An enquiry into the educational and social problems involved in planning comprehensive secondary education on a new housing estate

John R. Heslop

J. R. Heslop, M. Ed. thesis, 1970

Abstract

The idea for this study arose out of the need for some definite and considered thought to be given to the re-organisation of a Modern school on a new housing estate at Jarrow into an "all-through" comprehensive school. It was felt that since both school and community were facing the prospects of change, as well as adjustment to a developing social and educational situation, there were the seeds of an apparently fruitful and worthwhile study.

Part One of the work is devoted to a discussion and an appraisal of some of the literature which has had a direct bearing on the growth of the comprehensive principle, and the application of sociological ideas to urban living and to education.

Part Two concerns the social and educational investigations carried out on the Hedworth estate, at the Modern school, and in neighbouring local education authorities which have already gone some way towards full or partial comprehensive re-organisation. Quantitative work includes details of numbers of houses, total occupants, size and ages of families, occupations and other relevant information necessary to present a picture of the "anatomy" of the estate. Qualitative work includes the assessment of material obtained through questionnaires, interviews, and enquiries into the leisure time pursuits, the reading habits, and the aspirations, discontents, and hopes and fears of the residents. The educational investigation concerns both the present situation locally, and plans for comprehensive schooling in neighbouring local education authorities which have gone some way to full or partial reorganisation.

Part Three deals with the comprehensive school "in action", and outlines the general, social, academic and extra-curricular organisation of the schools, from the earliest to the most recently founded. At each stage, the particular implications for the proposed school at Hedworthfield are discussed.

The study concludes with a discussion of those factors most relevant to the planning of a comprehensive school, in the light of the findings of this work, and of recent research and experience generally.

(Title: An enquiry into the educational and social problems involved in planning comprehensive secondary education on a new housing estate).

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN PLANNING COMPREHENSIVE SECONDARY EDUCATION ON A NEW HOUSING ESTATE.

By John R. Heslop, B.A.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Education of the University of Durham.

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Supervisor: Professor H.S.N. McFarland M.A., B. Ed.

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INTRODUCTION

The idea for this study arose out of the need for some definite and considered throught to be given to the question of how best to approach the re-organisation of secondary education which in the school featured here entails the eventual transformation of a Modern school at Hedworth, near Jarrow, into an "all-through" comprehensive school. Another important contributory factor was that the school serves a new and growing council housing estate, the families of which are inevitably going through a period of readjustment. Here then, with both school and community facing the prospects of change, as well as adjustment to a developing social and educational situation, were the seeds of an apparently fruitful and worthwhile study.

Implicit in the original definition of comprehensive schools, given by Sir Graham Savage the Director of Education for the L.C.C. in 1935, there is the idea of social comprehensiveness complementing the schools' educational role. "These schools", he wrote, "will cater for every activity and all children from a given area, regardless of ability, will go to them." The question as to how far a particular school, such as the neighbourhood comprehensive school planned for Hedworth, might achieve such a piece of "social engineering", and to what extent it might be educationally effective or desirable, will thus be critically examined in this study, and will follow the broad lines indicated below.

Part One of the work "sets the scene", and begins with a prologue which brings in certain personal attitudes and motivations

involved in the approach to the study. This is followed by a discussion of the application of sociological principles and methods to modern urban living, especially where they apply to housing estates, and to those social factors which are inevitably connected with any scheme for the re-organisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines. Part One concludes with an appraisal of the literature of secondary education in general and of the "comprehensive idea" in particular, wherever such literature seems to be appropriate to the theme of the thesis, especially in sociological terms.

Part Two is the "core of the study". It begins with a brief description of the geographical and environmental setting of the school and the estate, in the surrounding urban complex of Tyneside. But the main contents of this part concern the sociological and educational investigation carried out on the estate, in the school, and in neighbouring local education authorities which have already gone some way towards full or partial comprehensive re-organisation.

Part Three attempts to bring together all the strands of the work, by outlining what have appeared to be the most relevant factors necessary to the planning of a neighbourhood comprehensive school, and especially the factors which seem to reflect the educational and social needs of the community served by the school.

The study concludes with a discussion of the wider aspects of the subject, some cognizance of which must be taken in any plan for the efficient and effective formation of a school community today.

PART ONE

- SETTING THE SCENE -

CHAPTER ONE

A PROLOGUE ON SOCIOLOGICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN EDUCATION

Another look at the title of this thesis, and at the connotations "social" and "new housing estate", reveals how the emphasis is at once shifted away from traditional educational considerations and into the realm of the sociology of education and of urban sociology, both of which have been the subject of much attention in the recent past. Not very long ago it would have been possible to have omitted these terms altogether, as there would have been no reason to suppose that the results of the study would have been any less fruitful without them.

Reaching back beyond the school and the child to a consideration of the home and the neighbourhood, and more especially of the wider community in order to place the school within the framework of society as a whole is a very recent departure in the sphere of educational theory. Professor H. L. Elvin (1) has commented upon the growing tendency to refer to the crucial role of social studies in our educational thinking as evidence of a shifting attitude, which he is at pains to point out is "still imperfectly understood and imperfectly worked out". He stresses the need for systematic studies in the theory of education in contemporary society, in terms of social and educational concepts equally, that is, "socio-educational" studies, (although he rejects his own term as too ugly for general use.)

Thus it was felt that there was much to learn from an application, however imperfect, of the methodology and the

discipline of sociology to the planning of a housing estate comprehensive school, which by its very nature as a "neighbourhood" school, might play a vital role as an integral part of the community which it serves.

Further, an enquiry into one's personal motivations in choosing a sociological theme becomes relevant here, if one is to follow the very persuasive argument of Professor P. L. Berger(2) regarding the formation of a sociological consciousness, although it would seem to be but a short step to make for anyone like the present writer who was already used to thinking in terms of the humanistic discipline of History. Berger claims that

> "sociological consciousness is not only an intriguing historical apparition that one may profitably study, but it is also a live option for the individual seeking to order the events of his own life in some meaningful form".

Not that this study now becomes an exercise in self analysis, but the point made by Berger is significant if one looks upon the role of the teacher as being inseparable from the process of education in the particular school and neighbourhood in which he is able to bring his knowledge, his personality, and his outlook on life to bear. Professor J. B. Mays (3) puts great emphasis upon the need for the teacher to have an awareness of his social role when he points out that,

> "He (the teacher) must learn to stand aside and criticise the process in which he is involved. In order to do this adequately he needs to understand in general terms, the nature, strength and direction of the major social influences which are operating on him and on the system into which he comes after the conclusion of his training".

And Mays goes on to say that as well as being an educator, a teacher is an applied social scientist, in that he transmits the main cultural values of society and promotes social change. But he warns that in applying the methods of the social sciences, the teacher should remain "objective", and as far as possible free of personal emotionalism and other sources of prejudice. This pronouncement is interesting in that it moves the present writer to consider whether his approach to this study might otherwise have been anything less than highly subjective in certain respects, had he not been aware of Professor Mays' caveat. On returning to the North East, after almost twenty years, to open the school which is part of the subject of this work, he looked in vain for his childhood home amid a vast area of desolation, the result of extensive demolition prior to redevelopment. Similarly, the empty spaces in the centre of Jarrow, where the families of the estate at Hedworth once lived, must present to them a Hiroshima-like vista, whenever they return to town for shopping and probably to cast a nostalgic eye upon the temporary wasteland which was once their homes and the base for all their social activities. Jackson and Marsden (4) have drawn attention to this sense of loss when they write, "obliteration can be so quick and potent in a technological society, the past can so speedily be lost".

In addition, the present writer also shares with the people of Hedworth the experience of having been a "pioneer" tenant of a council estate some years ago in the South-east of England. The estate was laid out and tenanted as part of an experiment to broaden the socio-economic range of the neighbourhood by having a deliberate policy of mixing the types of family on a "class" or occupational basis, in the hope that a

more integrated and truly broader community spirit would eventually arise. But this hope proved vain, for, as the better-endowed occupational groups saved enough money, they bought houses on privately-built estates nearby. This now largely discredited theory of neighbourhood unit organisation has been commented upon by Professor P. H. Mann[5] who says that "social balance is an academic idea in so far as present day towns are concerned, and not possible of achievement in the foreseeable future".

For example the New Towns of Hertfordshire were brave experiments in mixing people up in one cosy community, but they failed. Certain areas became "better-class" than others, and the latest development is that it is decidedly unfashionable to live in a New Town. In a recent survey of Crawley, Hemel Hempstead, Harlow and Stevenage, it was found that few of the more highly-paid executives (at Stevenage only 11%) live in New Towns. In the New Towns and the council housing estates, "promotion means locomotion", it seems, and the tendency is for them to become one-class communities.

The similarities of social origin and of residential experience, as between the Hedworth tenants and the present writer, were thus to some extent a contributory reason for embarking upon a study of this nature. It seemed to be worthwhile trying to find out something positive about whether the Hedworth housing project was in any way now a community as well as a collection of streets of houses, and also to find out to what extent a school might contribute to, and become integrated into such a community.

Once more, of course, objectivity is essential and the strongly-worded criticisms made by Professor H. Davies[6] of the notable conclusions drawn by Jackson and Marsden regarding educational opportunity and the working class are relevant here.

In "Culture and the Grammar School", Davies accused Jackson and Marsden of being the victims of their own working class prejudices. Davies claims that they brought to their studies "pre-conceived ideas, so strongly held that they were outside the range of testing by mere facts", such ideas not being part of the "equipment of a scientific sociologist".

The above warning is valid, whether or not the criticisms are also fair, if we are to heed Weber's insistent dictum that the findings of studies in sociology should be value-free. But an emphasis on scientism also has its dangers for a discipline which is essentially humanistic in its subject matter; and a sociologist, according to Berger, (op. cit.), "cannot be entirely insensitive to the human significance of what he is doing". On the other hand, Gunnar Myrdal (7) would have it that "although a value structure in the mind is what gives coherence and force to a social scientist's thinking, nevertheless these values must be brought forward and not hidden so as to deceive the reader".

So the experts differ, or at least reveal that sociology is a youthful science which is still in the process of developing. Sociologists are still seeking a methodology and a terminology which is acceptable, and a theory which is not restricted by narrow empiricism. Here the claim of Professor John Rex (8) that "empirical methods in sociology rarely get beyond the stage of description" must be borne in mind. He instances the painstaking researches of Rowntree and Booth, who, though pioneers in social work, merely produced a great deal of interesting but unrelated facts about certain people in dire circumstances. Or, to quote Rex more fully, these studies "merely showed that there are a certain number of human organisms whose financial resources are such that their chances of biological survival are greatly reduced". But Rex points out that these studies tell us little about the social relationships which existed between the people of the various, or even the same, income groups represented therein.

Rex appears deliberately to have used terms from the natural sciences in the quotation above, as part of his questioning of the validity of Emil Durkheim's approach to sociological investigation. Durkheim had modelled his methods on biological and anthropological experience, with the result (according to Rex), that he tended to see sociology as the "science of culture", mainly concerned with the classification of social facts, a search for laws and customs, and with the establishment of causal relationships and sequences. On the other hand, Rex defines sociology as the science which attempts to make verifiable statements about social interaction, an "interaction which varies between perfect co-operation and perfect conflict (or anomie)".

This tendency for sociological theorists to engage in debate regarding the appropriate model to be utilised in explaining the nature of social relationships in modern industrial communities has recently been discussed in relation to the social role of the comprehensive school by Mays, Quine and Pickett (9) in their study of a "housing estate" comprehensive school at Kirkby near Liverpool. The two extreme models, as instanced by Rex, are those characterised by conflict and by consensus , and Mays and his associates point out that the conflict model is derived from the Marxist notion of the class war. This involves "underprivileged classes wresting their educational rights from a controlling powerful élite group which wishes to offer them only so much literacy as may enable them to be more richly exploited in the economic and commercial sense by their masters". The working class thus obtain education in order to fight for the control of the community. In this context, the comprehensive school is seen as being the latest in a long line of égalitarian-inspired educational institutions, which aimed at the overthrow of a superior class group, and at the elimination of traditional inequalities. The contrary model, based on the idea

of consensus (and following Durkheim*), sees education as a powerful socialising agency whose purpose is to provide a fundamental cohesion to the entire society. In this context, the teacher's role is to pass on the traditional cultural values, the school thus operating as an instrument of social control; merely reflecting the existing class structure in society; and not operating to any significent extent as a factor in social change.

However, in regard to the development of the comprehensive school, according to Mays and his colleagues, "we have a novel situation in which both the model based on conflict and that based on consensus are to some extent relevant but not entirely adequate."† For example, what elements of conflict as still exist are not the old and simple divisions of "haves" and "have-nots". They are much more clearly to be understood in terms of a conflict of cultural values; and part of the mission of the particular comprehensive school studied by Mays seemed to involve persuading working class people to "adopt some of the behaviour forms associated with superior social groups, while at the same time reinforcing the traditional strengths of established working class communities".*—

But, on the wider question as to whether comprehensive education might in some way rapidly change the class structure of this country, one might follow the dictum recently made by J. N. Hewitson (10), in a vigorous defence of the grammar school, that "society will have to do this for itself, by using all kinds of powerful weapons, amongst which its schools is only one comparatively weak device". And, à propos the comprehensive school,

* "Education & Sociology", E. Durkheim, (Free Press), 1958
† op cit. P.6.
—* Mays et al, op. cit. P.7

Hewitson suggests that "to be genuinely and completely successful, a comprehensive school must be in the middle of a comprehensive community*

Thus, the continuing debate as to whether education might or might not become an active agent in promoting social change, is extremely relevant to this study. In a new area such as Hedworth, with its twofold element of novelty in which school and community face the prospect of change, it is clear that the comprehensive school which develops there must of necessity find itself intensely involved with the community beyond its gates, in addition to the usual tasks which schools have of imparting knowledge, skills and moral training.

This is why it was considered worthwhile that some attempt should be made, by means of the social and educational survey described herein, to build up as accurate a picture as possible of the community and the school at Hedworth. And then to attempt to place them in perspective, through a contributory consideration of the wider aspects of the subject. It would then be possible to sketch, in some detail, the form that the planning and organisation of a comprehensive school at Hedworth might take.

The approach to the social survey and the educational investigation will be basically threefold,-

a) descriptive (and historical)
b) quantitative
c) qualitative

* op. cit. P.109

The descriptive work includes such matters as a geographical and historical account of the origins of the estate, based on information obtained from the public authorities directly concerned in the planning and building of the houses and schools. Quantitative work includes the drawing up of the tables and schedules giving details of numbers of houses, total occupants, family facts, occupations, and any other relevant information necessary to present a picture of the estate as a collection of houses and families rather than in terms of what kind of neighbourhood or community it is, or might become. On the other hand, what is understood as qualitative work includes the assessment of the material obtained by means of questionnaires, interviews, and certain simple "opinion polls". This is the kind of information which serves to reveal the views held by the people of the estate, their aspirations, their discontents, and their hopes and fears, both educationally and socially.

However, in order to "set the scene", it is proposed first of all, to devote the next chapter to a discussion and an appraisal of some of the literature which has a direct bearing on the application of sociological ideas to urban living and to education. This is followed by a chapter on the growth of secondary education for all, and the evolution of the comprehensive school.

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CHAPTER TWO

The Sociological Setting - Home, Neighbourhood and School

The increasing tendency to apply sociological ideas to education has gone on concurrently with the move towards a conception of secondary education which is based on the comprehensive principle. To a great extent the ideas are complementary, for the application of egalitarian principles to secondary education would at first sight seem naturally to require an organisation on comprehensive lines. But that this is too facile a view to take, will be seen as the argument of this thesis develops, especially in those sections which deal most specifically with the comprehensive "debate".

In general, however, this chapter aims to follow a theme discussed in Karl Mannheim's "Diagnosis of our Time", in which he called for sociological integration in education. He urged that "sociological methods are needed to deal with the cultural and spiritual changes brought about by living in an increasingly urbanised civilisation", and he drew attention to various problems such as "the social processes which disintegrate family and community, the disorganisation of customs and habits and traditional valuations, as well as changes in the nature of work and leisure and their effects on personality". Touching upon the role of the teacher in these circumstances, he called upon the schoolmaster to be more of a lifemaster, who would support the endeavours of social workers, so that together they might be able to "educate a generation of youth which combines emotional stability with a flexible mind".

The movement of families from closely-knit central areas to new estates on the periphery of our towns has been a feature of the general pattern of British urban renewal in the post-war

MAP ONE

Map One - Jarrow and its Environs

S • - Hedworthfield School

- Hedworth Estate

years. And, the resultant disintegration and disorganisation of social and family life referred to by Mannheim have given rise to problems of readjustment which the people involved have had to come to terms with. Sociologists have in recent years paid much attention to these problems, and some of the most significant conclusions made about the new council estates have been that the whole idea of "neighbourhood" is in need of critical re-examination.

The possession of more money to spend, increased mobility, and a tendency for these families to turn inward upon themselves more and more, have resulted in diminishing pressures upon them to seek human and recreational interests where they happen to have their house. The question is thus raised whether they need local centres of social activity, for Disraeli's comment about the 19th century drift to the towns from the country that "there is no community, there is only aggregation" would appear to be true of many of our council estates today.

Problems of Readjustment

The residents of Hedworth were to a certain extent more fortunate than similar council tenants elsewhere. Jarrow is an integral part of the vast conurbation of Tyneside, which includes the great city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, see Map One. The distances involved in their removal to a new environment made less impact on their lives, for the new estate is a mere three miles from their old homes. The children especially quite often walk into Jarrow using various short cuts more direct than the bus routes, to go to the swimming baths, the cinema, the shopping centre, to church functions, and for scouting and other youth activities.

Yet the estate itself is very typical of many such council projects, and very similar to the kind of Corporation estate described by Professor W. Blyth, (1) He says that "during the period when estates are being established, it is quite usual for the newest buildings to accommodate the most recent arrivals from slum clearance, who, unused to living on an estate, unsettled by the change, and often resentful at the impact of economic features such as higher rentals and fares, appear rowdier than the settled inhabitants. The seas of mud and piles of rubble along the new roads, and the nondescript hummocky areas awaiting shops and flats, seem to act as a positive incitement to children to rush about in gangs, with little regard for those patterns of behaviour such as tidiness, and where almost everything appears to be everybody's property and therefore nobody's." The problems touched upon in the passage above are very similar to those aired by residents to the present writer as he made his way about the estate collecting material for the social survey. But there was also evidence of a wide appreciation of the long term benefits which would accrue, once the estate was well settled down.

In the meantime these families are still going through a period of re-adjustment. They have had to begin a new kind of life on the rural edge of the town, and they find it strangely quiet at times, more impersonal, and seemingly underpopulated. In comparison with the older part of the town, with a friendly shop at every corner, they find that shopping facilities are more restricted, necessitating planning ahead for more household needs. They also find that it is no longer possible to "pop in" to see one's neighbour to the same extent as formerly, when all doors, especially in the back lanes, were "on the latch".

J. H. Nicholson [2] has drawn attention to some of the factors with which families must come to terms in facing life on a new housing estate. Moving costs will be a strain on their resources, and it will cost more to live in the new home due to higher rents and fares. In addition, there will be the "mass attacks" of the hire purchase men, and the tenants will tend to pile up debts in order to make the house comfortable. New neighbours will be met, new relationships will have to be formed, and altogether the family as a unit must reorganise and readjust itself to the new situation.

Yet, one must re-emphasise that the people of the Hedworth estate have not been affected as much as, say, London, Birmingham or Manchester, residents who often move many miles, and quite often find themselves among utter strangers. Socially, the Hedworth folk merely suffered a kind of "scrambling", as nearly all of them came from a tightly-knit and densely-housed neighbourhood. Many of them ended up in the same street as their old neighbours, and more than a few actually found themselves next door to the same family as before. There have been some quite astringent remarks about these quirks of fate as one has moved about the estate!

Certain symptoms of stress and strain among council tenants have been the subject of recent studies, notably by Professor Roger Wilson and Dr. John Spencer [3], in the Bristol Social Project. Wilson writes that "human wretchedness will not in future be inescapable by reason of sheer lack of physical opportunity, but by reason of the inability of persons to establish satisfying human relationships in the contemporary pattern of society". And he concludes that "the demands which society makes on individuals involve a much subtler analysis, and a more perceptive response than the physical shortcomings which have been the focus of social

policy over the previous century and a quarter in general, and the last fifty years in particular".

In the three areas of Bristol studied, including the big housing estates built after the war, the researchers were constantly reminded of the variety of levels at which housing estate life was lived. They set up definite projects to study the various stages - The Goslings Club for toddlers, the Adventure Playground for what Blyth has called the "midlands" children, the teenager's Youth Club projects, the Young Mothers' Group and the Small Meetings Rooms experiment for general social activities. In addition, there was the Family Study, which is the most relevant to our present subject.

The Family Study aimed to discover how families might work together as a group, what were the ties of kinship, how the children were reared, and special emphasis was placed on "role performance", - as husband, wife, father, mother, neighbour, wage-earner. There was evidence that these people were much affected by the diverse standards around them on the estate. They were confused by the varying standards and opinions expressed by the mass media of the Press, television, advertising and the cinema. And they were at times bewildered by the changing education and attitudes of their children, and by the instability of values in society at large.

In another study, aptly named "Difficult Housing Estates", Professor Wilson (4) identifies three broad categories of families, - "solids, brittles, and difficults". And it has been quite possible at Hedworth to identify the same types of family. The "solids" are the backbone of support for the primary and secondary schools. The "difficults" have contrived to get

the estate labelled as Dodge City, now less heard than previously, due to the disappearance of Matt Dillon from our television screens. But the frontier town reputation for lawlessness remains.

These two categories of families seem to be relatively well adjusted to the new situation. The solid families are happy in their new-found social respectability; and the present writer has visited many very well furnished, tidy, and pleasant homes over the period of this study. He has witnessed the pride that the occupants take in their homes, and has heard their expressions of satisfaction with the facilities for which they had longed over a period of many years in their old homes, with their outside W.C.'s, lack of bathrooms, and the whole air of dilapidation which pervaded the neighbourhood. Similarly, the difficult families seem to be reasonably content, and continue to be quite happy in their "deviant unconformity", however debilitating it might be to the rest of the community.

As J. H. Nicholson* has pointed out, there has been much controversy over how to handle such problem families. "Environment is not necessarily the cause, and better housing is not necessarily the cure", he writes. And he gives examples of a Northern estate where the housing is admirable but where delinquency is high. This view is supported by Dr. Harriet Wilson (5), who came to the conclusion that/"the time is past for speaking about fundamental causes of delinquency; we know they do not exist". This is borne out to some extent by the information about delinquents given in Chapter 5 below. A wide variety of family situations were involved, but little common ground was detected. The causes of delinquency seem to be more personal than familial, social or environmental.

* op. cit.

The "brittle" families of the estate seem to be a more complex problem. These folk need help from outside, (from social workers attached to firms of general practitioners, for instance), and there is no doubt that their lack of inner security could well be a threat to the mental health of their children. The diffident and withdrawn housewife is all too common on new housing estates; and many at Hedworth have admitted to being frustrated by the pettiness of their everyday existence. Mothers of young children are particularly prone to voice their discontents, as are those who do not go out to work, and many of these reveal evidence of stress. A youngish mother, now a bus conductress, recently showed most effectively how a wider range of interests and activities had changed her values since she had gone out to work. After relating to her interviewer from the "Observer" newspaper how all but one of her five garden gnomes had disappeared over the past few months, she remarked, "What I mean is, if you were at home not doing a job, all, you'd be thinking about all day is, who's taking your gnomes".

Family and Kinship

So far in this chapter certain generalisations have been made about the initial effects, in the way of problems of readjustment, that moving to a new housing estate may have upon the people involved. There now follows a more detailed discussion of the family as a social unit, and its changing role in our society today.

Sociologists are generally in agreement with the fact that society is becoming more family-centred, or at least home oriented. J. M. Mogey (6) in his study of two areas of Oxford, one an area of old housing and the other a new council estate at Barton, found that

the typical estate family tended to "turn inward upon itself". There was a reluctance to mix with neighbours, and of parents to allow their children to play with others. Mogey found that "for a surprisingly high proportion of families the variety of types of social interaction was rather limited". There were no accepted norms of behaviour such as was evident in the older part of the town at St. Ebbe's. Standards and aspirations tended to be modelled on the mass media of magazines, newspapers and television. Altogether he found that "Barton Society is in a state of flux".

An increasing tendency to family centredness was also noticed by Dr. F. Zweig (7) whose studies undertaken in five large industrial firms in Luton, Surrey, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Workington in Cumberland, are all the more typical of the country as a whole because of the wide diversity of areas chosen. He found that council house families were, on the whole, "more houseproud and less gregarious" than similar families living elsewhere. The men stayed at home more, not only because the pubs were much further away, but also because the houses were more comfortable. And he detected in these families a "new suburban drive of status-seeking, through the home".

Both Zweig and Mann refer to the television as a focal point of the home, tending to keep its members around the fireside. And the motor car is seen as an instrument of social change, serving also as an "insulator" from society. It strengthens family ties, and weakens more traditional ties, such as those of a man's "mates". At Hedworth, the remark was made that certain neighbours, much attached to their cars, come out of the front door, go down the garden path, get into the car, and drive quickly away, with "never so much as a glance to right or left".

Parents tend to have an equal status within the family,

Mum being less dominant now that Dad is at home more. And as Professor Musgrove* has shown, in general young people are very appreciative of their parents, and value their homes highly for the emotional support they afford, and above all, for the relaxed personal relationships that generally prevail. Peer group conformity also turns out to be a myth. "At home you don't have to put on an act". Parents often have high ambitions for their children, and little ambition for themselves. Zweig points out that this attitude helps to give parents a basis for mutual co-operation, and an interest in common. The emphasis in the working class family has now shifted from the breadwinner to the child, and "If there is one pork chop left, the kiddy gets it", was a typically revealing remark.

A man's hobbies and pastimes tend to be centred around the home, and Dr. Josephine Klein (8) has observed that "the present-day husband is more of a homemaker than his father was." She found that the average working man wanted to keep himself to himself, and that his particular view of the world of "Them" and "Us" is important for an understanding of the attitudes of parents today. Independence from external agencies is their aim. Solidarity rather than leadership is important. There is a hesitation to enter into any obligation that looks like a "contract", or to be identified with a particular group. This is expressed in a reluctance to "join" local organisations and if people were asked to do so, they were concerned to wonder what they were "letting themselves in for". Not for them the formal commitments which the middle class tend to accept; rather the effortless sociability of day-to-day contacts without the requirement to plan ahead.

* "Social needs and satisfactions of Some Young People", Brit. Journal Ed. Psych., Vol. 36, 1966.

Klein differentiates between "status assenters" and "status dissenters" among working class parents. The status dissenters aspire to social superiority over their friends, by whom they are not wholly accepted in return. They put their children into organisations and arrange activities for them which are not usual among their neighbours, so that their children tend to have rivals rather than friends. The black-coated worker in such situations is more insecure socially, and is often accused of snobbery owing to his marginal position. On the other hand, status-assenting families accept local standards of speech and behaviour, and of ways of living. They make few plans for their children, and above all, "kin solidarity" is what matters to them.

Beyond the immediate family, the influence of kinship is still a very important factor in the lives of working class families today, and many of the problems of readjustment to life on new housing estates has been attributed to the feelings of separation engendered when a family moves into a new and strange environment. Congruent studies made by M. Young and P, Wilmott (9) in Bethnal Green, and by Mogey* in Oxford, have both borne out the strength of "in-group" loyalty in the older slum neighbourhoods, which contrasts dramatically with the comparative isolation and loneliness of life on the new estates.

Professors P. Vereker and J. B. Mays (10) found that "the traditionally closely-knit emotional intimacy of the kin group and the extended family are jeopardised as a result of urban re-development schemes, and, for this reason, much individual hardship is occasioned by a policy which results in the break-up of such familial systems". Certainly at Hedworth kinship seems to be an important factor in the schoolchildren's lives, and one has often been intrigued to hear certain children with different surnames,

* op. cit.

referring to one another as "our" John or "our" Marilyn, and on enquiry finding that this use of "our" may extend to cousins as well as siblings.

Another important factor making for closer ties of kinship is what some writers refer to as "matrilocalism", the influence of older women on their married daughters living nearby; a link often broken by the scattering of families throughout new council estates. "Reciprocal support has been lost", write C. Rosser and C. Harris, (11) in whose study, the Welsh town of Swansea is described as a "series of villages linked together by gossip, much of it being kinship information". They also remark that despite much interchange of kinship services and of visiting one another regularly, each family had a kind of Monroe doctrine regarding invasion of essential privacy. However, Rosser and Harris found that the break-up of family links by the removal of some members to the periphery of the town was only temporary, and that in a very short time the links were re-forged, and the extended family ties even reinforced over a period.

An interesting example of the theoretical sociologist's view of the family appears in Eileen Younghusband's symposium, (12) in which Otto Pollack defined the family as a self-creating and self-liquidating organisation with three interlocking and compensatory sub-systems, - spouse system, parent-child system, and sibling system. Pollack says that first of all, the spouses must emancipate themselves from their own childhood ties in order to assume the role of parenthood. Secondly, when the children begin to claim attention, spouses have to loosen their ties with each other in order to allow for parent-child relationships but they later come together again when the children in turn emancipate themselves.

Finally, siblings provide support for their generation within the family, especially where they are able to show "strength in numbers".

And with this reference to the diverse network of roles which can operate within the family, we turn to the larger social units of neighbourhood and community, to consider what effects they have on family and individual, and how each reacts on the other.

Neighbourhood or Community ?

Dr. Ruth Glass (13) in her Middlesbrough survey, defined a neighbourhood as "a territorial group, the members of which meet on common ground within their own area, for primary social activities and for spontaneous and organised social contacts". An American definition, quoted by Dr. Gilbert Herbert (14) in an article which examines the neighbourhood unit principle, is framed in terms that are significantly more redolent of "neighbourliness" as such, than the British definition. It defines a neighbourhood as "an area in which the residents are personally well acquainted with each other, and are in the habit of visiting one another, exchanging articles and services, and in general doing things together".

Herbert goes on to refer to Clarence Perry's (15) "school unit" definition, used in his New York survey of 1929, in which a neighbourhood was described as a unit that should be able to support one primary school. It should have definite boundaries, open spaces for recreation, institution sites for educational and social needs, local shops on the perimeter, and a street system independent of through traffic. This is more like the community units which have been a feature of some British new towns, but Herbert points out that the latter have tended to over-emphasise

the boundaries of their units with green belts and wedges. This is certainly true of Crawley in Sussex, which the present writer knows well. Herbert stresses that the neighbourhood unit should be an organic component of a greater whole, and cites in conclusion Henry Churchill's [16] sociologically-oriented theory of neighbourhood unit organisation, which stresses the importance of a fourfold inter-relationship of family, social neighbourhood, school unit, and city in any conception of true community development.

On the other hand, Mann* argues that rather than worrying about where neighbourhoods begin and end, one should consider social relationships themselves. "The needs of the individual in regard to the neighbourhood vary tremendously accordingly to sex, age and family status", he claims. And he gives examples of how very meaningful the neighbourhood can be to young mothers with babies, yet how little it can mean to the adolescent, who escapes from it to go down town as much as possible.

Considerable energy has gone into, and much financial support has been given to the setting up of community centres, their aim being to create a true community spirit in new areas of housing. But evidence of the successful outcome of such ventures is rare. Hilda Jennings [17] in a study of a Bristol housing estate at Mossdene gave an all-too typical description of delays in the provision of shops, transport and public houses, and of the problems resulting from a dearth of leisure time pursuits. Community spirit was at a low ebb, there were complaints of un-neighbourliness owing to gossip, and to resentments resulting from over-rash confidences having been revealed to unknown neighbours and then regretted. There

* op. cit.

were frequent quarrels over children. But a community centre was eventually built by voluntary effort and high hopes were held out for its success.

Yet dissensions soon occurred. Committee members were accused of being "bossy", factions were formed, and professional workers were accused of indifference. Teachers especially were said to "arrive in a body in the morning, and leave in a body in the evening without a backward glance at the estate". In the end a Community Advisory Council was set up, composed of councillors, social workers, teachers, and commercial workers with an interest or a stake in the future of the estate. But the Tenants' Association resented being "dictated to", and in the end an uneasy compromise was reached by the appointment of a full time warden, who contrived quietly to run the centre as a quite unremarkable concern, with a small but very loyal membership. Most tenants left the centre severely alone, and preferred to find other means of spending their leisure time, presumably by engaging in the "effortless sociability" described by Klein in the section above, on the subject of the family.

Indeed, the recent findings of R. W. Morris and J. M. Mogey[18] are that "working class families have few leisure time pursuits that can best be met at a community centre". And they recommend that social cohesion might more easily be attained by the encouragement of the growth of small, informal residential groups which would fulfil a wider variety of functions than neighbourhood centres; and which would be less oppressive, would provide the security that many families lack, and would provide potentially mutual help. Morris and Mogey conclude that "sociologists have a responsibility to discover and to formulate social needs", and that a useful step forward might be merely "to achieve a static, rather than a dynamic,

community satisfaction".

The School in its Social Setting

In the face of such tendencies for the family to turn inward upon itself and for its members to reject the wider community as a significant force in their lives, the question must be asked, "What part can the school hope to play in such a situation?"

A systematic sociology of educational institutions has been developing, against the background of which the current concern with secondary reorganisation and with home and school links needs to be viewed. In two surveys carried out by Professor Stephen Wiseman (19) in the Manchester area, and using a very sophisticated method of factor analysis, evidence has been obtained of how attainment and educability can be much affected by environmental and family factors. Various tests of educational attainment given to school children were correlated with family facts, social group, health, type of school, and the character of the education given in the school. Parental attitudes, because of their primacy, were found to be more important than those of teachers and of other children. However, peer group attitudes were found to be a powerful force shaping the attitudes and value-systems of adolescents, whose attitudes to school were also closely linked with their attitudes to authority in general. But it must also be noted that resistance to peer-group pressures quite soon leads most teenagers to assert their own rights against the claims of the "in-group", which early in adolescence tend to be so compulsive*.

On the subject of parental attitudes, Wiseman stresses the value to educational attainment of the family which is actively

* J. F. Morris, "Adolescent Value - Judgements", Brit. Jour. Ed. Psych. Vol. 28, 1958.

co-operative to education - "la famille éducogène". On the other hand, he pinpoints the debilitating effects of the actively hostile family, and also of the larger group of passive conformists, including quite able and intelligent parents, who, according to Wiseman, prefer to "keep down with the Smiths", and thus forego life chances for their children.

Turning to the schools themselves, and Wiseman and his helpers studied as many as 48 schools in the Salford area, it was found that, wherever a fine balance was struck between progressiveness and formalism, active co-operation and response on the part of the pupils was more effectively achieved. On the other hand, in those schools where an inordinately rigid and formal approach was adopted, it tended to "breed apathy and lethargy among the captive pupils, progressing to active hostility in the upper schools, and an intensification of the dichotomy of 'us and them". These findings are borne out by the results of similar work carried out by Professor J. B. Mays (20), whose claim is that a good school may have a potentially civilising effect on a whole community, the primary requirement being that the teachers should have an adequate conception both of the nature of society and of their social role, as well as being able to imbue their pupils with formal knowledge.

But May's main theme is that there is a need for "a new focus of community development, and no institution today so nearly fits this role as the school". Such a school would have close links with the families of the surrounding locality at many levels. It would be a co-ordinating centre for a whole variety of agencies, associated with social welfare and education

in the widest sense of the words. The school would be the local clubhouse, culture centre and advice bureau to which all would naturally turn for guidance, fellowship and enjoyment. In May's words it would be "the psycho-social centre of the neighbourhood". Indeed, one of the apparent advantages of the all-through comprehensive school based on a closely-knit neighbourhood, is its potential value as a focus of community life, especially if the school has been purpose-built to include such a wider function. But taking the wider view of the comprehensive school as being potentially able to offer every social and academic advantage to its pupils, there are some obvious disadvantages to the "one-class" neighbourhood school, serving a catchment area, whose parents are in the lower socio-economic range. However, this particular problem as it affects comprehensive schools will be further discussed in the next chapter, and it is proposed to conclude this chapter with some discussion of the general problem which all schools face with regard to the disadvantaged child.

Obstacles to Opportunity

In the last sentence of their study of social class and educational opportunity, Floud, Halsey and Martin (21) stated that "with the expansion of secondary education and the reduction of gross economic handicaps to a child's school performance, the need arises to understand the optimum conditions for the integration of the home and the school environment at all social levels in such a way as to minimise the educational disadvantages of both, and to turn their educational advantages to full account".

In the past the reasons for social waste in education were due

to poverty, ill health, poor attendance, lack of study facilities at home, and the difficulty for parents to forego adolescent earnings. Today, these factors are diminishing to vanishing point, and social factors of a more subtle nature influence educational opportunity.

For instance, Professor Basil Bernstein [22] has done much work recently on the relation of verbal skills to social background. Middle class parents by teaching children early in life how to use "the tools of reasoning and abstract thought" help them towards success at every stage of their educational progress. By contrast, Jackson and Marsden [23] found that many of the early leavers from grammar schools in Huddersfield did so not from academic inadequacy but from social strains. And working-class parents, tongue-tied and hesitant to approach the teachers, put their children's failure down to "not having got the brains", rather than to difficulties of communication.

These conclusions merely bear out what had always been suspected, and Professor J.W.B. Douglas [24] has done more than most to show how social factors can influence the educability and achievement of school children. In his notable longitudinal study of 5,000 children born in March 1946, he has detected some of the cumulative disadvantages for certain working class children at every stage of their schooling. Both the cultural environment or "family atmosphere", and the material environment of family income, size, living space and conditions, play a vital part in determining a child's su ccess or failure at school.

But it would be rash to conclude that social class is a completely reliable yardstick for measuring the chances of success of our school children today. Recent studies, such as that of Professor T. B. Bottomore [25], have tended to query the

very meaning and significance of "class" in modern society, and the importance of a father's occupation as a guide to social class has been called into question. In a study still being conducted under the direction of Dr. Olive Banks, D. S. Finlayson (26) has commented that classification by occupation tends to "encourage stereotyped thinking about families at a time of rapid social change. It is a conceptual abstraction which does not necessarily correspond to a dynamic group reality, and tends to blur important differences between individual families within the same social class". Finlayson believes that we need to go beyond mere categorisation and look at the concept of "value orientation", which is related to social class attitudes.

Finlayson has also thrown an interesting sidelight on to the question of methodology in sociological studies, by querying how far the statistical sophistiction of such studies as those of Wiseman,* with their use of multi-variate factor analysis, can be expected to take us in understanding the complexities of a dynamic process. Finlayson claims that the approach to such studies has hitherto been too fragmentary, and that it is necessary to treat the variables at different stages of the process sequentially. Thus, his own study is being conducted intensively in a limited field, in two specific schools rather than in a great number scattered over a wide area.

At the same conference at which Finlayson made these observations, Professor Claus Moser (27) also referred to Wiseman's work, and while

* op. cit.

acknowledging the value of Wiseman's findings regarding the extent of differences in educational opportunity between broad social groups, he stressed the need to discover how these inequalities come about. Speaking on the subject of "Degrees of Inequality", Moser listed some of the factors in a child's environment which affect motivation. And he included family income, broad occupational level, parent's education, attitudes to education, the influence of friends, variations of educational provision, size of classes, buildings and facilities at schools, and the general progressiveness of the school, - most of it "negative" evidence. Recent statistics also showed that whatever the social class, family size was a vital factor, and he quoted the following figures.

Family of 2, - twice as likely to get further education than 4 in family

Family of 2, - four times as likely to do so as 5 in family

Yet, he concluded, on the "positive" side a good family background can counteract a slum environment; or similarly, excellence of teacher quality can decisively affect the ability of a child in a "slum school". There should be more research into motivation in education, he added, and multi-variate methods should be applied to research into the patent disparity of opportunity which still exists. Such discussions about "equality of educational opportunity", (if such an ambiguous phrase is still permissible), have been of continuing interest to educationists during the past quarter of a century. But the means of bringing about such equality, and whether indeed true "equality" is either

possible or desirable, has long been the subject of much controversy, not the least of which has been the current debate over the merits and demerits of comprehensive secondary education.

The chapter which follows attempts to trace the development of the comprehensive idea, and at the same time to make some appraisal of the advantages and disadvantages of the system. By this means it is hoped to proceed more objectively towards the "core" of the thesis, (part two), which will consist in the dual task of conducting a sociological survey of the Hedworth estate, and, of making an investigation into the plans for secondary school reorganisation in the area.

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CHAPTER THREE

SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE COMPREHENSIVE IDEA

The history of the process which led to the demand, firstly for secondary education for all, and then for equality of educational opportunity, would appear at first sight to be another example of the classic historical process of British social reform, which has been described as the "inevitability of gradualism", for universal elementary education is just one hundred years old, while provision for secondary education by the state, originated only in 1902. On the heels of the first Industrial Revolution had come a gradual change in our political processes, with concurrent developments in freedom for the trade unions, penal reform, and provision for the relief of poverty and of disease. Adequate provision for education, or at least for some form of basic schooling, came quite late in this process, and was made possible to some extent because the young were becoming increasingly redundant in the factories, and could thus be released to attend school without appreciably affecting production and employers' profits. The children of the working class were to be given that minimum amount of instruction necessary for their humble calling in life. And the schools so created tended merely to mirror what society expected of them.

Yet right from the outset an interesting process of accretion can be traced. The first School Boards were charged with the responsibility of providing "sound and cheap elementary education for the labouring poor", but by 1902 there had developed within the elementary school system a number of Higher Grade schools. Similarly, after 1902, despite a cut back and the statutory enclosure of the Higher Grade schools within the elementary system, there developed Central schools and Junior Technical schools. And once again, after

1944, the Secondary Modern schools, were, according to Professor Brian Simon (1), "cut off from access to external examinations, and allocated only those pupils not considered capable of following a full secondary course, yet they broke through the administrative and psychological barriers, and extended their academic range quite considerably". So also the comprehensive schools, whose development is the subject of this chapter, "have tended to transcend the divisions of the selective system, and have pointed the way to a general transformation". *

It is proposed in this chapter to discuss in more detail the process outlined above, while at the same time taking cognizance of the claims of the grammar school to continue to fulfil its traditional task of providing a separate form of secondary education for those pupils who can benefit from it, and whose parents choose to send them there in preference to any other school.

I

Towards Secondary Education for All

Even before universal elementary education became a reality, Matthew Arnold was saying, (1859), "organise your secondary education", using a term he had imported from the French. But much later the Bryce Commission, (1895), saw secondary education as being "essentially selective and conferring privelege", a vital augury for future restrictive attitudes, according to Dr. Olive Banks (2). Yet at the same time T. H. Huxley † was calling for secondary education to be provided as "an educational ladder for all", while the T.U.C. shifting the metaphor a little, wanted it to be a "broad highway" along which all should have the opportunity to travel. But, "the force of tradition was so great that when, under the Education Act of 1902,

* op. cit.

† Huxley, T.H., "Science and Education", vol. 3 of Collected Essays. 1899, p. 424

the state undertook for the first time the general organisation of secondary schools, the ancient Grammar school, local or non-local, was taken as almost the exclusive model for secondary schools"** and to which only a fortunate few in each area were to be admitted. The new secondary schools were guided along these traditional lines by Robert Morant, who was zealous in ensuring that the new local education authorities should take full advantage of the powers vested in them. And it is owing to his "ardent fathering of the new grammar schools that they became one of our chief educational assets",(3) (W. Lester Smith). But there is no doubt that from this time forth there were virtually two parallel systems of state provided education from the age of eleven, with a gulf between them which is only now being slowly bridged.

It is generally agreed that the demise after 1902 of Higher Grade schools, which had developed out of the elementary system, and which had provided mainly technical instruction, was a setback to the development of secondary education for all. Nevertheless, experiments within the elementary system continued. And the Hadow Report of 1926, in reviewing such developments as Higher Tops, Central Schools, Junior Technical and Trade Schools, summed up this tendency of the national system to throw up experiments in post-primary education as evidence of "a half-conscious striving of a highly industrialised society to evolve a type of school analagous to and distinct from the secondary school", (paragraph 38). It is evident from the above quotation, that the Hadow Committee was still not quite ready to advocate a true and universal secondary education for all. Indeed, its terms of reference required the Committee to investigate post-primary schools "other than Secondary schools". Even more significant was the employment of the phrase "intermediate education", as a description of the Hadow proposals,

** Banks, op.cit.

in a Board of Education pamphlet, The New Prospect in Education (1929). It described the Hadow Report's main thesis as "the provision for every child over the age of 11, of a system of intermediate education in schools set aside for that purpose". But even at the time, this use of the word intermediate was challenged, for it was patently "intermediate" only between the Junior school and the factory or workshop, and was final education for most of those who embraced it.

The concept of secondary education for all had already begun to broaden out during the 1920's, and it was a member of the Hadow Committee, Professor R. H. Tawney, who had published, under the auspices of the Labour Party, a pamphlet (4) with just such a title. Tawney had described English attitudes to secondary education as threefold. Firstly, he referred to the doctrine of "separation", that is primary or elementary education for the working class and secondary education for others. Secondly, he identified "selection", or the means by which bridges were thrown, however slender, between public secondary education and elementary education; and thirdly, a "single system" which he advocated, whereby all pupils went on to secondary education as a matterof course at the appropriate age.

But such a unified system was not yet destined to become a reality. Differentiation was to be the keynote of post-primary education. According to the Hadow Report, "all go forward, though along different paths. Selection by differentiation takes/place the of selection by elimination", (paragraph 89). Yet the demand for grammar school education greatly exceeded the supply of places, and such a statement merely served to blur over the fact that the majority would continue to be "eliminated". Similarly, the trend in the increasingly separated Junior or primary schools, especially

after the second Hadow report of 1931, was for differentiation within the schools, by means of streaming.

Later, the Spens and Norwood reports (1939 and 1943), sought to show how secondary education could be organised with grammar, technical and modern schools in a tri-partite system. Dr. Olive Banks has commented in this context, that "the aim was to secure a universal system of secondary education, while preserving the older conception of the secondary (grammar) school as a training ground for an intellectual élite". * But there is nothing intrinsically reprehensible in such a training, and a recent defender of the grammar school, Robin Davis (5), has argued convincingly that "the justification for selection is twofold. First, there does exist what may be called a grammar school mind which can be differentiated, is a national asset, and responds best to a grammar school type education. Secondly, any appeals to social conscience or envy by calling this different education superior, and therefore demanding the end of separate grammar schools do not really solve the problem".

However, when the 1944 Education Act introduced secondary education for all, as an integral part of an educational system which was seen as a "continuing process" from primary school to higher education, no rules were laid down governing the pattern of the provision to be made. Yet, the period 1945 - 1951, under a Labour Government, saw the tri-partite system firmly established, and for various reasons as well as those outlined above. The move to tripartism was given positive direction by the Ministry of Education, firstly by direct influence, through its new powers to"control and direct" the implementation of educational policy, and also in its role as final arbiter over the "approval" or otherwise, of development

* op. cit.

plans submitted by the local education authorities. In addition, indirect influence was brought to bear through the medium of official pamphlets and circulars, which laid great stress on tripartism to the virtual exclusion of other forms of organisation. For example, the pamphlet "The New Secondary Education", published in 1947, and reprinted many times during the 1950's virtually unrevised, devoted a chapter to each of the three types of secondary schools, and only one tentative paragraph to the multilateral school, stressing the need for very large schools of the latter type, and warning that "it is doubtful whether a school with less than 1500 to 1700 pupils is capable of offering the necessary variety of suitable courses", (p.24).

Other reasons for the development of the tripartite system, were that the three types of school already existed, and that with the raising of the school leaving age to 15 in 1947, continuing economic stringencies forced the vast majority of local education authorities "to concentrate on immediate necessities, accepting the structure that had developed and abjuring any idea of radical change". *

And the radical change referred to here was, of course, the advocacy of a unified system of secondary education by those who supported the multilateral or comprehensive principle.

II

The Emergence of the Comprehensive Idea

As has already been hinted, during the debate on how to bring about ~~the~~ secondary education for all, the idea of "equality of opportunity" had never been far below the surface. Indeed there had been many overt references to the common school on educational and sociological grounds, and also through political considerations, as expressed by the Labour Party and the trade unions

* Rubinstein and Simon, op.cit.

in which the seeds of radical ideas quite often found fruitful soil. During the 19th century, the Chartists had espoused the cause, as did Richard Cobden, who had some acquaintance with the first common schools of New England in U.S.A.

But for the purposes of this study it is sufficient to note that by 1925, the idea of the "multilateral" school had been mooted, as a challenge to the growing emphasis on differentiation. The argument for the multilateral school was predominantly an educational one. It was claimed that children who differed in intelligence, in interests and in rates of learning might be provided for in a single school common to all, with different biasses or "sides". It was further argued that this arrangement would be socially more acceptable than separating the children into different types of school. Such ideas were being put into practice in the U.S.A., were gaining support in Western Europe, and found expression in England through the teachers' associations, and through the writings of educationists.

In 1925, the I.A.A.M. supported the multilateral school at its annual conference, though it must be noted here that the Association turned against the principle after 1945, because of what they considered to be potential threats to the grammar school as a separate institution, and by the granting of "parity of provision" throughout the secondary school sector. In 1928, the N.U.T. called for "experiments with the large multi-bias school", although it did not become overall N.U.T. policy. In 1929, the National Association of Labour Teachers proposed that all post-primary education should be based on multilateral schools. In the same year, Professor R. H. Tawney (6) said that by unifying secondary education "we should be able to forget the tedious vulgarities of income and social position, in a common affection for the qualities which belong, not to any class or profession of men, but to man himself". Too idealistic by far, but in accord with a viewpoint put yet again in 1929, by Sir Godfrey Thomson (7) when he wrote

that "the social solidarity of the whole nation is more important than any of the defects to which a comprehensive high school may be subject." It may be noted that this was one of the earliest references in Britain to the common school being "comprehensive", although Sir Graham Savage, (director of education for the L.C.C. in the 40's and 50's), has gone on record as saying after a visit to North America in 1928, "Everyone in Britain was calling these schools 'multilateral' then, but I did not like the term, and, when asked what they should be called, I said 'comprehensive', because they will cater for every activity and because all children from a given area, regardless of ability, will go to them" *

During the 1930's, there was increasing support for the comprehensive idea, and in 1935 a sub-committee of the newly elected Labour L.C.C. described the schools it intended to create as "a new kind of school which would be large enough to provide, within its four walls, some of all of the activities now carried on in existing types of post-primary schools." Dr. T. W. G. Miller (8), has remarked that up to this point, the comprehensive principle had been merely an academic discussion; and to what extent the L.C.C. meant business, was evidenced by the fact that when their Development Plan was submitted in 1945, it included proposals for a wholesale changeover to comprehensive schooling, all pupils "to have equal opportunity for physical, intellectual, social and spiritual development". That many obstacles lay in the path of full implementation of the Plan was as yet unforeseen.

In the meantime, the Spens Report of 1938, taking the Hadow recommendations a stage further, proposed that all post-primary schools should become full secondary schools administered under the Secondary Code.

* Quoted by Robin Davis, op.cit. p68.

But the authors of the Report rejected proposals put to them for a unified system of secondary schooling, and came down firmly on the side of tripartism, though stressing the need for "parity of conditions" as between schools. In discussing the multilateral school, the Spens Report (paragraph 201), regarded it as "too subversive a change", but it recognized the fact that experiments might be carried out in areas of low population, or in new areas such as housing estates. This reference to housing estates as being suitable for comprehensive secondary school development is a feature which recurs time and again in the literature of secondary reorganisation, and is, of course, highly relevant to the present study.

During the second world war, the comprehensive principle and the multilateral school was the subject of much discussion. In 1940, Sir Fred Clarke (9) denounced the "divisiveness" of post-primary education, and called for education from the ages of 5 to 15 (or 18) to be treated as one whole. It is interesting to note that in giving three possible stages of schooling he included a stage from 9 to 13 years, the "middle school" years of recent comprehensive developments; although he was no doubt thinking in terms of the example of the preparatory school in the independent sector. H. C. Dent (10) at this time was an advocate of a new order in education, which would provide schools where "all should be members of one school, which should provide adequately for diversity of individual aptitudes and interests, yet unite all as members of a single community". But there were formidable opponents of the common school to answer its proponents. Sir Percy Nunn feared that it would be a "featureless mediocrity" *, while Professor I. L. Kandel argued that the common school would "lead to the destruction of excellence". Both Nunn and Kandel kept up a campaign to maintain the

* Journal of Education, February, 1943.

grammar school as a separate institution for the education of an "élite of intelligence", and they have had worthy successors during more recent years in Lord James, Professors Ree and Bantock, and others whose views will be discussed in the section of this chapter devoted to the defence of the grammar school.

With the passing of the 1944 Education Act, it was left open for local education authorities to submit plans for comprehensive schools, and a few took advantage of the opportunity. London, Coventry, Anglesey, The Isle of Man, Westmorland, the West Riding, Oldham and Middlesex, put forward plans for comprehensive reorganisation, and thus to some extent the "idea" was soon to become a reality. And it may be convenient at this point to consider some of the advantages and disadvantages of the system to which these local education authorities had committed themselves.

The comprehensive argument

Possibly the first thoroughgoing "official" appraisal of the comprehensive principle as it applied to Britain was that contained in the notable report of the Scottish Advisory Council on "Secondary Education", published in 1947. The report stated that the case for the "omnibus" school, as it was known in Scotland, was based on the belief that it was the natural way for a democracy to order the post-primary schooling of a given area, and that it mitigated, though it did not entirely solve, the problem of selection and grading. Late developers, once detected, would not need to change schools, and sever ties developed in a familiar environment. Also, it might well promote the success of the school as a community, (paragraph 164). The case against the omnibus school was based on educational and financial grounds, went on the report. The educational objection was that, owing to the limitation in the knowledge, interests and understanding of headmaster and staff, either the able few or the non-bookish majority would suffer. So a fuller professional training, adequate

on the sociological side, to equip teachers to deal sensibly with all types of child would be necessary before such schools could be assured of success, (paragraphs 170-4). In addition, excessive size and excessive cost would be two further formidable problems. The report also went on to discuss variety of courses, and two-tier systems, including a "sixth-form centre" idea. Most of the elements of the comprehensive debate familiar to us today, seem to have been touched upon in this 1947 Scottish report, - "social justice", selection, late developers, the school as a community, the able pupil, size, cost, staffing, alternative forms of organisation, and variety of courses, especially at sixth form level. Many of these are still as controversial today as they were then, so some of the topics raised will be discussed below.

Separation or unification ?

Fundamental to the discussion of secondary reorganisation in England and Wales is the problem of the future of the grammar school should separation and early selection be abandoned in favour of a unified or comprehensive system. Professor William Taylor, (11), an advocate of the comprehensive school, has said that "going comprehensive assumes a certain inevitability in the absence of legitimate criteria for early selection. Our faith in our ability to predict and to classify future levels of performance at an early stage in the child's development has been corroded by better understanding of the social determinants of educability and by the dysfunctional nature of low achievement in contemporary society". Taylor suggests that secondary schools are needed which can hold their pupils for longer periods, help to prevent wastage of ability, and furnish a larger proportion of pupils with the desired skill and knowledge for modern industry and commerce. It is his belief that the comprehensive school might well provide these

better than the grammar or the modern school. These forthright statements of Taylor's will serve, as well as any of the recent pronouncements on the subject, for our starting point, and some of the elements of his arguments will be examined in this section.

During the 1950's the question as to the efficacy or the fairness of the 11-plus examination was increasingly raised, especially by disappointed parents, whose "failed" offspring were denied grammar school places. This kind of parental hostility might have had some effect on local education authority policy, and it was certainly one of the factors, (in addition to the problem of small sixth forms), which motivated Croydon, where the present writer was teaching at the time, in its advocacy of the sixth form college during the early 1950's. But there was also growing evidence that selection procedures were not reliable. In 1957, Professor P. E. Vernon (12) demonstrated the extent to which the reliability of intelligence testing had been questioned among psychologists; insofar as relative success in such tests could be as much an acquired characteristic as evidence of innate ability. Even more to the point, Dr. Jean Floud (13) and her collaborators had at this time shown how family size, basic income, available space per person, type of dwelling, and the cultural environment could "militate strongly against progress in children's education". Social class was seen to be a profound influence on the educability of children, even though not so much a barrier to opportunity as it had been before 1945.

Yet a strong case was, and still is, put for selection of some kind by those who oppose the comprehensive idea. And Robin Davis, closely following Professor H. J. Eysenck's findings, has outlined a plan for selection coupled with parental choice, stressing the need for "perseverance with the refinement of selective tests and procedures rather than their complete abolition in favour

of the comprehensive principle. *

Professor H. L. Elvin (14) has discussed the view of those opponents of the comprehensive system who hold that it might hinder the intellectual development of the ablest, by submitting them to a "school milieu of mediocrity". Elvin says that this involves a question of values, which is basic to the whole concept of comprehensive education. Which do we prefer, he asks, a society in which people of different degrees of academic ability felt themselves strongly to be members of the same community, or a society in which the feeling was weaker, but in which the abler boys and girls had been given special opportunities to develop their own talents, and to use them to society's advantage as well as their own? And Elvin goes on to state that educational opportunity is influenced by social factors, that the distribution of special opportunities for education varied greatly from one district to another; and that early leaving on the part of the ablest pupils of working class origin, who had been given the opportunity but were unable to stay the course, mainly for social reasons, was also an important factor to consider, - "If we want our society to differentiate into less classes or social groups we must erect a structure of secondary education that does not accentuate these social divisions" †. And he goes on to support the common school for all pupils up to 15 or 16 years, followed by differentiation, - to the sixth form college, or to work plus compulsory part-time technical college studies. It will be seen from section III below, that such an arrangement is being increasingly advocated. But there are also strong arguments for earlier separation, and for the continuance of "full"

* op. cit. p. 173

† Elvin, op.cit.

grammar school education. Such supporters of separation, as Professor Harry Davies [15], stress that "any theory that equality of educational opportunity can be brought about by the organisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines, or variations of them, is a superficial view which oversimplifies a subtle and complex social problem". The achievement of a complete education of the entire population could come about only at the end of a long process of social change, which Davies alleges we are still in the midst of, and which "can only be accelerated if far-sighted social policies are adopted". The grammar school, he asserts, is not responsible for the English class system; and he goes so far as to claim that "indeed it has become the main agent in bringing about social change". Similarly, in a very recent book on the grammar school tradition, J. N. Hewitson [16] has said firmly that "it is arrant nonsense to think that comprehensive schools in some mystic way can rapidly change the class structure of this country. Society will have to do this for itself by using all kinds of powerful weapons, amongst which its schools is only one comparatively weak device". This is an argument in accord with the widely held view that schools merely reflect the existing class structure in society, and that they are an insignificant factor in social change. Equality of opportunity can be achieved to some extent through curriculum reform, but more effectively by a vigorous attack on the inequalities of social background. Greater flexibility is needed, in that we are too hidebound to chronological age, when it is obvious that children develop both mentally and physically at disparate rates.

And in the context of the main theme of this section, Hewitson gives support to the views of Robin Davis, already discussed above, when he compares the ethos of the grammar school with that of the comprehensive school. "The purpose of the

grammar school is singular, its objectives limited, and at the heart of the matter is the insistence on the mastery of certain areas of well-established knowledge, the learning of a number of skills, and the development of qualities of mind directly associated with an academic learning". On the other hand, the comprehensive school, by definition, has multiple objectives, with the attendant dangers of imprecision and watered-down aims.

So what has been called the grammar school lobby continues to be a powerful force for opposition to secondary re-organisation. And it has been given further impetus recently by the publication of the two Black Papers of the Critical Quarterly Society, the main theme being that it is wildly optimistic to claim, (as Professor Taylor does in the passage quoted at the beginning of this section, for example), that the comprehensive school can attain standards of excellence, academically or culturally, to match the best of our grammar schools, which have helped to make this country, educationally at least, the envy of much of the world.

So the debate continues, while the requirements of Circular 10/65 make it inevitable that "the grammar schools are under ceaseless siege, and the defences are crumbling fast, despite Prime Minister Wilson's vow that grammar schools would be destroyed over his dead body" §. Such a reference as the above reveals the extent to which political considerations, - doctrinaire, sincere, cynical, or merely electioneering, have entered into the argument.

During the 13 years of Conservative rule from 1951 to 1964, there were challenges from successive Ministers of Education to any plans for "exclusive" comprehensive reorganisation in any one area on the part of those few local education authorities which pressed ahead with comprehensivisation. Such root and branch

§ T. Samuely, in Black Paper Two, p.51 .

proposals were, in Sir David Eccles phrase, treated "strictly on their merits", which often meant refusal. Thus, when the Labour Government came to power in 1964, it was inevitable that the Conservative policy of resistance to a unified system of secondary education would be replaced by one of positive encouragement and even compulsion to reorganise, as will be seen in the next section of this chapter.

III

Circular 10/65 - analysis and discussion

In July 1965, the Minister of Education and Science issued Circular 10/65, which requested local education authorities to submit within a year, their plans for the reorganisation of secondary schools on comprehensive lines. The Circular declared the Government's intention "to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in secondary education". It listed six forms of comprehensive organisation which had "emerged from experience and discussion", and gave an appraisal of each. Two of the forms which the circular outlined were described as not truly comprehensive and only acceptable as interim arrangements. These were two-tier schemes in which some form of separation into parallel schools takes place at thirteen or fourteen, thus involving some form of selection.

The four patterns accepted as fully comprehensive were:-

i) The single tier or "all-through" school for pupils aged 11 to 18.

ii) A two-tier system in which all children transfer automatically at 13 or 14 to the same upper secondary school; that is,an "end-on" system.

iii) A two-tier system, comprising schools for the 11 to 16 age range and sixth form colleges for those aged 16 to 18.

iv) A three-tier system comprising a primary stage from 5 to 8 (or 9), a "middle" school for children aged 8 to 12 (or 9 to 13), and followed by an upper secondary school for the age range up to 18.

The Circular brought about much controversy among supporters and opponents alike; opportunities were seen for prevarication by reluctant local education authorities because of the flexibility allowed, but there were also obvious benefits to be derived from the loose rein applied. For, the Circular sparked off a great debate on our schools, in the form of public meetings, working parties, correspondence in the national and local Press, and discussions on radio and television. Professor R. Pedley's view of this "tremendous democratic debate" is that "inevitably the resulting pattern is like a patchwork quilt; but maybe it is a price worth paying if it has brought ordinary parents inside the school doors, mentally and often physically, for the first time, instead of leaving them shunned on the outside".*

Those who opposed the comprehensive principle were understandably derisive about the lack of financial support which would be forthcoming, one of the most good-humoured observations being, "a) You will proceed with all speed in this expensive venture, b) You can't have any money for it." † More specifically, the opposing argument went thus, " In a sense this Circular has merely replaced one form of selection by another. The examiner is no longer a teacher or psychologist but the Minister himself; the candidates are not now the pupils but the schools; and 'comprehensiveness' has ousted intelligence or ability as the criterion for selection." ‡

* R. Pedley, op. cit. p. 57

† Hewitson, op. cit.

‡ Davis, op. cit. p. 92

And those who support Davis's charge, see a certain permissible strategy in the actions of those local education authorities which continue to drag their feet or even completely to refuse to submit plans, in the face of such a "wholesale invasion of education by politics".

However, Circular 10/65, whatever its shortcomings, and they are not inconsiderable, is a definitive statement which seeks to indicate starting points from which reorganisation might proceed, and as such will be subjected to some analysis here.

The All-through school and the problem of size

The opinion is expressed , in paragraph 6 of the Circular, that the orthodox comprehensive school is to be preferred, as being able to provide the simplest and best solution, especially if it were possible to design a new pattern of secondary education without regard to existing buildings. But of course the great majority of existing buildings are either unsuitable or too small to be used for all-through schools, and the suggestion is made that buildings originally designed as separate schools, wherever they are close enough together, might be used as "split-site" comprehensives. But it has been well said that a so-called comprehensive school comprising separate and distant buildings is a "travesty of an educational institution". *

The point is also made in the same paragraph of the Circular, that all-through schools need not be so large as was once thought necessary and such schools had been successful in small towns, in rural areas, and on the island of Anglesey. As David Ayerst (17) has pointed out, "the arithmetic which suggests that a comprehensive school should be roughly the size of a grammar school plus 3 or 4 modern schools if it is to represent the whole range of ability, has proved to be unnecessarily crude".

* Hewitson, op. cit.

It has been found that a much smaller comprehensive school than of 1,500 to 2,000 pupils was workable, even to include adequate sixth form provision. And so, while 1 in 8 of these schools have over 1500 pupils, there are three times as many between 1000 and and 1500, and twice as many in the 800 to 1000 category. Wales has a number of much smaller comprehensive schools, and there are the rather extreme cases of Windermere and Alston with just over 200 each.

Many very large schools do exist, and yet more are planned, so that the problems of size will face those whose task it is to work in such schools. Ayerst * mentions four characteristics of the big school. It can provide the right things for everybody's needs - the workshop, the "farm", the library. It can be too big, and pupils feel hopelessly lost, while the teachers are too busy to have time enough for individuals. Nor is the Head likely to know his pupils, and the individual teacher is not important enough to be in a position to settle parents' problems regarding their offspring. Finally, and here Ayerst pinpoints the parents' dilemma, that "the school is too big for the child in his early years, but it might well be fine when he is a little older". On the same topic, Professor J. B. Mays (18) might be said to allay some of the fears expressed by Ayerst. Mays claims that it is not necessarily a fundamental weakness that the Head would not know individual pupils, so long as everyone had a personal relationship with at least <u>one</u> teacher. There was also the need for every child to belong to a small face to face group, with whose affairs he could identify himself, and in which he could find some significant role to play. House tutorials seemed to be the solution, and Mays and his collaborators had found much support for the system amongst the pupils. Ayerst was of the opinion that the answer might be for an education

* op. cit. p. 227

authority of a thickly-populated area to provide "a network of middle-sized comprehensives, which would leave parents some considerable freedom of choice between them, especially if a system of junior and senior secondary schools were adopted". And this brings us on to the next section of Circular 10/65, in which such two-tier systems were discussed.

The Two-tier comprehensive school

These schools, consisting of junior and senior comprehensive units each with its own head teacher, and with automatic transfer of all pupils at 13 or 14, have two clear advantages, according to paragraph 10 of the Circular. "They avoid discrimination at the age of transfer, and they will fit readily into existing buildings, with the possibility of developing into orthodox comprehensive schools by extension as new buildings become available".

But problems of organisation by this method must arise, especially where one senior comprehensive is fed by two or more junior comprehensives. There must be positive and full co-operation in the choice of curricula, with an inevitable surrender of freedom by individual schools.

Again, two years is not an ideal period in one school at any stage, but the Circular comes down in favour of 13 as the age of transfer in such cases. For at 14 undue specialisation might occur during the ensuing two years up to external examinations, some subjects not even being begun at all, either out of choice or because two years would be too short a period to justify their inclusion in pupils' study programmes. As the Circular points out, "this is the very reverse of liberal education", (paragraph 32). Yet it still recognises this type of school as acceptable, and a logical development of the notable Leicestershire scheme, which had enabled the county to be the first

to cease to operate the eleven plus selection.

Those areas, such as Bradford, which have had some experience of the two-tier system, are facing the problem of adequately staffing the junior high school. Graduates are understandably reluctant to teach children whom they will know and see develop for only two years. Nor are they attracted by a timetable which can only offer them the prospects of teaching the same age-group over the whole range of ability possibly three or four times a day. Inevitably posts have been filled by non-graduates and by married women returning to teaching in a part-time capacity; and with regard to the latter category, headmasters have had some difficulty in ensuring continuity and quality of staffing.

The middle school

In addition to such a two-tier system as outlined above, the Circular recognises the possibility of straddling the primary and secondary age ranges with a "middle" school, from 8 to 12 or 9 to 13. Such an organisation was made possible by the Education Act of 1964, which followed upon a recommendation in the Plowden Report that the age of transfer from primary schools should be at 12 instead of at 11 plus. There is an obvious parallel here with the independent school system, since the preparatory school is a kind of middle school, between the "nursery" stage (5 to 9), and the public school from 13 plus.

Circular 10/65, paragraph 21, refers to "the immediate attraction" of middle schools in the context of secondary reorganisation on comprehensive lines, and gives two reasons for such an attraction. Firstly, that middle schools seem naturally to lead to the elimination of selection at 11 plus, and secondly, that they "shorten the secondary school span by one or two years, and thus make it possible to have smaller all-through schools". No mention is made

of the educational reasons for the inclusion of such schools, but it has been well said that to be successful these schools will require a new kind of head, and probably assistant teachers who can be both "form-minded" at the earlier stage, and "subject-minded" at the later, with an easy movement over the frontiers that more or less neatly coincide under present arrangements, with the frontiers between primary and secondary schooling.

Dr. Cyril Read, director of education for West Sussex, charged with the responsibility of administering a middle school system, has referred * to five educational and organisational problems which have faced him in the county:

1) Incipient parental resistance to change, which has had to be overcome by a clear exposition of the new ethos and purpose of the middle schools, with the reassurance that they will neither be extended primary schools nor truncated secondary schools.

2) The difficulty of integrating children who move into a middle school from another area.

3) The supply of suitably-trained teachers, with the necessity also for in-service training, as well as ensuring that colleges of education should devote some of their time to middle school methods,

4) The curriculum should be wide, and should combine the new methods of the primary school with the earlier introduction of some subjects traditionally reserved for secondary schools.

5) The majority of middle schools will be housed in adapted and enlarged primary school buildings, an obvious further problem being that facilities for practical subjects might well compare unfavourably with secondary school provision.

* TES 6/10/67 p. 708

In fact Dr. Read points out that in D.E.S. Building Bulletin, No. 35, which contains suggested layouts for new middle schools, "both teaching areas and cost limits compare unfavourably with the arrangements for children of the same age in secondary schools", and also that classes of 40 are envisaged for the 8 to 12 range, and 35 for the 9 to 13 range; a further unfavourable comparison with secondary school provision.

The sixth form college

Probably the most suitable two-tier system is that which includes an 11-16 junior comprehensive school and a 16-18 sixth form "college". Circular 10/65, paragraph 16, while seeing the advantages consequent upon reduction in size, did not entirely favour this method, and envisaged only limited experiments in this field. But there are some powerful arguments in favour of providing for older adolescents in separate institutions. Support for this arrangement was first mooted in the 1940's, and possibly the seminal discussion was that contained in the Scottish Advisory Council's 1947 report on "Secondary Education". The report pointed out, (as was mentioned briefly in Section II of this chapter), that at the sixth form stage the "omnibus" school must provide a whole array of courses, that very small "tops" would be expensive and wasteful, and that it would be inevitable for financial reasons, that some concentration of pupils or some differentiation of the schools, or perhaps both, would be necessary. Three possibilities of solving the problem of sixth form provision were discussed, (paragraph 180),-

Firstly, that the age of 16 might be made a point of transfer for all pupils, the method being"to concentrate the work of the 16 to 18 period in one or two centres, having no younger pupils at all", (paragraph 180 (i). But the report rejected this method, because it feared that a two-year "tutorial institute" could never

in any real sense become a school, and also that it would tend to behead the lower school. A second solution suggested was to apportion various advanced courses among all the secondary schools of an area, and to give pupils the option to transfer schools according to choice of courses. But this method was also rejected because of the dangers of undue concentration upon the specialised courses, to the detriment of a broad general education. The third possibility discussed was that of concentrating sixth form pupils "in classes of reasonable size at some schools and not in others", thus producing a system of short-course (12-16) schools, and longer-course (12-18) schools. The short-course schools would have courses that led on to sixth form work, (even if that had to be taken elsewhere), and the report pointed out, rather hopefully, that such schools need not suffer in general esteem because of this.

Some space has been given here to the discussion in the Scottish Report because this was possibly the earliest detailed reference to sixth form centres or "colleges". And the present writer, who taught in Croydon from 1949 to 1965, can well remember attending a meeting in 1954 at which Dr. E. J. Weeks, the Chief Inspector of Schools and co-author of the abortive Croydon plan for si xth form colleges, cited the first possibility of the Scottish Report outlined above, as the solution to the town's sixth form problems, even though the report itself had rejected the notion. The Croydon report was based on the two main findings in a survey made by Dr. Weeks and the Director of Education, Mr. Rupert Wearing King. Firstly, that based on 11+ performance and subsequent O-level results, many pupils selected for grammar school by the former did less well at O level than some pupils who had gone to the modern schools. These findings, coupled with the fact that the size of Croydon's sixth forms were uneconomic, led

Weeks and King to recommend, and in the end to convince their education committee, that all sixth forms should be collected in one college (actually a new secondary modern school building at Addington), and that all other secondary schools in the borough should cater for the whole 11 to 16 age range. Exceptions to the scheme would be the direct grant and independent schools, which together with some annual free places at nearby Dulwich College took 5% of the selected pupils of the town, - a very generous percentage indeed. Indeed, and this is the main reason for including these facts in this discussion of the sixth form college, it has recently been stressed in Lewis Spolton's (19) work on the upper secondary school, that this separation at 16 + would go some way to removing "the weak link in the chain of maintained education - the small sixth form - which is quite unable to compete with the independent and direct grant schools". Spolton claims * that a large sixth form college, properly equipped and staffed would be better able to "challenge" the independent sector in the competition for places at Oxford and Cambridge. For, he points out, it is not boarding per se which has brought so much academic success to such schools, since only one of the top five in the Oxbridge awards "league" is a boarding institution, - Manchester (day), Winchester (boarding), Dulwich (day), St. Paul's (day) and Bedford (day) in that order, taken over the period 1957 - 62. Spolton expresses the belief that there appears to be no reason why sixth form colleges, "with similarly wide catchment areas in densely populated areas" as the day schools listed above, should not be extremely successful.

However, after this short but fairly relevant digression into the realms of conjecture, one must return to the general argument regarding sixth form colleges, and take a look at the situation

* op. cit. p. 92

as it exists at present in England. The first example in this country of a school of this kind is that at Mexborough in the West Riding. The sixth form college there is an excrescence on an existing grammar school, but with the upper school in separate new buildings for the most part. There seems no doubt that there has been much success with academic arrangements at Mexborough, and Robin Davis has stressed the essentially "grammar school ethos" of the school, which he visited. He came away with little doubt in his mind that it "belongs rather to the grammar school tradition than the comprehensive revolution". * On the social side, the headmaster expressed the belief that earlier maturation, greater affluence, and a vastly changed public opinion had made it imperative that the sixth form should be treated as an adult group. That these young people are in fact adults, or nearly so, is the crux of the social argument for separation, but there are those who in supporting the all-through school, claim that a truly comprehensive school should not segregate by age any more than by ability. They also contend that there should be "gradual and continuous change in status rather than a saltative progression" ǂ Emancipation of the sixth form would thus come from within a framework of continuing responsibility and involvement with the lower school.

Another reason for hesitating to introduce separation at 16 is that well-qualified staff should be involved with the whole age range. And such long-term contact might well be crucial when the choice of staying on or leaving school has to be made, for the influence of known sixth form staff could be far from inconsiderable.

* op. cit. p. 177

ǂ Spolton, op. cit. p. 100

Altogether, however, the case for the sixth form college, or even for the "comprehensive college of further education" as favoured by H. L. Elvin and Robin Pedley, gains increasing support. And at the political level, it is not without significance that as the Labour government, which advocated the all-through school, draws towards the end of its present term of office, and as Conservative hopes for succession rise, the influential Bow Group of the latter party has described the sixth form college as the "best compromise between the requirement of postponing selection and the need to preserve academic excellence and conserve resources within the secondary school system. *

The zoning of catchment areas

One important and controversial topic of Circular 10/65 remains to be discussed here. That is the advice given in the Circular regarding the composition of the school community. Local authorities were urged that 'When determining catchment areas, schools should be as socially and intellectually comprehensive as is practicable", (paragraph 36). And it is in the context of the above statement that some of the most damaging attacks have been made on the comprehensive principle. One of the most perceptive assessments of this situation has been made by A. J. Ayerst †, who argues that it sounds simple enough to look upon a comprehensive school as being able to "take a complete and true cross-section of ability and serve all families in its neighbourhood". But he points out that the definition breaks down, because the two main parts of it are incompatible. For if the planners put the emphasis on the idea of a neighbourhood school, then quite often, unless the neighbourhood is very big and the school gigantic, there will be only a few really able boys and girls,

* Simon Jenkins, "Conservatives and Comprehensives", Cons. Polit. Centre, 1968.

† op. cit.

too few for them to get a fair chance of developing their talents to the best possible extent. If, on the other hand, the accent is put on the comprehensive school as a place where all levels of ability are fairly represented, then it will often happen that the school will have to draw its abler pupils from a wide area and its average and below average pupils from a restricted area.

Ayerst goes on to warn that "it is one thing for schools to attempt to reflect the much more classless society which has been emerging, and to help children to adapt themselves to it. It is quite a different, and much more dubious thing to turn the schools into instruments of social engineering, so that their first objective is not the child's welfare but what is taken to be society's". And Simon Jenkins, in the Conservative pamphlet, already referred to above, has also pointed out that "to pretend that the complex sociological and educational factors involved in geographical zoning of schools might eventually make any difference to the social structure of a community or even the attitudes of its members would be to risk producing secondary school systems that are educational disasters". *

Even such a staunch advocate of the comprehensive system as Professor Robin Pedley has denounced zoning on the grounds that "such a device would mean the destruction of the idea of the comprehensive school as a social and cultural centre for all local people". † A partial answer, according to Pedley, would be that wherever a district clearly fell short of the cultural advantages enjoyed by those people who were manifestly "better-off", it should be possible to compensate, so far as a school can, by

* op. cit. p. 4

† op. cit. p. 82-3

providing better buildings and facilities and more and better teachers in the manner of the recommendations made in the Plowden Report for primary schools in poorer areas.

And so, after the foregoing discussion of the admittedly vulnerable arguments of Circular 10/65, it is now proposed to give an outline of subsequent developments, especially since 1967, when the situation began radically to change, owing to shifts in political control of the local education authorities. These changes took the form of modifications of plans, further hardening of attitudes, and even of militancy in the face of threats to the continued existence of the grammar schools.

IV

Conclusion - the present situation

During the years since 1965, the substance of the controversy about comprehensive schools has subtly changed. In the political field, one can no longer say that the Labour Party is for comprehensives and the Conservative Party is against. The former has shown many signs of compromise on the issue, and the latter does not oppose the comprehensive school everywhere and automatically. But as political power locally has changed hands since 1967, with Conservatives in control of all but two county councils and most of the large cities in England and Wales, it has been inevitable that plans for reorganisation on comprehensive lines have been much revised. For example, the Conservative controlled§ Inner London Education Authority intends to retain maintained grammar schools for 10% of the pupils in its area, but does not intend "simply to tear up every comprehensive proposal for its schools".

This trend towards only partial reorganisation for most, full reorganisation for some, and no reorganisation for a few, is

§ ILEA now controlled by Labour, April, 1970.

reflected in the DES figures for 1969 and 1970. By January 1969 there were 880 comprehensive schools run by 93 out of the 163 local authorities, of which 22 had gone completely comprehensive. By 1970 the estimate was 975 schools run by 95 authorities, 25 being completely reorganised. Seven local authorities have refused to submit plans, and a further 24 have either delayed submitting them, have had schemes rejected, or have withdrawn plans previously submitted. Thus four and a half years after the issue of Circular 10/65, it would seem that it will clearly be a very long time before the number of children being taught in comprehensive schools amounts even to a simple majority.

In addition, there have been changes in the nature of the schemes for reorganisation with a tendency for two-tier schemes to proliferate, but with the orthodox 11-18 school still maintaining an ascendancy. But also, and beyond mere statistics, a pattern of acceptance and rejection has been apparent. Comprehensive reorganisation has gone ahead in rural areas and in new centres of population without much opposition. But wherever direct grant and independent schools are well represented, the situation becomes complicated, and authorities are faced with the problem of how to "select" for the free places in such schools. In large towns, with well-established and successful maintained grammar schools, resistance to their closure, or at least to a change in their character to comprehensive schools, has led at times to intense opposition.

In the case of Enfield in 1967, ratepayers and parents of the town's secondary school pupils won a Court of Appeal action against the local council, which was found to have "failed in its lawful duty to maintain the eight schools by changing their nature". The ruling also pointed out that if the schools were

"new schools", then the council was at fault for not providing new buildings. Such was the threat to the furtherance of government plans for reorganisation, that a special Education Bill was brought in early in 1968, so that the position regarding changes in the character and premises of county and voluntary schools would be clarified, and reorganisation made possible without the threat of protracted legal wrangles developing at every turn.

Yet, the government has still had to face the problem of those local authorities (including the city of Birmingham) which have persistently refused to submit plans for reorganisation. And an Education Bill was brought in, during February 1970, to make it obligatory for local education authorities to submit plans for reorganisation on comprehensive lines, and to end "selection by so-called ability, which really amounts to selection by social background". * But, as the Times Educational Supplement has recently pointed out, such legislation can do little to deter reluctant authorities from submitting patently unrealistic and expensive plans stretching far into the future; or, for example, submitting "split-site" plans which it is known that the D.E.S. will reject, thus buying time. The TES article † also gave further examples of plans, and naming specific local education authorities, in which schools were deliberately to be kept small, so that with a number of 5-form entry schools, the possibility is left open for certain of them to build up an academic advantage over the others; or of maintaining single-sex comprehensives with parental choice, outside normal catchment areas, thus enabling separate boys' and girls' "grammar" schools virtually to survive. In general, what was described in the article as "gerrymandering of catchment areas", has been a factor in the tactics of reluctant local education

* Mr. Edward Short, speaking on the Bill in the Commons, 12.2.1970

† T.E.S. - 12th December, 1969.

authorities, as has unlimited parental choice, resulting in oversubscribing to certain schools with good reputations, and therefore necessitating creaming of pupils before admission. Another example of tactics designed to retain grammar schools within the system has been proposals to rename them "pre-university" schools and allowing "high flyers" to transfer there. However, the T.E.S. article acknowledges that the Department of Education is "wise to most of these tricks", that they delay replying to awkward councils, and request further information about plans they dislike.

W. O. Lester Smith (20) has written in terms of regret about this intrusion of politics into education. "There has been a good deal of unpleasant controversy about comprehensive reorganisation which soon got involved in the rough and tumble of party politics". This was most unfortunate, he continued, "because it was important that the merits and demerits of comprehensive schools should be assessed without prejudice. Many who wrote and spoke fervently for and against them had little actual experience to go on, and such as they had was derived from information about complete systems of comprehensive or common schools in other countries". In this context, it is useful to record an American opinion, that of Dr. J. B. Conant (21), that it would be extremely difficult to say what is a good educational system except in terms of a particular society. And he went on to observe that "educational practices are not an exportable commodity".

Even more relevant to the subject of this thesis is Conant's claim that "a school cannot be separated from the context of the families that it serves, nor from the overall social framework in which the pupils will probably function as adults". Certainly, in the United States of America, the egalitarian

impulse in American society, with its dislike of artificial barriers and unearned privileges, gave rise to the kind of schools that would reinforce these same convictions. The driving force came from the community, but there is no reason to expect that it will work the other way round, and that in Britain the setting up of comprehensive schools will eventually put an end to social divisiveness. Indeed, as has been well argued elsewhere in this chapter, because neighbourhood comprehensive schools serve relatively small catchment areas, especially in urban areas where the problems of inequality are greatest, the result is that socially homogeneous schools might well reinforce rather than combat class consciousness.

Yet, the linking of the nature of schools with the nature of society is related to a continuing process of change in the function of schooling in this country, and was first given expression in the 1944 Education Act through its declared aims of attempting "to secure for children a better start in life and to strive for social unity within the educational system, which might open the way to a more closely knit society." * And the statutory requirement of 1970 to organise secondary schools on comprehensive lines is based on the same fundamental aims. Firstly, in the belief that the comprehensive school is capable of becoming a function of the <u>community</u> in a way that the segregated school cannot; and secondly, that educationally, the comprehensive school might be more liable to provide the right course to match the needs of each child as an <u>individual</u>.

And with these social and educational objectives in mind, it is now proposed to describe in Part Two below, the results of the social survey and the educational investigation which form the "core"of this work. It may then be possible in Part Three to draw certain inferences from the combination of the literary

* Board of Education, "Educational Reconstruction," 1943, para. 1.

appraisal of the last two chapters and the practical findings of the surveys, in order to attempt to indicate the lines along which the planning and the internal organisation of a comprehensive school might proceed in the special circumstances of a new housing estate and its environs.

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PART TWO

- THE SURVEYS -

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION

It is proposed in the first section of this chapter to indicate the kind of approach made to this survey, the influences which guided such an approach, and the methods by which the survey was carried out.

The next section consists of a brief description of the geographical and environmental setting of the estate at Jarrow, a small town in the vast conurbation of Tyneside. Then follows the detailed presentation of facts and figures obtained in the social survey of the estate during the summer and autumn of 1967, and the spring of 1968.

Figures relating to the number of houses, family-size, occupations of heads of households as well as to the young persons of the estate are presented, followed by the figures for mothers at work, parents' education, family religion and similar facts. It is hoped by these means to build up a picture of the anatomy of a new and growing community.

The fourth and fifth sections present and analyse leisure-time pursuits, holiday arrangements, the level of literate activity as indicated by a survey of periodicals taken, books owned, the use of the public library and other relevant "cultural" interests and attitudes to life on the estate. By these means it is thus hoped to broaden the picture, and to observe the "physiology" as opposed to the anatomy of life on the estate.

I

The Approach to the Survey

The work of such sociologists as Professor Claus A. Moser [1] and of the American, Pauline V. Young [2] on the subject of how to conduct social surveys, has been closely followed in this investigation of the sociological anatomy of the estate at Hedworth. Young's advice is that in surveys of this nature, the necessary data should be obtained "without harrassment and without embarrassment", while Moser says that although stranger-value in questioners is desirable for certain purposes, the less formal that interviews can become the better. The most valuable sociological information is, he says, "often obtained in casual talks on an absolutely equal footing and through friendly intercourse". This is an interview situation which it is hoped has been successfully attained in this study, despite the apparently fundamental disparity in communication inherent in any relations between parent and headmaster.

Moser further points out that a valuable method in sociological investigation is simple observation, - "not asking what they do, but rather watching how they do it". He concludes that such a method helps a researcher to gauge the true feeling of a neighbourhood, especially when it is matched against the numerical data of the schedule and the questionnaire. The frequent and sometimes almost daily contact with many of the people featured in this survey over a period of three years, one imagines, must have been of some value in this respect.

Moser also strongly recommends pre-tests and pilot surveys before the main work of a survey is embarked upon, and this study has attempted to follow these two requirements by means of a pre-test in 1966, when the pupils and staff of Hedworthfield Secondary School conducted a social survey, which although at school project level, nevertheless served as a useful guide to possible co-operation or otherwise, with the families of the estate. In the summer of 1967, a full pilot survey of one street was carried out by the present

writer, assisted by the school clerk, in order to gain further insights into the attitudes of the tenants to requests for more detailed information than that obtained in the social survey by this school.

At this time, a fair proportion of refusals were encountered, and more significantly, the accuracy, the thoroughness of answering, and even the basic literacy required by the first schedule-form questionnaire was very varied indeed, and necessitated changes in method when the main collection of data was begun in the late summer and autumn of 1967.

A note on (and a defence of) the methods used.

The methods used in gaining information were to say the least, diverse and persistent. The bulk of the distribution and collection of forms were undertaken by senior girls of the school, a valuable exercise in social graces in itself as was daily seen on the doorsteps of the residents. At a later stage, street committees of pupils resident in particular streets were convened, and much missing information was collated, either directly, or by discussion and collaboration. This was also a useful educational exercise, in that it encouraged the young people to think about their neighbours in an informed manner.

Here one must point out that the caveat of theYounghusband Report* was borne in mind, and confidentially was insisted upon. The Report also stressed the need for questions to be restricted to information relevant to the study; and care was taken that the work did not deteriorate into what the Report described as "enquiries which may sometimes be a polite name for vulgar curiosity". That no

* Social Workers in Local Authority Health and Welfare Services", H.M.S.O., 1959.

harm was done at Hedworth is evidenced by the fact that no complaints were made by any of the tenants, and indeed there were many cheery enquiries into how "things were going" whenever the groups descended upon the households, led by their sometimes hesitant leader.

Moser* remarks that the level of refusals and "don't knows" is a good test of the adequacy of a questionnaire, but the experience of this survey has been that a certain amount of sociological "capital" may be made out of the refusals, inasmuch as these were the tenants not directly involved in the outcome of the enquiries, and it served to identify those with no stake in the schools, or in the educational future of the community. But in the end, all the refusers were at least included in the house occupancy and family count. Even the occupations of most of these people were finally obtained, completely anonymously of course, from information given by neighbours, who usually vouched for the fact that the data was accurate, and also that no strong objection would be made to such second-hand, as opposed to under-hand, methods of including their friends in our survey.

In any event, all the facts so persistently obtained were ultimately absorbed into the impersonal statistics, which are set out below from time to time. Also, the aim of obtaining a near 100% return, as opposed to a random sample, follows strict sociological practice, for it was realised that the only true alternative to a scientifically accurate random sample is a full census, since a haphazard sample degenerates into useless guesswork.

II

Hedworth Estate - Origins and Plans

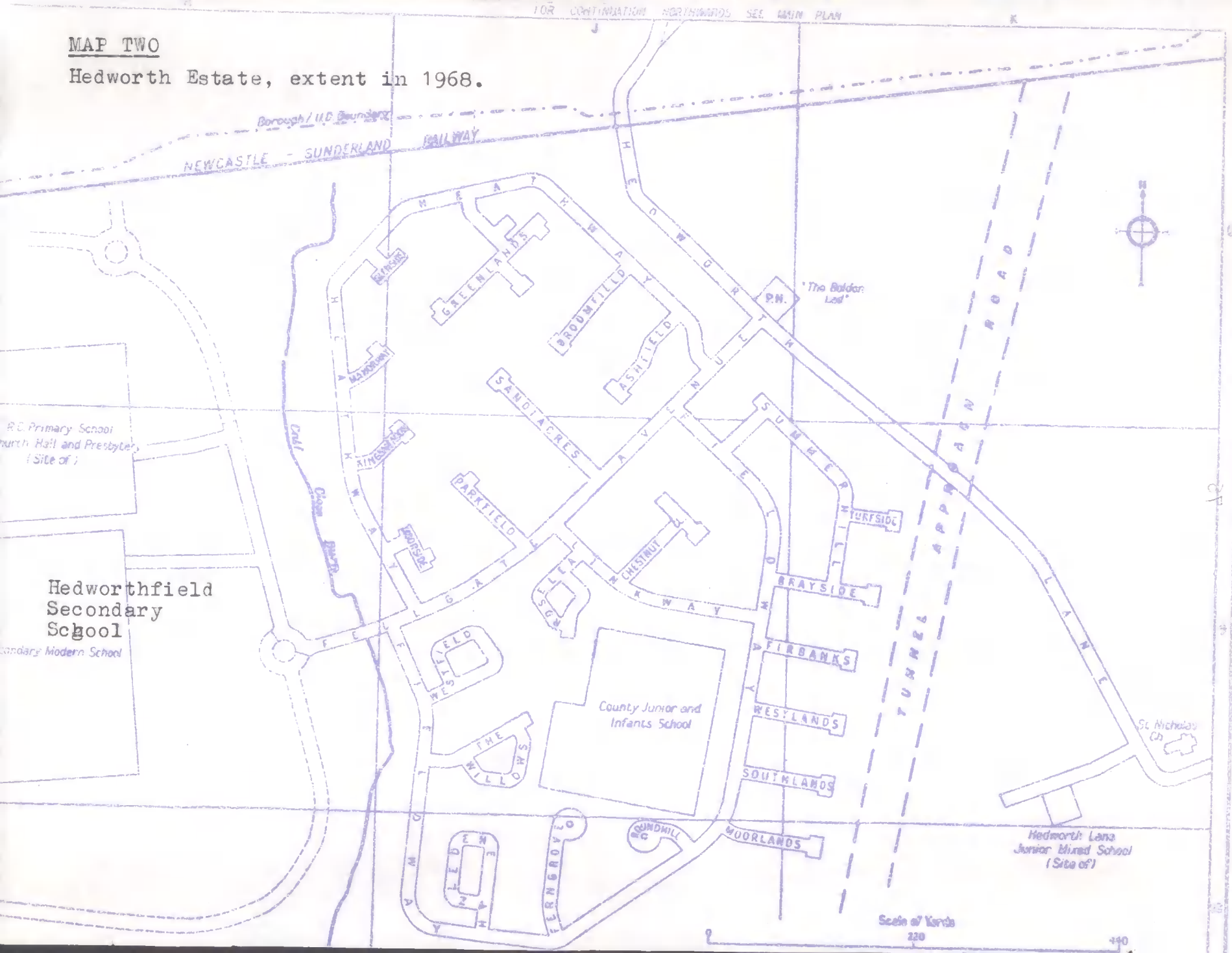
The Hedworth Estate, is an "overspill" housing project of

* op. cit.

MAP TWO

MAP TWO

Hedworth Estate, extent in 1968.



the borough of Jarrow, built on 230 acres of Boldon Urban District land, which was purchased by Jarrow Council in 1955. Map Two is a plan of the estate as it was in 1968. Hedworth is an estate with well-defined boundaries, which tend to make it a separate unit. To the north runs the Newcastle-Sunderland railway, on the west is farmland, to the east is the new Tyne Tunnel approach and road system, while the south is bounded by the inward-looking village of Boldon Colliery; an even more insuperable barrier in practice, than the deep cuttings and dual carriageways of the Tyne Tunnel approaches, according to some Hedworth residents.

Between 1959 and 1963 a total of 639 houses were completed and let to Jarrow families rehoused as a result of the re-development of central Jarrow, and also from areas demolished to make way for the Tyne Tunnel approach road system. The original plan was for 1,200 houses to be built, but there was a pause of over three years, caused by hesitation on the part of the Boldon Urban District Council to assent to a boundary revision in favour of Jarrow while the review of Tyneside under the Local Government Commission was still under consideration. When, however, it became evident that Boldon U.D.C. would retain its independence in a green belt area should there be a "Greater Tyneside" created, a further request for a boundary revision by Jarrow met with no objection from Boldon. Thus on May 1st, 1967, Jarrow once more went ahead with plans for Hedworth, the estate being officially included in the borough, under Section 141 of the Local Government Act, 1933.

Underlying these bare facts there is a wealth of human interest and local political by-play, which is revealed to some extent in two sentences in a report to the Minister of Housing and Local Government by the Town Clerk of Jarrow, who kindly supplied much of the information for this account. The report says:-

"The Hedworth people are Jarrow people who travel into Jarrow for work, shopping and leisure, and who wish to belong to Jarrow. The return of these people within the boundary would seem to be a basic matter of social justice".

And so the Babylonian captivity came to an end, and Hedworth could rest easy, and look to the future as an integral part of the town. As one of the tenants remarked, "I never did like being an overspill anyway, it sounded like something horrible".

In addition to the council plans, two other projects for the building of a further 800 to 900 owner-occupied houses have been commenced by private building companies. Thus, by the early 1970's it is envisaged that there will be about 2,000 houses in the area, from which many of the pupils for the proposed "all-through" comprehensive school will be drawn. Children from older, neighbouring council estates of Jarrow to the north and east will make up the numbers for the 9-form entry school.

Jarrow - "the town that died"

The background from which the families on the estate came is briefly sketched in the Jarrow Town Clerk's report mentioned above. He writes,

"All the people rehoused are former residents of the existing borough, who owing to the re-development of the Central Area could not be immediately rehoused on cleared sites in the centre, and because of the very high density housing which existed in the old parts of the town. It was, therefore, quite rightly considered that it was undesirable to perpetuate such high density in future housing projects. It was essential that the people should be rehoused in better living conditions in a clean environment, giving the Council necessary time and breathing space to clear away the rubble of the old town as redevelopment progressed by planned stages".

A modern precinct-type shopping centre and very well laid out multi-storey and low-level flats have already been completed in the

central area, which tends to give the lie to the old description of Jarrow as the "town that died". Indeed, Jarrow folk become a little impatient about references to the 1930's and prefer to point with pride to the signs of post-war recovery. But nevertheless, a plaque in the town centre commemorates the Jarrow Hunger March of 1936, and depicts a column of gaunt men in cloth caps and crumpled suits, wearing rolled blankets across one shoulder like a bandolier, determinedly striding towards London to present their petition of protest regarding unemployment to Parliament. The Jarrow Crusade, as it is known in the town, drew the attention of the nation to the fact that more than three-quarters of the workers were unemployed, due to the Great Depression, but more particularly for these men, because of the closing down of the famous Palmer's shipbuilding yard and its associated works.

These facts are extremely relevant to the present study not only because 600 or so Jarrow families figure in these pages, but also because it is plain to see that recent history has had the effect of giving these people an extra edge, that drives them on to the stage where, "Never again" is their watchword. The town today is vigorous and flourishing, the schemes for municipal improvement have been both enlightened and ambitious; sometimes too ambitious for a non-county borough tied to the apron strings of the vast County Council of Durham. The level of unemployment is still precarious, but the town looks with hope to the further extension of the light industrial Trading Estates.

The population of the town has never recovered to what it was at the beginning of the depression, being 9,000 less than that of its peak year of 1918, and it long ago lost its dubious record of being one of the most densely-housed areas in Britain, having settled down to a figure of 27,000 inhabitants, (see Table 1 over)

* TABLE 1 - BOROUGH OF JARROW

Year	Area in Acres	Popn.	Inhabited Houses	Density per acre
1918	1,064	35,590	7,021 (5.1 people per dwelling)	6.6 houses
1967	1,971	26,770	8,359 (3.2 people per dwelling)	4.3 houses

* Data obtained from County Record Office, Durham.

III

Family Facts

As was seen in Section II , there were 639 council houses on the estate in 1967. Since then the estate has been steadily growing, and also owner-occupied houses have been built so that the ultimate pattern of the community will be more diverse than indicated here.

A fairly exact count of all residents was taken, yielding a total population of 2,523, that is 3.9 people per dwelling, compared with a figure of 3.2 for Jarrow as a whole, which is not surprising in a growing community with young families. Yet, it soon became evident that this was not so much an estate of young families as was at first thought, there being 487 "family" houses out of the

TABLE 3 - FAMILY SIZE

1 child	-	109	4 children	-	59	7 children	-	8
2 children	-	159	5 children	-	37	8 children	-	0
3 children	-	98	6 children	-	14	9 children	-	3

TOTAL - 487

TABLE 4 - AGE GROUPS OF OFFSPRING

(1)

AGES	NO. IN AGE GROUP
0 - 5 years	274
5 - 11 years	569
11 - 21 years	391
Over 21 years	76
Total	1,310

(11)

	1967	LEFT
Primary School	569	-
Modern School	207	212
Grammar School	36	7
College	3	2
Totals	815	221

total of 639 for the whole estate. (See Table Two in Appendix One for details of house occupancy by streets).

There were 32 young or childless couples, 62 retired couples, and 18 old folks' bungalows. In addition, there were 29 women and 7 men living alone in single-bedroom flats. Two pairs of aged sisters, a man and his daughter, and two brothers in their twenties, completed the "non-family" homes count, amounting to a total of 152 houses in which no children were living.

Family size information brought few surprises, two-children households being the most frequent with 160 out of 487. There were 109 homes with one child, 98 with three children, and 3 homes with nine children, the highest on the estate. (See opposite, Table 3, for details of the full family-size count).

An analysis of the age groups of children reveals the predictable result for typical housing estates, of a great proliferation of very young children, and those of primary school age. Of a total offspring estimate of 1,310, there were 843 under the age of 11, and of these, 274 were under the age of five years. At the other end of the age range, 76 were over the age of twenty-one and 221 had left school and were out at work. There were only 243 young persons of secondary school age, 126 attending the Modern school which is part of the subject of this study. (See opposite, Table 4 for an analysis of the figures, by age groups).

But the human facts beyond the figures given in the tables reproduced in these pages are also of interest; and they help to build up the picture of a "community", which is one of the main aims of this study. For instance, visits to the 18 old people's bungalows were always a pleasure. The old folk also have a

nineteenth bungalow, which they use as a social club, and there was little evidence of the neglected loneliness that is so common among old people today. In the first survey, tape recorders were taken into some of the old people's houses, and their reminiscences were played back as examples of "living" history in the school. Only one house was empty at the time of survey, and there was also one house in which two young men, recently bereaved brothers, having lost both parents, were managing to maintain the family home against the day when the elder would be married. Some streets were much quieter than others, wherever older people formed the bulk of the residents; and there were in these streets, two examples of spinster sisters living together in surprising gentility for a housing estate. Also, there were 7 houses in which elderly men lived alone, two of them retired bachelors.

The streets where there were a large number of young families were always teeming with activity, and there were some complaints from residents about vandalism, or irresponsible behaviour by youths. The two policemen living and working on the estate reported that there was a quite disturbing incidence of delinquency, as well as the existence of a hard-core of deviant families, well-known for their petty criminal activities. But there was little evidence that there was developing a "rough-end" to the estate, and most people appeared to be reasonably well-adjusted to life at Hedworth.

In fact, as was mentioned in Chapter Two, most of the estate had been populated with families from a closely-knit area of dense housing, and many people seemed to know each other well. This also explains the mixture of family and non-family homes. The need to accommodate the old folk, the bachelors and the spinster sisters all at one and the same time, was due to the demolition

TABLE 5 - STREETS OF ORIGIN IN JARROW

of 118 families, from 128 on the roll of the Modern School, May, 1968

Clayton St.	-10*	Wansbeck	-2	Victor St.	-1*
James St.	-10*	Nansen St.	-2	Randolph St.	-1
		Wear St.	-2*	Grange Rd	-1*
Ellison St	-8*	Commercial St	-2"	Weston Rd	-1*
		Buddle St	-2*	Pearson Place	-1
Walter St	-7*	Franklin St	-2	Milton St	-1
Nixon St	-7*			Beaufront Tce	-1
				Featherstone Gr	-1*
				Not Jarrow	
Potter St	-5*				
Newmarch St	-5*				
				Total	118
High St	-4	Shakespeare St	-1		
St. Pauls Rd	-4*	Nixon St	-1		
		Palmer St	-1*		
Union St	-3*	Stead St	-1*		
Monkton Tce	-3*	Derby St	-1		
McIntyre St	-3*	Dixon St	-1*		
Dee St	-3*	Princess St	-1		
Salem St	-3	York Ave	-1		
Howard St	-3*	Harold St	-1*		
Albert Rd	-3*	Raglan St	-1		
Queens Rd	-3				

* Not now standing, 25 streets.

of an old area of the town. The construction of the Tyne Tunnel road approaches had also entailed the pulling down of some quite "good" streets, with the result that there was a leavening of families who were financially slightly better off, and whose offspring tended to be older than average, and at work, or else had married and left home.

A sample analysis was made of the "streets of origin" of the pupils of the Modern School in the early summer of 1968. There were 152 pupils on roll, representing 128 different families, ten of which were not included due to absences on the day the enquiry was made. Of these 118 families, all but four had come from Jarrow, and 60 had originated from 9 streets in the centre of the town. Altogether 25 streets not now in existence were mentioned, (see Table 5 opposite), Pupils of the school were able to confirm that the majority of the other families on the estate, had come from the dozen or so streets which head the list.

Kinship

Information about kinship patterns and frequency of kin visiting by families on the estate were obtained from the same 118 families mentioned above. Grandparent's addresses, and the towns in which uncles and aunts resided were obtained, and also questions were asked about kin visiting during the last week and the last month, either on the estate, in Jarrow, or elsewhere.

It was found that of the 118 families, 82 had one or both sets of grandparents living in Jarrow, (including 14 families with grandparents living on the Hedworth estate). 11 families had grandparents elsewhere in the Northeast, 1 family had both sets of grandparents living in the South of England, and 24 families had no entry for either set of grandparents, some being deceased,

and others shown as "not known". Despite these last figures which indicate that nearly 1 in 6 families are out of touch with all grandparents, the overall figures support strikingly previous statements in this study how closely-knit the families at Hedworth tend to be, and of the parochialism of the estate as a whole.

However, in order to obtain a balanced picture of the extent to which migration of membersof the parents' families had occurred, note was taken of the places where a total of 601 aunts and uncles of 118 families now reside, with the following results:-

Jarrow (including Hedworth)	315
Tyneside	86
The North and Scotland	70
The South and elsewhere in UK	103
Abroad (Australia 8, N.Z. 6, U.S.A. 5, Canada 2, Service families abroad 6.)	27
Total	601

This relatively even dispersal of families, half the members remaining locally and half finding jobs elsewhere, seems to be typical of a district where there is a tradition of migration and of precarious local employment.

An analysis of kin visiting patterns revealed evidence of a great deal of regular coming and going between members of families, muchof it bearing out Dr. R. Frankenburg's[3] comments in his discussion of Young and Willmott's, and also Townshend's surveys of family life in Bethnal Green, London. This is a district very similar in its kinship patterns to the part of Jarrow from which most of the

TABLE 6 - KIN VISITING- 118* FAMILIES

Seeing relatives in last week:-	On estate	In Jarrow	Elsewhere
On Fathers' side	50 contacts	58 contacts	43 contacts
On Mothers' side	48 contacts	48 contacts	55 contacts
Seeing relatives in last month:-	**On Estate**	**In Jarrow**	**Elsewhere**
On Fathers' side	41 contacts	47 contacts	49 contacts
On Mothers' side	42 contacts	44 contacts	52 contacts

Grand total of contacts - In last week - 302
In last month - 275

* 4 families recorded no contacts at all, 114 families at least one contact.

TABLE 6 (a) - "MULTIPLE" CONTACTS (IN LAST WEEK ONLY)

Contact with 1 set of relatives -	22 families
Contact with 2 sets of relatives -	35 families
Contact with 3 sets of relatives -	23 families
Contact with 4 sets of relatives -	18 families
Contact with 5 sets of relatives -	5 families
Contact with 6 sets of relatives -	6 families
Total: -	109* families

* 9 families recorded no visits at all in last week.

Hedworth residents originated, even though differing vastly in geography and local culture, for "the Bethnal Greener is surrounded not only by his own relatives and their acquaintances, but also by his own acquaintances and their relatives".* But most significantly in its parallel with Jarrow, they are "people in one residential block who appear to be broadly free from prestige status, and class differences."*

However, complete open house seems only to be extended to the female side of the family, a manifestation of the matrilocalism described earlier in these pages. But in Bethnal Green, as at Hedworth, the husband might well call in on his side of the family almost daily, on the way home from work, or else for regular visits on a particular day of the week. "Tuesday's my day for seeing the old folk", or "I go round to our Joan's every Thursday". And there is a lot of explaining to do if he misses a week at either place; the "continuing story" of Hedworth must be passed on regularly.

Some measure of the number of contacts made with relatives on both sides of the family, on the estate, in Jarrow, and elsewhere is given by the figures in Table 6 opposite. It was also interesting to note that all but 4 of the 118 families had made at least one visit in the last month, and that many families made "multiple" visits; that is, to both sides of the family living on the estate and in Jarrow, or in Jarrow and elsewhere, or in all the six possible combinations on the form, (See Table 6a opposite). Single contacts only were noted in Table 6 and 6a, but frequency of visits to any particular kin was sometimes recorded by families, with such comments as "every day", or"four times", and so on.

Frankenburg comments on the comparative stability of Bethnal Green society, a noticeable feature at Hedworth too, and for the

* Frankenburg, op.cit.

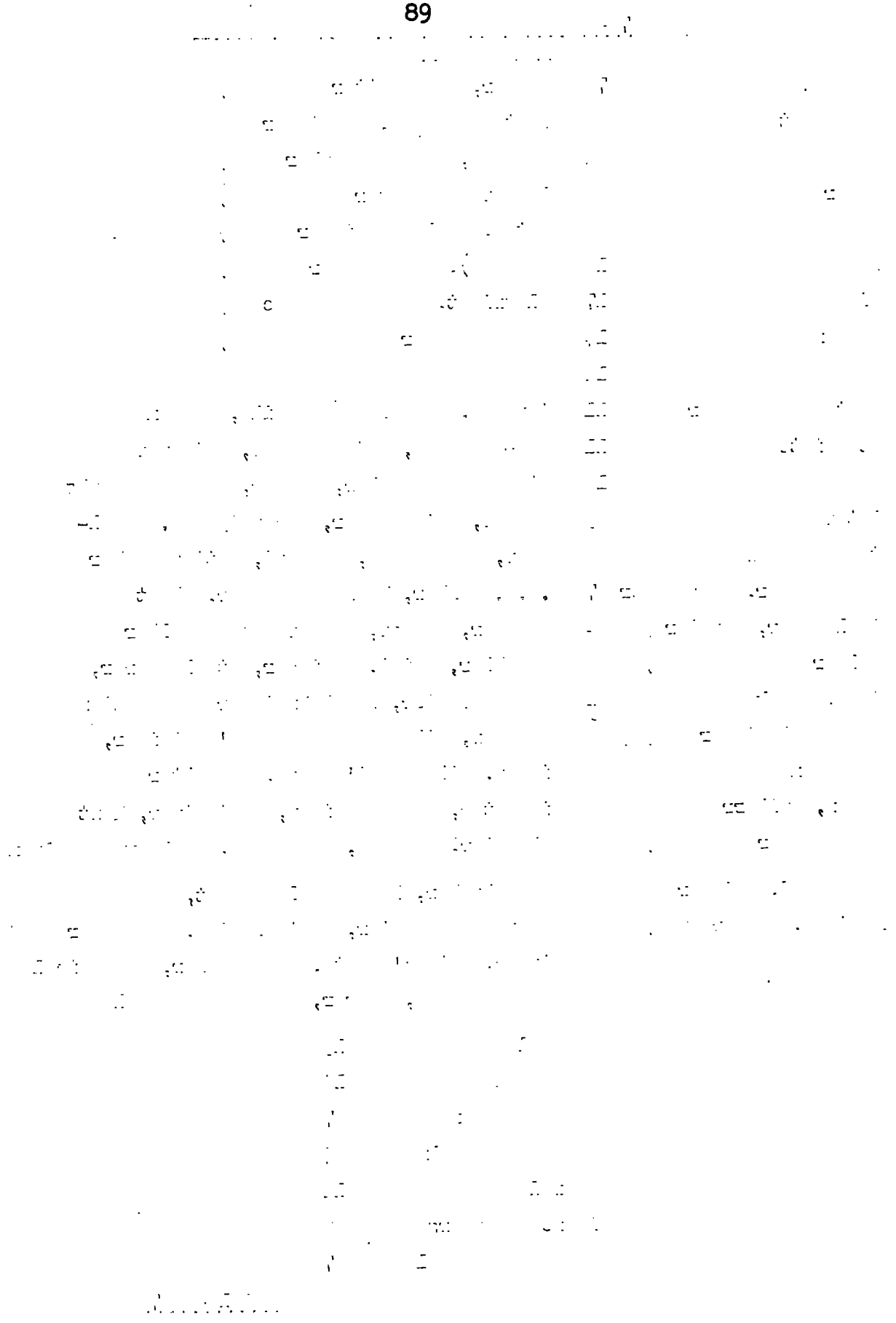


TABLE 7 - OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS
487 FAMILIES

Labourers	72	Teacher, Pipe Fitter	)
Shipwrights	22	Plastics Worker, Caretaker	)
Factory Hands	22	Watchman, Process Worker	)
Joiner	22	Slinger, Inspector	)
Welders	22	Tester, Moulder, Miller	) 2
Fitters	18	(Machine), TV Engineer	)
Drivers	17	Millwright, Motor Mechanic	)
Foreman	14	Window Cleaner	)
Plumbers	12		
Sheet Metal Workers	11	Storeman, Building (Council), Barman	
Machinists	11	Self-employed, Ship Cleaner, Brickyard Hands	
Electricians	10	Material Controller, Packer, Clerk of Works	
Platers	9	Soldier, Boilermaker, Security Off. Tool-	
Steel Erectors	8	maker, Bus Driver, Steward, Pattern Maker	
Crane Driver, Bricklayer	7	N.C.B. Worker, Marine Engineer, Plant	
Steelworker, Painter)	6	Operator, Burner, Commercial Traveller	
Caulker)		Assembler, Maint. Engineer, Steel Pourer,	
Miner, Clerk)	5	Press Operator, Civil Engineer, Production	
Electrical Fitter)		Engineer, Milkman, Blacksmith's Striker,	
Policemen	4	Rigger, Millwright's Mate, Asphalter	
Seaman, Builder)		Diecaster, Radio Officer, Taxidriver, Rent	
Tank Cleaner)	3	Collector, Cleaner, Salesman, Railway Signalman	
Chargehand, Driller)		Die Polisher, Industrial Chemist,	
Rivetter, Boilermen)		Driving Instructor, Shot Blaster, Escalator	
		Fitter, Fitter's Mate, Hod Carrier, Electrical	
		Tool Engineer, Stager,	1

Deceased	19
Unemployed	14
Mothers on own	7
Permanently sick	4
Retired	12
Divorced Mothers	2
Refused to Reveal	7

Total - 487

same reasons. "The individual lives in an environment of people he knows, and to whom he is connected in many ways", - through school mates, relatives by marriage, or those who used to live in the same street. But above all at Hedworth as in Bethnal Green "he, or especially she, lives surrounded by cognatic kin".*

How they make their living - Fathers' occupations

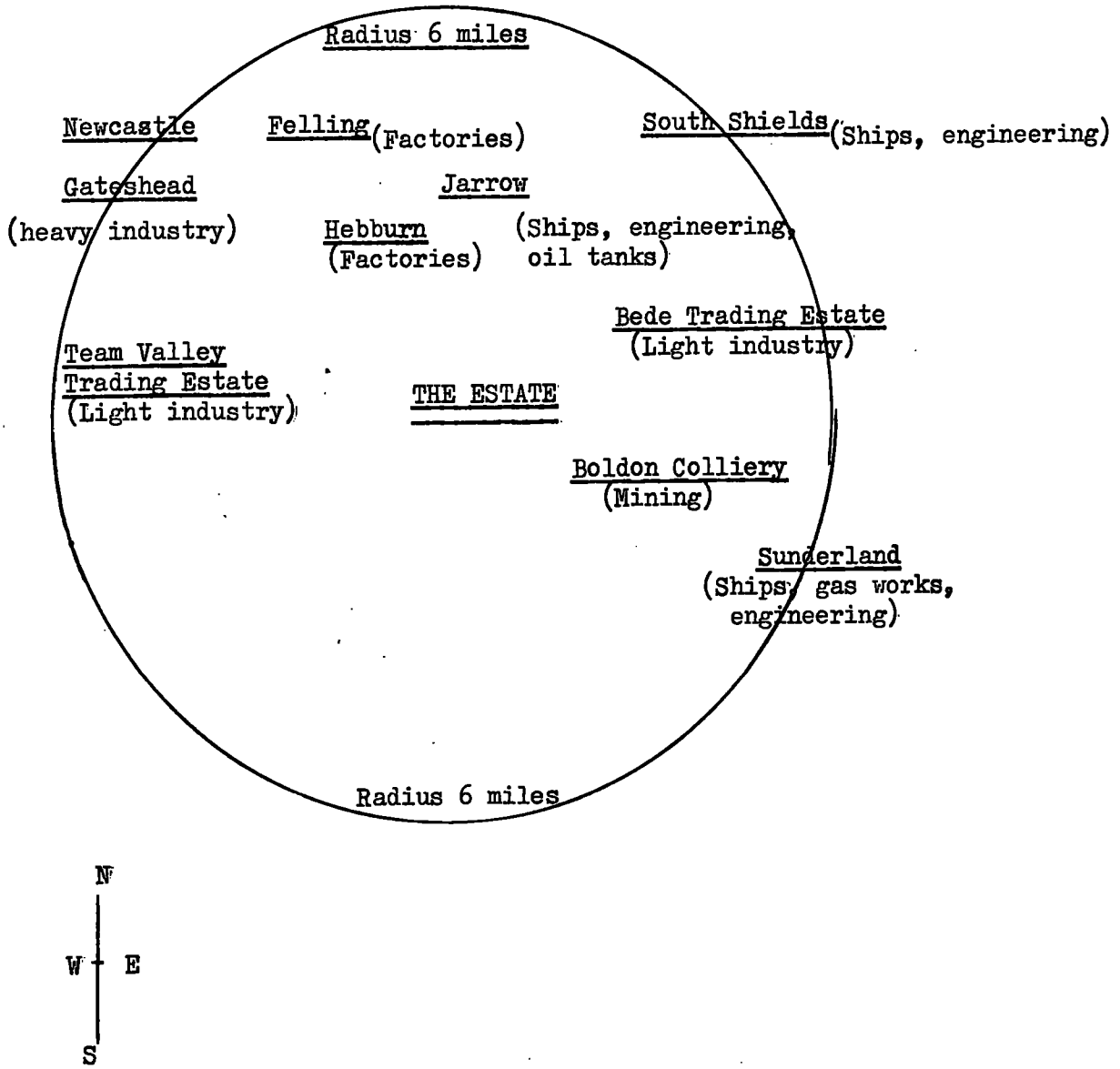
The occupations of heads of households has often been used as a guide to the social structure of a neighbourhood, although there has been increasing doubt as to its relevance to comparisons of attainment and educability of the children of particular occupational groups. But as Dr. D. V. Glass (4) observed in his notable work on social mobility in Britain, "occupation is used as an initial index of social status, and of the prestige that a person has in the community".

The social survey of the Hedworth estate included an investigation into the occupations of fathers, mothers, and other working members of the 487 families. The results were fairly predictable, but nevertheless of great interest as an accurate count rather than an estimate (see Table 7 opposite). Seeing the fathers returning home from work in the evening, in greasy overalls for the most part, an observer would thus rightly conclude that the vast majority of them work in factories, or "on the river", in ship-building, and more appropriately for Jarrow and district in ship repair work. Some men travel up to 10 miles to work, but the usual distance is the 3 miles to the riverside works and to Trading Estate factories (See diagram 1 over).

* op. cit.

DIAGRAM 1

Places of work



An analysis of occupations and a comparison with the whole of Tyneside, and with a Sunderland housing estate, shows that semi-skilled and unskilled work make up the great majority of occupations, although there is a fair proportion of skilled trades represented, especially in heavy industry:-

Occupational Categories

Categories	Tyneside	*Hylton Red House Estate	Hedworth Estate
1 and 11, Professional, Managerial, Clerical	14.5%	3%	6.1%
111 Skilled	52.5%	33%	30.4%
1V Semi-skilled	21.6%	29%	40.0%
V Unskilled	11.4%	35%	23.5%

* Figures from the Comprehensive School on Hylton Estate.

Because employment in the area still tends to be precarious, there is sometimes an air of anxiety and of insecurity on the estate. For example, a whole section of a local factory was recently declared redundant and the workers were temporarily out of work, and they had some difficulty in finding alternative employment. Economic arguments about the need for flexibility in workers' skills mean little to these men at these times. Professor W. Taylor (5) has written that "attitudes of workers towards innovation and change in the working of the economic system of which they form part, along with the possession of appropriate training and a higher level of general education are more likely to be more significant in raising productivity than a general willingness to work hard, however important this might have been at an earlier stage of industrial development". And it is these twin factors of level of general

TABLE 8 - YOUNG PERSONS' OCCUPATIONS - (196 out of 221)

MALE:- Labourers (12), Apprentice Fitters (11), Factory Hands (8), Building Workers (7), Army (7), Mining Apprentice (4), Machinists (4), Shipwrights (4), App. Plumber (4), Bus Conductor, Baker, Steelworker, Hairdresser (3) Sheet Metal Worker (2), Milkman, Wood Machinist, Electrician, Gardener, Sailor, Joiner, Driver, Painter,

Unemployed.

Butcher, Draughtsmen (1), Baths Attendant, Navy, Brickyard Worker, Tank Cleaner, Electric Welder, Salesman, Warehouseman, Toolmaker, Blacksmith, Clerk, Post Office, Coalman, Dairy Lad, Relay Adjuster, Shop Assistant, Plater, Shoe Repairer, Delivery Man, Tailor, Removal Van Boy, Garage Mechanic, Storeman.

Total (Male) - 119

FEMALE:- Office Worker (26), Factory Hand (12), Shop Assistant (9), Machinist (8), Teacher, Dressmaker, Packer, Nurse (3), Student, Bakery, Civil Servant (2), WRNS, Wool Factory, Telephonist, Cook's Assistant, (1).

Total (Female) - 77

TABLE 9 - PLACING OF YOUNG SCHOOL LEAVERS at 15+ * (7.9.67 - 3.1.68)

Jarrow, Hebburn and Felling Area:-

Trades	Boys	Girls	Total
Coal Mining	5	-	5
Engineering	31	18	49
Shipbuilding	4	-	4
Building	14	1	15
Distribution	19	18	37
Transport	-	1	1
Food, Drink, Tobacco	1	5	6
Clothing	-	13	13
Agriculture	-	-	-
Domestic Science	-	-	-
Other Trades	8	23	31
Totals:	82	79	161

On 8.1.68. Unemployed	-	123 boys
15 to 18	-	37 girls
		160 (3.5%)

* Figures from Y.E.O., Jarrow, Hebburn, and Felling area.

education and of flexibility in occupational skills and techniques which make local workers so vulnerable. As Taylor points out, Tynesiders have a reputation for "hard work" but this is not the main criterion in the world of industry today - expertise and adaptability are often of greater importance.

Young Persons at Work

A comparison of the occupation of fathers and with those of the young people on the estate, shows a great similarity, (See Table 8 opposite). But there is some evidence of a move away from "the river", and one cannot completely discount the importance of such factors as precariousness of employment and of redundancy in heavy industry as instanced in the section above. The Careers Advisory Officer for the South Tyne district provided the following figures for young school leavers, and deplored the fact that he had not been able to place 123 boys and 37 girls in employment (See Table 9). For Jarrow alone the figures were:-

Unemployed Young Persons - Jarrow, January 1968

15+	7 boys	1 girl
16+	23 boys	4 girls
17+	17 boys	12 girls
Totals	47 boys	17 girls

The Youth Employment office also supplied figures for all young persons placed in employment in the period from September 1967 to January 1968, figures which show that engineering and the distributive trades dominate the list, (See Table 9).

Working Mothers

There were 114 mothers working either part-time or full time

TABLE 11 - INCOMPLETE OR 'BROKEN' HOMES

Head of House	Family at home or School	Family Working	Head of House Working ?
9 widows	in 5 homes	in 9 homes	2 widows
5 widows	in 5 homes	in same 5 homes	2 widows
4 widows	in 4 homes	-	2 widows
2 mothers on own	in 2 homes	-	1 mother on own
5 mothers on own	-	in 5 homes	3 mothers on own
1 mother on own	in 1 home	in same home	1 mother on own
1 divorcee	in 1 home	in same home	-
1 divorcee	in 1 home	-	-
2 fathers on own	-	in 2 homes (1 girl at home)	Not applicable
2 fathers on own	in 2 homes	same 2 homes (1 girl at home)	Not applicable
1 widower	-	1 daughter at work	Not applicable
1 Two brothers living alone, mother and father deceased			Not applicable

Total - 34 incomplete homes; with families.

out of the total of 487 families studied. Of these the exact occupations of 64 mothers were obtained, revealing a rather restricted range of jobs, mainly in shops, factories, in cleaning or other service occupations. There was one nurse, one manageress, and one gambling club croupier, as exceptions to an otherwise unremarkable list. See Table 10 below:-

TABLE 10 - MOTHERS AT WORK

(64 entered out of 114. The remainder entered "Yes", but gave no specific details of occupation).

Shop and Sales	23
Factory Workers	16
Domestic and Cleaning	16
Office Work	5
Croupier	1
"Part-time"	2
Nursing	1
Total	64

There were 28 mothers running homes without the support or the presence of a husband in the house. 18 of these described themselves as widows, of whom 6 went out to work. And there were 8 mothers on their own, as well as a further 2 who described themselves as divorced. Altogether this seems to indicate that family cohesion is quite strong on the estate; incomplete or broken homes being only 2.8% of the total. This figure includes 5 fathers running homes in the absence of a wife, and includes one widower. (See Table 11 opposite).

TABLE 12 - PARENTS' EDUCATION

a) Schools	Fathers (318)	Mothers (320)
Grammar Schools	13	10
Elem. or Modern	305:-	310:-
Jarrow and District	266	256
North-east	28	44
Rest of England	8	5
Scotland	1	1
Ireland	1	1
Foreign	1	3
Total	(305)	(310)

b) Denominational Analysis:-	Fathers		Mothers	
	County or C.E.	R.C.	County or C.E.	R.C.
Elem. or Modern	207	98	195	115
Total	(305)		(310)	

TABLE 13 * - CHILDREN'S EDUCATION (1967)

TYPE OF SCHOOLING	NOW	FORMERLY
University	1 (1968)	-
Colleges of F.E.	3	2
Grammar	36	7
Modern	207	212
Primary	569	- *
Total	815	221 at work

* As table 4 (11)

Family Schooling

Long association by the present writer with families in the South-east of England, where parents come literally from the four corners of the earth, and especially from all parts of Britain before settling down to raise a family, made the following results of an enquiry into parents' education on the estate surprising by its parochialism. 266 out of 305 fathers, and 256 out of 310 mothers attended schools in Jarrow, and the great majority went to three particular county schools and one R.C. school; a few hundred yards separating each one of them, as they still stand today. For the rest, only 11 fathers and 10 mothers received their education outside Durham and Northumberland, (See Table 12 opposite). Here is evidence indeed of strong local ties, which any scheme for the re-organisation of secondary education must take into account, in any attempt to forge links between home and school in a meaningful way from the outset.

It will also be noticed that only 13 fathers and 10 mothers claim to have had a grammar school education. Out of the 318 fathers answering the enquiry, 305 had received an elementary or Modern schooling, a factor directly linked with the range and level of occupations, which was discussed in the section above.

Types of school attended by all the children of the estate were also analysed, including the many R.C. children. These figures are given opposite (Table 13). Also shown are the types of schools formerly attended by those who have left school. There are 36 out of 243 children of secondary school age attending grammar schools, and there are 3 students at colleges of further education, (Art College, Technical College, and College of Education). The brother of one of the pupils at the school featured here entered the University of Nottingham in 1968, being the first undergraduate the estate has

TABLE 14 - FAMILY RELIGION - 341 ANSWERING

Denomination	Number of Families	%
Church of England	134	48
Roman Catholic	84	36
Mixed C.E. and R. C.	87*	7
Non-conformist	12	3
Nil, or otherwise 'mixed'	24	6
Totals:	341	100

* Analysis of 87 Mixed R.C. and C.E. families:-

Children R.C. after father	-	11
Children R.C. after mother	-	25
Children C.E. after father	-	12
Children C.E. after mother	-	18
Children still shown as 'mixed'	-	21 uncertain
Total		87 families

produced. However, the question of schooling for the children of the estate will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Family Religion

Jarrow is traditionally an area of high Roman Catholic population, a legacy of mass immigration of Irishmen to the booming shipyards and associated works of the Palmers' Company in the latter years of the 19th Century. In 1968, of a total school population of 6,035 for the town, 2,195 (36%) were attending R.C. schools. Indeed, the percentage could be rather higher, since it is fairly common for the R.C. parents to send their children to state schools.

On the Hedworth estate, of 341 families replying to the request for information about their religious allegiances, 146 purported to be Church of England or non-conformist, and 84 were entered as R.C. However, there were 87 families who were of 'mixed' religion, that is marriages between Roman Catholic and Protestant partners. An analysis of the latter figures to discover where the religious allegiances of the 87 families were directed produced the final figures, R.C. 36% *, Protestant 51%, and 13% uncertain or 'nil', (See Table 14 opposite). Not long ago it might have been possible to draw certain inferences regarding possible conflict over children's education in the "mixed" families mentioned above, but there is no evidence that a such conflict exists. In fact, there is a fair proportion of R.C. children attending the County primary and secondary schools on the estate.

The evidence of church attendance by families, other than R.C. families on the estate is minimal, and it is well known that the results of inquiries regarding religious allegiances these days

* R.C. population, England and Wales, 12½%

bear little relation to actual religious observance, or to church-going as such. The dictum of the army sergeant major when compiling lists for church parades, "If in doubt write C. of E.", has some relevance to the Hedworth enquiry; C. of E. or Anglican being merely a "residual category". However, a small proportion of school children attend Sunday school in Boldon and in Jarrow.

There is a R.C. church hut on the estate, and also a newly built presbytery, a newly completed R.C. infants' school, and a R.C. club building. The Roman Catholic Church is the first denomination to provide any facilities for religious observances on the estate. In fact, the only public, as opposed to commercial buildings on the estate, are the two state schools, the R.C. infants' school, and the R.C. church hut.

IV

Patterns of Leisure

It was a passage from Dr. P. H. Mann's (6) work on urban sociology that prompted a more thorough investigation into leisure time pursuits than was at first envisaged. He wrote, "Urban society has a tremendous potential for providing increased leisure, yet we know very little about the leisure patterns of urbanites". Certainly, a great deal is usually taken for granted. But the picture of the typically working class family as being chained to the television when not at the pub, the bingo hall or at teenager's pop gatherings, is both an inaccurate and an unfair representation.

Professor Edmund King(7) has shown that "although there is now more opportunity for enjoyment, there is nothing inevitable about improvement". But more positive health, and release from material anxieties are taken for granted, as also are abundance of choices

in clothing, food and holiday pursuits, many of which are"aesthetically evocative". The basic question according to King is, what to do for the best with these new opportunities for leisure, especially with an eye to quality and well-being. And he stresses that "a consumer world of recipients or spectators has its own malaise".

Much concern has been exercised over the effective use of leisure in an increasingly technological society. In addition, there is a "need for the humanisation of work itself in a machine dominated society". And Professor A.K.C. Ottaway (8) in discussing this subject, draws attention to the lack of interest that workers have in their jobs, which are often boring and repetitive. Many jobs also lack a sense of wholeness, owing to the atomisation of industrial processes. Ottaway stresses that the "full development of personality will thus have to be realised outside the hours of paid employment", and he says that although education for leisure is an old cry, it can nevertheless be a solution in those cases where the nature of work cannot be changed.

As the Crowther Report put it, in referring to the role of the school in these circumstances"the primary concern of schools should be not with the living they (the students) will earn, but with the life they will lead.' The aim should be to enrich leisure, not only through sports and games, or clubs and social life, but also through the visual arts, and music of all kinds; and even through eating and drinking, dress and holidays, through family and social behaviour, and through self expression and the renewal of the creative spirit". Professor H. Davies (9) also stresses the need for education for leisure, and for "the nourishment of the whole man". He says that "we can hardly reconcile ourselves to a situation in which more people spend more time passively watching television, submerged in pop music, reading cheap magazines, achieving the intellectual heights of bingo, or even aimlessly consuming alcohol". And he urges

that the interests of young people in jazz, travel, sport, design, the modern novel, politics, films, and the applications of science, can be growing points which the school should nourish, and help to develop into a meaningful use of leisure.

In many respects, the results of the enquiry into leisure time activities at Hedworth were all too predictable, and would at first sight appear to bear out Davies' worst fears. Television, bingo, the pub, the working men's club, were the most frequent entries for parents' activities, on the first questionnaire schedule, which was completed by 360 families. But this "once for all" entry of leisure time pursuits was considered to be unsatisfactory, so another survey was carried out, using a separate form. At irregular intervals during two school terms, all the pupils of the Modern school recorded in detail the leisure time activities of all the members of their families, under two sections, "indoors" and "outdoors", the results of which are given below.

Parents' Leisure

Of the 350 families who completed the first questionnaire devoted to leisure, 78 wrote "None", or entered a series of dashes denoting that they engaged in no leisure time pursuits worth reporting, in their estimation. Most of the men admitted to membership of Working Men's Clubs, and social clubs such as ex-servicemen's and Labour or trade union clubs. The most typical entry for women was bingo and the cinema, the latter no doubt because bingo and films form part of the programme in a popular cinema and bingo club in Jarrow, But it may be assumed that some women accompany their husbands to the pub or to working men's clubs especially at weekends.

There were a few entries naming church clubs, Mothers' Union and Women's Guild. 14 of the men and only one woman admitted

holding any official positions in leisure time clubs. These positions were given as, Chairman of Social Club, Treasurer of Social Club, Assistant Secretary of Social Club, Trade Union Branch Secretary, T.U. Branch Auditor, and three T.U. Committee members. There were also a Works Committee member, Shop Steward, President of R.C. Church Club, and one Whippet Club Secretary. The woman who had held an official position was an "ex shop steward", and her husband was an ex-Councillor, the only political post mentioned throughout the survey, though Labour allegiances were very strong.

Recreative activities were wide in range. Obvious examples of pastimes were gardening, car maintenance, and sport for the men; and knitting, sewing, dressmaking and gardening for the women. Other examples were:-

Men - camping, music, fishing, theatre, walking, "night classes", pigeons, sailing, joinery, and marquetry, radio repairs, reading, "home movies", photography, philately and darts.

Women - dancing, music, theatre, swimming, camping, walking, reading, and a long list of "home interests" (an engaging euphemism for household drudgery ?)

Indeed, with regard to the place of women in Northern society, Michael Wolfers in an article from a symposium on "Class", edited by Richard Mabey (10), observes that they are more submissive than their Southern counterparts, and they tend to admit that topics beyond the home and children are "best left to the men". Northern women were said to be less leisure-conscious, and were credited with being more capable at home-making and of being able to work to a

TABLE 15 - YOUNG PEOPLE'S LEISURE TIME - 128 FAMILIES

AT HOME

Frequent - Reading, Homework, Babysitting, Hobbies

Indoor Games - Jigsaw, Monopoly, Draughts, Poker, Dice, Table Tennis, Racing Car Set, Snakes and Ladders, Cards.

Other Pastimes - Stamps, Drawing, Records, Radio, Woodwork, Model-making, Making Flies for fishing, Doll's Dresses, Cigarette Cards, DressingUp, Making go-cart, Painting.

Useful Tasks - Mending Bicycle, Knitting, Sewing, Writing to pen pal, "sit and think" Pet Care, "Dog watching", Cleaning Car, Crocheting, Cooking, Revision for 'O' Levels, "Being sick", Feeding the Budgerigars.

OUTDOORS

Frequent - Football, Skipping, Jazzband, Cinema, Baths, Library, Dancing Club, Cycling, Cricket, At the Park, To a Football Match, to the River, "Playing", Walking, Youth Club Organ-isations.

Less Frequent - Gym Club, Theatre, To the Beach, Horse Riding, Bird Watching, Shooting, Bird Nesting, "To the Beach with the Ponies", Sailing, Picnics, Tennis, Outing with Band, "Teaching Brother to ride bike", Choir, Bowling, Climbing, Berry Picking.

Jobs - Delivery of Papers, Milkman, helping 'pop' man.

PLACES VISITED - (ESPECIALLY WEEKENDS)

Flamingo Park Zoo, Witton le Wear, Stanhope, Boldon, Marsden, South Shields, Felling, Fingal Abbey, Spennymoor, Newcastle, "The Country", "The Beach", Ouston Airport, Hexham, Crimdon Dene, Annfield Plain, Steam Traction Rally, Bridlington, Redcar, "To the Farm", Hebburn, Sunderland Airport, Birtley.

"tight household budget". But newer activities such as night clubs, casinos, and opulent working men's clubs, together with an active teenage group culture, were described by Wolfers as being greatly on the increase in the North. And one is reminded of the Hedworth mother who entered her occupation as "croupier". By contrast, there was one Mormon family on the estate, the father entering an official position held as "genealogy club secretary"; while there were two families who included active music-making, such as violin, viola, and piano playing as worthy of mention.

Young People's Leisure

On the subject of youth and leisure, Professor J. B. Mays, speaking in July 1967 at a conference on Young People in Contemporary British Society has said that, "Young people are drawing their values from a world of leisure and recreation possibly to a greater extent than any previous generation". One should not, however, overemphasise the outlandish and deviant aspects of youth. Inter-generation hostility, and the rebellion of youth were not inevitable, nor desirable. "Pop culture" he went on, "of itself creates a new kind of conformity and a new kind of tolerance". And there is no doubt that on the Hedworth estate pop culture has created a kind of conformity in dress, fashion, and in habits of leisure. But there is also evidence that because the girls especially take up these interests as early as twelve or thirteen years of age, the craze has died down considerably by the age of seventeen or eighteen. By the latter age there is a strong tendency for young people of the estate to be well "settled down", the girls to steady courtship, and the boys to some habit of quieter leisure-time activity, such as sport, scooter and motor cycle tinkering, or merely pub or club visiting. Admission of young people under 18 to such places is markedly more permissive than ever before.

Table 15 opposite, shows that the young people of the estate

engage in a quite encouraging variety of pursuits, and there is some evidence here to bear out Richard Mabey's * findings that there is a growing tendency for leisure time activities to become identical as between the middle and working classes, revealing a "moving together of social behaviour patterns". Certainly, the string of ponies which are ridden regularly by pupils of local schools, have well compensated their owner for the investment he made in buying them recently. Although the young riders are dressed in jeans and sweaters, and ride bareheaded rather than in riding caps, they make a pleasant sight as they move through the deneland nearby. In the same way, there is a fair number of sailing and angling enthusiasts, the sea being only a matter of four miles from the estate.

The approach to filling in the questionnaire on leisure time pursuits was light-hearted for the most part, and a 4 month old baby had "sleeping" entered under leisure activities; a girl of 2 was entered as "being a pest"; a boy of four as "getting dirty"; and an 11-year old girl as "being quarrelsome with her brother". But some parents took the opportunity to draw attention to the lack of organised facilities for young people's recreation outside school hours. However, a Play Leadership scheme has recently been instituted, based on the Modern school; and the school itself has frequent junior and senior club nights.

Many families mentioned their "jazz band" activities, which is a local phenomenon that warrants some attention here, since over 100 of 160 pupils of the school admitted (1968), to being either past or present members of one of these organisations. The jazz bands engage in demonstrations and competitions which involve marching and counter-marching in the style of American High School sports cheer leaders, led by a "majorette", usually a pretty and shapely

* op.cit.

TABLE 16 - FAMILY HOLIDAYS - 128 FAMILIES

A. - TYPE OF HOLIDAY

Day Trips only	71	
Camping	16	
Caravan or Chalet	12	
Holiday Camp	3	
Rented House or Cottage	3	57
Hotel	2	
Touring (Bed and Breakfast)	1	
Staying with relatives and friends	20	
	128 families.	

B. - LENGTH OF STAY (57 FAMILIES)

	Less than week	1 week	2 weeks	3 weeks	More than weeks
Camping	6	6	4	-	-
Caravan	-	6	4	2	-
Holiday Camp	-	2	1	-	-
Cottage	-	2	-	-	1
Hotel	-	1	1	-	-
Touring	-	1	-	-	-
Relatives	4	10	4	2	-
Total (57)	10	28	14	4	1

girl of 14 to 16 years of age. The rank and file of children of all ages from 4-14 are all dressed alike in toy soldier uniforms, and from time to time as they march they hum in tune through a device known as a "kazoo", emitting a sound similar to a comb and paper band. But the whole ensemble is given drive and precision by a strong corps of drums, usually robust boys or girls of 13 to 14. Altogether the apparently fascist overtones of these quasi-military activities, dominated as they are by their stern adult trainers, give some cause for disquiet at first sight. However, an enquiry into their motivations has resulted in the conclusion, to quote the suggestion of a H.M.I. who discussed the matter at length, that it is a "movement without a cause", with little beyond "socialising" the young folk as its aim. The troupes of sixty to seventy children visit local carnivals and sports meetings, and in general go on outings which keep them off the street corners. And the members seem to enjoy the sense of belonging and the comradeship of competing, with the common aim of winning medals and trophies for their bands, which rejoice in such names as "Hedworth Legionaires", "Hedworth Juveniles", "Burnside Highlanders" and "Simonside Mariners", with uniforms in keeping with their somewhat bizarre titles.

Holidays

During the first week of the autumn term of 1967, all the pupils of the Modern School, representing 128 families gave details about their summer holidays. Of these, 57 families spent some time away from home for their holidays, and the remaining 71 went out on day trips only, (See Table 16, opposite).

These figures reveal that 44% managed to spend periods on holiday varying from two days to three weeks during the six weeks summer vacation. However, every family went on at least one day trip, and many had 3 or 4 such outings. No family went abroad, and only

TABLE 17 - PERIODICALS' SURVEY - 118 FAMILIES

A. Dailies:

(29 families take no daily paper)

Mirror	...	73	Sketch	...	4
Newcastle Journal	...	15	Sporting Chronicle	...	1
Sun	...	13	Mail	...	3
Express	...	7			

B. Evening:

(12 families take no evening paper)

Newcastle Chronicle	...	45	Shields Gazette	...	86

C. Sundays:

(Every family takes at least 1; average 3)

News of the World	...	71	Mirror	...	49
Sunday Sun (Local)	...	61	Express	...	4
People	...	55	Observer	...	2
Sunday Post (Scotland)	..	50	Sunday Times	...	1

D. Weekly:

(34 families take none of D and E)

Viewer	...	15	Weekly News	...	9
Radio Times	...	9	Titbits	...	5
Reveille	...	10			
Weekend	...	14			

E. Magazines:

Womans Own	...	23	True Romance	...	2	My Weekly	...	
Woman	...	14	Horror Stories	...	1	Disc	...	
Woman's Weekly	...	6	Flying Review	...	1	Song Book	...	
Womans Realm	...	6	Air Pictorial	...	1			
Gardening	...	6	Woman and Home	...	1			
Football Weekly	...	6	Family Star	...	1			
Peoples Friend	...	5	Readers Digest	...	1			
Red Letter	...	4	Motor Cycle	...	1			
Motor	...	3	Poultry Weekly	...	1			
Secrets	...	2	Anglers Mail	...	1			

26 families (18%) travelled beyond the North of England for their holidays. It would be difficult to draw any significant conclusions from these figures, but it seems certain that the great publicity given to holiday travel through the mass media cannot be of more than academic interest to the average householder at Hedworth. Their supposed affluence does not as yet extend to expensive holidays far from home.

V

The Uses of Literacy

Figures were obtained of the extent to which newspapers and periodicals were taken regularly by the 118 families who completed the forms. And there is no doubt that these folk are avid newspaper and magazine readers, although such papers as the Times, The Guardian, and the Daily Telegraph received not one mention. Local daily and evening papers, the Daily Mirror, the Sunday Mirror, the News of the World, and the People dominate the field; only two families taking the Observer, and one the Sunday Times, (See Table 17 opposite).

Most families took one daily and one evening paper each, but 18 took 2 daily papers, and 2 families took 3 papers; while 30 families took both the local evening papers. The Sunday papers are very popular, and the average number taken was 3 per family, Six families bought as many as 5 Sunday papers each. Weekly papers included radio and television programme reviews; and a fair number of women's magazines featured in the lists. A total of only 26 gardening, motoring, and other periodicals and reviews were purchased, but such mass-sales weeklies as Weekend and Reveille were fairly well represented. 57 families admitted to the regular purchase of children's comics

- 24 families buying more than 3 per week, and some families as many as 6 or 7. There was a rather revealing list of 39 different titles, which is reproduced here for the hints which these titles give to the possible content:-

Children's Comics

Dandy	Beano	Beezer	Topper
Fabulous	Rave	Jackie	Romeo
Valentine	Mirabelle	Superman	Tina
Playhour	Intro	Teddy Bear	Bunty
Judy	Twink	School Friend	Mandy
Jag	Lion	Valiant	Fantastic
Victor	Hurricane	Hotspur	June
Lady Penelope	Sparky	Tiger	Mind Alive
Go Girl	Petticoat	Hornet	Pippin
Bimbo	Buster	Terrific	

Total = 39

Red Letter, Secrets, and True Romances, horror stories, detective and other popular pulp magazines received fairly frequent mention in grown-up reading lists.

Altogether, Richard Hoggart's[11] observations regarding the misuses of literacy and the "corrupt brightness" of the mass-art would apply as strongly to Hedworth as elsewhere in Britain. Hoggart searched in vain for a new word which would describe the "nature of the response invited by the popular material, - a word indicating a social change which takes advantage of and thrives on basic literacy". And he concluded prophetically that the arrival of television would be "only the latest goad to popular publications". Certainly, much of the subject matter in the comics and mass-appeal weeklies is derived from the world of television today. However, it would

TABLE 18 - USE OF PUBLIC LIBRARY

Member of Family	Type of Book *
Mother	Romance, thrillers, murder, ghosts, novels, hospitals, horror, sewing, "classics".
Father	Horror, motors, gardening, western, boxing, boats, stamps, biography, sport, navigation, thrillers.
Sisters	Mystery, school, cats, fairy, adventure, instructional, horror, needlework, animals, nursing, "classics", horses.
Brothers	Western, adventure, space, horror, fishing, birds eggs and nests, horses, art, history, Enid Blyton.
"Self" (Boys and girls)	Mystery, love, western, ghosts, craft, art, magic, judo, war, school, horses, animals, "Biggles", sport, science, sea, astronomy, crime, adventure, nature, stamps, history, myths, dancing, swimming, skating, poultry, "Five" books, "Seven" books.

* Some are admittedly minority interests; but the general range is well demonstrated here, the omission being as significant as the admissions.

be unfair to Hedworth folk to deny the existence of some of Hoggart's "earnest minority", those few who listed the quality newspapers, magazines, and such publications as Anglers' Mail, Poultry Weekly, Flying Review, and the various handyman magazines.

Indeed, the enquiry into the use of the public library, and into the books owned by the 118 families of the Modern school, was in a way an extension of the search for Hoggart's "earnest minority". But, use of the library is desultory to say the least, and it is obvious that Hedworth's reading habits are not centred upon the public library. However, the nearest branch is at Boldon Colliery, which is rarely visited by Hedworth people; and Jarrow library is a sixpenny bus ride away from the estate. Of the parents, 15 fathers and 15 mothers use the public library "often", 15 fathers and 26 mothers "seldom", while the remainder never visited the library. The library was used to a greater extent by their offspring, as can be seen by the chart on frequency of library use reproduced below:-

	Often	Seldom	Never	Total
Fathers	15	15	88	118
Mothers	15	26	77	118
Sisters	38	47	42	127
Brothers	20	24	64	108
"Self"	36	33	41	110 (8 left blank)

The kinds of books borrowed were well balanced between fiction and non-fiction subjects, revealing a fair range of interests, (see Table 18 opposite). In addition, an analysis of the number and types

TABLE 19 - BOOKS OWNED AT HOME - 118 FAMILIES

A

* NUMBER OF BOOKS OWNED	FAMILIES	NUMBER OF BOOKS OWNED	FAMILIES
NIL	2	70+	8
1 - 10	15	80+	2
10+	13	90+	1
20+	20	100+	7
30+	17	125+	2
40+	10	150+	5
50+	12	200+	1
60+	4		
		Total	118

* General impression only gained by this means; but a broad picture was obtained, without great exactness being necessary.

B Most frequent mentions -

ENCYCLOPAEDIAS, DICTIONARIES, COMIC ANNUALS, SPORTS' ANNUALS, PAPER BACKS (WESTERNS, THRILLERS, MURDERS, WAR, ESPIONAGE).

C. Range of Titles -

Mobey Dick, Tarzan, James Bond, Heidi, Alice, Z Cars, Black Beauty, Tom Sawyer, Peyton Place, Tale of Two Cities, Jane Eyre, Dracula, Frankenstein, Robinson Crusoe, Good Wives, Jo's Boys, What Katy Did, Treasure Island, Young Doctor, Pride and Prejudice, Three Musketeers, Little Women, Daktari, Man from Uncle, Grimm, Kidnapped, Mutiny in the Bounty.

D. Range of Subjects -

Gardening, Sport, Cars, Stamps, Travel, Angling, Nature, Astronomy, Maths, History, Geography, Science, Space, Fashion, Diving, Pop-music, Watchmending.

of books owned at home enabled the following typical picture to be built up. The average family bookcase will contain about 30 to 40 books, and will include some encyclopaedias, reference books, comic book annuals, and similar books on sport and entertainment. Fiction will be mainly paperbacked. Children's classics (Treasure Island, What Katy Did), and "books of the film", or of television series will be popular, (Round the World in 80 days, Z-Cars). Non-fiction will usually reflect home interests or hobbies and only in a few cases will "study" books predominate, (Teach Yourself and "school subject" books). For details, see Table 19 opposite.

VI

Attitudes to School and to Life on the Estate

The result of the final questionnaire was rather a disappointment, because only 60 of the 128 families of the school returned completed forms, despite reminders and requests over a period of some weeks. This 60% return might well serve to indicate the level of resistance to "wordy" questionnaires of the opinion poll type. The simpler schedule-form questionnaire previously sent into the homes of the estate had been filled in with comparative ease. But the 14 multiple-choice and sentence-form questions of the final questionnaire, which also requested suggestions in addition to the making of judgements, seemed to prove too much to overcome possible indifference and apathy. Or, it was possibly too great a challenge to the basic literacy of the recipients.

However, although a true sample of parents' opinions regarding their attitudes to schooling and to life on the estate was unobtainable, there is no doubt that some revealing and possibly representative, insights into the attitudes of "interested" parents weregained.

In answer to questions about what they thought about the estate as a place in which to live, 10 were "well satisfied", 35 were "satisfied" and only 12 were "dissatisfied", 3 parents leaving the space blank. On the question of the provision of social activities however, only 3 expressed themselves "well satisfied", 18 "satisfied" and 34 were "dissatisfied". Reasons given for their satisfaction included the following observations:-

"Good surroundings, housing and health"
"Because of modern conveniences"
"Plenty for the children to do"
"Good air, hot water and bath"
"Because it is open and away from factories"
"Convenient to place of work and shops".
"New house and garden"
"It is a nice place"

Expressions of dissatisfaction included the following representative opinions:-

"No social life for the children"
"Gangs of loutish youths on every corner"
"Vandalism, rowdyism at night from young louts"
"Estate has become dirty"
"Dogs fouling up the greens"
"Children allowed to run wild"
"I'm afraid it would take more than this page to say, so I'll say, - just about everything"
"Bad school planning" (a reference to overcrowding in Primary school)
"General lack of finish to houses"

As to how they considered organised social activities would be supported, 31 thought they would be "well supported", 24 gave "fair

support" as their opinion, 4 "little support", and 1 left the space blank. Predictably, only 1 family admitted to getting on "badly" with their neighbours, while 21 said they got on "fairly well", and 36 "very well", 2 leaving the space blank.

On the subject of schooling, 29 parents expressed themselves "well satisfied", 26 were "satisfied", and only 5 were "dissatisfied". Suggestions made included the following typical observations:-

"More discipline"
"Any 2 languages as well as English"
"Spoken English to be stressed" (this is a dialect area).
G.C.E. opportunities" (C.S.E. offered only, as yet)
"Homework for favourite subjects"
"More homework, especially for slow pupils"
"General knowledge homework"
"More homework"
"Monthly progress report"
"More clubs"
"Less familiarity with teachers"

It is significant that 38 of the 60 favoured comprehensive education, 20 preferring grammar school if given the choice and 2 expressed no opinion. As to whether they would expect that comprehensive schooling would be worse, the same, or better than grammar schooling, 39 gave "same as grammar school", as their opinion, 6 "worse", and 11 thought that comprehensives were "better", 4 leaving the space blank. Of course, such questions and answers are hypothetical and the only reason for their inclusion in the questionnaire was to discover to what extent there might be a "grammar school lobby" in existence amongst the parents of the estate. As for school leaving and further education

TABLE 20 - ATTITUDES OF SOME PARENTS TO SCHOOLING AND TO LIFE ON THE ESTATE - 60 FAMILIES

1. Choice of Schools:

Grammar	20	60
Comprehensive	38	
No opinion	2	

2. Grammar V Comprehensive

Worse than grammar	6	60
Same as grammar	39	
Better than grammar	11	
Blank	4	

3. Age of Leaving

15+ 12; 16+ 27 18, 20		60
Blank 1;		

4. Further Education

None	5	60
Day Release	24	
Evening Classes	15	
Full time	14	
Blank	2	

5. LinkingHome and School

Suggestion & Choice	1st	2nd	3rd
Free access to staff	32	5	9
P.T.A.	18	17	16
Open Day etc.	9	19	6

6. Attitude to Schools:

Well satisfied	29	60
Satisfied	26	
Dissatisfied	5	

7. Attitude to Life on Estate

Well satisfied	10	60
Satisfied	35	
Dissatisfied	12	
Blank	3	

8. Social Activities

Well satisfied	3	60
Satisfied	18	
Dissatisfied	34	
Blank	5	

9. Estimate of Support for Organised Social Activities

Well Supported	31	60
Fair Support	24	
Little Support	4	
Blank	1	

10. How They Get On with People In General

Very Well	36	60
Fairly Well	21	
Badly	1	
Blank	2	

the following opinions were given:-

Leaving School at 15	-	12	No further education	-	5
Leaving School at 16	-	27	Day Release	-	24
Leaving School at 18	-	20	Evening Classes	-	15
Blank	-	1	Full time	-	14
			Blank	-	2
		60			60

In answer to a question about which method of linking home and school would be most effective, the majority gave "free and informal access to see the headmaster and staff at all times" as their number 1 choice in preference to a formal PTA, while "special occasions such as Open Days" was a number 3 choice with the majority, (See Table 20 opposite for details).

Finally, a general question, "If you were a member of the council what would you plan for the estate", produced the following representative suggestions:-

"Youth Club" - 31 parents out of 60

"Playground and playing fields" - 27 out of 60

"Chemist's shop"
"Doctor on Estate", "First Aid Post", "Clinic"
"Community Centre"
"Patrolling Police"
"More Shops", "Supermarkets",
"Swimming Baths"

} up to 25 mentions.

Further suggestions included the following - planting of trees, cheap fares for the aged, better bus service, more telephones, a post office (at present there is a sub-post office), library,

"less pubs", control of dogs, "tidy up the estate", garden gates, evening classes, a sports coach, YMCA, YWCA, ATC, and a cinema.

Thus despite the low answering rate for the final questionnaire of the series, making it impossible to claim that an accurate sample of people's attitudes had been obtained, the data was interesting as a reflection of the opinions of those parents of the school who were willing to take the trouble to think about their attitudes to schooling and to life on the estate, and to commit their opinions to paper. Such information is better than no information at all, and although the results might not satisfy the scientific sociologist, they do serve in some small way, partially to fill the gap in understanding and communication between home and school.

Indeed, in the four years during which the Modern school was developing there was a strong link between it and the estate. Whatever went on in the school was commented on keenly by the residents, and one is reminded of W. O. Lester Smith's (12) very apt observations in this context when he wrote, " The local community is often a staunch, but unrecognised supporter of education; and in new areas especially, the schools are frequently the first friendly focus of social life, and as such, as well as for the education they give their children, are warmly appreciated by people uprooted from their homes". And whether the existing Modern school at Hedworth in any way measures up to the terms of Lester Smith's description may be judged from the account of its early development given in the first section of the next chapter.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE EDUCATIONAL INVESTIGATION

I

The Existing Modern School at Hedworth

Whatever form a school of the future on the present site of the Hedworthfield Secondary Modern School may take, such a school must inevitably take into account, and be intimately affected by the traditions already built up during its predecessor's brief history.

Thus, it is proposed to give in some detail, (and in order to complement the social survey information of the last chapter), an account of the school's organisation and activities during the first four years. The first and most crucial element in the situation leading to change insofar as the school's place in the town of Jarrow is concerned, is that the comprehensive school so formed will have to bear the burden of being a "revamped" Modern school, while its neighbour, the only other comprehensive school in Jarrow, will inherit the site of the town's grammar school. The implications are obvious; the new school at Hedworth must strive to achieve full recognition as a fit companion and equal partner, at least academically, for its more illustrious neighbour. But, of course, a similar task lies ahead for the other schools which become comprehensive in the two other towns of Felling and Hebburn from which Jarrow Grammar School, recently renamed Springfield Secondary School, has always drawn its pupils as well as from Jarrow.

Beginnings at Hedworth

The school opened with only 80 pupils and three teachers, including the headmaster. The boys and the girls were all aged 11 and 12, there being 33 pupils in the second form and 46 (23 + 23)

in the first form. In a building to accommodate 300 pupils, they were able to "spread" themselves in a way which must be almost unique in these days of overcrowded schools. After four years, the school has 200 pupils and 12 teachers including the headmaster, having grown in numbers as follows:

Autumn	1965	-	80 pupils,	3 teachers, 3 forms
Spring	1966	-	80 pupils,	4 teachers, 3 forms
Summer	1966	-	80 pupils,	5 teachers, 4 forms
	1966/7	-	120 pupils,	7 teachers, 6 forms
	1967/8	-	165 pupils,	9 teachers, 8 forms
	1968/9	-)	200/	
and	1969/70	-)	210 pupils,	12 teachers, 9 forms

Except for the headmaster, the deputy head, and the senior mistress, the other 9 teachers had come straight from college to the school on their first teaching appointment. In addition, it was the headmaster's first headship, and the first posts of that nature for the two deputies. So that it was a fairly novel situation for all concerned. Everyone was "learning"; and since the school also serves a new estate, the scope for innovation and experiment was wide, most tempting, and indeed almost obligatory.

The school buildings are as yet well isolated from the estate, surrounded by fields, including ten acres of playing fields, and there is ample space for extensions to be made to convert the site to a comprehensive school. In fact, part of the initial plan, before the onset of secondary re-organisation as a statutory requirement, was for the school to become a 4-form entry school, with double the accommodation. The original blue-print drawings for the school include some details of the extra facilities envisaged by this second phase. At the present time, however, there are eight classrooms,

a library, two science laboratories, domestic science room, woodwork room, and art room. The assembly hall, complete with full stage equipment and lighting, is also fitted out as a gymnasium, until such time as a separate gymnasium is built. There is a school canteen and dining hall, and the usual administrative and staff accommodation.

Aims and Objectives

In addition to the natural satisfaction of having been given the opportunity and the responsibility of opening a new school, the present writer also found it most gratifying to have returned to his native North Country after nearly twenty years of teaching in the London area, to direct the studies of children for whom he had a natural if possibly nostalgic regard, since he was born only a few miles from the school, and had grown up amongst boys and girls very similar in background to the present pupils of the school.

When he began to think out what his aims should be, he concluded that the school should eventually be judged by the extent to which it had "filled the years of youth with security, graciousness and a measure of ordered freedom in which to develop the personality", (Newsom Report, 1963). Immediate aims were to provide as wide a secondary school curriculum as possible in the circumstances, with emphasis on the basic subjects, and to foster a school spirit through a personal sense of involvement on the part of all the pupils. Ways of doing this would be to try to build up a firm, but pleasant relaxed atmosphere, to encourage individual and group application to lessons in a serious and workmanlike manner, and to insist on conformity to standards of behaviour, of bearing, and of dress and appearance which are usually associated with responsible membership of a school that "knows where it is going";

and which sees itself as an integral and actively contributing part of the larger community outside its gates. And one hopes that this atmosphere was achieved through enlightened guidance, tempered with humour, rather than by a great deal of moralising and sermonising.

From the outset, discipline problems were rare, partly because the pupils were young and few, and partly because staff and pupils, as was mentioned above, were all "learning" together. But most of all, one trusts, because the children soon saw that the original members of the staff genuinely wanted them to learn to become reliable members of a group of equals, or at least, subject to a kind of "paternalistic liberalism", in which self discipline, the ability to work unsupervised, and actively to engage in interesting and purposeful activities, were all taken for granted as the natural regimen of the new school community.

It must also be stressed that these aims were most deliberately borne in mind and overtly expressed from day to day, during the first vital years. No chances were taken with the possibility of the new school being able to "drift" into the all too familiar pattern of certain Modern schools; which staff and pupils had either experienced elsewhere, or instinctively expected of their present school. If any pupils or teachers, either among the originals, or among those who came to it later, ever thought to themselves, "this cannot last", they were reckoning without the determination and the belief on the part of the founding members, both staff and certain very forthright and reliable pupils, that, (to use the words of one of the pupils,) "we have a good thing going here"; and that such a state of affairs could quite easily continue, with goodwill on all sides.

Laying Foundations

The school was small enough not to have streaming, and every

effort was made to allow the pupils to become active partners in their own education. A policy of choosing many learning situations which took place beyond the confines of the school was made easier by the small numbers in these first few years, by the isolated position of the school amid field and farm, and by the willingness of the staff to make the extra effort to get the pupils "out of the classroom". In addition, extra-curricular work was planned on the basis that a school's activities "need to be joined to the mainland of life by a causeway well trodden in both directions", (Newsom Report, 1963).

Some specific examples of how foundations were laid will now be given, many of them typical of most schools today, but they may serve to illustrate the claims made in the general discussion of objectives outlined above. Most relevant to this thesis, and indeed a source of much information contained in it, was the school's social survey known as the Hedworth Project, which occupied much of the summer term of the first year. This was a local study carried out by all 80 pupils of the school with the declared aim of giving them a better understanding of the small community in which they all resided. Street committees were formed to make a social survey of an elementary character, and in addition plans of houses, and a model of the estate, in wood and plaster, was constructed. Subjects for study included the family and home, pastimes and entertainments, shopping, the old folk, the local farms, the local nursery gardens, Hedworth Hall, the Tyne Tunnel, historical links with Jarrow and Boldon, flora and fauna of Hedworth, and a bulletin of news of the estate, entitled the "Hedworth News". Booklets, diagrams, drawings, paintings, maps, plans, scrap books, wall newspapers, newspaper cuttings, diaries, family trees, and various models were all brought together in the end for an exhibition, which received some local Press attention, and which set a precedent for regular activities of this nature at the school. Parents were

sent a brochure of the project at the very beginning, and a call for them to co-operate was well answered by action and interest, indicating that most had the welfare of their children, and their success at school genuinely at heart.

Some doubt is sometimes thrown upon the efficacy of school uniform, but its value to a new school as an outward and visible sign that the institution is now in existence, and functioning as a contributing element in the local society, is a fairly valid justification for its introduction. By the end of the first year, and to celebrate the First Anniversary and Prizegiving, parents once more co-operated in a campaign for the wearing of school uniform by 100% of the pupils of the school. And this objective was duly attained by dint of firm persuasion and some pressure, but without bullying. The pupils were enlisted to help to choose school colours, and they engaged in a project to design a school badge. It was a boy's design which was adopted in the end, although the elements of the badge were prescribed by the results of a little historical research into "medieval" Hedworth.

A third example concerns outgoing activities, which were frequently engaged in, first of all on the assumption that the pupils must be exposed to all that is relevant in their young lives, within the framework offered for their learning; and also that it is questionable whether there is anything in schools today that <u>is</u> extra curricular, or <u>beyond</u> the curriculum. Since the school is only one hundred minutes from the hills and moors of Northumbria and the lakes, stress was laid from the outset on field studies and fell-walking, Outward Bound activities, and weekend hikes, (a shepherd's hut having been borrowed for such ventures). More ambitiously, a Field Studies week has become an annual event, based at a Y.H.A. hostel which has a fully equipped field studies centre

attached to it. During Field Studies Week, visits were also made to Calder Hall atomic power station, and to a forestry centre, in addition to the geological studies and nature surveys which are usual features of such projects.

Example number four deals with the planning of special studies for older pupils, when they reach the fourth year. As well as fourth and fifth form C.S.E. courses in most subjects, a scheme was worked out, based on a "House and Home" theme, and which included Building Studies, Car Mechanics, Economics of the Home, Science in the Home, Home Decorating and Design, and also Gardening. Four teachers work together on a team basis, - the Technical Studies master, who is a recent mature entrant to the profession from the building industry, the Art master who came similarly from the motor trade, the Domestic Science teacher who recently returned to teaching after some years as a personnel officer in industry, and also the young Science master, fresh from college. It is interesting to reflect that the present writer came to the decision to plan a house and home course because of his conviction that the essential approach to staff co-operation in such matters should be, first, what can certain teachers offer <u>from strength</u>, either through interest or from special knowledge, in addition to their normal subject commitments. And having gained such co-operation, a "holistic" theme should be decided upon, and tailored to appeal to the boys and girls as an attractive and meaningful learning experience. A motor car was bought for the Car Mechanics course and soon parents and other well-wishers added another car, spare parts and an engine. Subsequently, the Schools Council became interested in the whole scheme, and the school's activities are to be featured in a future Working Paper on handicraft and related subjects. In addition, the experimental subjects committee of the North Regional Examinations Board have approved two new subjects offered by the school, under C.S.E. Mode 3 regulations, one subject to be named "Applied Science - Car Mechanics", and the

other "Related subjects - House and Home Studies".

The introduction of General Studies was another innovation to which a whole afternoon a week was devoted. The starting point for this experiment in giving the first three forms of the school a free choice, at least for one tenth of their timetable periods, arose from the present writer's feeling that something in the way of special treatment for the 11-14 age group could be used to bridge a kind of pedagogical gap in the educational lives of these boys and girls. Up to the end of the primary stage of education, there is always less emphasis upon the barriers between subjects and more on their inter-relationship, more time being spent on experience-based techniques. Also, in the fourth and fifth forms of the secondary school pupils are usually timetabled for the first time to engage in studies directed towards external examinations or else they follow Newsom-type courses, which involve some choice or option by the pupils. Yet, the "in-between" pupils in the first three year groups, are faced with a curriculum which the Newsom report has described as "a long à la carte menu with all the possibilities of indigestion that this implies". The introduction of general studies would, it was hoped, help to give them a sense of purpose, and it was also borne in mind that this is the stage at which attitudes to school and to the learning situation tend to go wrong.

Thursday afternoons were soon looked forward to with some anticipation, because of the element of choice, and because the pupils could follow their interests unrestricted by the demands of the formal timetable and of rigid subject divisions. It was, of course necessary to draw out and to probe the latent interests of the slower pupils but the average and above average pupils needed little urging to spend an afternoon of meaningful study. Care had been taken to allow them complete freedom to choose, but

it was suspected that they often chose a group either from personal preference for a certain teacher, or for his usual timetable subject, despite the description of the kind of "bias" offered in a particular group. Some pupils found choices difficult to make, and had little incentive or inward drive to achieve much at all. This kind of child really finds it much easier to be given an undemanding, merely time consuming task, such as fifty sums or a sentence completion exercise in English. But these were the very pupils for whom this experiment had been designed. They needed to have this opportunity to begin to think for themselves, to be left alone to discover something at which they could be successful. There were also some boys, although no girls, who drifted from group to group at first, who were content to watch other people working, and who might have become a threat to discipline within the group. In the end some of them began to disappear off the premises altogether. They had made their own choice! But since the school was neither Summerhill nor Dartington Hall, these boys were rounded up at last, and a special effort made to fit them into the scheme, with relative success. Most of them gravitated to the Art Room, and spent much time "thumping modelling clay around". On the whole, there was much co-operation between pupils during these afternoons, and the most significant change, that of having mixed-age as well as mixed ability groups, was quite successful. Third formers accepted first formers into their learning situations quite willingly and naturally, and it was even possible on occasion to find elder brother and younger sister working together.

A sixth example in this attempt to build up a picture of the school at work relates to its links with the world outside the school. A Pen Pals America scheme functions very usefully, if sporadically. Talks by speakers from industry, from the public services, and from health and safety services, are fairly normal

aspects of most schools' activities in this respect, but at Hedworth great emphasis has been laid on such arrangements, Typical of such visits was that made by a Water Board engineer who gave a half-hour talk to fourth form pupils, followed up by an afternoon's visit to the new Derwent reservoir installations, both above and below water level. Similarly, a memorable visit was that made by a retired headmistress who had just returned from a round the world trip, filming on the way, and who enthralled her young audience with her description and pictures of far away places.

But the most notable success in this direction has been the school's membership of the Ship Adoption Society. A navigation officer of a tanker fleet was "adopted" rather than a ship. Excellent contact has been maintained, and First Officer Brook has reported regularly and in the most original and competent detail, literally from allover the world. He has made regular visits to the school while on leave, during which he has given talks on such subjects as the sextant, the use of sea charts, and stories of his travels. He recently described a flight over the North Pole, which he had made when moving from one assignment to another; a talk which he illustrated with many coloured film slides, specially taken with the school in mind. Already the school has a useful store of postcards and souvenirs, dolls and worldwide "folk objects", which he either sends or brings with him on his visits to the school. In fact, the materials are so interesting and wide ranging that the school was asked to mount a small exhibition at the 1968 annual conference of the Ship Adoptiom Society held on H.M.S. "Wellington", one of the old ships moored permanently alongside the embankment in London.

But most valuable of all is the force of example that this pleasant personality must be to the pupils, as he moved among them, -

tall, bronzed, smartly uniformed, freshly returned, say, from the hostile waters of North Vietnam, and able to describe at first hand, "hot tropical nights amid the flying fish of the Indian Ocean". He has been accepted as a friend, is greatly respected, and regarded with much affection by the pupils of the school, which counts itself fortunate indeed to maintain such a link with the real world beyond the school books on its shelves.

Many schools these days are very conscious of the need to broaden the "life experience" of their pupils, especially of those whose home life is rather narrow and somewhat restricted. Hedworthfield school has attempted to fulfil its function in this respect as may be seen from the foregoing examples. But as well as self help there has also been built up a growing record of community service. Old folk were first of all catered for, through helping them in their homes, and through the usual media of parcels, or carol singing followed by tea. At the other end of the life scale, toddlers were looked after by the senior girls and a Christmas party eventually given for their young guests. Plans have recently gone ahead for some form of regular service to the old folk who live in the bungalows on the Hedworth estate. Boys and girls have gone out during the day to help in the garden, to clean windows, wash curtains, provide firewood, run errands, or merely to sit and talk, (or at least listen), to the old people. For the fifth form of the school some form of long-term project is being considered, rather than the "ad hoc" service described above. Such haphazard forms of community aid have been, if not exactly condemned, at least shown to be less effective than guided and controlled schemes, closely linked to some definite welfare organisation or institution, through which adequate preparation, supervision, and careful selection may be made.

Some final examples of extra-curricular activities engaged in, are Woodcraft for girls, Cookery for boys, Scottish Dancing, and Dress Design. The school has also opened its doors increasingly during the evenings, for Junior and Senior club nights, at which purely social and recreative activities have been engaged in. The school playing fields were regularly used for Play Leadership work in the summer evenings, at weekends, and during holidays. Another interesting project has been the conversion of a room at the school into a fifth form centre by the boys themselves. Also a "full dress" pageant of modern learning situations served to acquaint parents and other visitors in a dramatic manner with the breadth and variety of interests and activities engaged in by the pupils of today. Most impressive of all to the spectators who witnessed this cavalcade of young people, was the wide variety of modes of dress worn at school, from the handicraft apron to the gymnastic leotard, from the summer uniform to the fell-walking kit and rucksack of the field study groups. In addition, much comment was made about the range of small tools and equipment which now supplement the traditional pen and pencil of former days; as for instance, the builder's trowel and plumbline, or the micrometer and slide rule of the workshop. Indeed, the pageant served as a salutary demonstration of all that had been attained by 160 pupils and 9 teachers from scratch, as it were, in less than three years of the school's existence.

Whatever happens in the future, the foundations laid so far must have some effect upon the educational edifice subsequently erected; and for that reason this description of the school's activities has been included as an integral part of the present thesis. However, there is a debit side, which is just as relevant to the study of a growing school community as the creditable features outlined above.

Threats to Progress

It was sometimes felt during the first three years that the progress of the school was somewhat slowed down by its vulnerability to vandalism, break-ins, and burglaries; at night, or during weekends and holidays. No fewer than two dozen of these outrages, in the first two years especially, led to extraordinary precautions having to be taken to try to ensure that expensive, or merely "interesting" equipment was kept out of the sight and the reach of the vandals and thieves. This inevitably had its effect, in that it inhibited the use of valuable educative material, which because it was often kept under lock and key, or in places not visible through the windows, could not be continuously available for use at short notice. Broken glass was often a real hazard, and the most destructive episode of this kind involved the breaking of 15 large windows in one night, every classroom in the school being affected. On only two occasions were the culprits caught. The first conviction cleared up for all time, as it were, the matter of the vanishing Woodwork tools, all brand new, which were stolen, over a period of weeks, by two youths of 18 and 19 years of age, who were sent to Borstal for training, and from whom most of the tools were fortunately recovered. The second conviction, for vandalism, involving the slashing into ribbons of the school stage curtains, and an accompanying trail of destruction throughout the school, unhappily included a boy and a girl from the school. They were members of a gang of youths and girls who had been "active" on the estate for some time. This group may well have been the perpetrators of many of the previous outrages, because a distinct lull in such incidents ensued after their apprehension.

On the question of general delinquency, only the one girl mentioned, out of the 80 girls of the school, (1968), had a record of court appearances. Of the 101 boys, as many as 22 have appeared before the juvenile court, during the 4 years. The following figures indicate how these boys were dealt with on these occasions:-

7 boys cautioned, or had cases dismissed.

7 boys fined.

5 boys given probation or short periods of detention.

3 boys sent to approved school.

An examination of the family backgrounds of the eight "real" delinquents included above, revealed no pattern of similarity. However, three of those given probation had always been inseparable as companions, and were always so close, that they ought really to be counted as one "case". But such an enquiry does reveal a common factor, that these boys are somehow "different" from the other 90 or so boys, who are managing to sail quite calmly, and some of them even gracefully, into the storms of adolescence. The difference often lies in emotional upsets or apparently petty deprivations at home, or of rejection by their peers. It is significant that of the 8 real "delinquents", one was from a family of mixed race, one had a stepfather, one had a father who regularly worked away from home, and the mother of one of the boys left home some time ago. In addition, although it does not necessarily follow that sport is a kind of panacea for all boyish ills, all the eight delinquents were either undersized or were non-games players, were smokers, and were generally "weedy specimens", who were largely ignored by most of their peers. One of the three who ended up at approved school was usually described by the boys as being "off his rocker". But of course, there were at least 6 other boys in the school who were from broken homes, or who were "isolates" and non-participants in games, yet who are models of honesty and decorum, and who show no signs of becoming delinquents, as a result of rejection.

Apart from deliquency, another problem arose from the adverse effects on pupils' education caused by frequent absences from school. Although 40 (25%) of the pupils had a 100% or near 100% attendance during 1967/68, there were as many as 25 (16%) whose attendance was

TABLE 21 - REASONS FOR ABSENCES OF PUPILS

(ACCORDING TO NOTES FROM PARENTS, RECEIVED BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 1965 AND APRIL 1968)

Colds, flu, sore throats, tonsilitis, earache, coughs, swollen glands		245
Visits to:-		
Hospital	20	150
Dentist	14	
Optician	2	
Doctor	114	
"Sick", or other vague descriptions		111
Pains, sprains, injuries		88
Infectious diseases		
Measles, mumps, chicken pox, rashes		12
"Sleep-in"		13
Looking after Children		17
Parents' Holidays		7
TOTAL		643

most unsatisfactory and irregular. There was a somewhat casual attitude on the part of certain families towards attendance, which became manifest soon after the school opened. Although the majority of pupils were rarely absent, this trend towards trivial excuses being made for staying away from school, prompted the present writer to keep a record of all absence notes received at the school during the first two and a half years of its existence. No fewer than 643 notes were received in this time, when the school roll rose from 80 to 165 pupils, the majority of the notes being sent by parents of the "hard core" of irregular attenders. Table 21 opposite, gives an analysis of reasons for absence from school. No claim is made for the veracity of all the excuses, as may be inferred from the receipt of only 17 notes which admitted to keeping children at home to look after other members of the family. In fact, there were some dozens of occasions when "child minding" was the real reason for absence. And it did not need tale-tellers from the ranks of the pupils to acquaint the staff of the school with such details! For the school has ever been keenly aware of the doings of the estate, just as the people of the estate seem to hear about even the most trivial and mundane happenings at the school, and there is in addition, much coming and going in both directions, both during the day and in the evenings.

Indeed, as was pointed out at the end of the last chapter, the school has tended to be a focus of attention, and has provided some of the social activities of the youth of the estate. For, apart from the Roman Catholic church and club, Hedworthfield school and the primary school are the only "public" as opposed to commercial, buildings on the estate. And there seems little doubt that when comprehensive reorganisation takes place in the district, it might well play an ever-increasing part as a centre of community activities.

But before consideration is given to what may be the lines along which internal reorganisation might proceed at Hedworthfield, it is proposed to give some account of the place of the school in the wider context of the organisation of secondary education in the town of Jarrow and the County of Durham. In addition, some cognizance will be taken of plans for reorganisation in other local authorities in the area.

II

Reorganisation in Durham and the North East

The organisation of secondary education in the North-east as elsewhere in Britain, is in a state of flux, and since this study was begun in the summer of 1967, there have been many changes. New comprehensive schools have been opened, either in new buildings or by extensions to, and amalgamations of existing schools. In addition, shifts in political power locally have been important factors making for change, much of it tending to curtail previous wholesale commitment to comprehensive secondary reorganisation. Also, financial and economic restrictions resulted in the slowing down of reorganisation, and there was for a time an inevitable though albeit welcome, reduction in the temperature of educational debate, both in the area and in the country at large.

However, it is now proposed to present an outline of the results of an enquiry into the organisation of secondary education in the area, together with a discussion of the plans being made, or already being put into action by some of the education authorities and schools. Newcastle-upon-Tyne was first in the field, with its first comprehensive school at Kenton, as long ago as 1960. Sunderland, has, since 1965, gone some way towards complete reorganisation. And the county of Durham, (if we discount the

experiment at Wolsingham in Upper Weardale which was begun in 1958), has been committed to complete reorganisation since 1965, and two of its first purpose-built comprehensive schools were opened in 1969, both of them in the north of the county and within a few miles of the school featured in this study.

Education in Jarrow

The town prides itself on its connection with the great Saxon scholar Bede, and would claim with a slight stretch of the imagination, that some of the children of Gyrwy (or Jarrow) might well have been taught by some of the monks in their 8th century monastery. But what is certain is that a Jarrow school board was set up in 1872 to provide elementary schools for all the children of the town.

In 1902, it became a Part III authority with powers to provide only elementary education. There was some regret that the existing Higher Grade School could not become a Secondary school, and Jarrow had to wait until 1911, when a County Council of Durham Secondary School was opened for 250 boys and girls from Jarrow, Hebburn, Felling and surrounding districts. The old Higher Grade School became a Central school later; and a Modern school bearing the name of Jarrow Central school still exists on the same site.

The County Secondary school became a Grammar-technical school after 1945, catering for the same catchment area, but extended during the post war years until in 1968 it accommodated 870 pupils, of whom 244 were Jarrow pupils (representing 15% of Jarrow's secondary school population). There are at present four secondary Modern county schools, including the Modern school featured in this study; and there are two R.C. secondary/Modern schools.

School accommodation returns for 1968 showed a total of 6,035 children of all school ages in Jarrow schools, 2,195 of them in Roman Catholic schools, 36% of the total. These figures have to be

TABLE 22

PUPILS ON ROLL IN JARROW SCHOOLS (EXCLUDING R.C. SCHOOLS) 1968

A. JARROW PRIMARY SCHOOL ROLLS ON 18th JANUARY, 1968

NAME OF SCHOOL	4+	5+	6+	7+	8+	9+	10+	Totals
Dunn St. JMI	29	52	41	36	29	27	27	241
Bede Burn JMI	22	40	43	32	39	41	39	256
St. Peters JMI	18	14	9	12	15	13	19	100
Valley View IM	44	59	63	-	-	-	-	166
Valley View JM	-	-	-	56	62	78	74	270
Bilton Hill I	16	31	36	-	-	-	-	83
Hedworthfield JMI	46	70	77	66	59	46	46	410
Simonside JM	-	-	-	79	68	87	81	315
Simonside I	19	37	31	-	-	-	-	87
Ellison CE. JMI	30	36	33	56	36	34	39	264
Totals	224	339	333	337	308	326	325	2192 *

* This total indicates the possibility of having two medium sized or three/small quite comprehensive schools in Jarrow.

B. JARROW SECONDARY SCHOOL ROLLS, ON 18th JANUARY, 1968

NAME OF SCHOOL	17+	16+	15+	14+	13+	12+	11+	Totals
Jarrow Central	-	-	41	79	90	77	100	387
Croft. Sec.	-	-	16	97	97	85	83	378
Perth Green Sec.	-	-	24	79	106	89	128	426
Hedworthfield Sec.	-	-	-	35	50	36	47	168
Jarrow Grammar	17	14	35	44	43	45	46	244
Totals	17	14	116	334	386	332	404	1603

borne in mind when planning possible entrance figures to the proposed comprehensive school at Hedworth, where, as can be seen from the social survey, there is also a high percentage of R.C. families, who may or may not take advantage of places at the school, depending on similar places being available in nearby R.C. secondary schools, for which separate plans for comprehensive reOorganisation are under consideration.

Thus, the figures in Table 22 opposite, omit Roman Catholic schools, but they give an exact count of all children on the rolls of Jarrow county schools on January 18th, 1968. The figures were obtained from the head teachers of the fifteen county primary and secondary schools in the town. They give the numbers of pupils in each age group from 5 to 18. The figures for primary school pupils in Table 22 (A) indicate that two medium-sized comprehensive schools, with over one thousand pupils in each, could be in existence in 1974, provided that re-organisation was complete by that year. In the hypothetical event of immediate re-organisation, two small comprehensive schools of about 800 pupils could be set up, as indicated by the figures for Jarrow secondary schools in 1968, Table 22 (B).

Education in the County of Durham, 1945 to 1969

Since the borough of Jarrow is for the purposes of education part of the Tyneside Divisional Executive of the Durham County Education Committee, it is not possible to discuss present and future policy for education in the town without describing the organisation of education for the county as a whole.

When secondary education had been available only to a minority, Durham had been in the van in building its own secondary schools and accepting only "scholarship" boys and girls, no fees being charged from the time that Labour gained control of the

council in 1923. This 100% free-place system replaced parents' wealth by pupils' ability as the criterion for admission, and 11-plus examination procedures were well established by 1944, when secondary education for all was introduced. But Professor Robin Pedley (1) has commented that Durham missed a glorious opportunity to maintain its early advantage, by not going comprehensive from 1945. "The trouble was", he writes, "that the good party men of Durham and elsewhere were so drunk with the virtue of this advance that they failed to see that it was but a step on the way", and both locally and nationally Labour came down in favour of a divided system of secondary education in 1945.

In an article on comprehensive planning, the present Director of Education of Durham, Mr. G. H. Metcalfe (2), outlined county policy since the Second World War. He described how the Development Plan which provided for bi-lateral grammar-technical schools and for modern schools throughout the county administrative area, contained a section which discussed the possibility of grouping together one grammar school with the neighbouring modern schools to form a "multilateral unit", wherever the distribution of schools in a particular Divisional Executive area would favour such an arrangement.

Thus, in 1962, almost the whole of the county was organised into multilateral units. One board of governors controls all the schools in the unit. Heads of schools meet frequently to discuss developments and to plan certain aspects of the curriculum, to agree upon special courses within the unit and to prevent wasteful duplication of such courses. They also deal with the transfer procedure from primary schools to secondary schools, since the 11+ examination was abolished in 1964. These panels of secondary school

head teachers also make recommendations for the internal transfer of pupils from one school to another at any stage in their secondary school career. And Mr. Metcalfe points out that "ease of transfer has been a salient point in these multilateral units, and clearly indicates the evolution of a type of secondary education on comprehensive lines if not in completely comprehensive schools".

For instance, the Tyneside Multilateral Unit consists of all the county of Durham primary and secondary schools in the Borough of Jarrow, the Urban District of Hebburn and the Urban District of Felling. The grammar school for the unit is Jarrow Grammar school, and there are associated with it the four Jarrow Modern schools mentioned earlier, four Felling Modern schools, and one Hebburn Modern school, making a total of ten secondary schools for the unit. Four of the modern schools have "selective" or G.C.E. streams, and five prepare pupils for C.S.E. examinations only, or else offer specially-biased courses, such as commercial courses.

Hedworthfield Secondary Modern School, opened in 1965, is a late "graft" on to this multilateral unit, and was for some time associated for certain purposes with a neighbouring unit based on Boldon, but has always been an integral part of the Tyneside unit. Inevitably however, as re-organisation proceeds and with the opening of two "purpose-built" comprehensive schools one in Hebburn and one in Felling, the multilateral unit will be increasingly eroded in the next few years.

Medium sized all-through comprehensive schools are planned for the county of Durham. It is envisaged that they will be 9-form entry schools as a general rule, but some will be much bigger, according to the needs of the districts served. But as this is a 40-year plan, the Director of Education was moved to remark, in the article already referred to, that "it may well be that the

TABLE 23 *

COMPREHENSIVE PLANS FOR THE BOROUGH OF JARROW

A.	School	Age range	Size	Notes
(i)	Jarrow Comprehensive School	11-18	9 F.E.	Adapt Grammar School. Close Croft Sec. and Jarrow Central.
(ii)	Contributory Primary Schools			
	Valley View	5-11	1 F.E.	
	Grange County	5-11	1 F.E.	Adapt present Cen. School.
	Bede Burn	5-11	1 F.E.	
	Dunn Street	5-11	1 F.E.	
	Bilton Hall	5-11	1 F.E.	
	Monkton County	5-11	1 F.E.	New school
	St. Peters C.E.	5-11	1 F.E.	
B.				
(i)	Hedworthfield Comprehensive School	11-18	9 F.E.	Adapt existing Modern School. † Close Perth Green Modern School
(ii)	Contributory Primary Schools:			
	Simonside County	5-11	2 F.E.	Separate Infants Sch.
	Hedworthfield County	5-11	2 F.E.	" "
	Calf Close County	5-11	1 F.E.	New School
	Ellison C.E.	5-11	1 F.E.	New School
	Overspill County (un-named as yet)	5-11	1 F.E.	New School

* Data obtained from plan submitted to Dept. of Education and Science under the terms of Circular 10/65

† Perth Green Modern School is a post-war school, and the Department of Education and Science cannot agree to its closure. Thus, a plan to provide three Comprehensive schools for Jarrow is being considered by Durham County Council.

continual ferment of progress will evolve a new form of secondary education which will supercede all the present forms even before the change to comprehensive schools is complete". However, the Department of Education has already approved plans for 22 schools for 1969/70, the remainder of the 57 schools in the original plan submitted under the requirements of Circular 10/65, developing later. The plans for Jarrow, which have been described as being "well down the list", are given in Table 23 opposite.

It will be seen that two comprehensive schools might be created from five existing secondary schools in the borough of Jarrow. The old much-extended Jarrow Grammar-technical school, recently renamed Springfield Secondary School, will accommodate a 9-form entry comprehensive school. The new Hedworthfield Secondary School, built for 300 pupils in 1965, will be extended to take a 9-form entry of pupils and one assumes that it will be fed by the five primary schools shown, which are in predominantly council housing estates in the south and east of the borough. The other seven contributing primary schools, mainly in the north and west, will feed the comprehensive school based on the old grammar school.

Existing Comprehensive Schools in Durham

In September 1969, two of Durham's first comprehensive schools opened, one in the new town of Washington, and the other in Felling, which is for educational purposes part of the Jarrow Multilateral Unit. One immediate result of the opening of the latter school, Highfield Secondary School, is that many more places have become available at Jarrow Grammar school, now that all previously "selected" children from the town of Felling go to Highfield School. It may be useful here to give an outline of the kind of provision that has been made at those two "purpose-built" schools, before going on to give some account of comprehensive re-organisation elsewhere in neighbouring areas of the North-east.

TABLE 24 - DURHAM COMPREHENSIVES, 1969

Questions	Highfield	Usworth
Date opened	Sept. 1969	Sept. 1969
	B G	B G
Pupils now	914 (484 + 430)	1507 (754 + 753)
Accommodation	1380	1300
Form entry	12 - 8	9
Houses	8	8
Tutor groups	31	48
Staff	47	76 + 4 p.t.
Deputy Head	Male	Male
Senior Post	S/Mistress	S/Mistress
Department Heads	13	13
Subject Heads	3	3
Director of Studies	Yes	Nil
Careers	Yes	Yes
Counselling	Housemasters	Nil (Housemasters ?

'A' level etc:	some	35 in 6th	59 "A" + 94 "B" in 6th
Special courses:	Commercial, Rural Studies, "Newsom"		Commercial, "Newsom"
Interesting Clubs:	Photographic, Drama		House evenings, Duke of Edinburgh, Natural History.

Special Accommodation:

a) Highfield:- Theatre Workshop, lecture theatres, greenhouse, 18 tennis courts.

b) Usworth:- Swimming Bath, 2 libraries, 32 study rooms (4 per house), 12 tennis courts, running track.

c) Common to Both:- Sports Hall, 4 canteens, Sixth form common room, 2 Music Practice rooms, 4 Art Studios.

Usworth School at Washington, serves as an interesting comparison with Highfield, in that the former absorbed a large grammar school and two Modern schools, the headmaster becoming head of the comprehensive, while the latter was formed from two Modern schools which closed down, and thus only the first form might be described as having a "grammar" school element in its intake. At both schools accommodation includes eight houses, just less than 200 per house at Usworth, (roll 1507), and just over 100 per house at Highfield (roll 914). However, both schools will eventually settle down to school populations of between 1300 and 1350 pupils, Usworth contracting when the other two comprehensives at Washington are ready, and Highfield expanding as it takes those 11+ pupils who in the past would have gone to Jarrow Grammar school, and also as its sixth form numbers rise. Table 24 opposite gives further information about these two very new schools. Some comparison can also be made with the two Sunderland comprehensives studied, and from which similar information was obtained.

Re-organisation in Sunderland

The county borough of Sunderland has had Department of Education approval for a system in which 11-18 age range schools will co-exist with 11-16 schools, pupils from the latter transferring to sixth forms in the 11-18 schools, in the same manner as to a sixth form college.

Four fully comprehensive schools, catering for pupils from the ages of 11-18, were in operation and two were visited during the period of this study, much information being gained about how a comprehensive school develops. Thornhill school was opened in September 1966, under the direction of a headmistress, and it was first visited in March 1967, during the second term of its existence. Red House School, which serves a large council housing

TABLE 25 - SUNDERLAND COMPREHENSIVES SURVEY SUMMER 1967.

Questions	Red House	Thornhill
Date opened	Sept. 1963	Sept. 1966
Pupils now	1250 (B 600 + G 600+)	1250 (B 410 + G 840)
Accommodation	1950	1620
Form entry	9	10
Houses	4	5
Tutor Groups	36	50
Staff	66	72 + 7 p.t.
Deputy Head	Female	Male
Senior Post	Male	Female
Department Heads	10	15
Subject Heads	6	4
Director of Studies	Deputy Head	-
Careers	Senior Master	Careers Master
Counselling	House Masters	House Heads
'A' level some:	41 in 6th	100 in 6th
Special courses:	Nautical, Building, Pre-nursing, Commercial	Engineering, Newsom Course, Commercial, Model cars, Boat building, House evenings.

Special Accommodation:

a) Thornhill:- Language Laboratory, 2 Gymnasia, Audio-typing, 3 canteens.

b) Red House:- 2 Libraries, with spiral staircase link, D/S flat, Staff Conference room, Music Practice rooms, 4 canteens.

c) Common to Both:- Swimming Bath, 4 Art Studios, Sixth Form common room.

estate very similar to the estate at Hedworth, was opened in September 1963, and now (1969) houses a sixth form "college" unit, drawing pupils from "11-16" age range schools, elsewhere in the borough. For details of the organisation of both schools, see the analysis in Table 25 opposite.

Thornhill School is situated in a residential district near the centre of Sunderland, and serves a sector of the town bounded on the north by the River Wear and on the east by the sea. Planned originally as an 8-form entry girls' school, it opened as a co-educational comprehensive school, drawing its pupils from a large selective girls school and four modern schools in the area. There is thus at the moment a decided imbalance as between the sexes, girls outnumbering boys by about 3 - 1. The first year 10-form entry of about 300 pupils came from four primary schools in the district.

The school buildings are extremely well designed, architecturally interesting and pleasant, planned on three levels, the site being on a decided slope and falling away, down what were originally slightly irregular grassy banks, towards an all-weather playing area and running track, then rising again on the other side to a good stretch of traditional playing fields. There is a fine assembly hall with a capacity of 650, and a small hall or exhibition area at the rear. Three house assembly-dining halls with separate kitchens cater for five houses. This is effected by having four houses sharing the two double hall-dining centres, the third centre being a later addition only recently completed.

There is a general teaching block, a science block of six laboratories, an art centre of five studios, an engineering block with one woodwork, one metalwork and one general workshop, which has a garage annexe, complete with servicing pit. There are also two gymnasia and a swimming bath. In addition, complete floors of

other blocks are devoted to related activities, and include a Home Economics floor, Commercial Studies centre, with separate "office" accommodation, a language laboratory, and various specialist rooms, such as Geography rooms.

The curriculum is based on a general course of three years, followed by choice of "options" in the fourth and fifth years, and leading to G.C.E. 'O' level and C.S.E. and commercial, technical, art and "Newsom" courses. Sixth formers take the usual 'A' level subjects, as well as more general courses for the "new sixth form". For subject teaching, pupils are divided into four ability groups, of two paralled "forms", plus one remedial stream per year. A School council was instituted, with two representatives from each tutor-group in the five houses, (thus 2 x 10 x 5 = 100 council members). Council members report back formally to tutor-groups after each council meeting.

One of the notable aspects of the school's work has been the extent to which it has been open in the evening for all kinds of activities.

Parents were invited to come to the regular house social evenings, and a growing number of them were able to collaborate closely, not only with their own children but also with other young people, in the various activities and school clubs and societies. The consensus of opinion was that because of the atmosphere of give and take in the school, parents, teachers and young people could learn a great deal from each other on these evenings. There was, of course, a decided limit to the opportunities for parents and children to share an interest in common, for neither parents nor children wanted parents to behave like middle-aged "mods". But what little had been achieved was welcomed by parents and teachers alike as a step in the right direction.

Red House School has very similar provision of facilities to Thornhill, but it is a much more valuable source of comparison for the purposes of this study, because of its nature as a "housing estate comprehensive". Such a school is continually being made aware of the larger community beyond its gates, and of its role as an integral part of the neighbourhood.

The headmaster has described himself as a "general manager", whose direct responsibility for the organisation of each part of the school's work, is diminished in proportion to how much he delegates his authority to the senior members of the staff. There are four houses of about 350 pupils each, organised on a tutor-group basis, and as at Thornhill great stress is laid on pastoral care and on extra-curricular activities.

Altogether, for a school based on a council housing estate which is predominantly "lower working class", as revealed by the occupational categories of its parents, there is a very encouraging level of activity being carried on. The school owns a large engine-powered sailing boat for use in Nautical Studies, a tuckshop building has been erected by the pupils of the Building Studies department, and a printing press produces such school publications as the magazine, notices, tickets, abrochures and programmes. At the last count there were 39 clubs and societies. Fell walking, canoeing, and mountain climbing are extensively engaged in, and a typical visit abroad was to Konigswinter in the Rhineland. The school quiz team has appeared on television in Top of the Form, and a notable full-scale drama production was Anouilh's "Antigone".

An active P.T.A. is in existence, and as well as fund-raising it engages in social and other activities such as organising an annual garden fete. Another fund raising venture is the school fund, to which all pupils contribute one shilling each term, mainly to finance school societies. Free house badges and prefects' badges have been provided by the fund and two table tennis tables purchased

as well as such items as gramophone records, flowers, and soft furnishings.

A school finance committee of twelve, representing both staff and pupils, (head boy, head girl, and one representative from each house), decide on how expenditure should be made.

R.S.A. Commercial, Technical, Nautical Studies, Catering and Tailoring courses are offered at the school. Sixth formers retain their membership of a house, and hold senior positions in it, but as the headmaster remarked, "with their increasing maturity the link with the house becomes more and more tenuous, a much stronger social link developing within the sixth form tutorial groups". And with the opening of a separate three-storey sixth form unit, which has brought in pupils who are "strangers" to the particular house system of their new school, it is inevitable that sixth form links with houses will become even more tenuous.

Indeed, the institution of two separate types of comprehensive schools in Sunderland, (11-16 and 11-18), gives a slight advantage to pupils who begin their education in a 11-18 school in terms of continuity, over those who transfer at 16 + to a sixth form unit in a 11-18 school. In addition, the tendency for the Conservative controlled council further to modify plans for re-organisation has caused some controversy in Sunderland recently. For example, the plan to restore Bede School as a grammar school in 1973 has met with much opposition from teachers' associations and from the Labour Party. This school, originally a maintained grammar school of some reputation went comprehensive in 1968, and it is now proposed that the school should have a selective intake of 240 pupils (8-form entry), from all parts of the town. The council's justification for the new arrangements is that "it gives all children the maximum opportunity and choice for them and their parents of the type of education they can have".

Re-organisation in Newcastle-upon-Tyne

Between 1960 and 1969, ten 11-18 all-through comprehensive schools were set up, some of them grouped and some on single sites.

The first comprehensive school, an enlarged Modern School, was opened in 1960 at Kenton, an area of new council housing estates, and its ethos and organisation is strikingly similar to that of Red House School Sunderland, described above. The first "purpose-built" comprehensive school was opened at Slatyford in 1965, and another at Benfield in 1967.

Thus, when the Conservatives gained control of the City Council in May 1967, there was no question of them reversing a programme of re-organisation which had proceeded so far. However, modifications to the plan were made and have been gradually brought into effect up to the present time. The main effect of these changes will be a return to some form of selection, and the establishment of two special senior high schools, in which large sixth forms would be developed, drawing "brighter" pupils from other sub-comprehensives.

The latter would still have sixth forms, according to the terms of the new plan, but the senior high schools would stress university entrance. Normal entries from contributing primary schools will be on a "social mix" basis, and three social categories A, B, and C have been worked out, heads of schools being required to arrange the final distribution of pupils amongst themselves. Parents may also select from a list of three comprehensive schools, dependent upon the particular district of the city in which they reside.

The proposed plans for the re-introduction of selection for Newcastle's five direct grant schools, which provide places for one-quarter of the annual intake, has been described by the 1968 report of the Comprehensive Schools Committee as "presenting more

MAP THREE

MAP THREE

-§- Hedworth field School.

of a threat to a developing comprehensive system than it does in an area with very few direct grant schools", especially as this means the retention of single-sex schools, which the former Newcastle City Council had declared to be incompatible with a comprehensive system.

However, the Conservative Education Committee claims that the overall effect in the city will be to give as much freedom of choice to parents as possible, also if the need arose for other comprehensives to develop sixth forms they would be allowed to do so freely, and pupils were under no obligation to transfer to the new senior high schools. In addition, the concentration of sixth forms especially for those concerned with university entrance, would allow the best uses to be made of highly qualified staff and of specialised equipment. The Newcastle plan is thus yet another example of rationalisation in the face of special local circumstances, and a move away from what has been described by Robin Davis (3) as "doctrinaire insistence on a monolithic comprehensive system, reminiscent of an industrial closed shop".

In conclusion, attention is drawn to a rather disturbing anomaly, arising from the proliferation of types of comprehensive school organisation. The other neighbouring authorities of Gateshead, Northumberland, Tynemouth and South Shields are going ahead with plans respectively for two-tier (11-14), Middle schools (9-13), sixth form college (with transfer at 16 +), and all-through schools, see Map Three opposite. Thus, it is possible for a child whose parents might have to move from time to time within a radius of just eight miles of Hedworth, to be involved in a quite bewildering series of school organisations, and of transfers by age at 11, 13, 14 and 16 years of age.

The very debatable nature of the comprehensive principle, as it applies to British education is well illustrated by this discussion of the various plans for the north-east, and it indicates that the evolution of secondary re-organisation in this country will depend, as ever, very much upon the local conditions, local opinion, and local resources. That re-organisation needs to be reviewed nationally from the centre probably by the passing of a major new Education Act, has been increasingly advocated.

The next chapter brings Part Two of this thesis to a close with a summary and conclusions of the surveys described in this and the previous chapter. It is then proposed to devote Part Three to a discussion of the planning, and especially the internal organisation and the curriculum of the comprehensive school, with particular reference to the "housing estate comprehensive".

References:

1. Pedley, R. : The Comprehensive School, Penguin Books, 1969, p. 37.

2. Metcalfe, G. H. in McClure, S. : Comprehensive Planning, Councils and Education Press, 1965.

3. Davis, R. : The Grammar School, Penguin Books, 1967, p. 118.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SURVEYS - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In one respect, the Hedworth estate is typical of many such council housing estates in that a great majority of families of semi-skilled and unskilled workers are accommodated there. On the other hand, the distances involved in their removal to a new environment has made less impact on their lives than it does in the case of those estate residents who move away many miles from their original neighbourhoods. There was, however, a tendency for some to retain a nostalgic regard for the easier, more closely-knit social relationship of the older part of the town, but one suspected that this was often an expression of an attitude which was more of sentiment than of conviction. For substantially the same families which had occupied the original slum areas tended to come together again and to re-establish life-long contacts on the new estate.

Yet, as was pointed out in Chapter One, these families have nevertheless been going through a period of re-adjustment. Despite the general expressions of satisfaction with the facilities provided in their homes, there was no doubt that life on the new estate was more expensive, and financial stringency served as an added complication, and one which is aggravated by the general precariousness of employment locally. Families also tended to be bigger than is usual, 200 out of 487 families having, 3,4 or 5 children. Another indication of the existence of a rather low socio-economic level was that the primary school had been declared by the D.E.S. to be a"school of exceptional difficulty" by 1968, mainly on the basis of high figures for free school meals but also taking into account such factors

as health, attendance and the incidence of slow learners as revealed by the so-called "seven-plus" diagnostic tests given to all infant school children. Nevertheless, and despite a tendency for the estate to be labelled as a"problem" area by some people, most families were well-adjusted and conventional, while support for the schools by parents was encouraging for the most part.

It will be recalled that of 638 parents whose schooling was ascertained, 615 had attended elementary or Modern schools, and only 23 (3½%) had received a grammar school education, at least up to the statutory leaving age. The figures were better for their children, 43 out of 420 offspring (10%) of secondary school age or above having obtained grammar school places; a much lower figure, however, than the average for the area (20%).

Nor did an enquiry into leisure and cultural levels reveal anything other than a predictable dependence upon the mass media for such pursuits; although there were some interesting examples of creative and worthwhile activities. "Effortless sociability" appeared to be the norm, the general level of estate life was staunchly "working class", and maybe none the worse for that. Conformity was usual, and, to use Professor Bantock's (2) terms, "fun morality" and "impulse release" were the keynotes as much at Hedworth as in the popular culture elsewhere; and for the typical tenant,"the hire purchase man is there to serve his bidding and encourage his immediate hedonism". *

The evidence of the survey regarding community feeling was that the present day family-centred and home-oriented residents did not feel the need for the kind of leadership which the Crowther Report felt was necessary. "A new housing estate", says the report,

* Bantock, op. cit. p.64.

"if left without appropriate provision for communal life and adequate social leadership, can be as deadly as any slum". * But a pub and two working mens' clubs had been opened early in the estate's existence, and complaints regarding boredom, or of isolation, or lack of amenities had soon been silenced, at least amongst the adults.

If, however, one follows Frankenburg's (3) definition of the necessary constituents of a community, that scale and size is not a distinguishing criterion, that economic interests will be the same or complementary, that its members work and play together, and that they may quarrel but are never indifferent, then it may certainly be said that Hedworth is a "community". But whether it might be an <u>educative</u> community in the sense of the Crowther Report, or in the sense that Sir Fred Clarke used the term long ago, is much more problematical.

While quite unequivocal <u>general</u> support was given to the schools from parents, there was nevertheless some criticism by parents of what the schools were trying to do. There was evidence that parents were affected by the traditional estrangement of working class folk vis-a-vis "school" as such, and from the teaching profession, co-operation with which was little known in their own days at school. In addition, teachers were suspected of being too friendly, and discipline was considered to be too slack, evidence once again of what has been described as "cultural lag". The attainment of genuine goodwill for schools and real collaboration between parents and teachers appears to be closer these days, but there is still a formidable gap. Young people tend to derive their attitudes to school from home influences,

* Vol. I, p.39.

and if the parental attitude is unco-operative, derisory or cynical towards the learning situation, then there will be a tendency for these negative attitudes to be reflected in their offspring, leading to a rejection of school, which manifests itself in early leaving.

Early leaving has been a disturbing factor in the educational scene in the North, and combatting this tendency would be one of the prime tasks which would face the comprehensive school on the estate. Taking into account the general family background, the school might also face a stiff task at the purely academic level, and a slow build up of sixth form work will be inevitable. But one suspects that the children of the estate, housed as they are in two brand new schools, (primary and secondary), might well already have made more educational progress than they would have done if they had remained in the old neighbourhood.

A fundamental question regarding priorities, and the role of the school at Hedworth, must also be faced. Should the school be concerned with changing the culture of the immediate vicinity through traditional educational means, or should it be thought to involve a more thoroughgoing social mission ? Certainly, insofar as it will be in new buildings in a new residential area it will avoid some of the difficulties which have beset comprehensives in some parts of the area. And since the residents have had little or noexperience of more advanced forms of secondary education, it will probably mean that there will be an absence of initial prejudice against the school. Yet the very lack of family contact with academic institutions will also mean that habits of study, especially at home, will be slow to form, and parental guidance will be at best largely minatory, and at the

least sporadic and ineffectual. But despite these apparent handicaps to rapid and spectacular progress, there is little doubt that the school will not lack parental support.

A school such as Hedworthfield will at one and the same time have to strive to meet an unsatisfied demand for more education on the part of some members of the local community, and it also must stimulate even greater demands in the same direction from others less willing to take advantage of what is on offer. In so doing the school may save talents which might otherwise be lost, and give late developers a chance to retrieve their unpromising start.

With regard to the young people themselves, as a definite sub-culture or peer group within the community, it has already been shown that while the strength of such "in-group" influences has tended at times to be exaggerated, there is no doubt that it poses certain problems for the schools, especially for our present topic of early leaving. Professor S. J. Egglestone (4) has pointed out in this context that it is "the potential strength of the adolescent community in predominantly working class neighbourhoods that may, in the final analysis, prove to be crucially important in deciding the success of a comprehensive school". Egglestone says that "strategies of co-existence" will have to be worked out between school and peer group, and if success is achieved in this direction, it might well result in the comprehensive school discovering "new resources in their task of matching the holding power of the selective school". Such resources as clubs, social evenings, and extra curricular activities in general, have already contributed to a deepening of the fellowship between pupil and teadher, and might well in the long run pay academic dividends. The kind of child at Hedworth is usually

more inspired by other people than by ideas, and pupils often like a particular subject because they like a particular teacher, thus the more contact they make the better will be the understanding and co-operation achieved in the classroom.

In Part Three below, some attention will be given to the question of the planning and internal organisation of comprehensive schools, especially with regard to curriculum and courses, to house arrangements and pastoral care, which have not yet been dealt with in any detail in this work so far.

References:

1. Lester Smith, W.O. : Government of Education, Penguin Books, 1965, p.115

2. Bantock, G. H. : Culture Industrialisatiion and Education R. & KP.,1968, p.64

3. Frankenburg, R. : Communities in Britain, Penguin, 1965, p. 238

4. Egglestone, S.J. : "Environment and Comprehensives", in Education, 28.1.66., p.196

PART THREE

- "GOING COMPREHENSIVE" -

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL IN ACTION

Some attention was given in Chapter Three to the continuing debate on the comprehensive principle in English secondary education, but little was said about what was going on within those comprehensive schools that had begun work, although very brief mention has been made in Chapter Five of some of the North-east's schools at work. It is now proposed to consider in more detail the comprehensive school "in action" by outlining the general, social, academic and extra-curricular organisation of the schools, commencing with the ways in which precedents were set by the earliest comprehensive schools, created more than twenty years ago. More specifically, it is intended at each stage, to discuss the particular implications for the proposed school at Hedworthfield.

The pioneering schools, with the eyes of the whole country upon them as it were, must have been under some obligation to attempt to fulfil the claims made on behalf of the common school. First of all, they must set out to be successful academically, and the really large schools must deal effectively with the special problems posed by their size. In addition, wherever selection still operated - and it usually did except in rural schools - they must disperse the sense of failure experienced by many of their pupils, and also devise means of bringing on the late developers. They must also somehow hold options open for as long as possible, usually by providing common courses for at least the first three years; and then, in a sense, redress the balance by providing as wide a variety of courses as was usually offered in the grammar schools and technical schools. Finally, and in the eyes of many of their critics most importantly, they must build up sixth forms, viable enough to justify their claims

to provide a full and adequate secondary education in the truest sense. There is no doubt, therefore, that the first comprehensive schools faced a daunting task, made more difficult by the fact that post-war shortages operated to their detriment for a time, at the most crucial, formative stage of their development. How they fared, and the ways in which the schools which came after them have met the challenges of comprehensivisation, will be the subject of the following four sections of this chapter.

I

General considerations - past, present and future

The pioneering schools

The various circumstances in which the first comprehensive schools came into existence made it inevitable that there would be great diversity in size, in buildings, and in general provision. But it is nevertheless possible to trace the evolution of a comprehensive school "ethos", even though the pioneering schools were set up at the two extremes of locality - in London and in sparsely-populated rural areas.

There is little doubt that in rural areas reorganisation was carried out quite smoothly, with a fair amount of local acquiescence, and even of goodwill. In Anglesey, rural Wales, the Isle of Man, and in Westmorland, where the first truly comprehensive schools were set up between 1945 and 1950, they were usually based on extended grammar schools, or by the amalgamation of such schools with neighbouring schools, leaving the old all-age schools for primary pupils only. The emphasis in these rural comprehensives has thus been upon tradition, with a leavening of innovation through the offering of a greater range of courses to meet the needs of a

TABLE 26 - The Pioneering Schools (a selection)

School	Size	Special Features
Windermere, 1945	200 boys	16th c. grammar school, now in new buildings, 600 mixed
Anglesey (reorg. complete by 1954)		
Holyhead, 1949	800 pupils	Grammar & Modern schools in same road. Lower School under own head.
Amlych, 1952	800 "	In barren north of island, church hall used for overspill; now new buildings.
Llangefin, 1953	800 "	4 Houses on territorial basis (pupils from scattered villages.
Menai Bridge, 1954	900 "	6 Houses of 150 pupils, setting and mixed ability groups.
Isle of Man (4 schools, reorg. complete by 1947)		
Douglas, 1946	1000 pupils	
Castle Rushen, 1946	1000 pupils	"focal point of cultural life of area" (Head, Sir Godfrey Cretney).
Castletown, 1947	1000 "	"school and community balanced and integrated".
London		
Walworth, 1946	1200 mixed	Split site, ½-mile apart, "disperse sense of failure" as aim.
Kidbrooke, 1954	2200 girls	1st purpose-built school, "palace of educational varieties", 13 streams.
Woodberry Down, 1955	1300 mixed	House system, unstreaming and setting.
Mayfield, 1956	1200 girls	Forms and year groups only, enlarged grammar school.
Wandsworth, 1956	2200 boys	Based on grammar school, Lower school 11-13, Houses 13-18 years
Eltham Green, 1956	2000 pupils	"Between two townships and belonging to neither" - new school.
Middlesex (2 schools only)		
Mellow Lane, 1948	950 mixed	"selected" children by parents' choice, "revamped Modern school" now 1120 pupils.
Coventry (10 schools)		
Caldon Castle, 1954	1500 boys	10 Houses of 150, purpose-built "diversity within greater unity".
Binley Park, 1954	1040 mixed	"House a Key social unit" - Modern school originally, 50% graduate staff.
Woodlands, 1954	1500 pupils	10 Houses, 1st year unstreamed, lessons in Houses for most part.
Birmingham (2 schools only)		
Sheldon Heath, 1955	2200 pupils	Lower/Middle/Upper schools in 3 buildings, purpose-built, - "meeting changing needs as pupils grow up".
Great Barr, 1956	1200 pupils	Setting in form groups, "purpose" courses for average, "opportunity" courses for retarded.
Bristol (17 housing estate comprehensives)		
Lawrence Weston		"Housing estate comprehensive"- community centre and public lib. in school.
Kirkby Lancs (4 housing estate comprehensives)		
Ruffwood, 1957	2000 pupils	Slum clearance (Z-cars estate), "community school".

complete age and ability group. In addition, there has been an increasing tendency for these schools to become focal points for the cultural life of their areas.

Meanwhile, in London, eight interim comprehensive schools were created between 1946 and 1950, in existing selective central and senior school buildings, mostly on split-sites several streets apart, and having an intake from which grammar school pupils had been "creamed". Yet, despite the fact that the auguries for such schools were at first far from propitious, it soon became evident that with dedicated staffs and good equipment, a wide variety of courses could be provided, and a rising level of academic success, especially with late developers, could be achieved. In addition, because of their size, 1,200 pupils on average, these schools soon began to offer an encouraging range of extra-curricular activities, and later, of community involvement, which have become usual features of most comprehensive schools.

During the 1950's, in various parts of the country as well as in London, a second wave of these schools came into existence. Some were purpose-built, many were on extended Modern school sites, and some were set up on split-sites, sometimes as much as a mile apart. And it may be useful at this point to give some details about these schools, in order to show how more recently created schools have tended to follow the lines of development thus laid down. Table 26 opposite, the "special features" column of which should be read concurrently with the present text rather than as an adjunct to it, shows how diverse was the provision of facilities in these schools, even at this earliest stage.

It will also be seen, that right from the outset, internal reorganisation in general tended to take one of three now quite familiar forms, a combination of two of them, or even all three:-

a) house/tutor group systems,
b) form/year group arrangements,
c) lower/middle/upper "schools".

House systems, as a feature of the physical lay-out of school buildings, were adopted first of all in Coventry, and many local authorities have followed this lead, including the county of Durham. However, this subject will be dealt with in more detail in Section II below, on the subject of social organisation. For the moment, and since a school's buildings are the main physical environment in which the pupils live, and move, and learn during the day, it is proposed to devote the next sub-section to the subject of comprehensive building provision in general.

Buildings and equipment

There is already a quite encouraging tradition of comprehensive school provision both in buildings and in capital equipment and there is no reason to doubt that similar standards, based on the experience of more than twenty years of comprehensive school planning, would be applied to any development of the school site at Hedworthfield. Indeed, there are some half-dozen Modern school sites currently being extended to comprehensive school standards up and down the county of Durham, two of them within five miles of Hedworth, at Boldon and Felling, the present writer now being head-designate of the latter (1970).

As was mentioned earlier, Durham County Council is building its all-through schools on a "house plan", eight houses as a rule, for each eight or nine form-entry school. Provision is made for full social, dining, teaching and administrative facilities in each house but without sixth form accommodation, which is separately and

Table 27 - Nine-form entry accommodation - Durham

Classroom Block:	Practical Block 1	Practical Block 2
3 English 3 Languages 2 R.I. 1 Commerce 1 Library 2 History 2 Geography	1 Drama Workshop 1 Assembly Hall 1 Gymnasium suite 2 Music (plus 3 practice rooms) 1 Needlework 3 Art Studios	1 Tech. Drawing 2 Metalwork 3 Woodwork 1 Woodwork & Metalwork 7 Science 4 Mathematics 4 Domestic Science (plus 1 flat) 1 Needlework 1 Display area

House Blocks - 6	Sixth Form Block
3 canteens 6 Class/Dining Rooms 6 Group Rooms 3 Study Rooms (large groups) 6 Housemaster's Studies Other Spaces: Cloaks, Lavs, Lockers, Stores	1 Common Room 3 Study Rooms 1 Senior Library 1 Lecture Room 1 6th form D/S 1 6th form Science

House 7 (First Forms):	Sports Hall:	Admin. Block:
1 canteen 1 Class/Dining 1 Group Room 1 Study Room Other Spaces: Cloaks, Lavs Lockers, Stores.	All indoor games and courts.	3 Staffrooms 1 Tea Bar 1 Headmaster's Study 1 Deputy, 1 Senior Mistre 1 Secretary, 1 General Of 1 Caretaker, 1 Med. Room

Playing Fields, Tennis Courts, Playground, Garden, Motor Vehicle pit and canopy, Car Park.

centrally provided. On the academic side, space proximity for single and related subjects has been borne in mind, using a method described as "integrated departmentalisation". Problems of circulation, vehicular and pedestrian access, acoustics and heavy load-carrying floors have also been considered. Table 27 opposite gives details of the provision of teaching spaces and other facilities for a typical nine-form entry comprehensive school, such as is to be provided at Hedworth.

Notable examples of additional facilities quite often provided nowadays include sixth form suites, which have a common room, informal circulation area, snack bar, quiet room, lecture theatre with stepped seating, general classrooms, small seminar rooms, and individual study cubicles. In addition, there are mathematics laboratories, language laboratory, closed circuit television, and in the science suites, such innovations as separate optics and balance rooms, biology pool and laboratory technicians' workshop. Drama workshops and music suites, the latter with small practice rooms, are now provided in addition to the usual hall, stage and music room facilities. For physical education, a sports hall, usually up to 5,000 square feet in area, is provided as well as gymnasia. The library suite, centrally situated as the focus for individual enquiry and study, enables it to become the very centre of the academic life of the school; and it might well include a main library, senior reference library, a library classroom, and separate accommodation for the librarian, including office and store with sink and running water. Teaching staff accommodation is usually one large common room, with smaller marking rooms. Siting of these is planned for as much privacy and quiet as possible, and there are usually a tea bar, with sink and storage space, as well as the usual cloak and sanitary accommodation. The administrative block will usually include studies

and offices as necessary, including enquiry desk or window, medical room, girls' rest room, changing cubicles, and waiting room. A private branch exchange telephone system is also installed, connecting all offices and departments of the school.

With regard to equipment, electronic devices and machines of all kinds have flooded into comprehensive schools. Teaching machines, calculating machines, and simple computer kits have been increasingly used. Indeed, one of the advantages of size has been that much more sophisticated equipment of all kinds may be supplied, which in a small school would be impossible to acquire on the grounds of expense.

However, there are disadvantages of size which can lead to much frustration and wastage of time. "A building 180 yards long is as alarming to contemplate as it is tiring to traverse", writes Robin Pedley (1). Lack of covered ways can lead to much discomfort in rainy weather, and narrow corridors and stairways can restrict speed of circulation. Too many schools lack soundproofing and too much glass can have its attendant disadvantages, both in summer and in winter. Quite often too, the teachers are brought into consultation regarding buildings at too late a stage. And while it would be manifestly utopian to imagine that a headmaster would have any more than a marginal say in the planning of building provision, it would also be defeatist in the extreme to admit that he would have no control at all over, or no opportunity to make certain suggestions regarding accommodation. In fact, headmasters in Durham, whose schools are being extended, have been consulted at all stages, owing to the necessity for alterations to existing school accommodation, while still in day to day use, to be fitted into the overall plan. Thus, when such conferences have been held, the opportunity has often been taken to put forward suggestions for certain revisions of a minor nature. This is why it is all the more desirable that the head and some teachers should

be appointed well in advance so that effective forward planning can be facilitated. And this brings us to a further vital subject, that of the staffing of comprehensive schools.

Staffing and the teacher's role

The early comprehensive schools had certain advantages in staffing which to a great extent must have tended to outweigh possible adverse comparisons with grammar schools in regard to qualifications, and not the least of these was the fact that members of staff were "self-selected". That is, they had deliberately chosen to move into a new and relatively unknown teaching situation with all the challenges and opportunities offered by such a situation. Indeed, these early schools had a relatively high proportion of graduates on their staffs. Thomas Bennett School, Crawley, has three-quarters of the staff who are graduates, six of them with Firsts. Binley Park School, Coventry, an extended Modern school, had just over half graduate staff in 1965, who were described then "of high calibre, young, dedicated and mainly socialists", (sic). In London, it has long been claimed that comprehensive staffs average 60 to 70 per cent, but the high proportion of temporary and part-time teachers, or of graduates awaiting other opportunities, makes this figure suspect.

But as time goes on, and as new schools are founded by compulsory reorganisation, there will be increasing difficulty in maintaining reasonable levels of graduate staff. The plain facts of arithmetic reveal this problem, let alone the inevitable flight of well-qualified staff from the not altogether favourable teaching situations which must prevail in the many badly contrived comprehensive school systems. It has been pointed out by Professor Arthur Pollard (2), using D.E.S. statistics, that for

5,729 secondary schools of all kinds in 1967 there were 35,958 graduate teachers. And his analysis of these, by subjects offered, revealed the following daunting prospect - "Assuming an equal distribution between schools, which is very unlikely, this works out at 0.84 of a maths graduate per school, 0.43 for physics, 0.5 chemistry, 1.4 modern languages, 1.34 English, 1.07 history and 0.8 geography. Many children will be lucky to see a science graduate at all". In the latter respect, Pollard remarks that the grammar schools have had enough trouble; the comprehensives look like having more. And what of the prospects for the north-east, and in particular for Hedworthfield ? The evidence reveals that the great majority of scarce graduate staff is concentrated in the south-east of England.

However, it is the purpose of this chapter to discuss ways in which schools must come to terms with the situation as it is, and it is assumed that some grammar school teachers will come reluctantly or otherwise, into local comprehensive schools. On this subject Professor F. W. Musgrave (3) has warned that "Grammar school teachers may, at least unconsciously, oppose the change to a comprehensive school because they believe that this will lower their status". And he goes on to maintain that a teacher's philosophy will govern his attitudes, and not surprisingly, such attitudes will influence the achievement of the children whom he is teaching. On the other hand, Modern school teachers may be disturbed by the apparent threat to their chances of advancement, by the sight of graduates coming into comprehensive schools, "taking off their gowns", and running the school.

Such fears, from both points of view, must be allayed by wise staff planning, and on this subject there is probably no work which better outlines the possible solutions than that of

Maurice Holmes [4], headmaster of the Elliott school, London. In his chapter on staffing, he points out the positive advantages for the staffs of large comprehensive schools. First, there is the opportunity for steady promotion within the school, and the chances open for active and ambitious teachers of being able to exercise responsibility early in their careers. Good teachers, moderate in qualifications but successful in personal relationships, might well find that the position of housemaster suits their talents. And it goes without saying that those with good qualifications, will find much scope for their strengths in the varied academic work of the school. Secondly, there is the fact that a powerful impetus towards professional unity may be experienced in a well-run school, giving a feeling that all are working together for a worthwhile end. Finally, there is the exhilaration of working in teams, whether team teaching as such is attempted or not. In small schools many teachers, especially certain specialist subject teachers, work in comparative isolation. But in a large school, with a large and varied staff, and with pupils of a wide range of abilities, many teachers "experience a development of their professional life which is both congenial and stimulating, and which broadens their horizons in comparison with those of a smaller school". And the I.L.E.A. report [5] of 1966, here quoted, goes on to predict that "as the schools move forward after their formation, becoming unified and purposive communities, each with its own developing characteristics, the contribution of individual teachers gives inspiration and strength to the whole, for they are all giving something to the common store".

The function of the head, and of the senior staff is, of course, crucial for such a successful integration of staff as was outlined above. "It is far more difficult to impress a unity

on such schools than it is on other large schools like Manchester Grammar School and Eton, where the objects are narrower and better defined", writes Dr. Rhodes Boyson (6) in his contribution to Black Paper Two. And he lists the necessary attributes of a comprehensive head (and of his most senior staff), -"scholarly enough to impress academic staff and the ablest sixth formers alike; a fine administrator able to delegate and keep lines of decision and communication open and clear; sympathetic and understanding with all pupils from the brightest to the dullest". Frequent high level consultation is advocated, but the caveat is entered that it then becomes more difficult to avoid the risks of too much talk, delaying tactics, stagnation, or power struggles and internal political intrigues. "A leader must lead and a head cannot yet be deposed and he must lead permanently" *

How best to "lead", on the part of headmasters, has been the subject of some research by Professor R. W. Revans, (7) on the subject of communication in management. He describes a sort of convection current of communication, which can be set in motion by the headmaster so long as he can maintain a successful dialogue with his lieutenants. It is this dialogue which is the key to running a large institution, Professor Revans maintains. "Get this right and the rest follows". If there is give and take at the top, this may be transmitted down the school to the classrooms, and eventually there is a feedback of information which the lieutenants can deliver to the head. Above all, it is clear from Professor Revans's findings that teachers must seriously consider management techniques, if they are to prepare themselves to be clear-sighted and sensitive administrators. In addition, London has set precedents for the appointment of non-teaching administrators,

* Boyson, op.cit. p.61-2

who have given great support to busy heads and school staffs.

The decentralisation of responsibility, both pastoral and academic, is thus a necessary feature of large comprehensive schools, and indeed of most secondary schools today, and it is with these aspects of organisation that the next two sections of this chapter will be concerned.

II

Social and pastoral organisation

Before going on to consider the internal organisation of large all-through comprehensives (such as are planned for the county of Durham), it seems appropriate here to point out that the case for the small school continues to be well presented. And, indeed, as was shown in Chapter Three, two-tier and Middle schools organised on comprehensive lines have some claim to alleviate the problems of size.

An interesting study, carried out in U.S.A. by Roger G. Barker and Paul V. Gump (8), strikingly contrasts the essential difference in the nature of the large and the small High school. "The large school has authority; its grand exterior dimensions, its long halls and myriad rooms, and its tides of students, all carry an implication of power and rightness. The small school lacks such certainty, and its modest buildings, its short halls and few rooms, and its students who move more in trickles than in tides, gives an impression of casual or not quite decisive educational environment". However, the writers found that students of the small schools live under better day-by-day attraction, obligation and pressures to take an active part in the various behaviours of their schools. A common-sense solution, according to Barker and Gump, was the campus school, which "welds

together the facility advantages of the large school and the social values of the small school". Each section of such a school "would be small enough to ensure that students are not redundant; that all its students are needed for its enterprises". English experience, based at first mainly on the Coventry comprehensives, which were built on campuses of 50 to 60 acres, and included up to ten separate house buildings, certainly bears out the claims made by Barker and Gump for the advantages of the campus school as a workable compromise with sheer bigness.

House systems

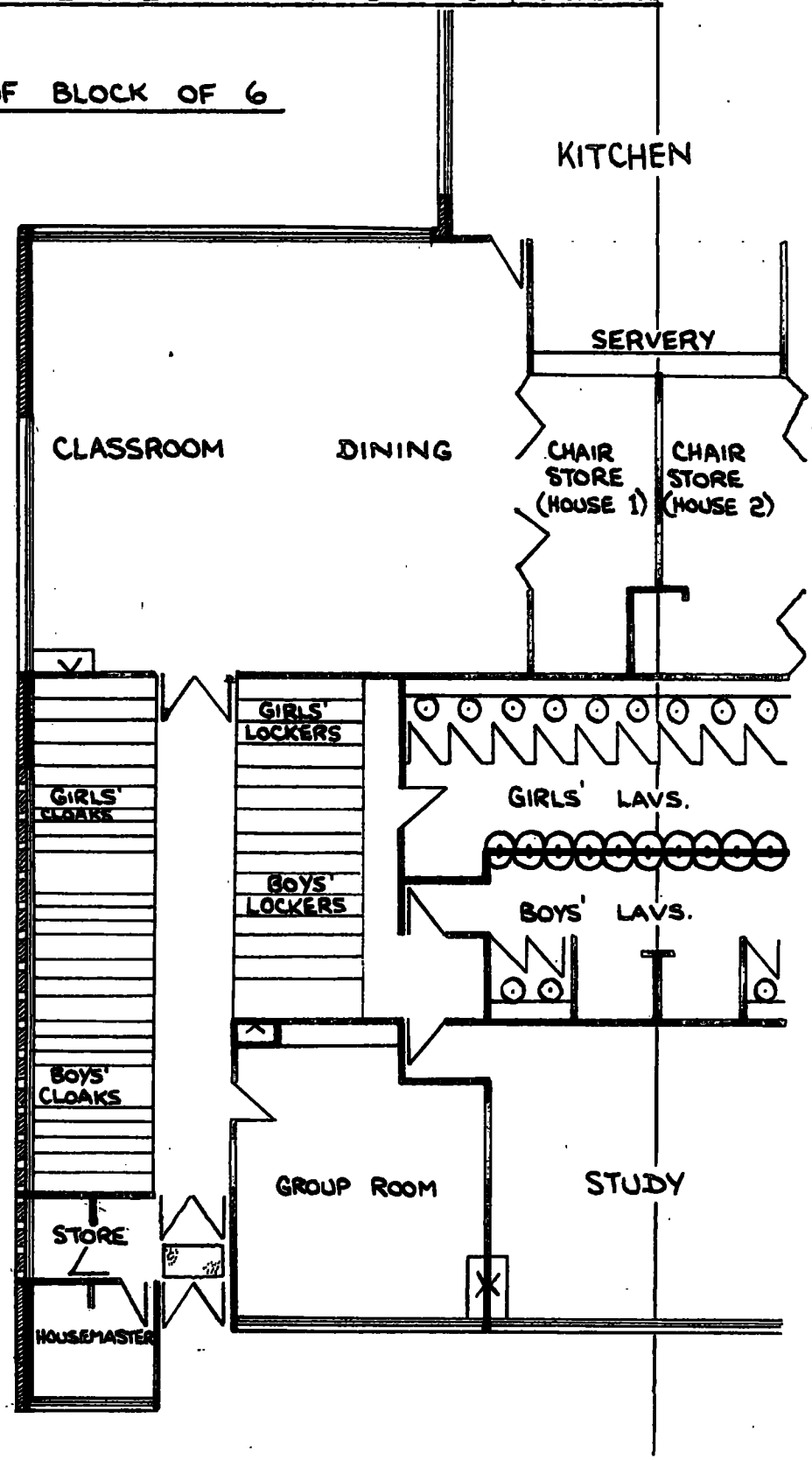
The recent N.F.E.R. research report, edited by T. G. Monks (9), and derived from information obtained from 331 comprehensive schools, many of them not yet fully developed, found that 299 of the schools were organised on a house basis. Heads gave various reasons for such a pastoral organisation, - for social reasons, for administrative purposes, to give an edge to games competitions, with pupils' vocations in mind, or to alleviate behaviour problems and home difficulties.

Within the houses there were rather less tutorial groups than might have been expected, - 113 out of 331 schools. Members of staff were usually "attached" to a house, but they were also mainly traditional form teachers rather than house tutors. Maurice Holmes*, commenting on the subject of tutor groups, says that the weakness is that, as changes of staff occur, there will be less continuity. Also, with the large number of tutors needed, 50 or more in a large school, co-ordination of policy will be more difficult to obtain. In addition, the tutor groups will contain

* op. cit. p.16

DIAGRAM TWO - House Accommodation - Durham Comprehensives

HOUSE 1 OF BLOCK OF 6



SCALE: 1/12" = 1'

pupils of such different ages that discussion on anything but the simplest topics will be difficult to hold. But, of course, there are various other methods of constituting tutor groups than by means of a vertical cross-section of all ages; and the following additional kinds have been noted during this study:-

a) 25-30 children of about the same age and embracing the whole range of ability.

b) and c) as above, but all boys, or all girls.

d) and e) a cross-section of all ages and abilities, but all boys or all girls.

and f) "junior" tutor-groups, ages 11 to 13, with additional
g) "senior" tutor-groups up to sixth form.

Wherever a school is purpose-built for its house system as in Durham and Sunderland for example, each house and its attendant tutor-groups become key social units in the school. Diagram Two opposite, shows the lay-out and facilities which are typical features of house accommodation in Durham comprehensives. It is usual for one canteen to serve two houses, each house being otherwise completely separate.

The uses of house accommodation of this nature might well extend from half an hour before school (even including pre-school prep.), as a base for its members all through the day including morning break and lunchtime, and in many cases acting as an evening social club. In addition, many houses now have their own parent-teacher associations with the usual aim of "establishing a rapport between parents and school so that parents have confidence in the school and come to regard it as a help not a hindrance".* This is also borne out by the findings of A. G. Hind (+) in his thesis on comprehensive school house systems. He found that in

* Headmaster of Binley Park School, Coventry, quoted in Davis, op. cit. p. 76

(+) Dip. Ed. Thesis on House systems, University of Notts. 1964.

general, "different and better parent/teacher/pupil relationships were forged", and that children tend to regard their houses with some affection and loyalty without loss of school pride. And G. V. Pape [10] in his enquiry into the house system of a girls' comprehensive found that "girls are just as likely to be found mixing with other members of their house who are in different forms", and so not necessarily stick to their form-mates.

Yet, completely contrary evidence has more recently come from Julienne Ford [11], in an enquiry into social class and the comprehensive school, a fully streamed housing estate school in London, with good house accommodation and facilities. She found little evidence that the houses meant much at all to the children, and was forced to the conclusion that "house tutor groups were no more than nominal administrative aggregates rather than real social groups" * In addition, her sociometric data quite often revealed that children did not even know which houses their best friends were in.

Another opinion, that of Dame Margaret Miles [12], headmistress of one of the earliest comprehensive schools for girls, is that the house system tends to encourage a kind of combative loyalty which makes a girl want her house to be the best house. "This is an idea", she writes, "which has always struck me as being immature and unfruitful of real educational and social development". Dame Margaret preferred to maintain a form/year group system; and Robin Pedley supports her conviction that "work groups are the more natural, more cohesive social units in a day school". † This is a claim which is certainly most easily upheld

* op. cit. p. 83

† Pedley, op. cit. p. 139

in schools where physical provision of houses is lacking. Indeed Pedley has long been an advocate of a three year Lower school, followed by a two (to 4) year Upper school system, with the form teacher as the tutor, moving up with the form as far as practicable, and certainly throughout the Lower school.

But whatever form of pastoral care is adopted, the aim in a big school must remain that of enabling the individual to become an actively contributing member of the school community, within which he can feel happy, cared-for and secure. In such an atmosphere the pupils must inevitably tend to approach the work of the school day in a more relaxed, and possibly more receptive frame of mind.

Values, attitudes, incentives

Professor Talcott Parsons (13) in an enquiry into how the school functions "to internalize in its pupils both the commitments and capacities for the successful performance of their future adult roles", describes the English school as inculating a middle class behaviour code. And he lists these as cleanliness, tidiness, manners, respect for authority, honesty, deference to adults, punctuality, hard work, emphasis on the use of standard English. The sum total of all this he equates with "socialisation". And, the wider the cultural gap between teacher and pupil the more the emphasis has tended to be placed on this socialising aspect of the teacher's role.

Certainly at Hedworth, as was pointed out above in the conclusion to the surveys (Chapter Six), and especially in the earlier discussion on sociological consciousness in education (Chapter One), there is what Professor J. B. Mays (14) has described as a "modified conflict model", which is represented by three main constituents,

a) the conflict between progressive teachers' attitudes and the mainly "middle class" standards of society in general,

b) the attendant conflict between progressive teachers and some of the working class standards of the local community,

c) the conflict between traditional teachers and the mainly working class standards of the local community.

It has been the present writer's experience in this respect that a search for compromise becomes necessary, and in practice all parties give ground a little, so that the general learning and teaching processes continue quite smoothly, if slightly uneasily. From time to time, crises arise, - as between teacher and pupil, teacher and parent, or teacher/parent and pupil. But as Mays points out, there is a growing tendency towards "consensus", manifesting itself as greater understanding emerges from conflict.

But a most interesting additional constituent became manifest at Hedworthfield, and must have more relevance as the comprehensive school develops. This was the apparent dichotomy between the attitudes of teachers who felt themselves impelled to work towards social amelioration, and those attitudes of their more subject-minded colleagues. Mays saw this problem arising at Ruffwood School on the slum clearance estate at Kirkby, and he describes the situation thus, - "Reformist minded teachers seem to be striving to raise the norms of the surrounding culture, and at the same time, are trying to preserve all that is best in the traditions of the local people. On the other hand, the more traditional teachers want to bring their pupils into the

middle class culture, because it seems to them the best way of life they know. They want to improve standards and are not so concerned about the ideas of equality and social justice which motivate their reformist colleagues".

It has been considered relevant here to discuss the above subject as a preamble to the next section on academic organisation, because it is necessary to give serious attention to the relation between social and curricular development inside these schools. Patrick Daunt [15], headmaster of Thomas Bennett School, Crawley, discusses this subject in a recent article on innovation in comprehensive schools, posing the problem in a slightly different form, - "We are anxious about the conflict between the informality of most of our contacts with children and the comparative formality of some of our teaching situations. It is important that it is not a question of softening academic processes for social ends or vice versa; the conflicting elements appear in both sides of school life". Certainly, the contrast between the pastoral role as house tutor, and what is in some situations a far more formal teaching role, may lead some teachers into dissatisfaction with classroom relationships. Yet others may find the more formal relationship congenial, but be thwarted by poor response from children accustomed to a different relationship not only in tutor group but in other lessons too. This dilemma will obviously continue to face those who teach in comprehensive schools, where social training is an increasing factor in the overall ethos of the school situation.

III

Academic organisation

At its simplest, the most important task of every day in schools remains as ever, a confrontation between teacher and pupil

with the lesson well and truly learnt at the end of it. In fact, it is in the classroom with the door closed as it were, that the individual teacher comes into his own most completely. And whatever form of school organisation operates, the classroom situation is still the most crucial to the academic success of the individual children who attend the school.

However, having conceded this, there are many other factors of varying degrees of importance which may be discussed here, and ever since comprehensive schools came into being one of the most controversial has been that of streaming.

Streaming or non-streaming ?

Streaming developed as a system of grouping in both primary and post-primary schools during the 1920's and 1930's, reaching its peak in the 1950's, when the method of transfer to secondary schools by means of 11-plus selection procedures was at its height. These methods of selection were based on the theory that intellectual potential was largely determined by heredity, that it was fixed and unchanging, and that it could be accurately assessed at an early age. On this basis, streaming as a corollary to the theory, was clearly defensible, and seemed the "obvious" method of grouping children.

Up to the present time, and especially now that the organisation of secondary education on comprehensive lines is being increasingly brought into effect, a controversy has raged about the efficacy, and most particularly, the "justice" of streaming. Theories about intelligence have changed, and one of the more recent definitions, - contained in the survey on grouping or streaming procedures, carried out by U.N.E.S.C.O. (16) - is that "intelligence is a fluid collection of skills whose development is demonstrably affected by early experience and

subsequently by the quality and duration of formal education". Thus it follows that the group of which a child forms part, whether it may be family or school class, is itself a crucial factor in his development. And to put children in different streams according to a prediction about future intellectual development, has been increasingly challenged, especially by "progressive" educationists.

But it must be stressed here that the U.N.E.S.C.O. findings about streaming, per se, were inconclusive, some results being favourable to non-streaming, some to streaming, and others showing no significant difference. As has been pointed out in the Plowden Report, the problem is that of the criteria by which the change to non-streaming are evaluated, for it involves the substitution of different aims from those of the past, - "streamed and non-streamed schools embody different philosophies", * and to test the abilities developed in the latter case required new instruments only now being developed.

Results of research in English comprehensive schools, the vast majority of which are streamed, have so far been too few in number to be taken as a valid basis for assessment. Trends have been towards the advocacy of, at least, the breaking down of very rigid streaming. T. G. Monks, † in his N.F.E.R. report, found that teaching groups in the 331 comprehensive schools were organised in quite complex categories, according to school and school year. Types of organisation included streaming, parallel forms, subject setting, broad ability bands, mixed ability groups, vocational aspirations, subject classes (O and A level especially), and intention to leave school at 15, or to stay longer. Two thirds of the schools had no completely mixed ability groups after the first year.

* Plowden Report, Vol. 2, p. 572-3

† op. cit.

It is at the sociological level that the most sustained attacks on streaming have been made. D. N. Holly (17) concluded that "streaming in the comprehensive school does not seem to result in producing a new élite based on attainment or intelligence quotients: it seems merely to preserve the traditional class basis of educational selection", the implication being that streaming discriminates in favour of the middle class against working class children. The claim that streaming is a "self-verifying hypothesis" is common to most of the surveys of this nature, and Professor Brian Simon (18) in a recent article on streaming and unstreaming, gives details of the researches of J. W. B. Douglas (1964 and 1969), H. Clark (1956), Brian Jackson (1964), J. C. Daniels (1961), R. A. Pearce (1958), F. Chetcuti (1961), C. J. Willig (1963), all of which seemed to indicate that rigid streaming sets a limit to the level of response of the majority of pupils, and that unstreaming might well provide a better environment for both intellectual and social development. And Julienne Ford's* summing up of the tendency for "early selection", through streaming, to continue even in the comprehensive schools, is that it meets with the occupational demands of society at large.

However, the problem of streaming remains essentially an educational question to be decided, within a particular school, on educational grounds. And both the élitists and the égalitarians, who are at the moment engaged in much controversy on the subject, and alike genuinely concerned about the state of education in Britain, might well take note of the liberal compromises arrived at by practising head teachers, as for example, Dame Margaret Miles†, who wants children unstreamed in the first

* op. cit. pp.134-6

† op. cit. p.43

year, and thereafter to benefit from the experience of being members of different groups as they grow older, and she suggests that these may well be based on "common interests rather than measured ability".

Patterns of learning and teaching

As was stressed at the beginning of this section of the chapter, the pattern of teaching is more important than forms of organisation in schools, insofar as impact on the pupils is concerned. And five phases may be discerned in most comprehensive schools, -

a) a foundation period of one year for settling in, and for the schools to get to know their pupils and their potentialities,
b) The "common course", so designed as to keep options open, and to allow of continuous selection and self- differentiation, through differing speeds of learning, emerging interests, and growing competence,
c) the "middle school" phase, during which the curriculum diverges to different levels and in different directions, towards,
d) the first external examinations ('O' level, C.S.E. etc.), or to school leaving,
e) the sixth form.

With regard to content, the aim has been to make the syllabuses relevant to all children, for more flexibility to be possible from stage to stage, and for innovations in teaching methods to be increasingly experimented with. It is interesting to note ways in which approaches to teaching the "whole body of knowledge" have proceeded. There is, for example, the grouping of subjects into six faculties at the Thomas Bennett School, Crawley, namely -

English Studies, Mathematics, Sciences, Languages, Humanities and Liberal Arts. Heads of faculty have responsibility for curriculum development, the planning of material resources, and leadership towards more integration. But the headmaster, Patrick Daunt, * shows that he is well aware of the difficulties inherent in any movement towards integration, especially as teachers are quite often neither ready to, nor capable of, teaching the new techniques of learning necessitated by the new procedures. He is also aware of the dangers of imbalance when he writes, "we are strongly opposed to half-baked inter-disciplinary flights of fancy, the proliferation of options, and to programmes that may interest and stimulate the children but serve no definable learning objectives".

As for the pupils in the schools, a query still remains as to the extent to which the very able might be slowed down, whether the average set the tone, and to what degree the trouble-some succeed in upsetting the system. Certainly, regarding the last-named, trouble-makers in big schools are more difficult to detect, and find it easier to operate. But most schools have set up quite effective machinery to ensure that the day-to-day academic work proceeds without much untoward disruption.

Regarding the possibility that the average might set the pace, the 1967 I.A.A.M. report claimed, no doubt with much truth, that the 'C' stream grammar school pupil benefits greatly from attending a comprehensive school, and that to the 'A' form Modern school pupil a comprehensive is "God's gift"; while the non-academic and below average pupils cannot fail to benefit in some way from the many activities offered in a large and lively school.

As for the high flyers, the I.A.A.M. report comes down firmly

* Forum, vol. 12, January 1970, p.20

in favour of the retention of the grammar school for such pupils, or at least for the provision of separate institutions within the comprehensive system, such as sixth form colleges, to which "early entry" could be arranged where necessary, for the very able.

Yet, wherever the all-through comprehensive school has proven that academic values are well nurtured, there has been a tendency for an increasing number of parents to opt for the comprehensive school as against the grammar school. Dr. Rhodes Boyson * makes this point regarding the I.L.E.A., where 17% grammar school places are available as first choice, yet he has found that at his school the "grammar school" bands are greatly oversubscribed. The reason he gives is that "this is significant of the parents' view of our standards, some 30 of our boys go to university and further education each year, some 45 sit A-levels, 90 sit O-levels, and 100 C.S.E. out of an intake of 240". And there is no doubt that the "good" comprehensive school has by now won its spurs academically. But it is nevertheless realistic to assume that the independent schools, the direct grant schools, (despite the present threat to their calm), and the well-established grammar schools will almost certainly for a long time to come continue to cater for the "best of the brains" of Britain. The contribution of the comprehensive school, up to O-level at least, has been in making quite definite inroads into the "wastage of ability" of able working class pupils which was the most disturbing finding of the Early Leaving report. Yet, Dr. Julienne Ford's recent findings are that social class in still the main determinant for going on to sixth form work. Half the middle class children in her sample and only 13% of the working class pupils intended to stay on at school beyond the fifth form. †

* Black Paper Two, p. 59

† op. cit. p.39

And it is the sixth form which will be our topic for the last part of this section on academic organisation in the comprehensive school.

Sixth forms - curricula and status

The steady growth in size and scope of sixth forms in all-through comprehensive schools during the past ten years has been felt by some to be one of the most encouraging features of the system, and by others to be a rather more dubious development, because of the tendency for small and therefore uneconomic A-level classes to proliferate. This is a valid criticism if one is to take the traditional provision of a viable range of A-level courses as the main criterion for setting up a sixth form. Various solutions have been proposed, and increasingly implemented, through the different means at the disposal of schools in different areas, including (as in the recent I.L.E.A. scheme) -

a) co-ordination between schools and colleges of further education,
b) pairing of schools, or even consortia of up to four schools to provide a wider range of A-level courses under a single "director of studies",
c) a sixth form centre housed in one comprehensive, and fed by neighbouring comprehensives, which still retain their "new sixth forms".

But of course, the "open" sixth form of today's comprehensive school must cater for a much wider range of abilities, and offer a greater choice of courses in order to provide for all students willing to stay on at school beyond the fifth year. These courses include 'O' level re-sits, and for pupils proceeding from C.S.E. to O-level, as well as special courses with a distinct vocational bias.

The comprehensive school sixth form, together with that of the grammar school, must also be affected in the future by the recent proposals of the joint working party of the Schools Council and the Standing Conference on University Entrance. Whether or not the "Q and F" proposals come to fruition, there is no doubt that a more balanced sixth form education is on the way, and it will include a broader curriculum with arts and science or mathematical subjects taken to the end of the sixth year, as well as provision for general studies. The report recognises the very much wider spectrum of sixth form provision which will increasingly be needed, and it sums up curricula objectives by stating, "we believe that a continuum of ability will be best served by a system that permits pupils to progress at their own rates through a graded system of goals within the same framework".

Such a widening of entry to the sixth form demands a reappraisal of traditional priorities, not the least of which concerns the status of the sixth form student; and the problem will be mainly to strike an ideal balance between freedom and responsibility. If students organise their own activities they will inevitably make mistakes, and at times abuse their new-found freedom. Sixth form staff have a plain duty to help to develop in their pupils a true spirit of enterprise, of work, and (dare one say it) of loyalty.

It is well known that progress towards a self-regulating community in the comprehensive school sixth form has often been disappointingly slow. But there is also little doubt that a lively and self-confident spirit, and a willingness to help where needed in school activities is typical of the average comprehensive sixth former.

It will be recalled that the 900-pupil grammar school at Jarrow draws its children from the town itself and from two other urban districts, there being a total of 250 Jarrow pupils at the school. The sixth form is "traditional", in that only A-level pupils are admitted and average about 120 (60 Upper and 60 Lower Sixth), of which at the last estimate 45 were from Jarrow, there being 15 from the Hedworth estate. When the town's schools go comprehensive, pupils already at grammar school will stay there. Thus, it will take Hedworthfield school six years to develop a sixth form which contains the ablest children from its catchment area. In the meantime, Hedworthfield will endeavour to build up a "new sixth form" from the existing pupils, and from its intake from redundant Modern schools nearby. In this respect, the school will take its place amongst some dozens of housing estate comprehensives all over the country which have in the past, and are in the present doing all in their power to bring extended secondary schooling to families which have little or no tradition of such education, but tend to withdraw and enter the world of work at the earliest opportunity.

The next section of this chapter will begin by discussing this problem, and then go on to deal with certain other subjects which may be described as being "beyond the curriculum".

IV

Beyond the Curriculum

From school to work

As was mentioned earlier, the notable report on Early Leaving and the Crowther Report, and most recently Schools Council "Enquiry

One" have shown that there is much wastage of ability through the adverse influence of social factors and home background on the length of school life, on educational achievement, and on the scholastic promise of school children. Few pupils leave school at 15 who are the children of fathems whose occupations are in the professional and managerial category, but the vast majority of pupils whose fathers are unskilled, leave school as soon as they possibly can. In 1959, 12% of children in England and Wales received full-time education up to age 17. In 1970, the figure was approaching 25%, and looking forward to 1980 the Crowther report envisaged that nearly 50% might be still at school at the age of 17.

But in the meantime, why do our pupils leave school so early ? The answers given in 1954 and in 1959 seem to be as relevant now as they were then, - vocational and financial reasons (the latter less so now), the need for independence, because friends were leaving, dislike of, or disinterest in school work, and irksome restraints in the school situation. The report on early leaving summed it up by stating that it was owing to "the outlook and assumptions of homes at different social levels, especially when reinforced by the values of the peer group and of the neighbourhood".

However, as a general rule, once pupils decide to stay on at school, and when they begin to embark upon some form of special study, a sense of purpose and sense of objective comes into their work, even though many of them are not academically inclined. As was pointed out above, the range of choices available in a comprehensive school, even when deliberately restricted in order to preserve "balance" in the curriculum, makes it possible to have a flexibility of provision which takes into account the diversity of abilities, developing aptitudes, and the growing incentives of pupils. However distasteful the idea of vocationalism may seem to some teachers who are dedicated to the education of the

"whole man", the need for qualifications is what dictates the attitudes of parents and many pupils towards prolonging school life beyond statutory age.* According to Professor W. Taylor,(19) in a contribution to a recent symposium on the transition from school to work, "we must accept the technological, town-dwelling, acquisitive and success-oriented society in which we live". It is a society in which expertness is valued above culture, where long training is necessary to acquire special skills and knowledge, and which involves the deferment of earnings for a longer period than hitherto. What a person can do matters more than his social origins, and wealth and birth are less acceptable criteria for the distribution of life chances. Taylor believes that the comprehensive school might better provide the education necessary to meet these new challenges than the existing grammar or modern schools, because the comprehensive school can hold its options open for longer, and enable the pupil to find his own level of attainment and performance across a broader spectrum of educational activities.

In the world of work nowadays, adaptability assumes more importance than a willingness to "work hard", and vocational guidance must be such that the pupil can take advantage of the inevitable changes which will occur in the industrial situation. And this should include a basic understanding of the economic system of which he forms part. Professor S. J. Egglestone (20) has recently pointed out most forcefully that "full exploitation of the new technology depends on the possession of an adequately educated labour force at all levels of industrial organisation". One of the functions of the school, he goes on, is to take on the task of identifying talent, effort, and achievement. Employers now tend to offer a range of occupations restricted to the <u>length and achievement</u> of a candidate's

* See Schools Council Enquiry 1, "Young School Leavers", p. 242

schooling, and the request for examination qualifications often serves as a guide to whether effort has been made to take advantage of the education offered at school up to the age of 16 years and beyond. And Egglestone makes a point which is extremely relevant for the early leavers, and for the more reluctant pupils of our schools, when he says, "It is now rare for most boys and girls to enter a job at 15 and expect to work their way up. Now the classroom has become the place where the crucial achievement has to be made".

But this argument would not be complete without exposing the other side of the coin, as it were. Professor Musgrove, (21) in the same symposium on the transition from school to work mentioned above, pointed out that it is not self-evident that 'skill' of a high and rising level, or that the need for more men and women with 'qualifications' are the most important attributes called for by modern urban industrial society. The world of work also requires social skills, and staying on longer at school should ensure that appropriate personal development occurs before young people go out to work. "The social-personal aspects of education have been neglected in plans for extended education. Education is not simply a need-satisfying institution; at least as important is its role in need-creation", concludes Musgrove.

Planning for Living

The social-personal needs mentioned by Musgrove are being increasingly catered for in our comprehensive schools through those internal arrangements already described at various points in this thesis, - pastoral care through house systems, careers advice, counselling. But most particularly, it is through out-of-school activities of all kinds during school life, together with the forging of secure home and school links, that the "strategies of co-existence" as between pupil and teacher will be most successfully worked out; with the possible result that Karl Mannheim's vision

of a young generation "which combines emotional stability with a flexible mind" might be brought somewhat nearer to realisation. Certainly, schools have in recent years tended more and more to transcend the confines of their traditional life and have done much in this way to strengthen their corporate life, and to develop in their pupils a realisation that they are contributing members of a community.

There is undoubtedly much scope in a large comprehensive school for out-of-school activities of all kinds, and it would be a dull child indeed who could not find his niche among the diversity of sporting, dramatic, and recreational pursuits which are avilable in comprehensive schools today. The writers of the I.L.E.A. report of 1966 summed it up by saying that they had found "an enthusiasm and vigour surging through the multiplicity of school and house clubs, (and in the larger school projects), which form a considerable part of the life of each school".

What the Newsom report described as the extended school day has become a reality in many comprehensive schools, and fears that new and well-equipped schools might stand deserted and unlit during the winter evenings, and that the playing fields might stand idle and unused during the light nights of summer and the fine Saturdays of winter have proved groundless to a great extent.

And it augurs well for future pupil-teacher relationships at all levels, that these days it is also becoming more and more usual for comprehensive schools to be the base for regular activities of an entirely social and recreational nature. On a new housing estate especially, the movement usually begins with the aim of keeping the teenagers "off the streets", and for the pupils to be encouraged to make a more satisfying use of their leisure time. But a note of caution must be sounded here. The term "satisfying"

has been used deliberately , as against the word "constructive", for these two terms reflect the basic dilemma in which adults find themselves when organising social activities for adolescents. Any hint of constructive leisure programmes tends to frighten today's teenagers off. Adult-organised recreative facilities when provided, usually gain the support of the average teenager for a time, but after giving them a trial, the young people begin to show their dissatisfaction by staying away. These projects might well quite often fail because those who decide on adolescent programmes either have vested interests in keeping teenagers in a childlike status , - parents and teachers for example, or are charged with the protection of adult interests, - police and local politicians.

Further, there is an age and interest division or hierarchy among adolescents which makes it difficult to organise facilities for some, which will not be described as "kid's stuff" by the others. This was particularly evident at Hedworth, where the present writer met with insistent demands for different nights for different ages, even though it meant them not using the school at all if it was not "their night". Even so, at the top of the age range, the more mature pupils, who had what they considered to be more sophisticated ideas for an evening's leisure, began to stay away from the Senior Club Nights towards the end of the winter season, because they thought some of their age-mates to be "the absolute end". Yet, great care was taken by the adults to remain in the background, and merely to see fair play with the refreshments, and with school property. Predictably too, on taking a consensus of opinion, those evenings which were apparently the most aimless sessions of teenage anarchy, and during which most of the members just sat around all evening listening to pop records and engaging in banter, were usually voted as having been the most "fabulous". This reaction was the cause of a certain amount

of heart-searching by the organisers, but the practice of merely opening the school and letting things happen, paid such dividends in overt appreciation by the young people concerned, who clamoured for more frequent sessions, that teachers became convinced that it must serve as a kind of social therapy. Also, the firm conviction was formed that it might pay dividends in two respects. Firstly, because to base social activities on the school would help to identify it in the minds of the more reluctant pupils as a congenial place in which to live and also to learn. Secondly, and more importantly, constructive and maybe even creative habits of leisure formed in schooldays might well carry over into adult life, the cultural paucity of which was revealed in the social survey conducted at Hedworth.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusion - New Perspectives in Education

Throughout this study it has been evident how fluid the situation is regarding secondary reorganisation. At regular intervals, some new development has occurred, some new report has appeared or a new work on comprehensive schooling has been published, all of them clearly demonstrating the extent to which British secondary education is in a state of flux. In addition, the degree to which the political debate has become heated, or else for a short time has blown cold again, has added to the state of uncertainty.

With regard to the specific circumstances being examined in this thesis, an atmosphere of change has pervaded the scene. The housing estate is growing apace, the school at Hedworthfield is steadily building up its academic work and its links with the new community. New pupils arrive almost every week, and have perforce to settle into a novel home environment, and also a rather different school situation, which will itself alter radically when the town's schools go comprehensive.

What then, are the conclusions which may be drawn ? The general proposition has been that in considering the problem of planning a housing estate comprehensive school, something positive and of practical value might be obtained from an approach which combined mainly three elements, -

a) an appraisal of current thinking about the social and educational factors involved in secondary reorganisation,

b) the carrying out of a social survey and an educational investigation of a specific nature, in order to obtain

a clearer picture of the immediate situation,

c) using both of the above elements of the work in order to sketch the broad lines along which the planning of a particular school in a particular neighbourhood might proceed.

I

It is usually quite a simple matter to refute the more extreme claims made by one side or another in an argument, and the first casualties of this nature in this work have been that neither a naked tripartism nor a monolithic comprehensive system are tenable. And because it is also very tempting to suggest the middle course and to take refuge in "oversimplification that merely dazzles by its rhetoric", the presentation of a succession of compromises between these extremes is equally futile.

What would probably be more useful would be a re-examination of some of the basic tenets of the debate. And some attempt has been made in this work to do this, as for example, when the call for "equality of opportunity" was seen to be rather the provision of the right opportunity to do different things. Similarly, it is plain that it is necessary to exercise positive discrimination in favour of the under-privileged, and also somehow to ensure that the very able pupil will be given the chance to develop his talents to the full, and not to be held back in a "milieu of mediocrity".

However, it is now proposed to bring together the main strands of this work, to attempt to set down the main conclusions to be drawn from it, and at the same time to indicate what are the new perspectives of secondary education which are

being laid out before us as public education enters its second century.

(1) Buildings - On the purely physical side, the objection to "going comprehensive" stems from creating schools, mainly in existing buildings, which are distributed and designed according to the needs of an entirely different organisation of secondary education. The result is a patchwork quilt of comprehensive provision, which at worst gives rise to split-site schools, which are travesties of educational institutions; and at best produces contrived two-tier schools, so arranged as to use existing buildings as effectively as possible, and not so much the result of real conviction. However, on the positive side, quite an encouraging (and sometimes really magnificent) tradition of comprehensive school building has been developing. And where they have been purpose-built, or if a fairly new school has been extended, the auguries, in this respect, for the future are good, especially in large schools where separate "houses" for social and pastoral provision is made.

(2) Neighbourhood - Going comprehensive also often means agonizing over catchment areas and zoning, in order to fulfil, what some critics have stated are dubious claims for social justice and social mixing, the epithet "social engineering" often being applied to the whole exercise. There is also the danger that if a comprehensive school serves a clearly-defined locality, it will represent exclusively one type of home and social background. Further, the school built on a new housing estate on the fringe of an industrial area will draw children from a background connected with one or two industries, and the business and professional occupations will be virtually unrepresented, the result being that once again the fundamental idea of "comprehensiveness" will

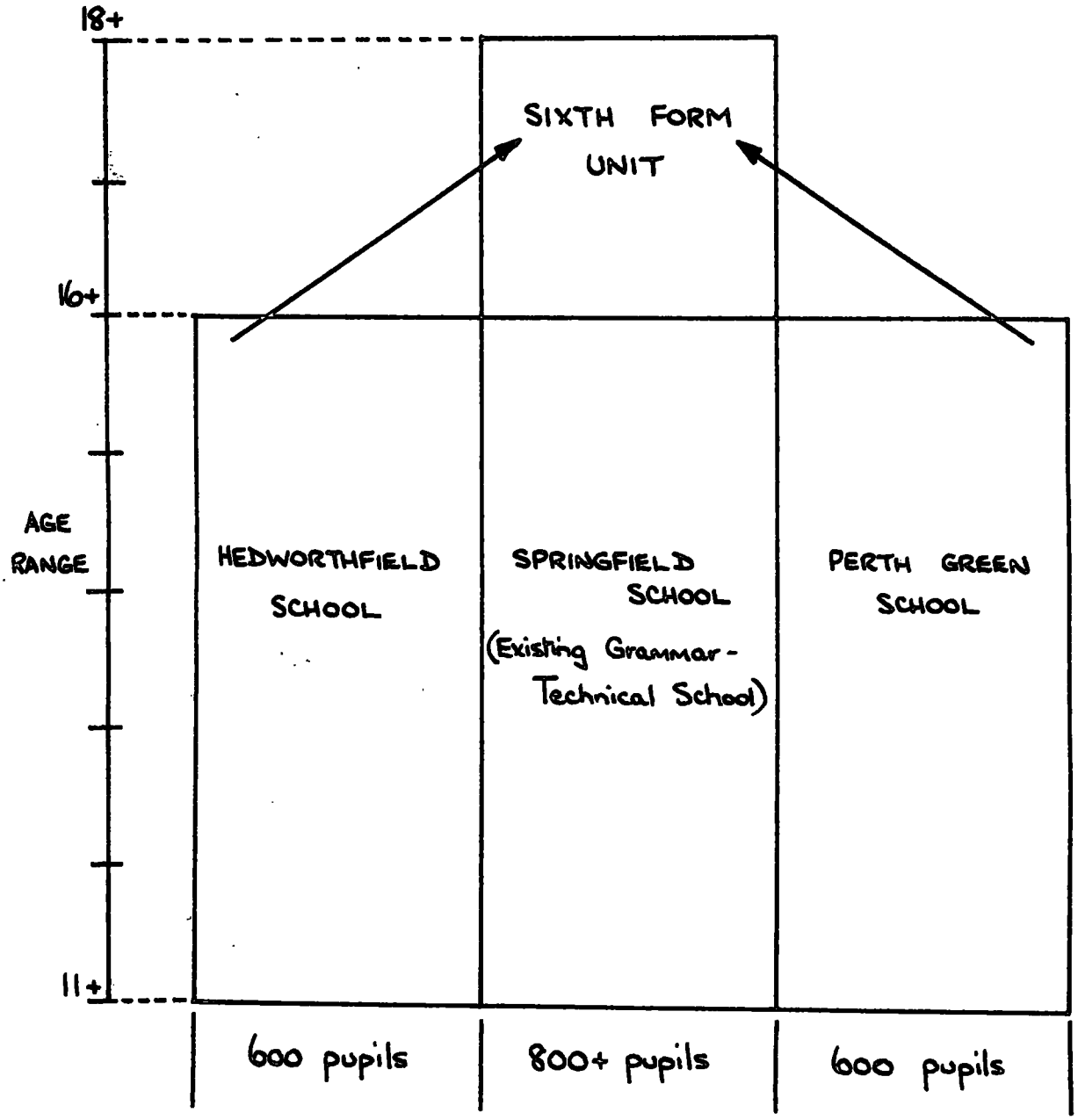
be frustrated.

(3) Organisation - Although Circular 10/65 expressed a preference for the 11-18 all-through school, there has emerged a strong trend towards two-tier organisations of various kinds. The consensus of opinion from all sides, and especially from abroad, seems to favour such an organisation, with the upper tier not starting until at least the age of 15. U.S.A. and Japan have tended to favour one institution catering for the educational needs of <u>all</u> children, but with an increasing academic rigour being imposed in the senior high school. France, Sweden and U.S.S.R. favour parallel institutions in the upper tier, specialising in one type of education. In England and Wales, whatever form the "upper secondary school" might take, would most likely begin at 16, that is after 'O' level and C.S.E. It is also possible that "comprehensive colleges of further education" might evolve, catering for full-time and part-time students side by side, and complementing existing provision, with the result that an <u>integrated</u> system would develop, providing a variety of opportunities, - for university and polytechnic entrance, vocational and technical training, day release (or longer) for young workers, or merely an "extended" general education for those willing to remain at school beyond the statutory age.

II

From (1), (2), and (3) above it is possible to express what might be the final implications to be drawn for reorganisation at Hedworthfield. The firm conviction has been formed from this study that Durham County Council might be pressing a wrong choice by providing two "all-through" schools at Jarrow. The figures reveal that when the leaving age is raised to 16 in the mid-1970's, there should be about 2,000 non-R.C. secondary school pupils to cater for. Now, Jarrow is virtually an entirely

Diagram Three- Suggested reorganisation at Jarrow.



working-class town, and a tradition of staying on into the sixth form has not as yet been firmly established. In addition, there is a third school, a post-war (1962) Modern school, Perth Green, which the D.E.S. has urged should not be closed. It is situated on the older, neighbouring housing estate to the east of Hedworth, and its children, under present arrangements, are destined to attend Hedworthfield whenever reorganisation on comprehensive lines takes place. An alternative arrangement for Jarrow is thus suggested here, and on the basis of all the facts and theories which have emerged from this study.

(a) That there should be 3 comprehensive secondary schools in the town; two 11-16 schools with about 600 pupils each, at Hedworthfield and Perth Green, and one 11-18 school based at Jarrow Grammar School (Springfield), with a 16-18 sixth form unit drawn from all three schools, the total roll at Springfield being upwards of 800 pupils. (See diagram Three opposite).

(b) By this means a relatively small building programme would be necessary; Hedworthfield to be doubled in size, as already projected before the publication of Circular 10/65; and Perth Green to have provision for 150 more pupils. The old grammar school would not require any extensions, but sixth form provision would be stepped up. The two other Modern schools, built at the turn of the century would be closed, as provided for in the existing plans.

(c) Catchment areas would be "rationalised"; Hedworthfield to serve Hedworth only, Perth Green to serve the older council estate, and Springfield, situated as it is, near the town centre, to serve old Jarrow, which is fast being rebuilt and redeveloped almost as a "new town".

(d) An even distribution and pooling of graduate and other staff for the 11-16 ranges of all three schools would not be beyond the bounds of administrative competence, nor of professional co-operation and goodwill. Some reservations regarding the siting of the sixth form unit at the old grammar school and of subsequent advantage to pupils attending Springfield as against the other two schools, would have to be resolved, mainly by staffing the sixth form unit entirely separately and with appropriate specialists. But it would soon be plain for all, especially parents, to see that the "junior" comprehensive on the grammar school site, was entirely unselective. And parents who were so inclined would soon, possibly rightly, conclude that the "grammar school tradition" would not be entirely uprooted, and would be more likely to survive on its old site, albeit from the more acceptable, even more logical age of 16.

III

But whatever form of organisation is adopted, the problems facing the comprehensive school regarding the day-to-day tasks of learning and teaching and of objectives, remain as ever that it must endeavour to match the academic standards of the grammar school for its more able pupils, while at the same time having to cater for all ranges of ability. This is a task which critics of the comprehensive principle maintain is not possible of achievement because of such a multiplicity of objectives. Further complications stem from the difficulty of effectively deploying scarce graduate staff. In addition, there is the problem of finding teachers whose <u>training</u> fits them to apply the broad spectrum of teaching methods necessary

in a school which teaches children of all abilities down to E.S.N., and also of widely differing attitudes and home backgrounds. Yet, despite these apparently formidable handicaps, many schools have taken up the challenge with a great measure of success at every stage. And predictably, it is to the primary stage of education that many schools find it necessary to look back, in order to find starting points from which to proceed.

(1) Primary school links. If entry to secondary schools is to remain at 11, or possibly 12 years of age, and that there will be no early and relatively final differentiation on the basis of measured intelligence, it seems most important that strong links with the feeding primary schools must be maintained. And as much accurate and impartial educational and personal information about pupils should be exchanged, including "feed-back" from the secondary stage. In a closely-knit area such as Hedworth, primary school links will be vital. Not only will almost all members of families make their way through the schools, but also, because of the long associations of most of their parents with each other since schooldays in Jarrow, nearly every child will already be a life-member of various natural "communities" with deeply ingrained characteristics, long before he becomes a member of the rather artificial school community which the teachers, as "strangers", have set up. Primary and secondary staffs must therefore work together both to make educational capital out of this parochialism, and also to break down various barriers of exclusion, behind which pupils, as close natural allies, might tend to take refuge.

(2) Transition. Because the first year pupils are still very young, and also would benefit from a settling-in period, a Reception House would seem to be the best base from which to

provide a one-year transitional course between primary and secondary school, and before they enter the main school houses. One imagines that as time goes on, much of value in this respect will emerge from the experience of the new Middle schools which are being opened across the river from Hedworth in Northumberland. These Middle schools must combine the new methods of the primary school with the earlier introduction of some subjects traditionally reserved for secondary schools.

(3) "Getting Through" to the pupils. It is incumbent upon those who plan the comprehensive school curriculum to provide a range of choices which make it easier for child, parent and teacher to match the interests and attainments to a suitable type of course and one which is related to new trends in the primary school. The emphasis may well thus be on a movement away from the subject as a clear-cut definable unit of the curriculum towards more integration, which if not total, will at least be on a kind of "faculty" basis. This might well result in more exploration of principles and ideas rather than the learning of standardised operations, tied to specific contexts.

A big problem is how to bring out the best in reluctant pupils through active and constructive response. And this might mean relating curricula, syllabus content, and presentation, to working class "moves" and standards of speech. Ways must certainly be found of helping these children to realise their full potential. And it is not merely pandering to the whims of the immature, if one sets out to plan the curricula in terms of "relevance", flexibility, innovation and vocationalism.

The holding power of the schools depends on the working out of "strategies of co-existence" as between teachers and young

adolescents, resulting in toleration and positive response. Otherwise, pupils will tend to withdraw, either physically by leaving school, or if they remain, by showing indifference. Teachers must "give ground", as it were. Indeed, the teacher who never looks at the social setting of the school and the home background of the child, or has no thought for the child's future place in society would not today be regarded as professionally adequate. He must aim to channel adolescent energies into socially acceptable activities. Peer group loyalties must be recognised and given expression. Co-operation will tend to take the place of competition, and there is little doubt that the more pupils are associated with the running of the school, the earlier they tend to re-order and extend their allegiances beyond the gang, the set, the form, the "in-group".

And the school as a community will function successfully according to the extent to which teachers discard some of their prejudices, and the young adolescents, in their turn, renounce much of their natural deviance; and both come to realise that what they have in common is infinitely greater than the things which divide them. And the more teachers and pupils come together outside the classroom, the better will their relationship become, despite the dilemma which has to be resolved between maintaining academic formalism and the informality of social contacts. Certainly at Hedworth, a fine balance will have to be struck between the need to build up an academic tradition, and the obligation to cater for the degree of "social amelioration" which is necessary.

(4) Community School. It has been seen that there still tends to be a formidable gap in understanding as between home and school, and that real collaboration is difficult to achieve. The problem is how a school might be able to tap the strengths, and attempt to

remedy some of the weaknesses of its immediate area. A start might be made in school to nurture a community spirit, and hence an awareness of civic responsibility, (young people now vote at 18), in those whose background has not previously contained any such element. The comprehensive school can, of course, be little more than a willing servant in this respect, rather than a moulder of modern society.

However, the task will be less difficult only in proportion to the extent to which the neighbourhood itself is able to transcend the narrow necessities of domestic survival. At Hedworth, there is a precarious level of employment. Many families are rather large and often include very young children. They are thus deep in what has been described as one of the "troughs of the poverty cycle", which is further aggravated for many by having recently moved house. In such circumstances, "official" community projects tend to fail, yet there is nevertheless usually quite a fund of goodwill for the schools. There is already some cause for hope that Hedworthfield might well become an increasing focus of community development. Increased traffic in both directions between home and school, by teacher-visiting and by parent participation at school, could be a vital factor in bringing nearer to realisation a true integration of the home and school environment, to the advantage of both.

IV

New Perspectives

A few final words may now be said about the distinction between the "social" and "educational" arguments which have been the twin themes of this work. What has emerged, in fact, is that thinking about society and education does not necessarily involve two separate kinds of thinking. For example, the social arguments

about occupational placement, social mixing and class are seen to be merely extensions of the educational argument. And while on the one hand, there is no proof of the "educational" superiority of the comprehensive system, the "social" arguments are fairly convincing.

But other factors, such as "quality", "efficiency", "economy" have some bearing on the wider aspects of our subject. For example, economic growth and education are seen to be reciprocal. Without economic growth a better education cannot be afforded financially; and yet the economy requires an adequately educated labour force in order to maintain and increase its productive capacity. Efficiency is linked with the effectiveness of management techniques as applied to school organisation, and "educational technology" becomes a factor in bringing about a more economic use of teaching staff, or by introducing more effective learning systems. "Productivity" in education is seen as an analysis of the most effective way of promoting the process in terms not only of results but of cost. Yet the idea of quality in education will remain as difficult to assess as hitherto, and "cost-benefit" analyses can hardly be precisely or effectively applied to many of the more culturally-based educational processes.

Despite the fact that throughout this thesis the effects of the impact of change has been in the forefront of one's enquiries, it remains that schools are basically concerned with the transmission of the traditional culture of the society which they serve. They have tended thus to act as a conservative force, (literally conserving) in a changing world. For example, the "culture of literacy" in our schools becomes, apparently, ever more inadequate to the needs and incompatible with the outlook of large numbers of people. And even many teachers are more bored with the traditional area of school subjects than they care

to admit. The question thus arises whether or not a more thorough exploitation of genuine interests might reveal that many of our pupils are pursuing the wrong activities, and that an over-emphasis on intellectualism has a debilitating effect, which prevents them realising their true potential. Similarly, and at the other extreme, the challenge of the mass-media must be met if an untoward passivity and affectivity is to be avoided. Once again the answer must lie somewhere between the two extremes. The effective use of the mass-media for truly creative ends, might serve to enhance the book culture, which has been the main intellectual element in our schools.

Certainly, whatever means are adopted, new modes of communication must be sought if teachers are to succeed in their task of "getting through" to our young people, who will be the leaders of tomorrow's world. Perhaps there is some basis for hope that the comprehensive school, because it is committed almost by definition to innovation and to flexibility, might come somewhat nearer to success in this respect than older, more traditional forms of school organisation. Thus maybe - and borrowing Canning's famous remark, - the new world (of the comprehensive school) has been called into existence to redress (though not entirely to upset) the balance of the old.

- T H E E N D -

- APPENDICES -

TABLE TWO, AND

SOME EXAMPLES OF

SCHEDULES AND QUESTIONNAIRES USED IN THE SURVEY

(ACTUAL SIZES AND SPACING REDUCED FOR REPRODUCTION HERE)

APPENDIX ONE - TABLE TWO

HOUSE OCCUPANCY

Street	No. of Houses	Families With Children	Families Without Children	Total Occupants
Fellgate Avenue	46	30	16	164
Ashfield	22	9	13	63
Broomfield	41	30	11	174
Greenlands	69	50	19	252
Glenside	23	19	4	97
Manorway	29	19	10	86
King's Meadow	12	11	1	54
Moorside	18	Nil	18	30
Parkfield	38	32	6	155
Sandiacres	44	36	8	183
Fieldway	80	59	21	313
Summerhill	53	46	7	238
Turfside	8	4	4	20
Brayside	20	15	5	73
Firbanks	26	22	4	117
Westlands	26	25	1	109
Southlands	20	19	1	87
Linkway	32	30	2	145
Chestnut Close	32	31	1	163
Totals	639	487	152*	2,523

* 32 young or childless couples
62 retired couples
29 women alone
2 pairs of sisters
125 carried forward

7 men alone
1 man with daughter
18 old people's bungalow
1/pair brothers sharing house
125 carried forward

Total * 152

APPENDIX TWO - SCHEDULE FORM QUESTIONNAIRE

Parents etc	Schools	Occupation	Church	Leisure and Clubs etc.	Official Positions if any (Club T.U. Politics)
Father M W S D					
Mother M W S D		At work Yes/No			
Other Adults					

Children	Ages	Schools	Occupation	Church S.S. or NIL	Leisure and Clubs Organisations etc.

House code	Other notes of interest

APPENDIX THREE - FAMILY FACTS. SCHEDULE. (BY STREETS)

Street.....

House No.	Total Occup-ants	Children			Fathers job	Mother at work Yes/No	Others at work (job)	Schools and Education			
		0-11	11-21	& 21+				Prim.	Mod.	Grammar	College

APPENDIX FOUR (a) PUPILS' LEISURE TIME REPORT
(b) HOLIDAY FORM

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(a) Leisure Time Report

Day:- Mon. Tues, Wed, Thurs, Weekend, (underline day)

	At Home	If went out; Where, Doing What
Mother		
Father		
Sisters		
Brothers		
Self		

Reminder List: Home) T.V. Radio, Reading, (What?) Odd Jobs, (What?), Hobbies, Visitors, Relatives, Homework, Games, Any others not mentioned here ?

Out) Clubs, Journeys, Visits, Meetings, Bingo, Cinema, Theatre Church, Scouts, Guides, etc., Band, Library, Pub, Hobbies, Garden, Sports, Games, - any others not mentioned here?

(b) SUMMER HOLIDAYS

1. Places visited.....

2. Length of Stay.....

3. Accommodation (Hotel, caravan, camping, boarding house, relatives etc.) .....

4. Day Trips (where) .....

.....

.....

APPENDIX FIVE - (a) KINSHIP REPORT FORM

(b) KIN-VISITING

(a) Kinship

Street formerly lived in at Jarrow	6
Still standing	Yes/No

Grandparents' addresses	1
	2
Places where aunts and uncles live Jarrow & Elsewhere	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6

	(b) KIN VISITING (Tick for each visit in column) if visit made or returned		
Seeing relatives in last week	On estate	In Jarrow	Elsewhere
Fathers'			
Mothers'			
Seeing relatives in last month	On estate	In Jarrow	Elsewhere
Fathers'			
Mothers'			

APPENDIX SIX - "USES OF LITERACY" REPORTS

(a) Newspapers and Periodicals
(b) Books owned
(c) Use of Public Library

a) NEWSPAPERS

Newspapers and magazines bought at home	
Daily and Evening	
Sunday	
Weekly	
Others (at any other time not mentioned above)	

b) BOOKS OWNED

Books owned at home	Total:- (approx.)	
	Type of Book	
	Some Titles	

c) PUBLIC LIBRARY

Use of Public Library	Frequency, often, seldom never	Details (type of book if known)
Mother		
Father		
Sisters (number them)		
Brothers (number them)		
Self		

APPENDIX SEVEN - "OPINION" QUESTIONNAIRE:-

Parents' Questionnaire

(Cross out whichever does not apply)

1. What schooling would you like your Child/children to have ?
(Grammar/Comprehensive)

2. What kind of education would you expect your child/children to have in a comprehensive school ?

a) worse than grammar school
b) same as grammar school
c) better than grammar school

3. What age would you like your child/children to leave school ?

(15, 16, 18)

4. What kind of job would you like your child/children to obtain when he/she/they leave school ?

.....

5. What kind of further education do you think would be of value ?

a) none
b) day release from work
c) evening
d) full time

6. What kind of relationship with the school do you think would be most valuable to you as parents? Choose one you prefer. Mark 1, 2 and 3 in order of preference.

a) free and informal access at all times to see Head and staff
b) Parent Teachers Association (P.T.A.)
c) Open days and other Special occasions

7. Are you satisfied with the education your child is having ?

Yes/No/Uncertain

Any suggestions.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX SEVEN - CONTINUED.....

8. What do you think about living on the estate ?

Well Satisfied/Satisfied/Dissatisfied

Why.....

.....

9. What do you think of the schools ?

Well Satisfied/Satisfied/Dissatisfied

10. What do you think of the facilities for social life on estate ?

Well Satisfied/Satisfied/Dissatisfied

11. How do you think that organised social activities would be supported

Well Supported/Fair Support/Little Support

12. How do you get on with the people on the estate in general ?

Very Well/Quite Well/Badly

13. If you were a member of the council, what would you plan for the estate ?

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