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*TEACHING PURPOSEFUL READING TO ABORIGINAL CHILDREN

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In many aspects of formal education we expect Aboriginal children to think, learn and behave as white children. This is an unreasonable expectation because Aboriginal children in their home lives are seldom equipped with those skills which are necessary at school. Worse, teachers often don't understand what skills are required in school learning because they are so fundamental to the task, and because white children display these skills so easily.

This paper looks at the reading process from this point of view and identifies areas where Aboriginal children need to be taught specific skills before they can read with purpose. Suggestions as to how to teach these skills are included.

The major aim of this paper is to look at ways in which teachers of Aboriginal children can improve reading ability. I believe that our teaching methods could be improved by concentrating on what I see as being the crucial difference between Aboriginal and White Australian (yolngu and balanda) children in the formal school setting. That is, that yolngu children do not expect to and do not participate in the school program in an active purposeful self-conscious way, but rather participate passively in the school learning process in the same way as they participate passively in their day-to-day home life. What I intend to do is talk first of all about this particular idea and then later about things that I hope or believe teachers can do about it.

Of course there are different ways in which anyone can participate in a school or outside activity, but for the purpose of this paper, I am dividing participation into two broad subgroups: active and passive. The way in which you or I participate in any activity could be roughly indicated on a scale with active participation at one end and passive participation at the other end. How we participate depends on both the activity and the sort of people we are.

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When I watch television I participate passively, when I go fishing I participate actively. In a school staff meeting I fluctuate between passive and active participation depending on how I feel and what we're talking about.

Although how we participate depends very much on the situation and our mood, still, each individual has a generalized tendency towards either more active or more passive participation. Not only do individuals show generalized tendencies one way or the other, but so do cultural groups. And my understanding of yolngu children and adults, from my experience with them and the research I have read, indicates that their way of life is geared very much more towards passive participation. Most people who are familiar with the personalities of traditionally oriented Aboriginal children will have noticed this. They are happy to co-operate passively with virtually anything that occurs in the classroom, but have enormous difficulty in taking initiative in any social or learning situation. For example they tend to learn inductively rather than deductively. Deductive learning requires active thoughtful manipulation of material which they tend to find difficult. When teaching and observing yolngu classes, I am constantly surprised at the time and effort the children will put into passive participation activities - for example they will copy a story or map off the blackboard meticulously and wholly absorbed for over an hour - and yet how much difficulty they have where active thoughtful and selfconscious participation is required - for example in solving verbal maths problems. When active participation is required, the children have poor concentration, poor understanding, and show poor results.

Passive participation is the rule rather than the exception in the children's everyday life as well. In the yolngu way of thinking, it is preferable to let things happen rather than to make things happen. Forcing things to happen through making structured plans and coercing others to fulfil them is seen almost as a form of violence. Most sensitive balanda teachers know how much Aboriginal people react against people asking too many questions, or people trying to organise them into a highly structured activity. Experienced teachers also know how much more comfortable it is to exert subtle influences over classroom organization than to constantly take an active dominating role. There has been much talk in the past about the Aboriginal lifestyle being in harmony with nature. I think that, when compared with the industrialized capitalist western nations, this is very true. And these two contrasting lifestyles, I think, pretty consistently reflect the two primary patterns of participation - active and passive.

AN EXAMPLE OF PASSIVE PARTICIPATION

Since the principle of passive participation underlies most of what yolngu people do, it is a useful perspective for observing differences between yolngu and balanda behaviour. Take, for example, an Aboriginal religious ceremony. The Aboriginal people all agree that there is to be a ceremony but they also believe that passive participation is the most polite and the most peaceful way of achieving it. Therefore, no one person takes all the initiative. There is much discussion and planning together among the older people. No one takes full responsibility, and people who try to take too much power are passively resisted. The plans are specific, but when the time comes, participants know not to force the development of the ceremony so the time factor gets stretched, and often the whole action is put off for a day or a week. The amount of formal organization is minimal. All the organization is either inherent in the ceremony itself (e.g. who is to do what, the order of events, who sits where) or else is worked out there and then by discussion. It is a satisfying experience for all, because anyone who wants to play a part is welcome but the reserved people can simply sit and watch. In a sense everyone (especially the dancers) is active. But there is an essential passive element in the participation. Even the most powerful organizers in the ceremony can only work in co-operation with each other. No one forces the dancers to dance and although they dance together, they dance independently. The dances have definite ends but don't seem to have definite beginnings. The music starts, and the dancers join in their own time.

Passive participation is not sitting back doing nothing. It is doing something in a special way which reflects your view of yourself, your world, and the situation you are in. Some Aboriginal people, in some situations, will show active participation but generally, in traditional and modern Aboriginal culture, the passive style is preferred. And, in fact, passive participation is what an Aboriginal child knows best when he arrives at school.

But when we look at the school learning system it requires active participation. Problem solving is the active manipulation of thoughts and ideas. Trying is the active control of one's abilities directed at a specific goal. School motivation is the state of active orientation towards a goal.

This enormous difference between the sort of participation that Aboriginal children are used to, and the sort of participation the school expects from them, is seldom understood by white teachers. There is good reason for this. White teachers are so used to active

participation themselves, and active involvement inheres in virtually every aspect of white schooling, that they see children who don't know how to participate actively, and mistakenly call them unmotivated, lazy or retarded. What white teachers and children take for granted, the Aboriginal children find quite foreign and even frightening.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL

Although it is easy to see that there is a difference between what a yolngu child is expected to do at school and what he is used to doing at home it is rather difficult to discover the fundamental nature of the difference.

I have chosen what I see as three essentials of active participation but this is really only the beginning of a theory. These three essentials are discussed below as they apply to active school learning.

1. Goal

The active learner must have a goal. The goal must be conscious, specific, and realistic. In a formal learning situation, the goal usually starts with the teacher and is more or less communicated to the pupil. If the teacher and the pupil have different goals or if the pupil has no idea what the teacher's goal is, he may participate passively, but he will be unable to participate actively.

2. Internal Control

The learner must, in this situation, have a sense of being in control. In other words, he must believe that he can learn, and that whether or not he learns, is really primarily his responsibility He can't sit there passively waiting for learning to happen, he must try, think about it, and make learning happen himself.

3. Judgement

Once the child consciously recognizes his goal, and believes that he can do something to attain it, he must continually make judgements about his progress towards the goal. The two main forms of judgement are prediction and reflection. Along with reflection comes personal responsibility. If a learner does not acknowledge personal responsibility, then his successes will not carry much intrinsic motivational value. (In other words he will say "That was lucky, I hope it happens again", rather than "That was successful, I'll try to do it again"). Also, when he fails, the learner must acknowledge that he himself did something wrong, so that he

can think again, try another stratagem or adjust his goal.

Why is it then, that yolngu children can so successfully learn the intricacies of their own culture without employing these skills or active participation? Research into Aboriginal learning styles has revealed numerous different ways in which Aboriginal children learn at home and these largely entail the passive inductive processes of socialization. At home in the real life situation these methods of learning are very efficient. But school learning is different. Even after our attempts to make school relevant to Yolngu children it is still mostly verbal, it is conscious, and it is largely divorced from the real life situation.

Although most teachers have never thought of school learning in these terms, these three factors of goal, internal control and judgement are crucial, not only to successful formal school learning, but to successful active participation in all areas of life.[1]

TWO POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES

One way of looking at the problem would be to say that the school's expectations and the children's culturally different home backgrounds simply don't match. And there are two possible approaches we could make to remedy this.

1. We could systematically change the nature and the demands of formal education so that the behaviours outlined above are no longer required by the education system.

2. We could systematically go about teaching the children those behaviours which are part and parcel of formal education so that they can cope with them.

The short answer I think is that we must do both - concentrating on the latter solution in primary and post-primary schooling, and the former in preschool and infant schooling.

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[1] There is a moral problem here. No matter how much we talk about humanism in education, it is hard to deny that formal education has teaching purposeful behaviour at its heart. We need to face the fact that this is basically antithetical to traditional Aboriginal life. If we understand this we can face the problem of education more sensitively. I believe that traditionally oriented Aboriginal people need to learn to act purposefully in order to handle the potentially destructive power of the encroaching white culture.

The first solution, to change the nature of the school to make it more suitable for Aboriginal children, is what most people would call Aboriginalization, and it centres around the use of Aboriginal language, Aboriginal teachers, Aboriginal culture and social patterns, and Aboriginal learning styles in the classroom.

A great deal more work needs to be done on the second solution. It is impossible to implement a formal education system that uses only yolngu learning styles at all levels. Somewhere along the line, active purposeful, self-conscious and motivated thinking, learning and problem-solving needs to be developed. If the children are going to learn the volume and the content of education that we're trying to teach them, then we'll need to start by teaching them how to participate actively in the learning process. Indeed I would see one of the aims of formal education itself as being to teach children how to act purposefully - that is thoughtfully and effectively - in their new world of balanda-yolngu contact.

Why are there so many employable young men and women on the Aboriginal settlements complaining that they have no work while the schools, the store and the workhshops are crying out for capable reliable workers? It's not because these people are lazy. They devote much time and energy to their own activities like ceremonies and hunting. It's because the amount of purposeful, active, self-conscious behaviour which is required to achieve these slightly balanda behaviours is more than most young men and women have been equipped with during their yolngu socialization and balanda education. If we can teach them to participate actively in the school learning situation, they will also be learning how to do so in their out-of-school living.

THE TWO ALTERNATIVES APPLIED TO THE TEACHING OF READING

Let us turn to the practical aspects of education and focus on the teaching of reading. What sort of process is reading - active or passive? It is crucial that teachers realise that reading is very much an active, purposeful, creative purpose. It's not a passive process like watching television. If reading were like watching TV we would have no trouble teaching anyone to do it. And in fact the parts of reading which don't require much active participation - like simple decoding and learning sight words, the yolngu children pick up well. But the real reading - reading for meaning, reading for interest in real life - is an active creative process into which an individual must put a great deal of conscious effort.

Unfortunately, the way in which we organise our reading lessons rather seldom reflects this understanding. Much more often our teaching leads children to believe that reading is a process not essentially meaningful itself or in which their participation does not create meaning. I think this is because, without realising it, we are trying to do two distinct things: to teach the children *how* to read, and to teach them to be interested, thoughtful and effective readers. Teaching children *how* to read is a minor problem compared to teaching them to be readers. We should examine both aspects of teaching reading separately.

TEACHING INITIAL READING: WHAT READING IS AND HOW IT IS DONE

In recent years, much work has been done finding ways of teaching Aboriginal children beginning reading. Generally the ways that have been found to work best have coincided rather neatly with what we know about traditional Aboriginal ways of learning. The area of Aboriginal learning styles applied to teaching reading is discussed in detail by Stephen Harris (1980). He recommends a wide range of reading activities based on three principles:

1) We need to develop strong expectations about reading by creating classrooms which are the equivalents of reading homes.

2) We need to ensure that Aboriginal children have many opportunities to learn the functions of reading either before or while they learn to read.

3) We need to work on an approach to teaching reading that allows children to experience what it feels like to be reading before they can read independently, and an approach which allows approximating reading behaviour and which allows for much reading-like behaviour.

The activities which are recommended by Harris include the lap method, the impress method, the language experience method, shared book experience and a range of others. It should come as no surprise that the methods being propounded as suitable for initial Aboriginal readers are generally recommended for white children who are starting to read. This is because all young children learn best by inductive methods. The best way to teach a child to read, it seems, is through exposing him to a language-rich environment in which the skill of reading is being used in a variety of meaningful ways. The environment, says Holdaway (1980) "is an emulative rather than an instructional one, providing lively examples of the skill in action."

Many teachers of traditionally oriented Aboriginal children in the Northern Territory seem to agree that since these methods have been introduced systematically, they have been generally successful. I would agree that I could think of no better way to get children started on reading. But this reading that children learn from these methods is basically decoding. They are learning how to recognise words on paper and they are learning what reading is, but they are not learning the self-conscious purposeful operation of reading.

TEACHING READERS TO READ: PURPOSEFUL READING

The selfconscious purposeful aspect of reading is not discussed very much in books on teaching reading. This is because white children who have been socialized into patterns of active participation, by and large bring their abilities to bear on the reading process as they learn to read, and automatically work with what they are reading to make it meaningful. They do this better than Aboriginal children, not because they have had a wider experience of reading, although this is true to some extent, but because they have had a wider experience of working purposefully to create meaning. This aspect of reading is what Holdaway calls self-regulating. In the following description, note how much his language refers to purposeful involvement:

> The most complex aspect of the children's reading behaviour involves process: they are learning much more than simple linguistic items, they are mastering ways of operating, strategies for generating language from meaning. They monitor their own output, yea-ing and nay-ing as they go: one part of their attention tastes their success or otherwise in encoding the deeply understood meanings. On the surface, this throws up self-corrections of an increasingly refined kind, entailing the strategy of semantic and syntactic rerunning of confused sentences. All of these delicate operations of the task involving the organism at several levels, are under personal control. A product of this self-regulating behaviour is the steady flow of intrinsic reinforcement, confirming sustaining, relaxing and restoring. (Holdaway, 1980, p.53)

Ideally, as a child learns to read, no matter what method is used to teach him, he begins to apply his skills of purposeful participation to the process of reading. He begins to think carefully about what he is reading, he asks himself questions and reads to answer them. He thinks about whether what he is reading makes sense and, if it doesn't, he goes back and reads it again. In other words,

he displays the three characteristics of an active learner:

1. Goal. He is actively searching for meaning, he is not just calling out words.

2. Internal Control. He believes that meaning is something which he himself derives from print. He doesn't wait for the teacher's praise to make it meaningful.

3. Judgement. He thinks about what he is reading, he makes predictions, and goes back and reads again if it doesn't make sense.

The main point of this paper is that we cannot assume that yolngu children will automatically be able to apply these same skills to the reading process. In fact, the problems which yolngu children have with developing reading ability past the initial stages can mostly be traced, I think, to their inability to attack the task purposefully. Holdaway (p.103) talks of the importance of "predictive and confirming processes" in the total structure of language learning.

> It becomes clear why the language user from the earliest stages of learning must monitor and self correct his own performance - that to see the pupil's function as lying in performance and the teacher's function as lying in correction was to grossly misperceive the process.

And later,

> When we look at the childish picture of learning to read and write which we present to children in bits-and-pieces parody of language function, we can only stand in awe at the consummate skill so many of them display in cutting through it all to *personal control** of their own behaviour on a level of far greater complexity. (Holdaway, 1980)

This "consummate skill" which white children display, enabling them quickly to attain personal control of reading is something which I think must be taught to yolngu children. Why? Because they are so used to acting according to their traditional methods of passive participation, that we cannot expect them automatically to participate actively in the reading process.

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* Emphasis mine.

I want now to have a look at ways in which we can teach this personal control of reading. I think that it is a difficult task and I think that those few approaches that I have been able to come up with are only a beginning of a solution to the problem. But I hope that these recommendations will at least show teachers what I am thinking about and lead them to evaluate their own teaching practices in these terms. What we must do is design and employ teaching activities which aim quite specifically at teaching Goal Consciousness, Internal Control, and Judgement.

Goal Consciousness

In the early stages of reading by the "Aboriginalized method", the children are reading either because the teacher tells them to, or because the teacher has whipped up their enthusiasm, and they want to read. Somehow, in order to develop purposeful reading in children, we have to change from this teacher-centred situation to a situation where I am reading because I want to read (but I could decide not to if I liked), or because I want to find out the answer. Now in a classroom of thirty children at reading time each day it is nearly impossible to give the children a choice of whether they want to read or not, but I think we could come up with some strategies pointed in this direction.

1) Help the children understand and internalize the basic goals of your reading program. Teachers should spend much more time talking with children about learning to read. The children should realise that, first of all, the teacher is trying to teach them how to read. Do they really realise this? or do they think that the teacher is going through a weird balanda ritual called school? Talk to the children about the books that they can read, the ones that are too easy and the too hard ones, and tell them what you're aiming at in your reading program. If you're having a phonics lesson, tell them why you are having it.

2) Help make meaning the goal of reading rather than teacher approval or getting to the bottom of the page. Every time a child reads and the teacher says, "Yes", "No", "Thank you, sit down", or "Read that again", the goal of finding meaning has been eclipsed by the goal of keeping the teacher happy.* He sits down and his work

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* See M.Christie: Keeping the teacher happy. *The Aboriginal Child at School*, Vol.8 No.4, 1980.

is done. But every time the teacher says, "What would you have done then? or, "I wonder why the little old woman said that?" the child's goal consciousness is fixed on the story. He sits down and maybe he'll have another look at it.

3) Of course, some graded reading materials are so trite and boring that both teacher and child are hard pressed to think of any comment at all to make about them. If that is the case, then the child may be learning to decode, but he won't be learning purposeful reading. That's why teachers need lots of extra reading material. It's not simply window dressing to make reading more interesting. It's the only possible way of teaching a crucial function of reading. And once again, yolngu children cannot be expected to learn that automatically. They must be taught it.

4) Ask the children frequently what they want to read about (this question will be met with a stunned silence because you are calling for internal control, but persevere) and then make sure that they get it. This will usually mean you sitting down and writing it for them, because libraries don't have much simple non-fiction - especially things that the children want to read about - but it is important enough to warrant the work and you can keep what you have written for later.

5) Non-fiction is very important for teaching purposeful reading, so always be on the lookout for easy to read books, illustrated dictionaries and magazines like *Look and Learn*. Make the goals explicit in the children's minds by talking about what they are looking for. Spend a Saturday in your school library sometime so that you know exactly what books there are, and send the children off to the library to look for information themselves, even if you have to plant a book in there somewhere beforehand.

6) Something which is of even greater interest than commercially published nonfiction is the local community newspaper if there is one. If there isn't, school newspapers or class newspapers are just as good. Class newspapers don't need to be printed. We used to make one by getting the children to write their news (sports results, poems, jokes and stories) on long strips of pad paper (an A4 piece cut in half lengthwise). These we stuck on to big sheets of brown paper with a few pictures, photos and bits and pieces from comics and magazines. These would drift around the classrooms and eventually be taken home.

INTERNAL CONTROL

Holdaway says -

There is no escape from trusting children with the major responsibility for their own learning. This is not just another soft appeal to human decency - it arises centrally from the actual nature of the tasks to be learned. When faced with the moment-by-moment necessity for self-regulation and self correction in language function, it is soft and sentimental to believe that children are too immature to govern their own language behaviour.

Striking the balance between teacher direction and internal control is no mean feat. It is unreasonable to give children a completely free rein, and yet somehow you must teach them that purposeful reading is up to them. The best way to do this is to organise situations where the children find themselves alone with a book that they can read and want to read. Here are a few suggestions:

1) Instead of having the group read around in a circle to the teacher, tell them to go out on to the verandah and read it to themselves. When they don't have a teacher hovering above them, they will be more or less forced to take personal control.

2) Send home books with them. Yolngu people at Milingimbi really spend quite a lot of time at home looking at newspapers, doing puzzles and examining stray bits and pieces of written material. In doing this, they are learning that reading is something which can be meaningful if the job is attacked with purpose.

3) Sustained silent reading (S.S.R.) is another thing which is very important for developing internal control. It has been written about widely, so I won't go into detail here. Just one comment. I think that library time is appropriate for flipping through books and looking at pictures. In S.S.R. the children really need to be reading, not flipping. This is very hard to organise, but very important. The other important thing of course is that the teacher must read too.

4) The perfect language activity for establishing internal control is writing and this needs to be integrated into the reading program, not because it looks good, but because of its crucial role in establishing personal control. Of

course, creative writing with Aboriginal children is also a major effort - a sure sign in itself that they have difficulty with internal control. When asked to write, they can't automatically start tapping all those ideas we know they have inside them, so they start looking to the teacher or the past or the school tradition for ideas. What does he want me to write? What did I write yesterday? What's that kid over there writing about? Once you manage to get children to write about what they really think and to tell stories really from their own point of view, then other children are really interested in reading them. Maybe systems like Breakthrough to Literacy are good to get children started on writing, but maybe the predetermined set of available words is enough to stop them from looking inside themselves for ideas and start juggling the words in front of them looking for meaningful sentences "out there somewhere". Think of the methods you use. Are they really aimed at promoting internal control of reading?

5) Teaching spelling through internal control is discussed in an article called "A Good Way to Teach Spelling",(*The Aboriginal Child at School*, 1981, Vol. 9, p.38).

Judgement

When we view reading as a self-regulatory process, it becomes plain how much it depends on prediction and reflection. A reader needs to be reflecting on what he is reading continuously so he can use what he knows of the story so far to help him read effectively. Miscue analysis is the best way to determine how efficiently a child is doing this. If his miscues are meaningful substitutions then he is thinking about what he is doing and making it meaningful. But it is very depressing to hear children reading, making errors which render the story meaningless, and still not turning a hair. These children don't know how to use their powers of reflection to make it meaningful. Once again we can't assume that Aboriginal children are going to be able to do this automatically. Here are a few beginning suggestions on how to do it:

1) When the children come across a word they don't know, they need to employ predictive strategies in their effort to work it out. Aboriginal children tend to depend heavily on decoding strategies like sounding out and syllabifying which often amount to blind guessing. If they don't use a context clue, they are likely to come up with a wrong guess and carry on reading without thinking whether it is meaningful. Teach them to rerun the sentence when they get

stuck and to read on past the hard word as well. These strategies need to be taught quite specifically, and whole class or group lessons can be planned to do this.

2) The traditional way of teaching reflection on a whole passage (also a traditional way of filling in time) has been written comprehension questions at the end of a set passage for reading. There is still a place for this. Note how the children express their answers. So often they don't give the answer in their own words, but rather copy out part of the story that contains the answer somewhere. This is a problem of internal/external control. They can't bring themselves to express the answer in their own words so they look for some external source of expression - the original story.

   Comprehension questions don't need to be written. Oral ones are probably better. If the child can't come up with the answer, make him go away and reread the story until he finds it. If the children are having a terrible time with comprehension, then the story may be too hard for them to read purposefully.

3) The cloze procedure is another popular way of getting children to reflect on what they are reading. Once again the difficulty most Aboriginal children have in doing cloze is a sign that we need to spend more time teaching reflection. Most children I have observed, when given a cloze passage as a reading exercise, will begin by copying the whole passage, blanks and all, into their books. They enjoy this because it is a busy activity with an obvious goal, no requirement for internal control and no reflection required. After the whole passage is copied out, they then need to be pushed to fill in the blanks and most of them know that if they fidget for long enough the teacher will encourage them by giving them a couple of answers. Persevere with cloze procedure. Make them as easy as you can when they are just beginning and use passages that they have already read before the deletions were made. If you do this you can afford to let them sweat over it a bit and come up with some answers. Mark the children's work with the whole class. Read out the sentences and get the children to decide whether they are meaningful or not. (Don't let on whose is whose). This way you can get the children to reflect on their reading and writing as a group.

4) Reflection can be easily taught through writing. Notice how seldom Aboriginal children will spontaneously reflect on their written work, reading it over, punctuating it and improving it. This reflective behaviour must be taught, and I feel the best way to teach this is to have children write something small every day, and work through it with them. Make sure you see every child's work before the end of the lesson, and make sure they work over it until it makes good sense. Get them to do this revision in pairs; the discussion helps them to think about what they are doing.

5) Predictive strategies must be emphasized. It often pays to start reading a story with the children and after a page or so, to talk about what you think is going to happen. Then the children can continue reading individually with a special goal in their minds - to find out. Some stories lend themselves to this technique.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It seems that there are two separate aspects in Aboriginal children learning to read. The first is learning what reading is and how to decode, and the second is learning how to read with purpose. Ideally these should both be taught together. Certainly neither is any good without the other. However, it seems to me that purposeful reading develops only after basic decoding skills have been mastered. For this reason most of the suggestions I have given have been more relevant to teachers of primary and postprimary rather than infant children. Of course, it is still important to continue to work towards improving the general reading skills of the children at the upper levels. Purposeful reading is only one aspect of the reading process.

The above suggestions are by no means meant to be a complete guide to teaching purposeful reading. They are rather aimed at showing teachers the sorts of questions that they should be asking as they prepare their lessons and as they teach. These questions could be summarized as follows:

1. GOAL.

Do the children know what you are trying to do as a teacher?
Do the children have learning to read as a conscious goal?
Do your reading activities provide practice at reading to find out?

2. INTERNAL CONTROL

Are the reading activities you plan aimed at teaching the children that they can and must derive meaning from reading themselves?

3. JUDGEMENT.

Are you teaching the self-regulating nature of reading by encouraging the children to predict and reflect on every aspect of their reading and their learning to read, especially on the meaning of what they read?

In conclusion, I think my focus in teaching reading to Aboriginal children would be best stated as follows:

We should not be so worried about teaching them to read as about teaching them how to learn to read themselves. Because reading requires so much internal purposeful behaviour, we will not get far by teaching only the external decoding skills. The real purposeful aspects of reading they need to learn by themselves, and we need to provide lots of opportunities for them to do so.

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