the importance of growing up in a literate culture and of high expectations in schools; gender differences are noted as in other reports; the need for regular engagement in reading activities to maintain skills. It was felt that special measures were required to assist adults.

A recent report by the Inspectorate for Scotland, *Improving Adult Literacy in Scotland* (HMIE 2010) assesses the extent to which adult literacy programmes in colleges, local authorities and in prisons in Scotland meet the needs of the adult learners. Successful programmes were found to involve good planning, partnerships, assessment of needs and monitoring of progress, together with effective use of ICT. The National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE) has established an *Enquiry into Adult Literacy in England; lifelong literacy, in, out and beyond work*. The scope of this enquiry is to ascertain: what are the challenges; what has worked well; what has not worked well and what are the priorities for the future. Evidence has now been collected with interim progress reports being made available; the final report was published in September 2011. The final report stresses the importance of breaking the cycle of inter-generational difficulties with literacy. More teachers must be trained and there need to be more innovative and cross-sector partnerships to help the many millions of adults who do not have the literacy skills they need for everyday life in the modern world.

The level of literacy among many pupils when they leave statutory education may be higher than in the past, but some pupils and particular groups in EU countries still leave school without the competence to enable them to function in an advanced society, particularly as the literacy demands increase. In the current economic climate there are high levels of unemployment among the younger adults who have not yet been employed; many of these will still only have limited literacy skills. In the United Kingdom, for example, in the age group 16–19, the group referred to as NEETs (Not in education, employment or training), has increased over the past ten years and is currently claimed to be one in eight of the age group. This is one of the groups where further literacy education is important, yet they are a neglected group. (www.poverty.org.uk).

it is increasingly common for children to learn to read in more than one language, and is estimated that currently at least half the world's children learn to read in their second language (Deacon and Cain 2011).

The languages of literacy

There is surprisingly little research information on the difference in complexity in learning to read in languages where there is a more or less regular relationship between the sounds and spelling of words, or of learning to read in a language that is not your first language. Yet, it is increasingly common for children to learn to read in more than one language, and is estimated that currently at least half the world's children learn to read in their second language (Deacon and Cain 2011). There must now be many classrooms in the EU with numerous different languages spoken by the children, not necessarily understood by their classmates, or even the professionals. One comparative intervention study using Reading Recovery diagnostic procedures followed by one-to-one individual support for young at risk children was undertaken by Hobsbaum (2003). This study involved five countries with different starting dates for children entering primary school, namely England, Ireland, Denmark, Spain and Slovakia, countries with languages of different levels of regularity in their orthography. The six subtests in Reading Recovery diagnosis, a programme developed by Marie Clay in New Zealand in 1980s (Clay 1991), provide sensitive measures assessing the children's strengths and weaknesses as a guide to the most appropriate strategies to help them to make progress. This has been widely used in many countries and is currently being recommended following sponsored funded research in England with government support. There is a European Centre co-ordinating this work based in The Institute of Education in London University (www.ioe.ac.uk or www.everychildareader.org.uk).

My attention has been drawn to a further study entitled 'Foundation literacy acquisition in European orthographies' (Seymour, Aro and Erskine 2003). This study on the foundations of literacy in a number of European countries with more or less regular spelling revealed that in the majority of European countries children became accurate and fluent at the foundation level before the end of their first school year. The exceptions were those learning to read in Portuguese, Danish, and particularly in English. These findings did not appear to be related to the age of starting school.

Hanley (2010) claims that a number of studies have shown that word recognition skills in children learning to read English develop more slowly than other countries using alphabetic systems. He compared the word recognition skills of matched groups of children learning to read in Welsh (with a transparent orthography) and children learning to read in English (with an opaque orthography). He found a 'tail' of poor English readers, but no such tail of those learning to read in Welsh. He argues that English is a difficult writing system for children to learn.

The PROREAD study (2009) was undertaken in six EU countries with test data from 3,000 children and 6,500 remedial teachers to investigate the effectiveness of remedial support for poor readers. It is argued that for poor reader support to be successful it should be aimed at students and teachers. This is one of the few reports where the influence of learning to read in different languages is considered. It is argued that learning to read in different languages does not require different cognitive skills and thus evidence of effective intervention programmes across language barriers may be valuable.

The way ahead

It was announced in February 2011 that the European Commission has set up an independent group of experts from 11 countries, chaired by Princess Laurentien of the Netherlands. The group will meet over the next 18 months to assess how to raise literacy levels, to analyse scientific evidence and evaluate what policies work best. It is anticipated that they will present their proposals to the Commission by mid 2012. Some evidence has been noted here, and issues where further information is needed have been highlighted. There have been intervention programmes which have raised the literacy level of most young children. Interestingly one recent such programme was in Dunbartonshire in Scotland where I conducted my research on reading difficulties many years ago. These have been successful where they have had a coherent policy for reading tuition covering the whole area, with all schools participating, additional training for staff and extra resources.

The following are the most important issues that require to be addressed if the levels of literacy in the European countries are to meet the needs of adults in the twenty-first century:

The role of speaking and listening as a foundation for literacy development;

The changing nature of literacy including the impact of new technologies for children as well as adults, taking account of their value as a new medium of instruction and as requiring new strategies from readers and writers;

The differential problems of learning to read in more or less orthographically regular languages;

The characteristics of successful schools and school systems that result not only in high average standards of literacy but do not have the current large number of very poor readers;

The types of pre-service training and continuing development of teachers that will provide them with a range of strategies and insights that give them high expectations for all their pupils and provide the pupils with a creative curriculum that will motivate them to develop literacy for a variety of purposes;

The importance of a partnership with parents, including those whose own literacy levels are limited, both to encourage their participation and to motivate them to improve their own literacy;

The importance of assessment measures that both monitor progress within and between schools and provide diagnosis of difficulties for those at risk leading to early intervention;

The need to identify and support adults whose literacy level is so limited that it reduces their prospects of continuous employment or restricts their participation in the social and cultural life of their community.

Note: A special issue of *Literacy*, a journal of the United Kingdom Literacy Association, published in November 2011, is devoted to Literacy and Politics. There are articles from England, Scotland and New Zealand covering many of the topics discussed in this chapter. Concern is expressed at the lack of attention to the expertise of practitioners in policy debates in England and the danger that they will be caught between two worlds and 'buy in' the services of private companies and recommended commercial programmes (Mills). In another article from England explanations for the gender gap in literacy attainment are considered (Moss). One article from New Zealand addresses the implications for literacy teaching of the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity in New Zealand, as in many other countries (Haworth). The other article considers what changes are required in the early years curriculum to counteract New Zealand's failure in recent years to maintain its high ranking in international surveys (McLachlan and Arrow). Resisting deficit approaches to learning in adult literacy practices in Scotland is the focus for another article (Crowther and Tett). The journal which has valuable reference lists on these topics can be accessed online (www.wileyonlinelibrary.com).

Selected publications on literacy by Margaret M Clark:

1970 new edition 1979 *Reading Difficulties in Schools*. London: Heinemann. Research into the incidence of severe reading difficulties from a large community based study of 1544 children from age 7, following those with difficulties until age 9.

1976 *Young Fluent Readers: what can they teach us?* London: Heinemann. A case study of 32 children who started school at five years of age already reading fluently with understanding. Both their strengths and weaknesses were studied with implications for the teaching of reading in schools.

1979 with W.M. Cheyne (eds) *Studies in Preschool Education*. Edinburgh: Hodder and Stoughton. This reports a number of researches in newly opened nursery schools and a parental programme for disadvantaged families.

1982 with Barr, J and McKee, F. *Pupils with Learning Difficulties in the Secondary School*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham. Report of research undertaken in seven secondary schools in Scotland 1980-1. The aim of this one year research was to investigate a developing policy for support within secondary schools for pupils in their first year with learning difficulties. It included interviews with promoted staff, attitudes of subject teachers, observation in classrooms of target pupils, a study of writing set in class, writing tasks set by the researchers, and interviews of pupils.

1985 (ed) *New Directions in the Study of Reading*. Lewes: Falmer Press. Oral and written language: similarities and differences; Readiness and the language of reading; Reading and writing reciprocal relationships.

1988 *Reading Revisited: 21 years of reading research*. Written version of paper presented in Edinburgh when awarded a Fellowship for outstanding contribution to educational research. Edinburgh: SCRE. Email me for a scanned version of this and several journal articles.

1994 *Young Literacy Learners: how we can help them*. Leamington Spa: Scholastic. This includes practical examples from work in a primary school in Birmingham. Now out of print, but an eight page summary has been scanned and could be sent online if requested. The books above that are out of print may be available from Amazon.

2005 *Understanding Research in Early Education: the relevance for the future of lessons from the past*. Second edition. London: Routledge. Critically evaluates a number of researches set in their historical context including Clark 1970 and 1976. A summary is in *Danish Journal of Paedagogical Psychology* 04 2008.

2010 (edited with Stanley Tucker) *Early Childhoods in a Changing World*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham. Fourteen chapters from different parts of the world. See chapter 14 *Digital Technologies in the Home: the experience of 3- and 4-year-olds in Scotland*.

Selection of official reports:

ADORE (2010) *Teaching Struggling Adolescent Readers*. www.adore-project.eu.

HMIE (2010) *Improving Adult Literacy in Scotland*. This is an evaluation of Adult Literacy Provision delivered by Colleges, Local Authority, Community Learning and Development Services and Prisons. www.scotland.gov.uk and www.hmie.gov.uk. Assesses the extent to which the provision matches the diverse needs – good planning, partnerships, assessment, more effective use of ICT and need for progressive pathways to further learning examined. Also see *Outline of Scottish Government's Vision for Literacies*. NB HMIE Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education for Scotland (not Ofsted).

IEA (2003) *Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) undertaken in 2001 reported in 2003*. Ten-year-olds in 35 countries. www.pirls.org/pirls2001 and separate reports for England (www.nfer.ac.uk). Also articles in *Education Journal* see Clark MM 2004-3 'International Studies of reading such as PIRLS – a cautionary tale'. Further information in PIRLS 2006 published in 2007 report from 40 countries. Assessment of literacy was in two parts literary and information.

National Literacy Trust (2010) *Literacy: State of the Nation: A picture of literacy in UK today*. www.literacytrust.org.uk. This report has reference list of official documents for UK and the Trust website has extensive list of references.

NIACE (2011) *Enquiry into Adult Literacy in England: Lifelong Literacy, In, Out and Beyond Work Enquiry commenced 2010 ten years after previous report. Progress Report December 2010. Scope of the Commission to ascertain: What are the challenges, what has worked well; what has not worked well and priorities for the future.* NIACE National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education.

OECD (2000) *Literacy in the Information Age: Final Report of the International Adult Literacy Survey.* www.oecd.org.

OECD (2010) *Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) Reading, Maths and Science every three years since 2000, 2009 main focus on literacy. Fifteen-year-olds in 65 countries (separate reports for England www.nfer.ac.uk and Scotland www.scotland.gov.uk). Girls do better than boys, importance of parental involvement, need for autonomy of schools within a well-controlled overall framework, attendance at pre-school, in less selective systems those from lower socio-economic classes do better. See also article by Andreas Schleicher of OECD presented in January 2010 *The Quality of Childhood: Evidence from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA)*. Two further linked studies *Against the odds –disadvantaged students who succeed in school* and *Quality time for students learning in and out of school. Literacy skills for the World of Tomorrow.**

Ofsted (2011) *Removing Barriers to Literacy* www.ofsted.gov.uk. Ofsted Inspection of preschools, primary and secondary schools, colleges, independent providers, LEAs, prison and young offenders' provision in England during 2008-10 to identify successful settings, particularly for those at risk.

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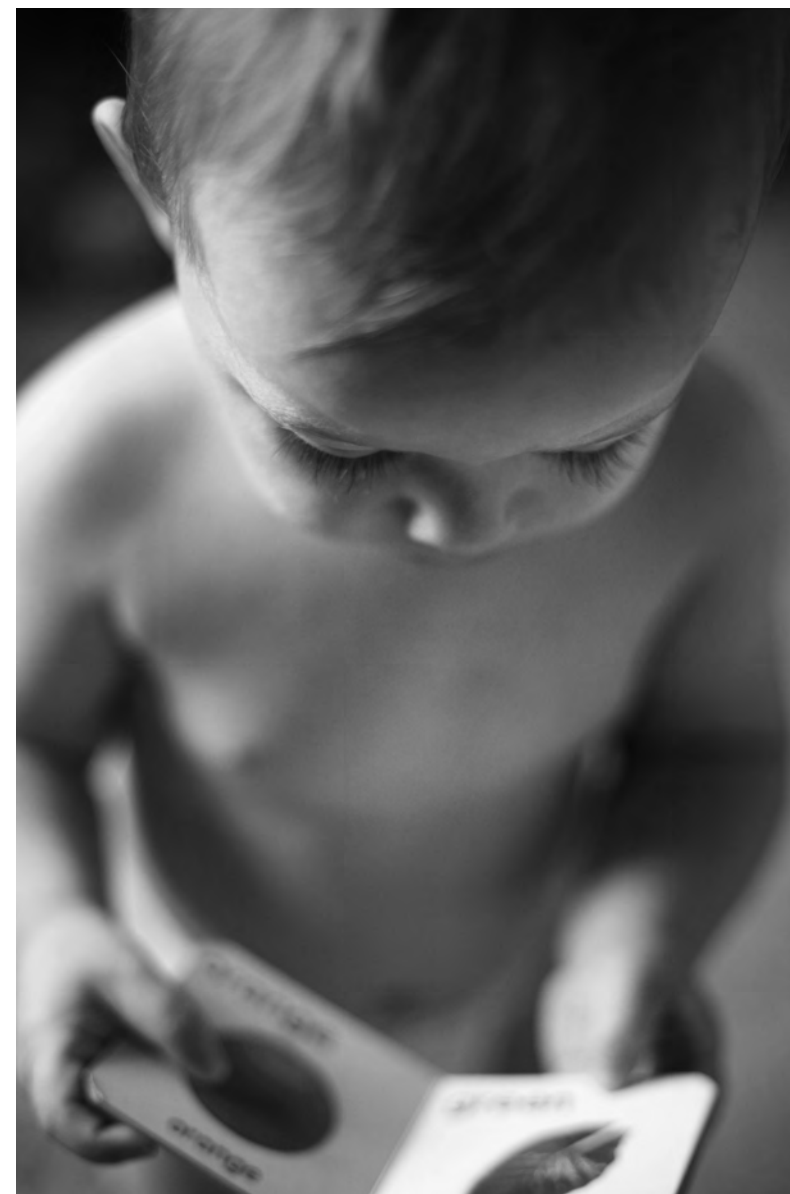
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Seymour, P.H.K., Aro, M and Erskine, J. M. (2003) 'Foundation literacy acquisition in European orthographies'. *British Journal of Psychology* 94, 143-174.

Whitescarver, K and Kalman, J. (2009) 'Extending traditional explanations of illiteracy: historical and cross-cultural perspectives'. *Compare*. Vol. 39, 4. 497-511. *Comparisons of Northern and Southern States in USA and Mexico.*



Toddler looking at pictures in book

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