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THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION AND ITS EFFECTS
ON THE LEAST ACADEMICALLY SUCCESSFUL
PUPILS IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOL

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John Richard Stakes.

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Education,
University of Durham, Department of Education (1986).**



1986

ABSTRACT

This investigation was undertaken in order to examine the effect that the process of secondary education can be shown to have on the academically less successful pupil in the secondary school.

The features of the process of education which were selected for investigation were firstly the organisational structure of the secondary school and secondly, the curriculum programme which it offers.

The first part of this investigation was conducted by means of a literature search into the two features outlined above. A literature search was also conducted into previous research evidence concerned with the effect that the process of schooling has on the least academically successful pupil.

An analysis of the main features of the literature search indicated that there are five main areas of importance. These are the pattern of authority and control in the school, the organisation of teaching groups, the size of the school, the equality of opportunity for all pupils and the curriculum and system of examinations.

The small scale study which was undertaken in the second part of this investigation took into account the areas of importance outlined above.

This was effected by using instruments developed by Finlayson and his associates (1970), which showed the pupils questioned to indicate their feelings about both the social climate and the organisational features of the school, and also by the use of a questionnaire developed internally in the school for the purpose of this study.

The results obtained from the instruments drawn up by Finlayson and his associates indicated generally negative views amongst the target group. These indications can be contrasted to some degree with those obtained from the questionnaire which

was developed internally.

This small scale study also indicated that the least academically successful pupils clearly discriminated between those members of staff whom they felt were favourably disposed and supportive towards them and those who were not. This study further indicated that the pupils reacted towards members of staff according to these judgements.

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Richard Stakes (1986)

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A. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this investigation is to examine the effect that the process of schooling may have on pupils. This is being undertaken to gauge the feelings of pupils in secondary schools in relation to their experiences.

Both official research conducted by agencies such as the Schools Council (1968¹, 1970²) and the Schools Council in Northern Ireland (1974)³ and individual projects by Holt (1964)⁴, Raven (1977)⁵, Rutter et al (1979)⁶ and Hargreaves (1983)⁷ have drawn attention to the importance of the process of schooling in relation to a pupils' feelings of success.

This research has also indicated that the two features of the process of schooling which are most important in determining a pupils' views are the curriculum provision and the organisational characteristics of the school. It is the intention of this investigation to concentrate on those two features.

The first part of this investigation will be conducted by means of a literature search which will

- (a) discuss the features of the curriculum programme that are available to the school through an examination of the main models for this purpose
- (b) discuss the organisational characteristics of the school in relation to its bureaucratic and institutional features
- (c) investigate the evidence relating to the effect of the features discussed in (a) and (b) above (have) on the pupils.

This part of the investigation will be followed by the description and analysis of a small-scale investigation which has been conducted to ascertain the feelings of a group of fifth year academically less successful pupils to those features described in the previous paragraph.

Within the programme outlined this investigation will examine the position proposed through results of the research outlined above and the work of individuals such as Bowles and Gintis (1976)⁸,

1. The Schools Council : Enquiry 1
2. The Schools Council : Cross'd with adversity
3. J.M. Bill : Early Learning in Northern Ireland
4. J. Holt : How Children Fail
5. J. Raven : Education, Values and Society
6. M. Rutter et al : Fifteen thousand hours
7. D.H. Hargreaves : The Challenge for the Comprehensives
8. S. Bowles and H. Gintis : Schooling in Capitalist America

Willis (1977)¹, Hopson and Scally (1981)² and Rogers (1983)³ which indicates that the main emphasis of the work of the school can be shown to be centred round three features. Firstly that there is a strong emphasis in its curriculum programme on academic features derived from reading and writing well and success at examinations. The second feature which will be examined is the proposal that the organisation of the school is concerned more with aspects connected with economic control and social compliance rather than personal development. Thirdly it will examine the proposal that the features of the school that are highly regarded by society at large are sometimes inappropriate for the needs of an important percentage of pupils and gives them little opportunity for success during their time at school.

The literature search will be divided into three sections. Section A will be directed towards an analysis of the curriculum of the school. This will be done by investigating the evidence relating to

- i) the different schools of thought which exist around any definition of the aims of education.
- ii) links which can be found between the schools of thought outlined in (i) above and problems associated with producing a suitable curriculum for use in the school
- iii) outlining the main features of the most prevalent curriculum models and indicating criticisms which have been made of these.
- iv) an overview of current thinking and practice relating to the curriculum. This sub section will concentrate on how the problems outlined in (iii) above have been approached. An indication of the criticisms of recent guidelines which have been produced will be undertaken. This will relate particularly to curriculum provision that is made in the main stream school for the least academically successful pupil.

Section B of the literature review will be concerned with an examination of the formal organisation of the school. This will include an investigation of

¹ P. Willis : Learning to labour, How working class kids get working class jobs

² B. Hopson and M. Scally : Lifeskills Teaching

³ C. Rogers : Learning to be free

- (i) the authority structure of the school
- (ii) the bureaucratic nature of the school
- (iii) the school as an institution and the effect of institutionalism and ritual on the process of schooling on the pupil
- (iv) evidence of the effect of the organisation of the school may have on the pupil.

Section C. of this literature search will draw on evidence from both research material and other documentary evidence in order to examine how some of the features outlined earlier may be seen to have an effect on pupils.

Areas which will be considered include :-

- (i) the pattern of authority and control which can be found in the school.
- (ii) the effect of the size of large schools
- (iii) the possibility of the equality of opportunity for pupils and research evidence relating to this in the school
- (iv) issues relating to the organisation of teaching groups in the school
- (v) the curriculum and the system of examinations.

These areas will take into account evidence, mainly, but not exclusively from the secondary school.

The groups within the school on which this investigation will focus as being least likely to benefit from the traditional curriculum in the school and those most irked by its overall organisation will be firstly the academically least successful and secondly, those who are least committed to it.

Section D of this thesis will be concerned with a small-scale research programme which was undertaken with a group of least academically successful pupils in the fifth year of a school. This section will outline how the enquiry was organised and what results were obtained.

Section E will be concerned with conclusions relating to the material which has been assembled.

A. THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

i. INTRODUCTION

This section will examine the difficulties which are to be found in relation to the curriculum provision in the school.

This will be done by an examination of

- (i) the aims of education
- (ii) the central models which are available to translate the aims outlined in (i) above into curriculum practice
- (iii) aspects of thought and practice concerning curriculum provision.
- (iv) the overall effect of (i), (ii), and (iii) above on the provision of the curriculum in the school.

By undertaking this examination this section will defend the position that the main models of the curriculum which are under discussion are contrasting in style, contradictory in purpose and difficult to reconcile in practice.

Evidence to support this position will be drawn from the work of Peters (1967, 1973), Hirst (1969, 1983), Hirst and Peters (1970), White (1969) and Kelly (1982).

This section will also defend the position that the situation outlined above leads to one model of the curriculum; (the traditional model) being used to a much greater degree in the school than any other. This traditional model, it will be argued although highly regarded by the most important and influential members in our society is inappropriate and unsuitable for meeting the needs of many pupils.

Evidence to support this position will be taken from the work of Stenhouse (1975), Lawton (1980), Holly (1973) and Hargreaves (1976)

ii. THE AIMS OF EDUCATION

In his definition of the aims of education Phenix (1964 p.1)¹ describes it as 'the means of perpetuating a culture from one generation to the next'. This is a definition however, which indicates some of the problems which can be found with producing any definition of the aims of education. Firstly, it points out that the aims of education are concerned not only with discussions of a

¹. P.H. Phenix : Realms of Meaning

list of items which have been described by Bernstein (1971 p.41)¹ as 'valid knowledge' for the perpetuation of this culture. Secondly it shows that any discussion of the aims of education must take into account the means by which this selection is done.

An examination of those problems, together with others which can be found in any attempt to define the aims of education, indicates that this is an area of considerable debate.

Hirst and Peters (1970 p.25) have for example, described the aims of education as 'a very fluid concept' and Peters (1967 p.1)² refers to 'a concept which is not very close to the ground...no particular process which encapsulates criteria to which any of a family of processes must conform'. Solstis, (1988 p.2)³ wrote similarly of education being 'a multitude of competing definitions'. It is evidence like this that lead John (1980, p. 10 - 11)⁴ to express the view that the idea of education and an educated person varies widely.

Williams, (1961, p.146)⁵ in attempting to find a definition pointed out that the aims of education cannot be discussed in terms that are merely abstract.

He proposed that the general purpose of education can be described as falling into three categories, categories which he argues, are interdependent and are directed towards forms of (1) training concerned with social character, (2) the teaching of skills and (3) general education. Williams sees this training as part of the initiation of a child into an adult society. He states:

'one can say that a child must be taught, first the accepted behaviour and values of his society; second the general knowledge and attitudes appropriate to an educated man, and third, a particular skill by which he will earn his living and contribute to the welfare of his society'

For Peters, (1967 p.7) however, training is only one aspect which is involved in the process of education, an aspect which he describes as 'always suggesting confinement and one which does not allow us to call a person educated just because he has mastered a skill'. The educated person in Peters view is one who has 'a

1. B. Bernstein in M.F.D. Young : Knowledge and Control
2. R.J. Peters : The Concept of Education
3. J.P. Solstis : Concepts to the analysis of Education
4. D. John : Leadership in School
5. E. Williams : The Long Revolution

more all round type of development'. He argues that this all round development of an educated man would include, as well as skills and behaviour, items involving knowledge and understanding, judgement and feelings not just confined to things he has been trained to do for utilitarian or vocational purposes. In his view it is the development of the individual, to produce the all round person with intelligence, ability and attitude who will play their part in the adult society which is the aim of the education process.

iii. THE CURRICULUM

The conflicting view-points which emerge from any examination of the aims of education also need to be taken into account in relation to the curriculum provision that is made in the school. However before undertaking this task it is important first to examine what is involved in attempting to produce a definition of the curriculum. Richmond (1971)¹ and Hughes (1978)² have both pointed out that there is little consensus of opinion on what constitutes the definition of the curriculum of the school. In a global context Hirst and Peters (op cit) have argued that curriculum provision will differ greatly according to the needs that a particular society might see as important in raising its children. These needs might, for example, be very different for a child brought up in the primitive society described by Mead (1930)³ from one brought up in the advanced technological society of Western Europe or Japan. In this context Richmond (op cit) has pointed out that the curriculum which is selected as essential in the school is that which the society of which a child is to become a member considers to be of most value.

Hirst and Peters (op cit) have indicated that these essentials are deliberately programmed into the life of the school. Eggleston (1980 p.1)⁴ defined the school programme in terms of the organisation, teaching and evaluation of knowledge, skills and roles which it offers. Tabbe(1962 p.8)⁵ has drawn attention to the view that this programme cannot be one which is static and in this context he describes the present school curriculum as 'an amorphous product of generations

1. W.K. Richmond : The School Curriculum

2. M. Hughes (Ed.) : Administering Education, international challenge

3. N. Mead : Growing up in New Guinea

4. J. Eggleston : The school based curriculum in Britain a collection of case studies

5. H. Taba : Curriculum development : Theory and practice

of tinkering.¹

These views indicate that the curriculum of the school is organised and operates within a framework. There are, however, differing opinions of what that framework contains. Rugg (1936 p.17)¹ for example described the curriculum as having two main aspects, 'that concerned with the activities (the things which are undertaken by the school) and secondly that concerned with the material with which those activities are done.' Connell (1955)² proposed that the curriculum had three aspects. He describes these as the subject curriculum, (concerned with bodies of subject matter), the core curriculum (concerned with rules, beliefs, facts and methods of thinking in a society which the school is trying consciously to improve and promote), and the activity curriculum, (concerned with practicalities - things to be done, not things known).

These views of the curriculum were regarded by Puckrose (1972)³ as being too narrow and concerned only with the organised aspects of the work in the school. He defined the curriculum as 'everything that goes on within a school'(p. 102). This definition took into account the aspects described by Kelly (1982 p.9)⁴ as both the 'formal' and the 'informal' curriculum. The formal curriculum, Kelly argued is the planned activities of the curriculum which incorporates such aspects as the programme of lessons on the timetable. The informal curriculum, (which has also been described by Illich (1971)⁵ as the hidden curriculum), Kelly argued is those aspects of school life that are not planned as part of a deliberate programme of activities.

In the light of this and the other evidence presented here it is hardly surprising that Kelly (op cit p.10) has pointed out 'there are more aspects of curriculum than are dreamed of in the philosophy of most teachers'.

In the debate over the aims of education outlined earlier (p. 10 to p. 12) the different schools of thought are represented in any discussions over the presentation of the curriculum by two models of thought.

1. H. Rugg : American Life and the School Curriculum
2. W.F. Connell : A glossary of curriculum terms : The Forum of Education XIV, I
3. H. Puckrose : The Caring School in G. Haigh (Ed) On our side
4. A.V. Kelly : The Curriculum, theory and practice
5. I. Illich : De Schooling Society

These two models are the 'traditional curriculum' model and the 'child centred curriculum' model. The traditional curriculum model promotes the education of man in order to place him in society. The child centred model is concerned with educating man in order to promote his own personal development and find his own place in society.

These two models, also display clearly different aims of the schools of thought which they represent. They also display the different approaches towards achieving those aims. It is important part of this investigation to examine these two models of the curriculum in order to outline what they represent and how they operate within the school.

IV. MODELS OF THE CURRICULUM

A. The traditional model

The traditional model of education Stenhouse (1975)¹ has argued has had a major influence over a period of many years. This influence has emanated from a variety of different sources. These include the religious links which the church has had with the development of education for many centuries. These links were outlined by Curtis and Boulwood (1966)² and Lawson and Silver (1973)³.

Further influences on the traditional model of education have been outlined. The spread of nationalism and the economic needs of the country in developing industrial society have been described by Spring (1980)⁴ as an important influence on the school curriculum. Aspects of the development in this influence can be traced back over many years through the work of Ash (1777)⁵, Smith (1776)⁶ and Clarke (1892)⁷. The use of the school in order to spread a form of social control to all pupils for its eventual use in the wider society was outlined by Fichte⁸ in Germany at the turn of the century.

1. L. Stenhouse : An introduction to curriculum research and development

2. S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood : A history of Educational Ideas

3. J. Lawson and H. Silver : A social history of Education in England and Wales

4. J. Spring : Educating the worker citizen : the social, economic and political foundations of education

5. J. Ash : Sentimental Education in J. Spring : op cit

6. A. Smith : Wealth of Nations

7. F. Clarke : in S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood (op cit)

8. J.G. Fichte in Address to the German Nation (translated R.F. Jones and G.H. Turnbull (1922))

These features outlined above can be seen in the main to be ones which emanate from outside the school concerned with life in the wider society. The important influence that they both had on curriculum provision has led Stenhouse (op cit) to describe the traditional model of the curriculum as being regarded by the most influential members of our society as the only real form of acceptable education. This has been emphasised by Phenix (op cit) and White (1969)¹ who argued that this model of education is the only one to be taken seriously for the education of children.

Hirst (1969 p.153)² similarly has argued that the approach taken by the traditional model of the curriculum allows the child to acquire fundamental elements of knowledge which are necessary for the attainment of the 'rational mind'. In his view those fundamental elements cannot be anything but universal objectives for the curriculum.

White (op cit) when discussing the implications of the organisation of the curriculum in the school took the position that the traditional model allows for the fundamental elements of knowledge to be open for all pupils. If these areas of knowledge are not opened for all pupils he argued there is a danger of producing a school curriculum which has a different form for different parts of society. This he indicated will not only discriminate against certain pupils but will also reinforce their exclusion from what is considered to be the most valuable and prestigious part of education. Further, he argued, it will also act as a deterrent for some pupils from entering what he describes as the 'area of higher culture' into which they have a right to be initiated.

This is a strong argument and one which is much vaunted in secondary school practice, particularly in relation to providing an equal chance for all pupils to participate in and benefit from their experiences there. Yet the very nature of the way that this model operates in the school gives rise to anxieties about the provision that is made for those pupils who McGuinness (1983)³ describes as being 'below the first quartile in the ability range'. There is well

1. J.D. White : The Curriculum Mongers : Education in Reverse,
New Society 6.III.69

2. P.H. Hirst : The logic of the curriculum; journal of Curriculum Studies.

3. J.B. McGuinness in F. Coffield and P.R. May (Eds.) : Sacred Cows in Education

documented evidence from official reports such as Half Our Future (1963)¹ and Meeting Special Educational Needs (1979)² along with many semi official Schools Council Reports³ that the average and less average child in the secondary school are recipients of a curriculum which merely apes that which is more appropriate and of greater benefit to his more able peers.

Dent, as long ago as 1949⁴ argued the dangers of the inappropriateness of a watered down Grammar School curriculum being the central pillar for pupils who could not benefit from it. Dents work appeared at the time of the tripartite split in secondary education. Shaw writing in 1983⁵ argued that the development of the comprehensive school has only encouraged this problem. In his view the ex-Grammar School staff because of their better academic qualifications and the status that they hold in the secondary school system were in a better position to be promoted to Heads, Deputy Heads and Heads of Department than their non-graduate Technical and Secondary Modern School colleagues. A consequence of this, he argued is that the ethos of the Grammar School was spread widely throughout the new comprehensive schools.

Further criticisms have been levelled at the traditional curriculum. Richmond (op cit p.200) , Wringe (1976 p.78)⁶ and Warnock (1971)⁷ pointed out that knowledge which is taught as a body of information is not enough. They argued that facts, although important should not be the sole facet of the curriculum. They indicated that a more favourable view should be encouraged in the curriculum to items such as problem solving, self expression, creative activities and in developing a relationship between the learning of facts and the acquisition of skills.

Taylor (1964 p.100)⁸ described the traditional approach to the curriculum as being 'tough minded' particularly in relation to the

1. D.E.S. : P. Newsom (Chairman) Half Our Future
2. D.E.S. : M. Warnock (Chairman) Meeting Special Educational Needs
3. These reports include : The Whole Curriculum (1969) Cross'd with Adversity (1970) Curriculum Planning for Compensatory Education (1970) and Curricular Needs of Slow Learner (1979)
4. H.C. Dent : Secondary Education for all
5. B. Shaw : Comprehensive Schools : the impossible dream?
6. D.S. Wringe in D.I. Lloyd (Ed.): Philosophy and the teacher
7. M. Warnock : in New Society 17:VI:1971
8. W. Taylor : The Secondary Modern School

least academically successful pupils. Partridge (1968)¹ writing of his experiences teaching in a secondary modern school has argued similarly to Taylor that the traditional model emphasises success at academic subjects and the consequent examinations as an indication of personal esteem at the expense of any other form of development. Lloyd (1976 p.91)² also criticised the approach of the traditionalists remarking that, in his view the model can be seen merely in terms of 'teacher action' - he is the person with all the knowledge and the child, ignorant and unthinking to whom this knowledge must be fed. It is, he wrote a situation where the teacher is

'putting something into the child....inculcating good taste, to imbue with a love of learning... to implant good sense....to ensure something sinks in....'

He argued that this model creates a situation where the child has no control over what he is learning and where he has little means of discrimination in that connection as the teacher has total control over the material with which the child is presented.

The external influences which have led to the importance given to the model of the curriculum have similarly been criticised. Wall (1968 p.51)³ writing of the influence of the church on education in modern Britain pointed out that today we are much less concerned with spiritual factors and more by social and political aspects. These social and political influences have been similarly criticised. The dangers of the use of education to provide purely for the needs of industry were pointed out by Smith (op cit p.734-5) as long ago as 1776. While making the point that the main aim of education was the specialisation of the workforce he warned that this was likely to make the worker

'as stupid and ignorant as possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in a rational conversation but of concerning any generous, noble or tender sentiment'

Smith indicated that he hoped that the school could be used to counter balance this problem. He hoped that school work would take

1. J. Partridge : Life in a Secondary Modern School
2. D.I. Lloyd in D.I. Lloyd op cit
3. W.D. Wall : Adolescents and Society

on a more individualistic aspect in contrast to the work in the factory which was of a more collaborative nature. Two hundred years later Bowles and Gintis (op cit) have argued that in a capitalist society industry and the school are closely linked with the school being used to feed the needs of industry and to reproduce the inequalities that are found in an industrial society. Vallance (1974 p.13)¹ taking a similar position argued that the school is working on behalf of the state in helping to perpetuate its class structure. The school, she pointed out, does this through a system of social control which is concerned with political socialisation, training in obedience and docility and the perpetuation of its class structure. Dale (1974, op cit) described the involvement of the school in those areas as its primary concern.

For the school curriculum to be used merely to serve the purposes of the state in whatever guise this might take is regarded by others to be doubtful. Spring (op cit) described the school in those circumstances 'being faced with a continuous dilemma'. Watts (1977 p.130)², taking the position of Dale into account, has argued that when there is a tendency for society to use the school in this way, that the best it can hope to achieve is preparing the next generation to be able to deal with the problem.

B. The Child Centred Model

Criticisms of the traditional model of the curriculum such as those outlined in the previous section often emanate from supporters of a more child centred approach to the presentation of the curriculum. This model can be seen through the work of Montessori (1912)³, Dewey (1910⁴, 1915⁵) and Neill (1937⁶, 1962⁷) as one which sees the child as the centre of any process of education. It is a model which in the view of Whitehead (1932 p.79)⁸ is concerned first and foremost with the presentation of knowledge through first hand experience for the pupil.

1. E. Vallance in R. Dale et al (Eds.) : Schooling and Capitalism
2. J. Watts (Ed.) : The Countesthorpe Experience
3. Mme. Montessori : The Montessori Method
4. J. Dewey : The School and Society
5. J. Dewey : Democracy and Education
6. A.S. Neill : That dreadful school
7. A.S. Neill : Summerhill; A Radical approach to education
8. A.N. Whitehead : The Aims of Education

Dewey (op cit 1910) expressed this in terms of seeing organised bodies of knowledge in order to 'seek a reality to which each belongs'. It is a process which takes into account the way that people learn best according to an old Chinese proverb: 'I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand'.

More recently Blishen (1969)¹ and Skidelsky (1969)² have summarised some of the more important features of the child centred model. In contrast with the traditional model described earlier they indicated that the two most important features of this model reflect a shift away from the classical tradition and include such items as music, art, history, crafts and activities concerned with manual labour. Secondly they pointed out that in this model the teacher is not seen as the one who has the sole right to make decisions for pupils but that they too have a right to participate in this process.

The education of the child for his own sake is (as with the traditional model) one which has a long historical perspective.

Both Aristotle and Plato viewed education as being important for the needs of the individual. Plato described this as being 'the equivalent to conversion, the turning of the eyes of the soul towards the light which hitherto had been imperceived'.

This was a philosophy which both Plato and Aristotle argued might be available to help produce an individual with 'reason' which would enable him to achieve a good and happy life.

Locke, whose book 'Thoughts Concerning Education' has been described by Lawrence (1970 p.121)³ as 'the first book on education that deals primarily with the child', saw education and the curriculum in terms of freedom and reason. Freedom, Locke indicated, should not be seen in terms of licence,⁴ but rather in relation to 'opening and disposing childrens minds when they apply themselves to tasks.'⁵ Reason he described as one of the 'greater

1. E. Blishen : Encyclopaedia of Education

2. R. Skidelsky : English Progressive Schools

3. E. Lawrence : The Origins and Growths of Modern Education

4. R.H. Quick (Ed.) : Thoughts Concerning Education p.25-26

5. R.H. Quick (Ed.) : Conduct of the Understanding p.19

qualities (p.4), which would assist the child more and more in making decisions.

Locke saw the purpose of education as helping to harden the individual, both his body and his mind. The purpose of this he described to be

'the inculcation of good manners and virtuous habits of mind, for a further great aim of education is to produce well bred young people, wise in conduct and honest, courteous and sincere in attitude'.

This concept of the aims of education is an indication of the need for it to take into account both the needs of the individual and also the manners and accepted conduct of the adult world. This is an aspect which has been emphasised more recently by Livingstone (1943 p.119)² who wrote of the need for the school to indicate to its pupils 'standards, right values and the science of good and evil'. To implant these he indicated 'is an essential part of education'.

Whitehead (op cit) writing on the aim of education saw this to be the possession of culture and expert knowledge by the individual, the possession of which would be to the benefit of both the individual and the state. Bruner (1974 p.32)³ argued similarly for the need for education to provide knowledge for the individual. Bruner saw the purpose of this to be to aid the individual by helping him to form boundaries for models which will help him to order his experiences.

These writers have all, through asserting the need for individual development, emphasised certain items as part of a programme of education which they have felt to be critical towards achieving this end.

Others however, do not take this view, they see the individual and helping him to develop to the limits of his ability without necessarily looking for specific goals, as the crucial feature of education.

Nunn (1923 p.90)⁴ for example, indicated that

'the primary aim of all educational effort should be to help boys and girls to achieve the highest degree of individual development of which they are capable.'

1. Taken from S.J. Curtis and M.E.A. Boulwood op cit p.238
2. R. Livingstone : Education for a world adrift
3. J.S. Bruner : The relevance of education
4. P. Nunn : Education, its data and first principles

Wadson (1946 p.593)¹ argued similarly for the aim of the school to be to turn out a fully developed person to the limits of their ability. He states,

'we are not concerned to turn out good workmen or even good citizens but a complete individual'

This concern with the development of the individual must, in the view of Dewey (1910 op cit) take into account the need for that person to live in an ever changing society. In his view the aims of education was to meet the needs of society in these circumstances. He argued that the goal of the school must be to meet the changing social conditions and preparing the individual to participate in its continual reconstruction.

Silberman (1970 p.62)² has also argued that the aim of education must be to assist people to be able to identify problems and propose possible solutions in this rapidly changing world of the second industrial revolution. He viewed education to be enabling man to prepare for a form of work that does not yet exist and whose nature cannot even be imagined. In his view this can only be done by teaching children how to learn and by giving them the kind of intellectual discipline that will enable them to apply man's accumulated wisdom to new problems. Similarly Holt (op cit p.173) saw the need to apply situations in schools which will give pupils the ability to learn whatever needs to be learned and not direct them to what should be learnt. He pointed out that since we cannot know what will be most needed for the future of our society, it is senseless to try to teach it in advance!

The argument that education is essentially personal, concerned with an individuals growth in an ever changing world has led Dewey (op cit 1916 p.60) to propose that education can have no aim. He postulated.

'Since there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education. The educational process has no ends beyond itself and its own end'.

1. N.K. Wadson : The Secondary Modern School in Journal of Education
2. A. Silberman (1970) in J. Gibson and P. Chennels (Eds.) Gifted Children

The critics of the child centred model of course accept that the world that the school prepares its pupils to enter is not a static organism. They argue however, that the best way to prepare a child to face the changes in society is through the traditional curriculum. Boyson (1975)¹ in his analysis of the best ways that the school can prepare its pupils for adulthood saw the need for education to help re-establish what he described as 'the old values'. This, he felt, should be done through the examination system, streamed classes, tighter competition for places in higher education and the re-establishment of the authority of knowledge.

To any disciple of the traditional model of education many aspects of the child centred approach is an anathema. The idea of manual labour as part of the curriculum or shared participation of staff and pupils in the running of the school has little to do with (in their view) the transmission of knowledge or the process of schooling. Cox and Dyson (1971 p.21)² with this in mind wrote of the duty of parents and teachers being to direct, not remain passive and uncommitted to high standards of learning and behaviour. Johnson (1971 p.21)³ similarly has written:

'Above all institutions, the school is designed for one thing only - fruits. But nowadays we dispute the very word cultivation'

Progressive education has been much derided. The Black Papers associated progressive education, in its many aspects with permissive education and Cox and Dyson, (1971) associated permissive education with a 'growth of anarchy'. In the same document Amis and Conquest (p.221) defines progressive education as

'favouring non academic criteria, against examinations classics, history, arbitrary discipline, learning by rota, teaching etc...'

It may be that Amis and Conquest's dictionary of terms was not written to be taken totally seriously. The same cannot be said of Boyson, (1971 p.161)⁴ who, when writing in the same document on the theme of discovery learning, (an area associated in his mind only with progressive education) stated that it is 'dangerous'. The reasons he gives are:

1. R. Boyson : The Crisis in Education
2. C.B. Cox and A.E. Dyson (Eds.) : The Black Papers on Education
3. C.M. Johnson ibid
4. R. Boyson (op cit 1971)

'Learning needs discipline, not the atmosphere of a Butlin's holiday camp, great scholars, good salesmen, reliable operatives need to be trained from birth to finish a task, not to give up when they are bored and they must realise the real prize is the final achievement not fun on the way' (1971 p.221)

From the available evidence there is no valid reason for Boyson to suggest that progressive education (or any other aspect of the child-centred model of the curriculum) encourage the child to give up. Nor does the evidence of Bantock (op cit p.116) a fellow 'Black Paper' supporter, accept that the idea of training emphasised by Boyson should provide the only emphasis in the curriculum of the secondary school. Training for jobs, it has been accepted for many years, is mainly not the role of the secondary school but rather the concern of higher and technical education. What Boyson's comment does indicate, however, is the depth of feeling that there is amongst his associates towards the child centred model.

It is a posture which gives little chance of any balance between the needs of the individual and those of society. It is a balance which in any respect the evidence indicates is hard to find.

iv. The Current position

Evidence from the previous sub section directed towards an examination of the two main curriculum models indicated that they are diverse and contradictory in many respects. It is a situation which Shaw (op cit p.115) described as 'like chalk and cheese' and which led Becher and Mc'Lure (1978)¹ to argue that consensus on the curriculum is difficult.

Lawson (1980 p.111)² argued that until recently any need for consensus was unnecessary. Although there is considerable evidence of the different views over the aims of education dating back over many centuries until recently the overwhelming position to be found in society, Lawson argued, was that there was little need for discussion on the subject.

1. T. Becher and S. Mc'Lure: The policy of curriculum change

2. D. Lawson in D. Lawson et. al : Education in the Eighties

This position he based firstly on the view that until as recently as the 1940's and 1950's not only was education considered to be a good thing but also that it was considered that it was in good hands. Secondly he pointed out that until recently it was little discussed so it was thought to be 'uncontr versial to the point of dullness'. Thirdly, he indicated that it was felt generally in society that the curriculum should remain under the control of each individual school and its teachers.

More recently the acceptability of this situation is no longer valid. Kogan (1978)¹ related this to a growing conflict about many aspects of the organisation of schooling throughout the 1970's. This growing debate on the curriculum has been encouraged, in the view of Eggleston (op cit 1980) by a number of different factors. These he indicated include greater university and academic research into the subject and the impact of social change to which the curriculum must respond.

Spring (op cit) gave an American view. He argued that the increased debate over education has been emphasised in the U.S.A. by the greater emphasis on a technological society and the increased need for sharper economic and political competitiveness in the wake of the defeat of America by Russia in 1957 in the space race through the launch of Sputnik I.

It was Spring's view, because of these circumstances in the U.S. it was felt by government that there was a need for a greater centralised control over the deployment of money and the organisation of the school system. This increasing government influence has similarly been indicated in Britain. One example of this is the policy which has been adopted by governments of all parties in an attempt to encourage more young people towards a scientifically and technologically based education.

Davies (1980)² argued that in Britain government influence has similarly increased. This is not due to the space race but to the degree of financial support which has been given centrally to education and with a consequent desire for greater control over how the money should be spent. Davies dated this situation from the time

1. M. Kogan : The politics of educational change

2. W. Davies in A.V. Kelly : Curriculum Context

of the organisation of the School Boards in the nineteenth century with an increasing emphasis appearing through the passing of the Education Acts this century. He argues that this situation has gathered speed since the introduction of compulsory secondary education in 1944.

The gathering speed of this process can also be seen through the increasingly more numerous documents which have emanated from the Department of Education and Science and from Her Majesties Inspectors of Schools.¹

Many of these documents indicate a growing attempt to reconcile the two major curriculum models described earlier and an acknowledgement that the secondary school curriculum provision must take into account the needs of all its pupils. Further, these documents indicate a growing deliberateness in the planning of the curriculum concerned with the need to produce a scheme which is not tied to the traditional subject model and also that the traditional academic type of curriculum pattern is not appropriate for all the pupils in the school.

v. The problem of the curriculum and the school

Criticisms of lack of planning in the curriculum have been raised. Birley (1972 p.3)², for example, described the pattern of decision making in the school (of which curriculum decisions are an important part) as 'diffuse, vague and haphazard'.

1.

Documents here include : Aspects of Secondary Education (1979)
A view of the curriculum H.M.I. Series, Matters for Discussion II
1980

The School Curriculum, D.E.S. Welsh Office (1981)

Curriculum towards a statement of entitlement (1983)

The curriculum from 11 - 16 A Review of Progress (1981)

Education Observed 2 (1984) and subject based content such as English (5 - 16) and Maths (5 - 16) which have been published over the past two years.

2.

D. Birley : Planning in Education

Davis (1972 p.312)¹° argued similarly that 'hunch and charisma' take a major part in this process. These indictments were made at a time before many of the guidelines issued by the D.E.S. were issued but even after these were available such criticism has continued. Midwinter (1980 p.14)²° described the situation tersely when he described the overall decision making process in the school as

'a mish mash brought about by the product of laws, individuals, ideas, architecture, social change and acts of God'

The criticisms outlined above are not related solely to the curriculum but also to much wider aspects of the educational process.

Specific criticisms directed towards the curriculum are also evident. James (1968 p.7)³° for example has expressed the view that there is no model of the secondary school curriculum that is remotely in line with our growing understanding of what human life can be. Musgrove (1971)⁴° wrote similarly arguing that whatever guise the curriculum may adopt it will still be superficial, both in the sense of its location, (i.e. the school) and also in the way that it operates. The Schools Council in the same year, (1971) in a document concerned with the slow learning child in the secondary school was highly critical of the curriculum describing it as a 'ramshackled confusion of disconnected subject teaching'⁵.

Since the guidelines from the D.E.S. relating to the eight areas of experience were published in 1977 the criticisms have continued. Mc'Guinness (op cit p.175) described these guidelines as 'little advancement over the traditional pattern of teaching' and the Association of Metropolitan Authorities (1980)⁶° were similarly critical of them stating that they were a 'narrow and inappropriate view of the school curriculum'.

It has been argued that the emphasis within the policies outlined for the curriculum in recent years is for many pupils in the secondary school inappropriate. Hargreaves (1982 p.65) argued that

1. J.L. Davis : in L. Dobson et al (Eds.) : Management in Education, some techniques and systems
2. E. Midwinter : Schools and Society : the evolution of English Education
3. C. James : Young Lives at Stake
4. F. Musgrove : Pattern of power and authority in English Education
5. The Schools Council : The Slow Learner in the Secondary School
6. Association of Metropolitan Authorities : Statement on D.E.S. framework for school curriculum T.E.S. 18:VII:1980

the dominance of traditional curriculum in the comprehensive school has made curriculum provision unsuitable for many of the average and below average pupils. Raven (1977)¹ found that the goals of life outside school received scant attention within the school. Hopson and Scally (1981 p.40)² argued that the goals that are set in the school are set not because of their importance but because of their ease of assessment in a manner that was acceptable for the award of education qualifications. These are qualifications which Musgrove (op cit p.7) described as 'literacy, abstract and non applied'.

These are characteristics to be found in the most able rather than amongst the average or less able pupils. In an amplification of his view Musgrove argued that the reason for its continued importance in the process of schooling is that the dominant social groups in society 'received their education in those terms, believed it to be valuable, wish to see it perpetuated and above all wish to recruit to their ranks only those who have been similarly educated'. There is little reason to feel that anything has changed since that was written. Hemming (1980 op cit) argued that the school was still geared to a model of the curriculum which emphasises a child's ability with the written word at the expense of anything else.

Curriculum provision for the least able has also followed this pattern. Provision for the 'Newsom child'³ was written up in purely subject based terms in the section concerned with the most effective way to set about the education of the boys and girls with which the report was concerned (p.109 - .169). Similarly the Schools Council Report (Brennan 1979)⁴ in investigating the curriculum provision for the least able in both mainstream and special schools, indicated that this provision was still seen in subject based terms (p.88 - 147). The same emphasis on the traditional subject based curriculum can be seen in the work of Westwood (1975)⁵ and Hinson and Hughes (1982)⁶ who, in providing helpful advice for the planning and implementation of the curriculum for children with school learning difficulties, do so in essentially subject based terms.

1. J. Raven : Education, Values and Society
2. B. Hopson and N. Scally : Lifeskills teaching
3. Half our Future : A report of the Central Advisory Council for Education
4. W.K. Brennan : Curricular needs of slow learners
5. P. Westwood : The Remedial Teachers Handbook
6. M. Hinson and N. Hughes : Planning Effective Progress

Hargreaves (1983 p.3) indicating some of the problems of this subject based teaching approach, when he describes the school curriculum seeming to appear to two girls he observed in a comprehensive school as a very dull T.V. programme which they had merely switched off. Later (p. 89) he describes the overall effect of the subject based secondary curriculum, producing what he calls 'the Paddington Station effect of education' where pupils change trains/lessons at every bell time. This effect also encourages, in his view, the 'Luton Airport effect' where all those pupils rush about carrying their bags and belongings with them! Rogers (op cit) argued even more strongly against the traditional style of teaching which he described as 'an almost completely futile, wasteful, overrated function of today's changing world'. It was, he suggested, most successful in giving children a sense of failure. Children, he pointed out, realise that the material which they are taught in school is almost completely irrelevant to their lives. His remedy was that teachers everywhere should forget everything that they know about education and base their teaching on an emphatically child centred model. This would be based on these factors genuineness, to care for, accept and prize other people; and a demonstration of an empathetic understanding of others points of view.

vi. Summary

The evidence from this section indicates that the aims of education rather than converging to form a unitary plan are formed around various schools of thought. These schools of thought display different characteristics. The characteristics that are displayed are translated into different models of the curriculum. The most important of these models are the traditional model and the child centred model.

The traditional model of the curriculum is centred round the need to provide for pupils a central core of knowledge and information. This is a characteristic of the model which can be seen through the work of Hirst (1969) and White (1969). This is a model which

Stenhouse (1975) and Lawton (1980) have indicated which has had and continues to have, considerable status. This is a status which Cox (1971) and Boyson (1971, 1975) would wish to see preserved.

The child centred model, which was outlined through the views of Locke in the seventeenth century has a similarly long history to the traditional model. It is, however, a model which because of the work of Dewey (1910, 1916) Nunn (1923) and Whitehead (1932) has had considerably greater influence in the mainstream school in recent years.

This section also indicated that there has been an increase in activity in connection with thought and planning of the curriculum over the past twenty years. Much of this activity the evidence indicates has emanated from the Department of Education and Science, the (now defunct) Schools Council and from Her Majesties Inspectorate. Reasons for this activity have been outlined by Kegan (1978), Spring (1980) and Eggleston (1980). These developments have seen an acknowledgement of the importance of both of these models of the curriculum. Despite the problems involved, attempts have been made to bring both of them together into current practice in the school. This process has led to considerable criticisms. Similar criticisms have been made by Hemming (1980), Hopson and Scally (1981), Mc'Guinness (1983), Rogers (1983) and Hargreaves (1982, 1983) of the continued dominance of the traditional curriculum approach. Those criticisms have been raised particularly in relation to secondary school practice.

These criticisms have been raised by those mentioned above in particular concerning the curriculum that is available for the least academically successful pupils in the secondary school for whom they argue the accepted traditional approach is unsuitable. Evidence of the continued importance of the subject based approach for meeting the needs of the least successful pupils in the mainstream school is shown through the recent work in this area of Westwood (1975), Brennan (1979) and Hinson and Hughes (1982).

The totality of this evidence allows us to conclude that
a) the two major models of the curriculum can be shown to be

contrasting in style, contradictory in purpose and hard to reconcile in practice.

b) the conclusions reached relating to (a) above and also in conjunction with the evidence showing the continued emphasis which is given to the traditional curriculum model indicates that although this model continues to have high status and considerable influence, (both within the school and outside it), that there is a growing evidence of its inappropriateness and unsuitability for many pupils who are not academically able in the school.

The next section will take the issues of the difficulties that the process of education can cause for some pupils a stage further by examining the organisation of the school and outlining the effects that the literature indicates that this can have on the pupil.

B. THE ORGANISATION OF THE SCHOOL

i. Introduction

Evidence from the literature examined in the previous section indicated that

- a) there are two important schools of thought concerning the aims of education
- b) those two schools of thought can be related to the two main models of the curriculum. Those models are defined as the traditional model and the child centred model
- c) those two models of the curriculum are contradictory in aim, contrasting by nature and difficult to reconcile in practice
- d) the traditional model of the curriculum dominates the curricular pattern within the school and is highly regarded in the wider society outside it.

It was factors relating to a, b, c, and d. above which provided evidence that the traditional model of education is not only unsuitable and inappropriate but also it is likely to cause problems for many pupils in the school.

This section of the investigation will focus on the organisation of the school. By an examination of the relevant literature the intention is to show how the school is organised. This will be done by examining the evidence which relates to:

- i) the authority structure of the school which helps to form the pattern of control within it
- ii) its form of bureaucracy, especially its hierarchical structure which it adopts for both administrative and decision making purposes
- iii) the informal, institutionalised aspects of control within the school.

By undertaking this examination of the literature this section will defend the position that the way that the school is organised compounds the problems outlined in the first section for some pupils. This occurs, it will be argued, because by its organisational practices it provokes a worsening of attitudes and behaviour from some of its pupils. Evidence to establish this position will be drawn from the work of Argyris (1957) and Hargreaves (1967). Supporting evidence for this will be drawn from the work of Lacey (1970), Hargreaves (1976) and Stevens (1980). Contrary evidence provided by Best et al (1983) will also be evaluated.

ii. The Authority Structure

An important feature of the school is the need for it to be organised and regulated. This has occurred because most schools are large, some with hundreds of people in them performing a variety of tasks. In order to facilitate this, people, usually the adults within the school situation, are given responsibilities for facets of life within it. To a large degree a strong relationship can be observed between their responsibilities and the authority which they hold. The Headmaster, for example, has wider responsibilities than his staff and has greater authority. The staff in their turn have greater responsibilities and thus greater authority than the pupils who are chosen to be prefects or monitors. Similarly when the occasion demands it the prefects have more responsibilities and therefore more authority than non-prefects.

This single line of authority outlined above has been described by Watson (1975)¹ as a definition of the authority structure in an organisation. He has argued that an organisation will have one single line of authority. However complicated and however many branches it may have, there will be only one centre where decisions are made and conflicts resolved. This view can be contrasted to that of Etzioni (1964 p.86)² who argued that in professional organisations such as the school there is no such central line. In Etzioni's view the proposal made by Henry (1954)³ that there are two lines of authority in a professional organisation, is more realistic. Henry described these two lines of authority as the professional line and the administrative line. His evidence was based on research conducted in the hospital service but similar circumstances have been described by Bernstein (1974)⁴ in the education service.

Research by Sugarman (1969)⁵ also indicated that the school contains two different lines of authority. These he describes as 'strands'. One of these he argues is the bureaucratic strand; that formal body of rules and regulations to be found in the school. The other strand he sees is based on patterns relating to custom and tradition. This professional and administrative strand can be related

1. L.E. Watson, V. Houghton et al : Management in Education

2. A. Etzioni : Modern Organisations

3. J. Henry : Journal of Social Issues No. 2

4. B. Bernstein : Sociology and the Sociology of Education

5. B. Sugarman : Moral Education vol 1 no. 2

to the formal structure of the school which is concerned with aspects of decision making such as curriculum policy, the introduction of new courses and changes to old ones, decisions on examinations, the policy to be adopted towards the organisation of teaching groups; streaming, banding etc. and its day to day administration.

The second strand, concerned with custom and tradition can be related to more institutionalised aspects of the life of the school. Examples of this include aspects of school life concerned with the rituals and expectations related to decision making that have been set through custom and which may be used to justify aspects of control which may have no other basis than tradition.

Both of these strands will be examined in this investigation. This section will be concerned firstly with an examination of the formal structure of the school. This will be followed by an examination of the aspect of the life of the school which can be related to institutionalised control and the effect that the evidence indicates that this can have on the pupil.

iii. The formal organisation of the school

a) The school as a bureaucracy

Hoyle (1975 p.85)¹ argued that the school has been implicitly recognised as having a distinctive organisational character. He indicates that this is necessary in order to fulfill certain functions. The process by which it does this in Hoyle's view is based on two elements. This occurs through its formal organisation and its bureaucratic structure.

The need for the school to have this formal organisation, it has to be argued by Banks (1968 p.159)² is to help it achieve specific goals. To help with this and also to aid its system of administration Corwen (1965 p.38)³ has argued that the school is 'bureaucratized'.

A bureaucracy has been characterised by Weber (1947 p.333)⁴ as having as part of its nature a high degree of specialisation, a hierarchical system of authority, explicit rules which define the responsibilities of its membership, the exclusion of personal

1. E. Hoyle in V. Houghton et al (op cit)

2. O. Banks : A sociology of Education

3. R. Corwen : A sociology of Education

4. M. Weber : The theory of social and economic organisation

considerations from official business, an impartiality of treatment for subordinates and clients, the recruitment of experts and the existence of a career structure.

Yet despite Corwen's assertion and the clear evidence of many of the characteristics in the school which are outlined in Weber's definition it has been argued by both Banks and Hoyle that the school is not a true bureaucracy.

Their view can be related to a wide range of research evidence which supports this. This includes that undertaken by Samuels (1970)¹ on school size, Getzel and Guba's (1955)² investigation of teachers' views of professionalism. The research documented by Corwen (op cit 1965) and Lortie (1969)³ indicated differences between a teacher's view of his role in the classroom and that which he adopted outside it.

Further evidence to support the views of Banks and Hoyle includes that from research conducted to discover both the pupils' and the staffs views over their position in the school. Both the research by Wardwell (1955)⁴ conducted with pupils and that conducted by Abrahamson (1967)⁵ with staff, indicated that deference is due to the staff from the pupils through competence or expert knowledge rather than position.

In the light of the research evidence outlined above Watson (1975 p.201)⁶ has proposed the school is not a true bureaucracy in the terms defined by Weber but rather is open to the same pressures as one.

b) The hierarchical features of the school

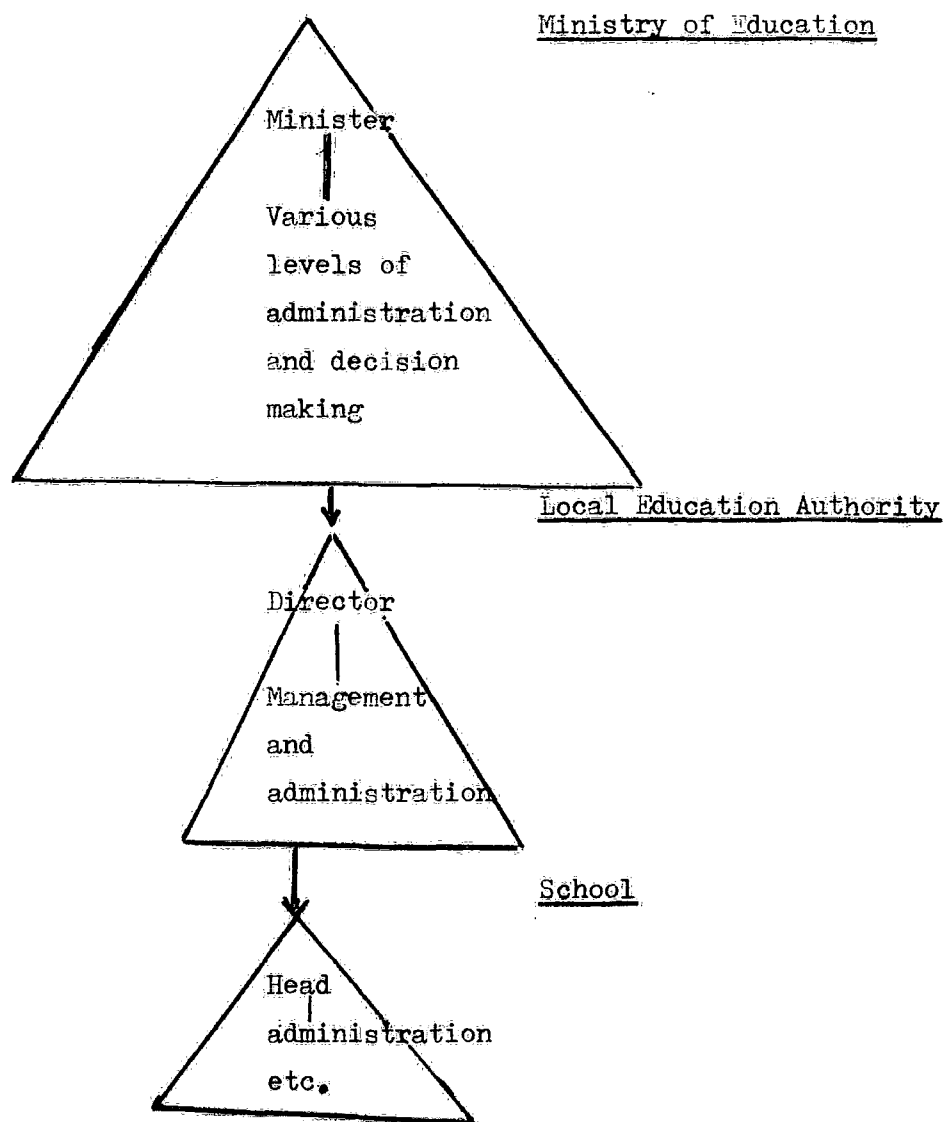
Although the evidence does not indicate that the school is a true bureaucracy, in terms of those described by Weber, one of the characteristics of a bureaucracy which it does exhibit is that of its hierarchical system of authority. It is through this hierarchy that its pattern of control is formed for both the pupils and the staff.

The individual school is a part of a much bigger bureaucracy with its own hierarchical structure. It is this which forms the national educational system. This is a bureaucracy which is formed

1. J. Samuels in Urban Education
2. J.W. Getzels and E.G. Guba in Journal of Sociology vol. XXIX
3. D.C. Lortie : in A. Etzioni Ed. : The semi professionals and their organisation
4. W.I. Wardell : Social Forces vol. 33
5. A. Abrahamson in V. Houghton et al (op cit)
6. L. Watson in V. Houghton et al (op cit)

by the school and other parts of the service such as the Department of Education and Science, Her Majesty's Inspectors and the Local Education Authorities. The way this bureaucracy is organised and its overall hierarchical structure is set out in fig. 1

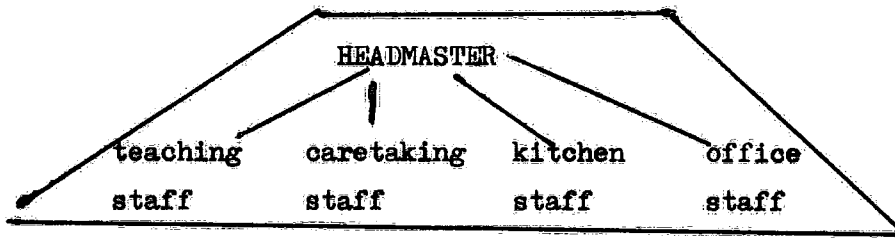
Fig. 1. The structure of the national education system



A similarly hierarchical structure can be found in the individual school. It is through this structure, which places the head teacher at its apex that the control, day to day running and the decision making process of the school is organised

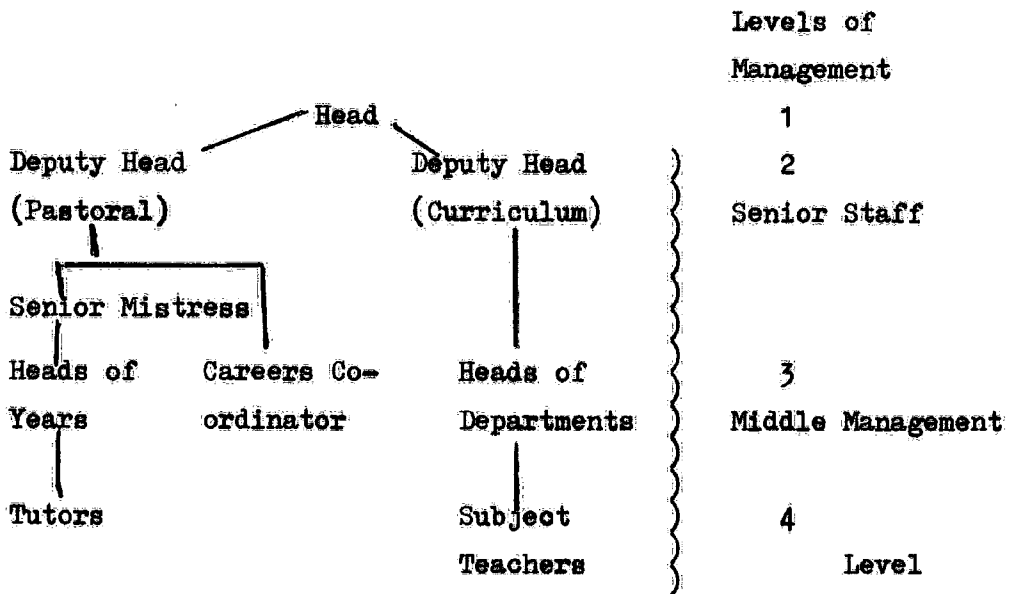
A model based on a description given by Watson (1969)¹ is outlined in fig. 2

Fig. 2. The internal hierarchical structure of the school



Various models have been drawn up to demonstrate the possible form this structure can take for teaching staff. These include those by Watson (1969)², Moore (1970)³ and Marland (1974)⁴. Marland's structure, (fig. 3) is described as 'a typical modern school structure which also shows responsibility layers'.⁵

Fig. 3. The academic and pastoral system of a secondary school
Described by Marland (op cit p.73)



1. L.F. Watson in Educational Research Feb. 1969 vol. 2 no. 2
2. L.E. Watson in V. Houghton et al (op cit)
3. B.M. Moore : Guidance in Comprehensive Schools
4. M. Marland : Pastoral Care
5. M. Marland : op cit p.73

Marland's model is, however, only one of many that are available and there are a number of variations on this. Moore (1974) outlined five possible structures which he researched in the secondary school. Similar structures are discussed by Marland (op cit p. 93 - 102) and Bolger (1975 p. 178)¹. Features which the research indicated are discernably open to variation within these structures include, banding arrangements or setting by ability, a house or year system of pastoral care, the separate teaching of boys and girls, departments grouped under faculties and a common curriculum for all or mixed ability teaching.

The need for the organisational structure of the school, in whatever form it might take, to be closely linked to the needs of the pupils has been well documented. Goodman (1962 p.29)². argued that terrible damage is done to children simply by the size and the standardisation of the school. This is a point which the Schools Council Report on the education of socially disadvantaged children in secondary schools also drew attention to (1970)³. It stated 'no consideration of more convenience of organisation can be allowed to stand in the way of sheer human need' (p.69). Rutter et al (1979 op cit) noted in their research in the secondary school that better behaviour and academic results by pupils can be associated with interpersonal relationships between them and their teachers rather than any pattern of organisation or style of management (p. 195 - 204). This approach was also acknowledged through a D.E.S. document (1983)⁴. which indicated that one of the aims of education must 'give children the experience of school as a caring, supportive community'.

c) The school as an institution

The pattern of authority within the school has been related to its institutional life as well as to its formal structure outlined in the previous section. Etzioni (1964 p.3)⁵. indicated that 'institution' can take on at least three meanings but for the purpose of this investigation the crucial aspect is not merely the form that the institutionalised life of the school may take but rather the

1. A.W. Bolger : Child Study and Guidance in Schools

2. P. Goodman : Compulsory Miseducation

3. Schools Council : Cross'd with adversity

4. D.E.S. : Curriculum 11 - 16 Towards a statement of entitlement, Curricular re-appraisal in Action

5. A. Etzioni : Modern Organisation

effect of this. It has been argued by Shils (1974 p.4)¹ and Popkewitz (1975 p.92)² that the form and content of the institutional life of the school helps to legitimise social values about authority and control. Popkewitz (1985) has outlined two facets of the institutional life of the school. The surface layer he outlines as being those aspects which provide the publicly accepted criteria or standards by which people judge success or failure while the underlying layer of meaning directs attention towards what he describes as the 'assumptions, pre suppositions and "rules of the game" which give plausibility and legitimacy to ongoing actions'. Hall (1981 p.222)³ has argued that a person's response to this situation can be viewed as a balance between his individual personality and the appropriateness of behaviour to certain situations he will meet.

Forms of behaviour which have been developed in relation to these factors has been noted in a variety of institutionalised settings. Research undertaken by Goffman (1968)⁴ indicated its importance in the prison and Haney et al (1973)⁵ observed it in the mental hospital. Rutter et al (op cit p.183) also noted similar patterns of behaviour in the school. This evidence indicated that the behaviour of pupils was influenced by the way that children were dealt with. It was a form of behaviour their research revealed which was evident even when staff were not present. Further this was a behaviour pattern which did not necessarily take the same form in each school.

Within the school these conditions can be set by the behaviour of the staff. Waller (op cit) argued that these conditions were set not just by the present teaching staff but also by those staff who have preceded them. In his view the values of the school which are set in this way become part of its institutionalised tradition. Waller further argues that in his day to day relationship within the school, particularly in relation to his dealings with pupils a teacher makes what he can of this tradition. This he does by the use of his experience, ability and personality.

1. E. Shils : Centre and periphery : Essays in macro-sociology
2. T. Popkewitz in Teaching and Teacher Education vol. no. 2
3. S. Hall in D. Potter et al (Ed.) : Society and the social sciences
4. E. Goffman : Asylums
5. C. Haney et al : A study of prisoners and guards in a simulated prison: Naval Research Review vol. 30 para 9

Cohen (1969)¹ described the traditional pupil/teacher relationship, which is most usually acceptable to the teacher, as being where a pupil will accept his discipline in whatever form he, (the teacher) wishes to use it.

This is a situation which can be encouraged through the particular form of institutionalised life which can be observed in the school. Goffman (op cit) in describing this defines two types of institutions. These are firstly institutions such as railway stations, factories, laboratories or shops which are, in his view, 'institutions in the everyday sense of the term' and there are those which he described as 'total institutions'.

He described boarding schools as total institutions in that they are places where people who make up that organisation, sleep play and work in a similar environment with each other under the same authority structure, something which he states is contrary to the general basic social arrangements in modern society.

Evidence from Bramham, (1980)² in relation to the approved school supported Goffman's view but Lambert (1969)³ when writing of the public school indicated that they cannot be seen in this way.

Despite this apparently contradictory evidence research has indicated that institutionalism pervades all aspects of the life of the school. Waller (op cit) argued that the position of the Headmaster is institutionalised in that his role can be established by his adopting the 'parameters of the formality of his office, parameters which have been established by those who have held the office before him'. He can, in Waller's view, by using this situation in an authoritarian sense, suggest that the most difficult decisions are not made by him as an individual but as part of the office that he carries.

Marland (op cit p.11), himself a headmaster wrote of the need for the organisation and operation of school to be institutionalised as

'it is not enough to rely on goodwill, dedication, hardwork, personality and so on'.

1. L. Cohen : Functions dependence and powers of influence in International Journal of Educational Sciences
2. R. Bramham : How staff rule
3. R. Lambert : in The public school, a factual survey

The dangers of Marland's¹ views as far as the pupils are concerned are clearly apparent. Grove (1974 p.118)¹ wrote of the needs for checks on this institutionalisation of the process of education

'to ensure that in the concern for institutional self-preservation, humanity is not lost and the problems of each child are dealt with sensitively and in the full knowledge of that child as an individual'

and Best et al (1983 p.213-4)² pointed out

'a pre-occupation with structure can lead to a model of an institution in which the individual becomes little more than an automaton whose actions are determined by the role he happens to fill and constrained by such sanctions as the institution imposes upon behaviour deviating from the norm'.

The actions of the pupils can be determined by other influences in the life of the school which are also part of its institutional tradition. These are particularly obvious through an examination of the ritual patterns which form an important part of the life of the school. Ritual has been described by Durkhiem (1956)³ as 'the use of rites, ceremonies, emblems and other symbolic devices'. Waller (1932)⁴ described them as aspects of formality and compromise which are part of all institutions. These aspects help, in his view, to define a situation and keep it established without change and form an element of control within it.

Three distinct forms of ritual have been defined. All three of those forms Waller (op cit) and King (1970)⁵ have pointed out can be observed in every school. These areas, they define as models of behaviour, cultural values and the authority relationship in the school. They are areas which Waller argued are inter related. In practical terms the first of these three areas covers aspects of school life such as sportsmanship, team spirit and the wearing of ties and badges in order to create a sense of belonging to a particular community. The second area itemises such aspects of school life as the honours board, prize giving and records of

1. R. Grove : in M. Marland (op cit)

2. R. Best et al : Education and Care

3. E. Durkhiem : Education and Sociology

4. W. Waller : The Sociology of the school

5. R. King in G. Fowler et al : Decision making in British Education

selection for sports' teams in order to emphasise achievement and success. The third area is concerned with prefects, house systems, forms of punishment and reward and the school assembly. This latter feature was described by Willis (op cit p.67) as 'the ritual corner stone of the school'.

Rituals, the literature indicates are used not just as a form of control described by Waller as a feature of life within the school. Hunt (1970 p.31)¹ argued that the acquisition of knowledge relating to the ritual pattern of his school is an important feature of a pupils' experience there. Hunt and Illich (op cit) linked the acceptance of the ritual pattern of life in the school by the child to his state of mind when he has left. They both argued that many pupils leave school with a state of mind which indicates that young people seek only to fit into a situation and are not likely to imagine that they can change it. This has been set into a wider context by Hopson and Scally (op cit p.52-53) who view this situation and its development in the school as an indication of people who are likely to feel 'depowered' in society after they have left school. In their view it is one of the important roles of the school to enable pupils to feel 'empowered' in order to be able to participate fully in life outside and beyond it.

iv. The effect of the organisation of the school on pupils

The evidence in this section indicates that the school despite the fact that it does not fit the definition of the formal bureaucracy as defined by Weber still exhibits some important characteristics to be found in a bureaucracy. The school also has its own institutional and ritualistic patterns which affect the way that the pupils behave. It is this feature which Best et al (op cit p.213) have called 'a structure of formal roles and statutes into which expectations regarding appropriate behaviour are built'.

The evidence of Sharpe (op cit) indicated that for some pupils at least there is a breakdown in this situation. He described the feelings of some pupils towards a school where he taught in terms of

¹ A. Hunt in D. Rubenstein and C. Stoneman : Education for democracy

it being 'a world of petty rules....enforced by an authority which in the last resort is arbitrary and self perpetuating'¹.

The reactions that people can adopt towards an organisation of which they are part have been analysed by Argyris (1957)². These he argued, are 1) to accept the structure of the organisation, to work within it and rise through it. In this way, he argues, they demonstrate their prowess and success

2) to become apathetic and disorientated displaying their views by rejecting the system

3) to use psychological defences in order to internalise the problem

4) to show their feelings by leaving

Hargreaves (op cit 1967 and 1984)³ identified four different types of school pupil. These he called the committed, the instrumentalist, (those who lack commitment but see the value of school), the indifferent and the oppositionals. Lacey (1970)⁴ outlined similar categories to those which Hargreaves had outlined. His research however, was conducted in a selective Grammar School with boys who at least in one respect, (by passing the 11+) could be defined as, and could be expected to feel successful. This evidence indicated that a proportion of these pupils did not maintain this feeling and were seen by their teachers and eventually themselves as unsuccessful. In this respect Lacey's research pointed out that even amongst this selected group of people, (some 15% of the age group) the process of schooling may not always have a positive effect.

The categories outlined in the work of Argyrus, Hargreaves and Lacey indicate that only one out of the four categories show the pupil taking a positive stance towards the school. Best et al (op cit p.213) pointed out the importance of people having a set of more or less related attitudes, values, beliefs and ideals in order for them to work well and feel well together in an institutionalised setting. This evidence indicates that the school is not the place where this is likely to happen. It is a view which is supported by Waller (op cit p.11) who has described the school to be existing in 'a constant state of perilous equilibrium based on a balance of power'. This power he argued, emanates from three different sources.

1. J. Sharpe in B. Shaw: (1973) op cit p.21

2. C. Argyris : Personality and Organisation

3. D.H. Hargreaves : The Challenge of the Comprehensives

4. C. Lacey : High town Grammar

These are: firstly, outside influences, from people who are not a part of the everyday life of the school but who have a vested interest in it such as governors, parents and the local community. Secondly, the staff who apply the day to day organisation, and thirdly, the pupils.

Each of these groups Waller argued, have their own centres of interest. These centres of interest help to create the internal conflicts described above. It is an analysis which has led Holly (1973 p.25)¹ to dismiss the organisation of the school as 'a burden of confusion'. Hargreaves (1976)² has outlined the consequence of Waller's analysis of the organisation of the school for the pupils to be a source of hinderance and obstruction for them.

v. Summary

The evidence of this section indicates through the work of Etzioni (1964), Sugarman (1969) and Bernstein (1971) that the school contains two lines of authority. The first strand emanates from the pattern of authority which exists as part of the formal structure of the school. The second is concerned with the custom and tradition of the school which can be related to institutionalised aspects of its life.

In relation to the definition of a bureaucracy given by Weber (1947) and to the work of Corwen (1965), the evidence of Hoyle (1975) Getzels and Guba (1955) and Watson (1975) indicates that the school is not a true bureaucracy. Research by Watson (1975) indicates however that the school is open to the same pressures as a bureacracy.

The evidence of Watson (1969), Moore (1970) and Marland (1974) indicates that the school has a strong hierarchical structure by which it is organised. The work of Rutter (1979) and the official and semi official reports by the D.E.S. (1983) and The Schools Council (1970) indicate that few problems are likely to occur in relation to the formal organisation of the school if good personalised contact is kept between the staff and the pupils.

1. D. Holly : Beyond Curriculum

2. D.H. Hargreaves in New Society 29:i:76

The work of Waller (1932) and Goffman (1961) indicates evidence of pupils being influenced by the institutional aspects of the school. Marland (op cit) has argued that for certain aspects of the life of the school there is a need for institutionalisation. Best et al (1983) have emphasised the dangers of this in relation to the pupils. The evidence from Waller (1932) and Hunt (1970) indicates that the ritual pattern of the life of the school will have an important bearing on the feelings of pupils. Ill' (1971) and Hopson and Scally (1981) have indicated a tendency for this influence to be continued to be displayed through the attitudes of people after they have left school.

The totality of the evidence helps to support the position that the school may create problems for its pupils through its organisational structure. Even though there is evidence which indicates that the school attempts to minimise this, the work of Argyris (1957), Hargreaves (1967 and 1983) gives further support to this position. The work of Lacey (1970) indicates that even among pupils who are regarded as being among the most successful that the experience of school can create problems.

The third section of this investigation will take the issues raised in the first two sections a stage further by examining the literature relating to important aspects of curriculum provision and school organisation which the evidence indicates are likely to be sources of problems and difficulties for pupils.

c. EVIDENCE RELATING TO THE FEELINGS OF THE PUPILS

i) Introduction

The literature search which has been conducted in the first two sections of this investigation has established that

- a) both the curriculum provision and the organisational character of the school can be unsatisfactory and unhelpful in the development of some of its pupils
- b) this situation described in (a) is likely to lead to problems for some pupils in the school.

This section will focus firstly on an examination of personal feelings which have been collected through an investigation of novels and other literature as well as educational research evidence which provide examples of the problems outlined in (b) above.

Secondly, this section will examine a number of areas which can be identified in the literature that may give rise to difficulties for the pupil and his ability to benefit from the process of schooling.

These areas will include:

- (i) the pattern of authority and control in the school. Evidence relating to this area will be drawn from the work of Peters (1968) Etzioni (1964), Illich (1971) and Bowles and Gintis (1976)
- ii) the equality of opportunity to be found within the school. Evidence relating to this area will be drawn from the work of Pedley (1963) and Burgess (1970). Contrary evidence will be drawn from the work of Bernstein (1973), Blank (1973) and Hargreaves (1983).
- (iii) the organisation of teaching troupes in the secondary school. Evidence for this area will be taken from the work of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) and Brophy and Good (1970). Supporting evidence will be drawn from the work of Douglas (1964), Rutter et al (1979) and Brophy (1983).
- (iv) the size of the comprehensive school. Evidence for this section will be taken from the work of Pedley (1963), Halsall (1972), Watts (1980), Dawson (1981) and Shaw (1983)
- (v) the examination system. Evidence for this section will be taken from the work of Boyson (1971, 1975). Contrasting evidence

will be taken from the work of Partridge (1968) Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Hughes (1971). The evidence from official reports by Cockcroft (1982, 1986) will also be considered.

Thirdly this section will present an overview of evidence relating to the problem which has been outlined in this investigation. The evidence for this section will be taken from the work of Hargreaves (1983), Willis (1977) and Hemming (1980). Supporting evidence will be taken from the work of Rutter et al (1979), Holly (1973) and Holbrook (1964).

These three areas will be investigated in relation to but not exclusively to the evidence relating to the practices to be found in the secondary school.

The evidence of this section will be used to add further weight to the position which has been outlined in section one and two of this investigation. Further, through the analysis outlined above the evidence in this section will be used to support the view that particular features of the organisation of the school and its curriculum can be demonstrated to be in appropriate and unsatisfactory for those pupils who are amongst the least academically successful in the school.

ii) The individual pupils' view

The process of secondary schooling, Hemming (1980 p.4)¹ has argued, has 'no scientific basis whatsoever'. He argues that it is based on dubious philosophical ideas, habit, tradition and confusions. He asserts that at this level of development for the pupil, school is associated with pressures, stress, apathy, boredom and hostility (p.2). This is a situation which is apparent not only from contemporary evidence based on research findings but also from literature over a period of many centuries. Shakespeare for example, in the sixteenth century, wrote of the school boys reluctance to attend school. Blake, some two hundred years later in his poem 'The Schoolboy' contrasts getting up on a summer morning and being out in the fields with that of going to school which he describes as dreary and confining by comparison. In more recent times Orwell commented 'not one

1. J. Hemming : The betrayal of youth, secondary education must be changed.

working class boy in a thousand does not pine for the day he would leave school'. This more sociological/class based perspective occurs again in Hoggart (1954 p.82-84)¹ where he described urban working class values of education indicating a basic mistrust of book learning 'What good does it do you?' 'Are you any better off as a clerk or a teacher?' (p.84) were the views prevalent amongst those adults he questioned.

Some, possibly writing of their own experience of school, are more specific about the effect that it had on them. H.G. Wells, for example in *A History of Mr. Polly*, (1910) describes Mr. Polly's experience of school as one where he has lost much of his natural confidence so far as figures and sciences and languages and the possibilities of learning things were concerned. He described thinking of school 'no longer as a wonderland of experiences but as geography and history, as the repeating of names that were hard to pronounce and populations and heights and lengths and a host of dates - oh! and boredom indescribable'.

Boredom with the experience of the rituals of school is one which is constantly expressed in literature. It is a boredom not with learning but with the process by which it is undertaken. Laurie Lee in *Cider with Rosie*, (1959) expresses these feelings in his experience of a village school education in the 1930's. He writes that 'it seemed to be designed simply to keep us out of the air and from following the normal pursuits of the fielda sour form of fiddling or prison labour like picking oakum or sewing sacks'.

Arnold Bennett, through his character Edwin Clayhanger, illustrates that going to school is not an accidental process. Rather it is part of the design organised by adults in order to prepare children to take their place in the world. Bennett writes of Edwin Clayhanger realising

'the various agencies which society has placed at the disposal of parents had been at work on (him) in one way or another for at least a decade in order to equip him for this very day when he should step into the world'².

1. R. Hoggart : The uses of literacy

2. A. Bennett : Clayhanger (1910)

D.H. Lawrence, himself a teacher, has written in *Women in Love* (1921) of the conflicts which school produces. A conflict between a child and his parents, and the school represented through the wishes of the headmaster. It is a commonplace scenario of a difficult triangular relationship that exists in many schools today. Williams, the pupil, is a boy who clearly has little value in the established processes of school and becomes, in the classroom, the central figure of the anti school subculture outlined in the previous section by Hargreaves *op cit*. For the Headmaster, Mr. Harby, there is the system by which he runs his school, a system which will allow for neither deviation nor debate. He is the central figure of the community; the leader who demands but one thing, loyalty both to himself and his system. Williams does not fit into his system and is supported by his Mother, who feels that the school is against him and always putting him down. His teacher, Ursula Brangwen is left to deal with the day to day consequences of this problem.

Those examples outlined above are all taken from anecdotal and fictional situations. Other examples can be found from the views of pupils who were asked as part of a research programme. Most notably these can be found in the collection made by Blishen (1968)¹. Others however appear in official or individual research documents. In *Half our Future* (1963), a report concerned with the less successful school pupils, a boy is said to have remarked to his headmasters question on the new school buildings, 'it could be marble sir but it would still be a bloody school!' Similar comments can be found in the work of Clegg and Megson (1968)². Cave (1969)³. and Willis (1977)⁴. Frichs (1966 p.150)⁵. reveals the feeling of one boy who wrote not of what the school stood for but on the effect it had on him

'Take my dean, telling me that I'm not going to make it there's no use my coming to school anyway. Thats doubting me. Thats showing me doubt in myself....That's not encouraging me to go anywhere....He's putting me down, so instead of picking me up, he's putting me down and thats what makes some drop outs drop outs all their life'

1. E. Blishen : The school that I'd like
2. A. Clegg and B. Megson : Children in Distress
3. R.G. Cave : All their future
4. P. Willis : Learning to labour, how working class kids get working class jobs
5. E. Frichs : Pickets at the gate

iii. An Analysis of areas of importance in relation to this evidence

Different aspects of the process of schooling can be seen by an analysis of the evidence above relating to the views of individuals who have been asked or have expressed their views. An examination of the evidence collected indicates that the areas of the process of schooling which may be important include: the pattern of authority and control in the school; the organisation of teaching groups; the size of the school; the equality of opportunity for all pupils and the curriculum and system of examinations. It is these aspects which will now be examined in more detail.

a) The pattern of authority and control in the school

In the previous section (pages 32 to 37) evidence relating to the authority structure of the school was presented. This evidence supported the view that the school has two strands. Those Sugarman (op cit) defined as the professional and administrative model and the custom and tradition model. The evidence of that analysis indicated that although the pupil is affected by the former his views on school are more likely to be determined by the latter. His day may well be organised by the formal structure of the school but he is much more likely to be influenced by the authority that is vested in his teacher.

Peters (1963 p.16)¹ in his model of the authority within the school differentiated between three different forms of authority which can be observed there. He wrote of the authority that comes through having knowledge, as with the teacher in the classroom. He has authority because of the nature of the knowledge which he has to offer to those who wish to learn from him. Secondly, he describes the form of authority which exists in school and manifests itself through teachers whom they feel have the right to command and to make decisions and pronouncements derived from established rules and procedures. Thirdly, there is the area of authority which arises from personal history, personal credentials and personal achievement. Someone who is recognised not only as an authority in whatever meaning of the word but who manages to combine

1. R.S. Peters : Authority, responsibility and education

with it a quality of leadership as well. This latter aspect has been described by Waller (op cit) as institutionalised leadership, and by Darrendorf, (1967 p.166) as

'the authority of an office (being) independent of the specific person occupying that position'¹.

It is possible for all the elements of Peter's analysis to be combined into one person to produce an authoritative leader, perhaps a charismatic figure more commonly found in political history through figures such as Peter the Great of Russia or Bismark in Germany rather than a school teacher.

As far as the secondary school is concerned, however, all forms of the model of authority outlined by Peters can be identified. The teacher who is a subject specialist in the secondary school generally views himself as 'an authority' on his own subject material or in his area of work with pupils. In the main he hopes that his pupils will see the relevance of the subject material or find interest in it. In this sense through the authority of the teacher the pupils may be led to have a respect for him and perhaps even his branch of learning.

The teacher expects to exert authority over the pupils whilst they are in his care and in this respect his authority takes a wider perspective. Here he becomes a councillor, an arbiter between disputes, a judge or a father confessor. In this way Marland (op cit) argued he is not only an authority on a form of knowledge but also on a form of moral knowledge. Here the teacher accepts the role as an arbiter of the acceptable and of good taste. Miles (1967 p. 172-3)² argued that whereas a pupil would generally accept the authority of knowledge from the teacher he is less likely to do so in terms of moral judgements, particularly if the moral code of the teacher is not understood by the pupil. It is a view which has implications in terms of control for both the pupil and his teacher.

As with the authority structure of the school the evidence of Hoyle (op cit) and Etzioni (1964) indicates that there is no single model of control that can be applied to the school.

1. R. Darrendorf: Class, conflict in industrial society

2. M.B. Miles in G. Watson : Change in school systems

Etzioni (1964) classified three ways in which all organisations control their participants. These he defines as

- a) physical controls - the use of physical sanctions,
- b) material controls - the use of rewards that consist of goods or services
- c) symbolic controls - the granting of symbols and gestures which allow goods or services to be bought.

The evidence indicates, however, that it is centered round different features for the pupils compared with his teacher. The way in which the teacher can operate within this relationship has been analysed by Lippett and White (1958)¹ into three different models. Those three models : the authoritarian/the traditional, the laissez faire and the democratic all exist as parts of the composition of the staff of every school.

The teacher, in whatever model of control he uses in his classroom sees his authority based on what, in his view are legitimate demands. Musgrave (1971 p.1-2)² has argued that the teacher by the virtue of his office can expect a pupil to be quiet, to pay attention, to be punctual and ordered and to perform the tasks that are set in a manner that has been prescribed. However Willis (op cit) contradicts this view. Evidence from his research indicated that for some pupils the teacher has no positive status and his position is regarded as of scant value. Willis argued that in this situation the pupils' view of the teacher can be looked at in the same context as their view of the policeman. They both are defined by the pupil as being 'part of the zone of the formal' which is connected with the apparatus of the state. Illich (op cit) and Reimer (1971)³ have similarly pointed out that the relationship between the pupil and his teacher is part of a formal pattern of control. The knowledge of this is, in their view, an essential part of the learning process for every child. It is part of the 'hidden curriculum' Reimer (op cit p.30) has argued for every child to learn to accept the values of the school. These values he argued are concerned with conformity and how to get along with the system. These values outlined are important aspects of social

1. R. Lippett and P.E. White in E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcombe and E.L. Hartley : Readings in Social Psychology

2. F. Musgrave : Patterns of power and authority in English Education

3. E. Reimer : School is dead

control in the school. Dale (op cit), Vallance (op cit) and Bowles and Gintis (op cit) view this emphasis of social control in terms beyond just control within the school or even just to forms of behaviour outside it. They argue that this aspect of the role of the school can be related to the economic and social conditions prevalent in the wider society.

For many pupils however, learning to conform and comply with the norms and values of the school is a difficult lesson. Evidence for this can be seen in the work of Hargreaves (1967, 1983 op cit), Willis (1977) and Hemming (1980) which has been outlined earlier. Cohen (op cit) argued that it is a situation where the pupil has little to give the teacher except gratitude and the acknowledgement of his skill of control. If a pupil does not wish to display these feelings Reynolds (1976 p.133)¹ described the teacher as being willing to accept what he has termed 'a truce' in their classroom, where they will go easy on the pupils in return for the pupils going easy on them.

b) Equality of opportunity within the school

A commitment to prove an equality of opportunity for all pupils in the new secondary schools was an important part of the 1944 Education Act. This aspect was given such an important priority that it called for 'positive discrimination in favour of the under-privileged'².

Problems which occurred in ensuring this equality in the tripartite system of secondary education which became prevalent after this Act was passed have been described by Partridge (op cit) and Burgess (op cit) in an attempt to support the provision of equality for all, Pedley (1956³ and 1963⁴) argued strongly for the development of the comprehensive secondary school. It was an approach which was described by Burgess (op cit p.17) as 'the only possible way to provide a genuine secondary education for all children'.

1. D. Reynolds in G. Mungham and G. Pearson (Eds) Working class youth culture
2. The 1944 Education Act ch. 4 para. 4
3. R. Pedley : Comprehensive Education - a low approach
4. R. Pedley : The comprehensive school

The support for the comprehensive secondary school had clear political overtones. Northcott (1964 p. 161-68)¹, a member of the Labour Party's Research Department, outlined the benefits of this system in relation to the waste, unfairness and social deviousness of the tripartite arrangement. Harold Wilson, the Labour Party leader during the election campaign in 1964, speaking in support of comprehensive secondary school re-organisation indicated that this provision would allow a 'Grammar school style education' for all pupils.

Those views are in direct contrast to those expressed by Eccles (1955)², who, as the Minister for Education in the Conservative Government, questioned the ability of the school to undertake the task. He stated that as far as education is concerned 'one must choose between justice and equality, for it is impossible to apply both principles at once'.

The question of comprehensive school provision is not only a question of political debate. It is placed in a much wider setting. Shaw (op cit p.32) has argued that equality of opportunity in the school is closely linked with feelings of equality in the wider society. To describe something in contemporary life as equal he argues is to praise it. He points out that while inequalities require justification, equality is seen as self evidently justifiable.

The concept of equality however, presents considerable problems in any facet of human life, let alone within an organisation which is attempting to institutionalise it. Beardmore (1975)³ and Bernstein (1973)⁴ have argued that inequality is apparent in the basic genetic structure of humans. Blank (1975)⁵ and Donaldson (1978)⁶ have indicated through their research that children arrive at school with feelings of inequality. Evidence from Barker Lunn (1970)⁷ and Nash (1973)⁸ has shown that those feelings develop

1. J. Northcott : Why Labour?
2. D. Eccles in The Schoolmaster 7.1.55
3. J.A. Beardmore in P.R. Cox et al : Equalities and inequalities in Education
4. B. Bernstein : Sociology and the sociology of education, some aspects
5. M. Blank : Teaching learning in pre-school
6. M. Donaldson : Childrens Minds
7. J.C. Barker Lunn : Streaming in the primary school
8. R. Nash : Classrooms observed

during the primary school years and the evidence of Hargreaves (1967 op cit) has already been used to show how the secondary school can affect those feelings.

This evidence indicates, that despite the optimism displayed by Burgess (op cit) and the arguments developed by Pedley (op cit) that the comprehensive secondary school could provide a more egalitarian approach; it has not occurred. In relation to this Hargreaves (op cit) expressed the view that the movement towards a greater equality of opportunity through our school system is illusory. All the school is able to do in these circumstances Hinton (1979 p.57)¹ has pointed out is to acknowledge the common humanity of its pupils.

c) The organisation of teaching groups

The process of selection in the organisation of teaching groups is an important part of the comprehensive school, so much for Rowe (1972 p.23)² to describe it as an institutionalised part of its life. This process can be undertaken in a variety of different ways, setting, banding and streaming of pupils are the most prevalent of these.

In a survey by Stevens (1980)³ there were indications that streaming (which is seen as so divisive by Rowe (op cit p. 23-24) can be found in some forty five per cent of comprehensive schools. A N.F.E.R. survey (1980)⁴ also indicated that streaming tended to increase as pupils go through the secondary school.

Despite the difficulties associated with providing a real equality of opportunity outlined earlier, evidence indicates that practices associated with streaming pupils and the consequent effects of labelling them can have serious and detrimental consequences for many pupils in the school. In research which was conducted by Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968)⁵ through what has become known as a deception study, (which falsely labelled good and poor learners) the results indicated that a pupils performance could be closely

1. M. Hinton : Comprehensive Schools : A Christian view
2. A. Rowe in D. Rubenstein and C. Stoneman op cit
3. A Stevens : Clever children in comprehensive schools
4. P.H. James : The reorganisation of secondary education
5. R. Rosenthal and L. Jacobson : Pygmalion in the classroom

related to the potential level of attainment described by the researchers rather than their actual level.

Brophy and Good (1970)¹ in a study of interaction between teachers and a mixed ability group of students found that those who were thought to be the most able in the class were praised more than the least able, that they were more likely to be given a second chance at wrong answers and had better feedback from the teacher than the least able. Evidence from Pidgeon (1970)², Rutter et al (op cit) and Brophy (1983)³ indicates that the same teacher/pupil relations described above occurs in the streaming patterns of the comprehensive school. Evidence from research by Hargreaves (1967 op cit) and Willis (op cit) which was directed towards the perceptions of pupils rather than their teachers confirms the evidence outlined above.

It is hardly surprising in the light of this evidence that streaming in school has been pointed out by Willis (1963)⁴ and Douglas (1964)⁵ to be detrimental, and for Rowe (op cit) to describe the process as 'dangerous'. One of those dangers has been indicated by Rowing (1978)⁶ whose evidence from a comprehensive school showed that in cases where 'O' level, C.S.E. and non examination groups were separated into different teaching groups that firm friendships were based on these groupings also. His research further indicated that this process was emphasised and strengthened as the pupils went through their secondary education.

d) Size

The size of the comprehensive school has been determined by demands for a wide curriculum, staffing, and the provision of specialist facilities as well as other economic and geographical considerations. Despite the optimism shown by Pedley (op cit) and

1. J.E. Brophy and T.L. Good : Teacher Student Relationships
2. D.G. Pidgeon : Expectation and pupil performance
3. J.E. Brophy in Journal of Educational Psychology
4. C.J. Willis : in Education and research vol. 5
5. J.W.B. Douglas : The home and the school
6. M. Rowing : Factors bearing upon friendships and the structure of clique groups in an 11-16 comprehensive school

Burgess (op cit) to their development, criticism of the difficulties concerned with the size of these schools has emerged. Dawson (1981 p.2)¹ has, for example, written 'anyone who denies that the large school generates problems by its very size is blind to the obvious'.

Practical examples of the difficulties which face the large school have been outlined. Halsall (1972)² observed that for the teacher in the large comprehensive school with its complex organisation the lessons can commence only when all, or nearly all of the pupils are present in the room. The predictable consequence of this, she argues, is that there will be maximum delay. In her view, the bigger the school the greater will be the delay.

Watts (1980 p.167)³ writing in relation to the problem of school size and personal contact stated 'nobody can care in any true sense of the word for one thousand others; you can hardly know all their names'.

Shaw (op cit p.89) has related the problem of truancy to the size of schools. He suggested that in some big city schools attendance has become mainly voluntary to certain of its clientel. He argued that the complexity of organisation in the large school makes it all that more difficult for the teacher to discover if pupils are attending classes and that the scattered buildings of some comprehensive schools provide opportunities for the truant to escape undetected. He further argued (p. 87) in relation to the problem of the size of the school, that in some cases the staff are recruited to teach only for part of the week but also rather more importantly their role is to guide and counsel the pupils who have to face the complexities of life within the large comprehensive school.

e) Examinations

Examinations have been used for many years in the school and are an important feature of its life. Boyson (1971 p.154)⁴ argued that success in school must be related to examination success.

1. P. Dawson : Making the comprehensive work: the road from bomb alley
2. E. Halsall : The comprehensive school, guidelines for the re-organisation of secondary education
3. J. Watts : Towards an open school
4. R. Boyson in C.B. Cox and A.E. Dyson (Eds.) The Black Papers on Education

The school system needs to use examinations he argued (1975 p.107)¹ for three reasons. Firstly, as the encouragement they give to hard work. Secondly, their effectiveness in assessing pupils and teachers. Thirdly, their objectivity which he argues, can be used 'as an appeal court against the subjective prejudices of teachers and the inefficiency of schools'.

The use of examinations both internally and externally to the school has been heavily criticised. Ponsonby (1912 p.8)² called them 'an iron mould which produce fixed patterns'. He went on to claim that through the system of examinations 'we sacrifice individuality and suppress originality so as to produce a conventional average type'. Partridge (op cit p.176) was similarly critical. He called the emphasis on examinations in the secondary modern school 'a waste of time'. He further argued that internal examinations waste three or four weeks of school time. This was an aspect of the life of the school which he describes as 'a charade'.

The view expressed by Ponsonby and outlined earlier that the school examination system produces conventionality has been supported by Bordieu (1974)³, Bowles and Gintis (op cit) and Vulliamy (1978)⁴ who regard the whole process of schooling as a device towards this end. McGuinness (1982 p.5)⁵ argued that the school system can be seen to be like a big sieve which we are all thrown into. The examination process occurs in this analogy when the sieve is shaken and pupils either remain in it or 'drop through'.

The problems of the successful pupils in being able to perform well at examinations was highlighted by Hughes (1971 p.98)⁶. Through his own experience as a secondary school teacher he outlined the effect that the system of examinations has on the morale of the pupils. Further, he argued, the least able pupils are not likely to derive much benefit or satisfaction from what he describes as the 'particularly dubious tradition' of examinations.

1. R. Boyson : The Crisis in Education
2. A. Ponsonby : The decline of the Aristocracy
3. P. Bordieu : in J. Eggleston (Ed.) Contemporary research in the sociology of education
4. G. Vulliamy in L. Barton and R. Meighan (Eds.) Sociological interpretations of schooling and classrooms, a re-appraisal
5. J.B. McGuinness : Planned pastoral care : a guide for teachers
6. P.M. Hughes : Guidance and counselling in schools, a response to change

The D.E.S. (op cit 1979 p.248) also pointed to the weakness of the present situation where the examination results of the school are commonly seen to be the sole indicator of the success of that school. They also drew attention to this problem from another direction (op cit 1979 p.34) with evidence that showed the extent of the importance attached to the system of examinations at secondary level. The secondary school through the 'O' level, C.S.E. and 16+ examination systems enters four out of five fifth year pupils for external examinations that are intended for only sixty per cent of them. Cockcroft (1982 para. 442)¹ in relation to mathematics argued that the four out of five pupils in the secondary school who now are following an external examination course can be contrasted with a figure of twenty five per cent of pupils who were following the same course twenty years ago. In his role as Chairman of the Secondary Examination Council he has more recently written of the need for the G.C.S.E. English exam. (1986 p.11)² to provide assessment of a pupil's ability across a wide range of skills to be more appropriate and to counter what the Council acknowledges may be seen by many pupils as 'a very unrewarding experience'.

IV) An Overview of the Evidence

An analysis of the evidence examined in the five areas which have been examined help at least in part to explain how the process of schooling has come to be seen to be unsatisfactory and inappropriate for certain pupils. A growing body of contemporary research literature has helped to confirm this view. Musgrove and Taylor (1969 p.24)³ commented, somewhat tentatively 'the formal organisation of the school appears to influence children's notions of a good school. Sumner and Warburton (1972 p.152)⁴ describe the effect that a pupil who they term as 'allergic' to schooling can have on the organisation. They stated 'the organisation cannot work effectivelybecause the allergic either disrupt or ignore its workings'.

However, it is not only the 'allergic' child who finds problems

1. D.E.S. W. Cockcroft (Chairman) The Committee of Enquiry into the teaching of Maths in schools
2. Secondary Examination Council : English G.C.S.E. A guide for teachers
3. F.W. Musgrove and P.W. Taylor : Society and the teachers role
4. R. Sumner and F.W. Warburton : Achievement in the Secondary School

of adjustment to the school. Bruner¹ argued that where the curriculum is set, the pupils confined and the pattern fixed difficulties for learning will be created. Hunt (op cit p. 31) related this to the feelings of pupils.

'From an early age the child becomes part of a pattern he never fully understands and is powerless to change.....his life is part of a scheme which has been devised by people he does not know and into which he is expected to fit without question'.

From this point of view two points emerge. Firstly the problems outlined by Bruner and Hunt above can manifest themselves at all levels of schooling, not just in the secondary school and secondly it is not just the child who can be a problem but so can the organisation of which he is part.

Research by Barker Lunn (op cit) and Nash (op cit) indicated that, for some pupils at least, there is a growing alienation towards school at the primary level. Creeber (1972)² argued that transfer to secondary school created acute anxieties in many children which reinforced many intellectual difficulties and emotional blockages whilst Hemming (op cit p.90) described the time of transfer to secondary school as 'a disastrous set back for children'.

Evidence from Sharpe (1975)³, Willis (op cit) and Hemming (op cit) indicates that the secondary school emphasises this alienation felt by many pupils.

Evidence of the problems at the secondary level is considerable. Rutter et al (op cit p.198) have summarised their evidence by expressing the view that the idea that children can totally identify with, and be committed to school is probably naive. They indicated that conflict with school for some pupils is intrinsic. One reason for this can be taken from the view expressed by Hargreaves (1983 p.3) that school for many pupils is a source of confinement rather than anything else. Hargreaves (op cit p.17) argued that the way the secondary school is organised produces for many pupils 'a destruction of their dignity which is so massive and pervasive that few subsequently recover from it'. Support for this view comes from

1. J. Bruner taken from J. Watts : The Countesthorpe Experience (1977 p.180)
2. J.W.P. Creeber : Lost for words
3. J. Sharpe : Open School. The experience of 1964-70 Wyndham School Egremont, Cumbria

Holbrook (1964 p.7)¹ who argues that the school demonstrates 'inevitably and often mercilessly that children who do badly are regarded by both the staff and other pupils as inferior creatures'. Further support can be taken from the findings of the research by Rowing (op cit) in his study of friendship groups in an eleven to sixteen comprehensive school.

Willis (op cit) though his research indicated that those pupils who saw themselves as the most rejected by the school have a tendency to be the most likely to reject it. His evidence further indicated that this group also tended to reject those amongst their peers who wished to benefit from school.

Woods (1979)² and Corrigan (1979)³ argued that what is taught in the school is rejected by them because it fails to interest them. It also indicated that they see no point in learning what is presented to them and that they feel no need to meet society's criteria of success. In the view of Creeber (op cit p.107) this situation leads to what he described as 'the apathy model' in the child. The attitude displayed by the pupils of it won't be long(to whatever, the end of the lesson, 4 o'clock...the end of term).

It is this group of pupils for whom Holly (op cit) described the experience of school as another type of imprisonment and the work which they are asked to complete as meaningless. It is this group that the assertion made by Hemming (op cit p.3) that 'secondary education is not, as a system a milieu in which the adolescent can flourish because it is not meant to fit them' has a hollow ring of truth. Hemmings view is substantiated by official research evidence. That conducted by The Schools Council (op cit 1968) discovered that over half the school leavers questioned said that the subjects which they had studied had been both boring and useless. The research conducted by Bill (op cit 1977) indicated an even worse position for his survey indicated that only seven per cent of those pupils questioned felt that they had been successful in school.

1. D. Holbrook : English for the rejected
2. P. Woods : The Divided Society
3. P. Corrigan : The Smash Street Kids

V. Summary

The evidence examined in this section indicates

- a) the views expressed by pupils either through the medium of literature or through research evidence shows a depth of feeling against their experiences of education of a lack of equality in school, the selection procedure inside the comprehensive school and the emphasis that is given to examinations. Problems associated with the size of the comprehensive school and reactions relating to the pattern of authority and control within the school although important features in this analysis can be related in the evidence of Watts (1980) and Shaw (1983) to a child's reaction to his feelings concerning the three areas outlined above.
- b) The five areas of the process of schooling which were selected for particular examination in this section were shown by the evidence to give rise to particular difficulties for some pupils. These, the evidence of the literature indicated, were areas of the life of the school which were likely to emphasise the poor feelings of some pupils towards the school.
- c) The evidence of the literature reviewed in order to produce an overview concerning the curriculum programme and the organisation of the school has established and helped maintain the position that the school through structures can become a place of frustration and alienation for some of its pupils.

Areas which the literature indicated to be of considerable importance were those concerned with feelings. This can be seen in particular in relation to the evidence of Hargreaves (1983), Willis (1977), Hemming (1980) and Holly (1973). In each of these cases and in the other supporting work by Creeber and Rutter et al (1979) indicates that the least academically successful pupils would be the group most likely to find problems during their schooling.

The evidence indicates that an examination of the central features of the process of schooling defined in this investigation supports the position that for some pupils this process is both inappropriate and unrewarding. It is a situation the

evidence indicates which is likely to give rise to frustration and in some cases antagonism for both the pupils and their teachers.

The next section will take the issue a stage further by reporting on the findings of a small scale study which was undertaken as part of this investigation to discover the feelings of a group of academically less successful fifth year pupils towards the curriculum programme and the organisational pattern of their school.

D. THE SMALL SCALE STUDY

(i) Introduction

This small scale study was undertaken with a group of academically less successful fifth year pupils in a comprehensive school. It was undertaken in order to discover if the position defended in the literature survey can be similarly defended by the results obtained.

The pupils who took part in this study were selected because it was felt that they were the group in the school who would be the most likely to display features of behaviour and attitudes indicated in the literature survey.

The study was conducted in two parts. The first part was concerned with an examination of the criteria which the fifth year pupils in the school as a whole regarded as being important measures of success at the end of their compulsory schooling.

The second part of the study was concerned with a detailed examination and analysis of the findings of the main study with the group of academically less successful pupils.

(ii) The school

The school where this study was undertaken is an eleven to sixteen mixed comprehensive school in an industrial town in the north of England. It has a balanced intake of pupils at 11+. A recent survey, (November 1985) with first year pupils using the N.F.E.R. verbal test D. indicated an overall distribution of ability close to that described by the natural curve of distribution. The intake comes mainly from three feeder junior schools serving newly built estates in the west of the town. These estates are made up of both council and private homes. The local policy is to allow a freedom of choice for parents to send their children to any of the six secondary schools in the town. The good tradition that the school has locally ensures that a proportion of the intake each year is drawn from other junior schools in the town. This situation ensures that even at a time of declining school roles in the area that the school has more pupils on role each year than the figures laid down for it by the Local Education Authority.

The school is organised in a pattern similar to that outlined by Marland (1974) which has already been described in this investigation on page 36. The senior staff in the school are - The Headmaster, a Deputy Headmistress and a Senior Master. The Headmaster has delegated responsibilities for the oversight of curriculum matters and the timetabling of lessons to the Deputy Headmistress. The Senior Master has responsibility for the pastoral side of the school.

Curriculum provision is arranged through subject departments. This provision indicates a great reliance on the traditional model of the curriculum practice in the school. This is indicated firstly by the department structure which is based on traditional subjects, (History, English, Geography, Maths.....). Secondly this is indicated by the influence on school policy and the financial reward given to the Heads of the major departments. The Heads of Department meet regularly with the senior staff to discuss policy and other relevant matters.

The pastoral system is strongly influential within the organisation of the school. As with the departmental structure the Heads of Year are rewarded at a scale 4 or senior teacher level. Similar to the Heads of Department the Heads of Year meet regularly with senior staff.

The staff generally base their relationships with pupils on the traditional/authoritarian model of teacher-pupil relations outlined by Lippert and White (1943 op cit) which have been discussed earlier. Corporal punishment which was a minor but nevertheless important feature of the life of the school was phased out over a period of two years which ended in 1983. Much of the responsibility for the ensuing disciplinary arrangements has been undertaken by the Heads of Year and senior staff. Considerable discussion occurred with the whole staff before these were set up in an attempt to ensure its success.

Much of the school's reputation in the locality is based on its management style and also on its academic record of good G.C.E. passes and the success of its pupils at both sixth form and technical college, both of which were sited adjacent to the school.

On entry from junior school the pupils are grouped by ability according to information received from them and the results obtained from formal standardised tests which are taken in the early part of the Christmas term.

The academic structure in the lower school is organised by dividing the year groups into two separate populations which are setted in each half year. The division is made by alphabetical order; the pupils whose names appear in the first half of the alphabet make up one population and those in the second half of the alphabet another population. Within these two populations each band is completing similar work.

This arrangement has some flexibility within it so that individual departments can make their own arrangements and so a child in set one for Maths need not necessarily be in the same band in any other subject. Further, it is an arrangement which allows for mixed ability teaching groups to operate which in the first and second year some subjects choose to do.

In subjects where rigid selection is adopted, promotion or demotion from one set to another is based on a pupil's work during the term and in any examination or test work which has been undertaken. It is through this procedure that academic success or failure is judged by the pupil, his parents and the teachers in the school.

In the fourth and fifth year the English and Maths groups are setted by ability according to results of tests and examinations conducted in the third year. The school operates an options policy which it describes as 'open ended' in that within the parameters of the system that is used pupils have a free choice of what subjects they can take in their last two years at school. In this complex structure a pupil can in one school year find himself in a mixed ability class, for one subject, banded classes (which will vary in population according to screening test results) in another subject and on some occasions he may be withdrawn from either of those situations for specific help with particular learning difficulties.

PART A, Phase 1 : On Exploratory survey.

i) Aims

The survey was organised into four distinct phases. This first phase was undertaken to gauge some measure of the feelings of the fifth years in the school related to how successful they felt they had been in school and to discover what criteria they used to ascertain this. It was hoped by asking about pupil success that the yard sticks and indications obtained might help to determine aspects of the process of education which the pupils felt to be important.

ii) Procedures

The questionnaire had two parts (see appendix 1). The first, related to how successful they felt they had been, took the form of a multiple choice question where they were asked to select one answer from a possible five. The answer they chose would indicate their feelings of success on a scale from generally successful to generally unsuccessful.

The second question was open ended, in that it allowed the pupil to write without any formal structure what they felt to be the most important features of a successful pupil. (see appendix 1)

In all some one hundred and fifty fifth year pupils were questioned at a time when mock examinations had been completed and entries for external examinations the following summer were being sorted out.

iii) Results

The results of this questionnaire can be found in figs. 4 and 5. Fig. 4 shows an analysis of the question : how successful do you feel you have been in school. The percentage of pupils who answered in each category is also shown. Fig. 5 shows a breakdown of the criteria that were mentioned indicating success in school.

Fig. 4

How successful do you feel you have been in school?

Category	Number of pupils	%
Very successful ^{1.}	4	2.6
Generally successful	52	34.6
Fairly successful	88	58.6
Not really successful	2	1.3
Unsuccessful ^{2.}	4	2.6
Total 150		

1. A breakdown of information in this category shows that in terms of external examination entry at the end of the 5th year all those who replied here were 'O' level entrants only.

2. A breakdown of information in this category shows that all those who replied here were non examinees.

An analysis of the results produced in fig. 4 indicates that relatively few pupils saw themselves as being very successful in school, (3%) and all those who placed themselves in this area were 'O' level candidates only. Even when this figure is combined with those in the second category the total who saw themselves as generally successful or better was still less than 40% of those asked. This figure is however one which is well above those shown in similar research by Bill, (1974) and Raven, (1977) or the Schools Council, (1968) outlined earlier. Further, an important relationship it can be argued, can be shown between this research and that which has been conducted on existence of sub-groupings of people in organisations, Argyris (1964) and schools Hargreaves, (1967 and 1983) which has also been outlined earlier. Evidence from the research conducted would indicate that some sixty per cent of pupils questioned in the school fell into the three most negative orientated categories which they defined.

For the purpose of this analysis the first two categories shown in fig. 4 have been grouped together with the latter three forming another group. This was done because those pupils in the first two categories generally produced more positive comments to the questions asked but those pupils in the latter three categories were generally more negative and produced comments which tended to show that they saw themselves as being separate from those in the other section. Comments which were made, included such ideas that a successful person was 'a boring person who didn't go out at night', someone who 'greased round teachers', 'a keeny' and 'a crawler!'

The whole of the group defined what they regarded as success in school and this information has been categorised in Fig. 5.

Fig. 5. What is success in school? Items mentioned by all 5th year pupils asked

Item	Times mentioned (as %)
1. Examinations	67%
2. A good job	19%
3. Accomplishing what you came for	19%
4. Understanding what you have learned	17%
5. Getting on well with teachers	14%
<u>Other items mentioned included:</u>	
a clean record/being good, keeping quiet in class	
playing for a school team	
doing your best	
having a good time	
working hard	
becoming a prefect	
fulfilling potential	

The figure given is that of the percentage that each item was mentioned by the pupils. (Thus examinations were mentioned by 67% of those questioned). A list of items which were also mentioned has also been included in order to give a complete picture but in each case the items were mentioned by less than ten per cent of those questioned.

From the information obtained fig. 5 demonstrates that the overwhelming response of pupils is directed towards what Parsons (1951)¹ described as instrumental goals; that accumulating of knowledge and skills and attitudes which are important for passing examinations, getting good marks and obtaining a good job on leaving school. This situation in the view of Shipman (op cit p.30) is to be expected as he argues that the proportion of instrumental activity in the school increases with the age of the child.

The survey indicated that in the eyes of the pupils questioned success in school was related closely to examinations. Within this category two elements were mentioned. Some pupils saw passing their exams as the ultimate test of success whereas other mentioned being entered for external examinations as the main aim with the result seeming to be of lesser importance. This, it can be argued, is an indication of the importance of examination entry to pupil self esteem in the last year of schooling. Of the sixty seven per cent of pupils who mentioned examinations directly, a further eight per cent of pupils mentioned fulfilling potential as being an important item deliniating success in school. This further eight per cent, it can be argued, can be combined to all intents and purposes with the sixty seven per cent as examination success can be regarded as a fulfilment of potential, at least from the academic point of view.

Important also in relation to the information provided by the pupils on examinations, only forty per cent of the total who felt that they had been successful in school mentioned them, whereas a larger percentage, (fifty six per cent) of those who saw themselves as being less successful mentioned examinations as an important factor.

1. T. Parsons : The Social system

A further item outlined as important to a successful school career related to getting a job (some 19% of pupils mentioned this). Examination success was related by some of those asked to finding a job when leaving school. Comments on this point included 'success at examinations is important because it can help get you a job' and 'success is related to pupils in later life'.

Other items which were most frequently mentioned included, accomplishing what they came for, (which it can be argued is perhaps related to examination success and certainly linked to personal fulfilment), undertaking what you have learned and getting on well with teachers, (which shows the importance that some pupils attach to their social relations with and acceptance by staff).

The second part of the questionnaire asked pupils to define what they regarded as success in school. This question as outlined earlier was set out so as to be open ended allowing them to list whatever items they wished. Fig. 6 gives the information relating to this part of the survey.

Fig. 6

Items described as important from pupils when asked to define what is 'success' in school?

Item	Times Mentioned	% of Total
1. Working hard	80	53
2. Examinations	70	51
3. Popularity with staff/ Popularity with other pupils	44	29
4. Behaviour, manners, appearance	37	25
5. Enjoyment	32	21
6. Fulfilling potential	12	8

The answers indicate that the majority of pupils related success in school to working hard, (53%) and to examinations, (51%). Others however, indicated that these items did not have to be connected; indeed one wrote that examinations and working hard 'need not necessarily be related'.

However, the evidence indicated that the vast majority of pupils who itemised working hard related it to passing examinations. Of the two hundred and seventy five responses in this question those two categories combined accounted for 55% of the total responses.

These two areas outweighed considerably any other items. Enjoyment of what the pupils were doing was mentioned by only one in ten of them when answering the questionnaire. This was an aspect seen to be relatively of less importance than either popularity with staff or pupils and behaviour, manners and appearance. Behaviour, manners and appearance appeared in one in four responses. These appeared from across all the ability range. This may be seen to be related to the pupils' perception of the need to behave well in order to be seen as a success at school rather than their ability or desire to do so.

Time and the parameters of the survey did not allow for follow up work to see how many pupils who had written of working hard and examinations as being important pointers towards personal success would have associated those ideas with a feeling of enjoyment.

What emerged most clearly from this part of the research were two important indications of pupil attitudes. Firstly, only two out of every five pupils indicated that they felt successful in school. This evidence clearly matches the findings of The School Council (op cit) and the School Council in Northern Ireland (1974) which were outlined earlier. Secondly, an examination of the evidence suggests that the most important features of success in school for the fifth year group questioned are concerned with examinations, popularity with others both staff and teachers, personal conduct and fitting into the required pattern of behaviour

of the school. These are among the elements which the literature search conducted earlier indicated are likely to be important aspects of the processes of the school. The group of pupils questioned confirmed those indications.

PART B. Phase 1 : The Main Study

i) Aims

This phase was undertaken with a much smaller target group than in phase 1. The pupils who were the focus of this part of the survey were those who were placed in the bottom English group, (some were also in the bottom Maths group) in the fifth year. The aim of this phase was to discover their feelings about the organisation and the social climate within the school as it might affect them. The group who were selected were asked to complete the School Organisation Index (Finlayson 1970 Appendix 4) and the School Climate Index, (Finlayson et al 1970 Appendix 3). These tests were chosen because it was felt that (a) the information they may provide could be related to both the curriculum provision and the organisational structure of the school; the central features which have been examined in this investigation.

(b) they would allow the pupils taking part in this part of the study a satisfactory opportunity to present their views and opinions on the process of schooling.

(c) the forms of the questionnaires not only itemised the information required to complete the study but also that it would aid in the analysis of the results obtained.

(d) a further reason why these tests were used is connected with the reading difficulties that Finlayson and his associates projected this material may have for the least able pupils¹. In the original trials the least able pupils in the year group were left out of the sample. This small scale study will be used to find out how the target group responded to Finlayson's materials.

ii) The Sample

The pupils were selected for this phase for these reasons:

(1) English and Maths were the only compulsory school subjects where a rigid pattern of streaming was a feature in the 4th and 5th year.

1. D.S. Finlayson et al : Administrative Manual for the School Organisation Index (p. 4)

(2) By being placed in this group the pupils had least chance of leaving school with any formal examination qualification in those subjects and probably less chance of examination entries in other academic subjects.

(3) Because of the items listed and from the evidence of the literature survey undertaken earlier it was felt that this group were those most likely to show signs of antipathy and alienation to the process of schooling and further to have the least positive self image with regard to it. In this way it was hoped that any feelings they had about the process of schooling would be heightened under examination.

iii) The procedure.

The two questionnaires which were to be used had been developed and tested with groups of 4th year pupils in comprehensive schools. These pupils, who were less than one thousand in total, had been selected for the purpose by their Head teachers. Because of the small numbers involved in the administration only limited validation of the results had been possible by the authors.

The two tests are each divided into sections. The School Organisation Index has two separate scales. The School Organisation Index has four scales. Each of the scales tests a response to different aspects of a pupils feelings about the organisation and social climate of the school. The response is gauged by scoring the answers received from the questionnaires. These questionnaires are organised on a multiple-choice format.

In the case of the School Organisation Index the instrument is made up of two scales. The first scale, (scale 1) which is related to pupil behaviour is described as 'providing an indication of the degree to which pupils perceive their peers having been given and accepted opportunities to participate in the decision making process of the school, to make important choices relating to their work and work groups and to meet pupils of differing academic and social groups.¹ This scale consists of twenty

1. D.S. Finlayson et al. (Administrative Manual for School Organisation Index (A.S.I.) N.F.E.R. (1970) p. 1

individual questions. The second scale, (scale 2) which consists of sixteen questions relates to teacher behaviour and provides 'an indication of the degree to which pupils perceive their teachers to be encouraging and fostering organisational procedures which cater for individual interests and abilities which are sufficiently flexible to allow a considerable amount of social interaction and where courses of action and social values are not unduly prescribed' (op cit p.1).

These two scales are based on, and developed from an hypothesis which were summarised by Yates, (1966) and which are described as 'polarised continua'. The first of these is a social continuum, the poles of which represent education for social change on the one hand and education to maintain the status quo on the other. The second is an individual continuum which has as its poles the development of the skills, talents and abilities of each individual pupil on the one hand and the inculcation of traditionally accepted skills involving conditioned conformist behaviour on the other. It is a situation that is being tested which Yates argues is realistic in the sense that it is one which is similar in its vital aspects not only to school organisation but also to that which the school is preparing its pupils to meet in the outside world.

The second instrument, the School Climate Index, (NSI) was developed by Finlayson (1970). It is a set of instruments which sets out to measure a pupils' concept of the social climate of a school. A concept of a pupils' life in school Finlayson points out, is difficult to define and as such is difficult to measure.¹ This instrument is based on the earlier models provided by Holpin and Croft (1963), and Getzels, Guba and Thelin, (1960). The instrument is divided into four different scales. Again there are individual questions for pupils to answer. Two of these scales are concerned with pupil behaviour and the other two with teacher behaviour. The questions are set out and scored similarly to that to be found in the School Organisation Index.

¹. D.S. Finlayson : Administration Manual for School Climate Index (NSI) N.F.E.R. (1970) p.1

The pupil behaviour scales are concerned with a pupils perception of a school's emotional tone which 'indicates the degree to which pupils perceive their peers (to be) deriving social and emotional satisfaction from participation in school activities'. The task orientation scales refer to behaviour which indicates the degree to which the pupils perceive their peers to have accepted the tasks set them by the school and to be applying themselves to those tasks' (op cit p.14).

The teacher behaviour scales are directed firstly at the pupils perception of the concern of their teachers to be sensitive to their individual needs. Both social and emotional needs are included. The second scale is directed to social control. This, Finlayson defines as 'the behaviour indicative of the degree to which pupils perceive their teachers to impose their expectations on pupils and to be required to exercise power in an attempt to secure compliance' (op cit p.5).

For the School Organisation Index and the School Climate Index the answers which pupils give can be scored on a four point scale. In each case Finlayson and his associates have provided evidence of the mean scores and standard deviations for each scale which they obtained from their original sampling, (figs. 7 and 8).

Fig. 7

The Mean Scores and Standard Deviations for the School Climate Index obtained by D. Finlayson op cit 1970 p.15

Scale	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Emotional Tone	16.09	4.89
Task Orientation	17.59	4.77
Concern	21.91	4.87
Social Control	17.52	6.26

Fig. 8

The Mean and Standard Deviation of Scale obtained from the School Organisation Index: Finlayson et al (1970)

Scale	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Pupil Participation and integration	41.40	10.16
Teacher promotion of individual and social experience	28.55	9.07

After these tests had been completed this phase was completed by discussing with those pupils involved in this phase, both individually and in groups. These discussions took place after the measure had been scored and were held in an attempt to draw together problems and issues which they had felt to be important. These discussions also involved questions to the pupil about any difficulties and problems which they had in reading and understanding the material.

iv) The Results

From the group of fifth year pupils who were selected to take part in this phase of the study the results that were obtained have been tabulated in figs. 9 - 16. The group selected was only small, (numbering 14 in total). One of whom, because of prolonged absence was unable to be questioned. Because of the small number of pupils involved it has been possible to show the information received in a number of different ways. Fig. 9 shows the individual scores of pupils questioned and how that score relates to the mean score gained by Finlayson (1970). Fig. 10 shows the total scores obtained by all those questioned relative to those scores gained in research by Finlayson. Figs. 11 and 12 show the same information drawn up in a similar way for the scores gained from Finlayson et al (1970).

Fig. 9

Individual Scores obtained from present sample from School Climate Index

Pupil	Scale			
	(1) Concern	(2) Task	(3) Social Control	(4) Emotional Tone
Finlayson's Mean Score :	21.91	17.59	17.52	16.09
(1)	23	11	14	17
(2)	5	10	10	6
(3)	15	12	4	5
(4)	18	8	10	8
(5)	24	12	14	12
(6)	7	11	6	10
(7)	13	13	8	13
(8)	17	11	14	10
(9)	19	17	17	14
(10)	12	21	23	15
(11)	18	12	12	13
(12)	19	12	15	12
(13)	17	19	16	12

Fig. 10

Results obtained compared with Finlayson (1970) (boys and girls)

n - 13	Concern	Task	Social Control	Emotional Tone
Mean obtained by Stakes (1985)	15.83	11.66	12.25	10.42
Difference from Mean obtained by Finlayson (1970)	-6.08	-4.11	-5.27	-5.39

Fig. 11

Individual Scores obtained from present sample from School
Organisation Index

	Scale 1	Scale 2
Mean	41.40	28.55
Pupil		
(1)	39	24
(2)	18	15
(3)	41	22
(4)	37	12
(5)	43	30
(6)	15	16
(7)	30	19
(8)	38	12
(9)	33	23
(10)	50	29
(11)	36	35
(12)	34	19
(13)	38	16

Fig. 12

Comparison of results obtained from use by Finlayson et al (1970)
and present sample

	Finlayson	Stakes
Mean	32.5	21.2
Standard Deviation	-6.15	-7.53

Bearing in mind the small group with which this survey was conducted and the statistical difficulties with such numbers certain factors have emerged.

From the evidence that has been collected and displayed, (figs. 9 - 12) certain important aspects seem to emerge from both of the scales that were used. From the results obtained after the scales had been scored for the boys and girls together, (fig. 10 - 12) the mean obtained was considerably less than that obtained by Finlayson, (1970) and Finlayson et al, (1970). The scores varied from the lowest, (closest to the mean) of -4.11 on the task orientation scale to that of the highest, (furthest away from the mean) of -7.53 which appeared on scale 2 of the School Organisation Index which was concerned with the promotion of individual and social experience.

There can, of course, be no direct comparison of results with any in the work done by Finlayson with the less able when he did his original testing in 1970, as he cut out any contact with their views by feeling that he was not able to test them properly because of possible reading difficulties the material might present. Because of this and the importance of this evidence provided by figs. 11 and 12 some concern may be directed at questioning the legitimacy of the results obtained because of this question of reading problems. However, personal observation, questions asked to the pupils involved and comments made in the ensuing discussions that followed provided clear evidence that those who had completed the questionnaire understood what was required and had answered truthfully.

In the light of research by Brennan, (1974)¹ outlining difficulties with results of studies on the less able it was felt that it might be similarly valid here to break down the total scores obtained into those obtained by the boys and girls, (figs. 13, 14, 15 and 16).

1.

W.K. Brennan: Curricular needs of slow learners

Fig. 13

Results obtained from use of Finlayson's School Climate Index

Boys only

n = 7	Concern	Task	Social Control	Emotional Tone
Mean obtained from present sample	15.00	9.57	9.43	8.73
Difference from mean obtained by Finlayson (1970)	-6.91	-7.02	-6.09	7.36

Fig. 14

Results obtained from use of Finlayson's School Climate Index

Girls only

n = 6	Concern	Task	Social Control	Emotional Tone
Mean obtained from present sample	17.0	15.3	16.2	12.6
Difference from mean obtained by Finlayson (1970)	-4.9	-2.3	-1.4	-3.4

Fig. 15

Results obtained from use of Finlayson et al, (1970) School

Organisation Index Girls only

n = 6	Scale 1	Scale 2
Mean obtained from present sample	38.1	22.3
Difference from mean obtained by Finlayson et al (1970)	-3.2	-6.2

Fig. 16

Results obtained from use of Finlayson et al (1970), School Organisation Index Boys only

n = 7	Scale 1	Scale 2
Mean obtained from present sample	31.8	19.7
Difference from mean obtained by Finlayson (1970)	-9.5	-8.5

The results here indicate that although each mean obtained by testing is less than the mean taken from Finlayson's original research it is clear that the scores are closer to the mean for the girls than for the boys in each of the cases. In particular the scores obtained by the girls in the sections on social control, (score -1.4 from the mean) and task orientation, (score -2.3 from the mean) would suggest that because they are closer to the mean expected of all pupils in school that the girls have been more easily able to accept tasks set for them by the school and to apply themselves to those tasks together with an acceptance that these tasks are imposed by teachers. It was not possible to elicit from the girls without the use of 'leading' questions to discover why they were more able to accept this situation than the boys. Two explanations seem possible. Either the girls more easily accepted that the teacher was available to improve their knowledge and skills or that they were more able to accept the authority of the teacher.

In the case of the boys in the group their best score (-6.1 from the mean) also indicated similarly to that of the girls to be related to the category of social control. This was a score recorded by the boys of -4.7 more than the girls, a situation which indicates that although the boys may have regarded this aspect of school to be more important than anything else that they are less influenced by it than the girls. Further this

evidence indicated that the boys were less likely to accept the structures of the school than the girls in the group.

An important indicator of the feelings of the pupils can be seen by the indication that both the scores of the boys and the girls are further from the norm on the School Organisation Index than on the School Climate Index. This would suggest, (using Finlayson's rationale) that the group of pupils felt that the school firstly catered less well for their individual interests and abilities. Secondly it indicated that the lack of flexibility gave the pupils little opportunity to make and participate in the decision making process of the school and to meet other pupils of differing social and academic groups.

This proposal has been supported by a study undertaken by Rowing (1978)¹ on the pastoral care system in the same school and by other research by Cleugh, (1957)² and the D.E.S. (1971³, 1984)⁴ which looked at problems associated with remedial provision at secondary level.

The poor scores which were obtained from the School Organisation Index may also help to account for the poor scores that were obtained in the section investigating concern in the School Climate Index, (section 1).

The evidence examined in this section indicates firstly that the way the school was organised led the pupils to feeling isolated from many of their peers. Secondly there are indications from the evidence that the pupils felt there was too much intervention by the staff over their choice of subject options and classroom organisation. Thirdly the evidence indicates that the pupils showed concern over the sensitivity displayed by their teachers about their individual needs.

1. M. Rowing op cit
2. M.F. Cleugh : The Slow Learner, (1957)
3. D.E.S. op cit (1971)
4. D.E.S. Slow learning and less successful pupils in secondary schools. Evidence from some HMI visits (1984)

v) Some case studies

These case studies were undertaken to aid the overall analysis by focusing on certain individuals in an attempt to highlight their views which were obtained from answers to the questionnaires. From an analysis of the individual scores obtained from the School Climate Index the boys scores showed that only three were above the mean found by Finlayson in his original research. In each case none of these scores were much above that mean. If one accepts that the results obtained by Finlayson reflect a view across the whole cross section of the pupil population in a comprehensive school then this is the situation the evidence outlined in the literature search indicates. This also bears out findings of the evidence of research literature on the less able outlined earlier with regard to their self image and their willingness to participate fully in the comprehensive school.

The three scores obtained above the norms originate from two pupils - one boy, (no. 1) has two of them and the other above norm score is provided by a boy, (no. 5) who also scores above the norm in both parts of the Organisation Index (fig. 11). This in itself might lead to the conclusion that this latter boy has a reasonably positive attitude towards school. This was borne out by his personal file which he is recorded as 'little problem'. Further confirmation came from his C.S.E. entries (2), his own views which were given in the school based questionnaire, (Appendix 2) (where he again is positive about himself), his relations with others, and that he had obtained employment on leaving school which he related in part to the help that school had given him.

In the case of the other boy, (no. 1), the pattern of behaviour both within school and outside it had been for much of his time in school entirely different. He was a boy who had shown considerable difficulties in the school over much of his first four years. These problems included: not completing homework, turning up late for lessons without the proper equipment,

truancy, stealing from home, smoking and failing to turn up to school detentions. Eventually after some four years of this behaviour and at a point when his relationship with his parents - particularly his father, had reached such a low ebb it was felt there was a need for him to be taken into care to give both them and the boy a break. Through the effect of this and a counselling programme which was undertaken by both parties the boy was re-admitted to school after a three month break early in the fifth year. Since that time there has been a much more positive attitude and better scholastic attainment to the extent that he had been entered for one C.S.E., (a factor that he considers to be of major importance) and he too has obtained employment on leaving school.

A further element of major importance with regard to both of these boys is that on the basis of results obtained from the standardised tests obtained earlier during their time in school they would appear to have amongst the lowest potential ability in the year group.

The indications from the Climate Index I would argue, needs to be looked at not only in the light of those boys who obtained amongst the lowest scores, but also the apparent attitude of the boy who did not take part in any of this research through his persistent absences. It would appear that he has already given his verdict on the school system!

Of the others, the boy who achieved the lowest scores consistently across all this index was a boy who was, like the above mentioned absentee, one who had needed less help with basic skills during his time at school and who had been described positively by staff on his file as 'pleasant, happy, hardworking, a boy with few social problems with school except lack of academic ability'.

With such a small sample it is hard to make generalisations but the evidence obtained from the boys questioned indicates that a feeling of success in school is difficult to relate to either academic success or personality factors. The study does indicate that personal success in school can be related to external examination entry plus obtaining employment when leaving.

As far as the girls were concerned, however, the situation is perhaps a little clearer. The two most positively orientated sets of scores produced by the girls came from those who had been entered for C.S.E./16+ examinations, (in one case for seven different subjects, the others for five), had no negative comments written in their personal files and had both obtained employment to go to on leaving. The two girls with the lowest scores were those with the lowest I.Q. scores, the lowest number of external examination entries and no job to go to on leaving.

From the analysis that can be made from the evidence of the overall scores of the pupils no clear pattern emerges which can lead to definite conclusions. An analysis of the preliminary results from the questionnaire and from the individual case studies undertaken indicates that the views of the target group are closely linked to those which might have been expected in relation to the findings by Finlayson and his associates. Although Finlayson et al did not question the least academically able an examination of their evidence indicates that the less successful a pupil felt himself to be in school the less likely he was to be positive towards it.

The evidence from this study indicates similarly negative feelings towards the school amongst the group of pupils questioned. These negative feelings are directed towards both the organisation of the school and its social climate.

It is because of these findings that it became essential to examine what patterns emerged from within the questionnaire and to see if any important feelings, (either negative or positive) of the group could be found by grouping answers where common feelings were apparent. In order to do this successfully it was felt that it would be necessary after the completion of the analysis to go back to the group of pupils who were involved, in an attempt to discover the reasoning which might account for these feelings. By undertaking this it was hoped to make the feelings of those involved clearer in relation to the research

that was being undertaken.

Common feelings for this purpose was defined as when 75% of the group responded to a question in either similar agreement or disagreement.

vi) An examination of questions which had common answers.

This section will investigate the questions which provided common answers given by pupils to the questionnaires. This will be undertaken by a section by section analysis of both questionnaires. Issues which this analysis raised and which were subsequently discussed by the target group will also be examined.

In the first place the questions where there was common agreement were collected together systematically from all six parts of both of the tests. This was done in order to examine what, if any discernable relationships appeared. By doing this it was possible to cross check answers in our category with another in order to see how they related. After this had been done the group were further questioned in, as an informal view setting as was possible in the circumstances in order to help clarify points, to see if what had emerged seemed correct from their point of view and in order for them to express their feelings through any discussion or comments they wished to make and away from the imposed constraints of a questionnaire.

As far as common answers were concerned some forty five per cent of the questions turned out to have this feature. This was a percentage which was large enough for it to be regarded as an important demonstrable aspect of the overall feelings of the group being questioned.

In the School Organisation Index there was common agreement or disagreement, on some 44% of the answers the group provided. In the first of the sections: pupil participation and organisation there was agreement on only six of the twenty questions. However the important factor here was the connection between the questions

where this agreement occurred. In five of the six cases the question was connected with some form of pupil choice,
 viz question 3: choice of options in fourth and fifth year
 question 6: choice of careers and willingness to discuss this with teachers.

question 10: choice over what happens in assembly

question 14: choice in planning of school socials

question 16: choice with regard to rectifying option selections.

Within this section of questions common features emerge.

Option choice was one of them. The pupils were aware that the options which had been open to them and which were selected by them for their fourth and fifth year courses had contained an element of direction towards certain courses which emanated from the overall organisation of the fourth and fifth year curriculum in the school. Discussions afterwards pointed up that in some cases the selections they made were done from the negative aspect. Some had selected certain subjects from each option choice with more regard to what they didn't want to do. For some of the pupils this method was as important as the more positive selection procedure of wanting to do a subject. Pupils however, indicated that they had been given sufficient time to make these choices, that they had an equal chance with regard to the choice they could make and that good guidance with their choices had been provided both from the teaching departments involved and through their form teachers.

The question of changing options once they had been made was one which they felt was generally not possible. There was little indication that many wanted to change their option choices even after some two years had passed since they had been made.

Some of the pupils felt the desire to change from subjects which were a compulsory part of the timetable, particularly Maths, P.E. (for the girls), Careers and R.E., which were felt to be of either little value or given too much time on the timetable.

Evidence from these questions would indicate that the pupils knew that they were able to make their own option choices with

help from both their family and the teachers in the school but that once these choices had been made there was little chance to change their minds. This is a point which is emphasised in the school options choice booklet.

This section of questions also provided common answers to another aspect of school life which involved the issue of choice, that of choice of what happens in assembly and over the planning of school socials. These two questions provide areas of common ground because they are aspects of school life where an element of pupil choice is often built in.

The follow up discussions on these questions provided a variety of feeling within the common answers. With regard to assembly the pupils generally felt that although there was choice as to what their registration group should present, (an aspect of organisation of year assemblies that is built into the school) they were not often selected to take part. There was a feeling of increasing alienation over this as they had gone through the school with the feeling that many of the more academically able members of their registration groups did not want them to take part as they were the 'thickos' and that their ability to read aloud would let the whole presentation down. With that in mind increasingly the group had become less willing to put themselves forward to participate. A similar feeling was apparent with regard to school socials. The group felt they were not part of this decision making process. The school dances were organised by the staff at times convenient to them. Those chosen to help were more likely to be prefects or prefect material. As was the case with Assemblies, many of the pupils chose not to participate and stayed away. Further, in line with research by Hargreaves, (1967) and Willis, (1977) there was evidence of a feeling of alienation towards school organised social activities and a preference for the real discos, particularly amongst the girls whose boy friends were either not members of this school or were even older than school age.

The other two questions in this section need to be taken either as a separate item or in conjunction with questions from other sections of Finlayson's questionnaire. As far as question 11 is concerned with the speech and accents of pupils, none of the group expected to improve their standing through a 'posher accent' nor did they like pupils who attempted to do so. The local accent is not particularly difficult and there is little local dialect to complicate the speech patterns as exists in other communities in the area, such as South Yorkshire or in the more rural parts of Humberside. The question itself seemed to have little importance with regard to the feelings of the group about school. The last question in this section on the discussion of career choices with staff in school, is an important question in relation to others, particularly those with common answers in the School Climate Index and as such will be best discussed with them.

As far as scale II was concerned; (questions directed at individual and social experience) an examination shows that ten out of the sixteen questions provided common answers. This was some 62% of the total in this section and a far larger proportion than those on scale I.

These questions were:

no. 22, Teachers like us to help one another with our work (where there was common disagreement).

Question 23, Teachers give you plenty of chances in class to follow up your own special interests in a subject (where there was common disagreement).

Question 24, Teachers give you plenty of chance in lessons to find things out for yourself, (where there was common disagreement).

Question 25, Teachers here make everybody do a piece of work in the same way, (where there was common agreement).

Question 27, If we are stuck for facts in our work, teachers encourage us to go out of class to the library to look them up, (where there was common disagreement).

Question 29, Teachers have fixed ideas about the way pupils should dress, (where there was common agreement).

Question 30, Teachers let us rearranged the desks in classrooms if it is more convenient for the work we are doing, (where there was common disagreement).

Question 31, Teachers are afraid to admit making a mistake, (where there was common agreement).

Question 33, You never get the chance to change your place in the classroom unless a teacher tells you to, (where there was common agreement).

Question 34, Teachers make lots of rules about the way the work has to be set out, (where there was common agreement).

As far as this section is concerned, again there are common factors within those questions where the pupils had expressed an agreement. Four different items seem to be of importance here. Firstly, there are those questions concerned with the organisation of the work they have to do. In the follow up discussions to the questionnaire a number of factors emerged. The group felt that the organisation of the work they were doing; the need for individual, rather than collective effort was connected in many instances with the work which they were undertaking for external exams. This was an element of their school life which they saw as teacher led in their best interests to obtain the best results they could but which left very little time for work in school in personal projects and interests. Work which was done was seen to be essentially controlled by the teacher, not only in respect of its outline organisation but also in the way it should be set out. In some subjects with particular teachers this was seen to be more concerned with their personal pernickety standards rather than those of the school as a whole. Similarly because of the nature of organisational and personality factors within the school the use of the library in lesson times was seen to be unrealistic and there was a reluctance to use the facilities even if suggested to do so by any teacher - a circumstance which they felt did not often occur anyway.

A second selection of items of common agreement were those connected with classroom organisation which again was seen to be

totally teacher directed, related both to how the desks were arranged and to where the pupils had to sit. The seating arrangements were seen by the pupils as a way of restricting their behaviour pattern to one of containment by the staff to the extent that in larger classrooms the small group were often sat individually in each of the double desks. There was some comment in the above mentioned discussion with regard to different organisation of furniture for different aspects of teaching in a wider context than the familiar one, for example as in drama lessons, but the group lacked any real agreement on how, or even why this should be done.

There was almost total agreement in the group with regard to teacher feelings towards pupils' dress. The feeling was apparent, not only with regard to school uniform, (c.f. School Climate Index question 29), but also with regard to clothes that pupils would wear outside of school or those worn on school 'non uniform days'. The boys in particular were in agreement that there was no real need for wearing school uniform, in fact two of them, (one the persistent absentee) had been in constant trouble over the question of uniform. The girls too, were not enthusiastic about uniform, although there was some feeling among the group that at least by wearing uniform there was no problem for them in deciding what to wear.

The group felt the use of school uniform was connected with the overall disciplinary structure of the school. The wearing of school uniform in the county had been made voluntary from September 1983 and the pupils connected the idea of not wearing uniform to some extent with poor discipline which might be apparent in other local schools where wearing uniform had been relaxed to a greater extent than in their own school. The question of how this might affect their own school was raised. But the pupils had not thought of this issue in terms of how others might see their own school, should it follow a similar pattern and there was some confusion as to its effect in the discussion on this subject.

The pupils had also very strong agreement as to the issue of teachers making mistakes in class. The teachers, in many cases were seen to be setting themselves apart so that the mistakes they might make would not be too obvious. Teachers, it was felt, always needed to look as if they were right particularly with regard to subject material and knowledge. This was extended to where there was any discussion of issues. This can be linked to the pupils views in this area to other ideas of school life and assemblies mentioned previously. It was felt by the group that the teacher could not often be moved to change his or her mind on issues.

The question of the teacher being right was regarded as an important element by all the pupils although evidence from both this questionnaire, the School Climate Index and ensuing discussions indicated that not all teachers were seen in the same way by all of the group, nor did all of the group see an individual teacher in the same way. This was regarded as an important aspect of the research which needed attention and was part of a follow up in the third phase of the enquiry.

A similar analysis was conducted for the question which gave common agreement or disagreement from the School Climate Index. In this section some 47% of questions fell into this category. In the first of these connected with pupil perception of teacher sensitivity to individual need there was common agreement on three of the nine questions, viz.

Question 6, Teachers here go out of their way to help you, (where there was common agreement).

Question 7, If pupils have difficulties with their work the teacher takes time to help them, (where again there was common agreement).

Question 9, Teachers are really interested in all we do here (where there was a common disagreement).

To some extent the answers which have been provided here can be linked with question 6 in the previous questionnaire on pupils' ability to discuss career choices with staff where there was a common agreement that this could be done.

The answers in this section of the questionnaire give an impression that the pupils have discriminated in their own mind between teacher help that they have received in lessons and that found in the overall pattern of life in the school. Their views indicated that it is as if the world of the classroom was separate from that of the corridors and where staff who taught them took a much more sympathetic and understanding tone towards them than that which they found outside. In the ensuing discussion that followed related to these matters there was some considerable difficulty in discrimination over those points for the pupils and no clear overall view could be reached. One further point which did materialise from this discussion however, was that the pupils discriminated in their minds between those teachers who they felt were more sympathetic towards them and those who had less sympathy for them. This is a factor which can be related to the findings from the discussion of the common answers in scale II of the Organisation Index outlined earlier.

This first section also showed that the group felt that the teachers were interested largely in the work which they had set for the group in the classroom, (i.e. teacher directed) and that other parts of their life which were not teacher directed were of less interest to the staff. It was also felt by many of the pupils that the staff and them had few common interests and where they did exist their interests were directed from differing points of view.

On the second scale of the School Climate Index which was related to task orientation, an analysis of the questions here showed two questions where there was common agreement, viz question 11 - It's always the same people who are chosen to do interesting things, (where there was common agreement) and question 15 - Everyone prefers the easy teachers and would like to avoid the ones who make you work, where there was a common agreement.

There seemed to be little in common between these two questions but question 11 would appear to relate to some of the items which gave common answers in scale I of the previous questionnaire with

regard to the participation of pupils and their feelings of acceptance by their peer group.

In discussions afterwards the link between these was pointed out to the group. From this, the conversation was directed by them towards areas of school life which they felt they were less likely to be able to participate in than other pupils. These included items such as hearing visiting speakers, being made a prefect, school journeys, link courses with the Technical College and sports events. One pupil in this latter respect who had participated in both school and town team sports as a first and second year showed a particularly negative attitude in relation to this. This, she indicated, was less connected with organisation of sport in the school than with her own personal diminished interest. In relation to the finding in this area the pupils felt that they were less able to participate in events and that others, both on the staff and other pupils were less willing to wish them to participate. There was some feeling of alienation because of this but it was not a marked aggressive feature of their life in school rather a feeling of recognition of their fate.

The second question in the section connected with teacher preference produced little comment from the pupils, most felt that it was connected with human nature but they felt that the purpose of their being in school was to work. The work they preferred was work that they could do left to their own devices, without much effort and which they would get right, something which they felt did not happen often in school. An attempt was made in the discussion to analyse why this might be so from their personal point of view but little, if anything constructive came from this except that they were able to discriminate which teachers they felt fitted into which category and were able to react accordingly within that lesson, thus making the connection between personal effort and strong and weak forms of control apparent in their teachers.

The third section which refers to social control and the imposition of teacher expectations on the pupils provided common

answers to five of the nine questions. These questions were
 Question 18, There are too many rules to stop you having fun at
 breaks, (which showed a common agreement)
 Question 19, There is no chance of getting a school rule changed,
 even if most of the pupils disagree with it, (where there was
 common agreement)
 Question 20, Teachers shout too much here, (where there was
 common agreement),
 Question 24, Teachers are always making you line up for everything
 here (which gave common agreement)
 and Question 25, Teachers soon lose their tempers here, (where
 there was common agreement).

In the follow up discussion it became clear that the answer
 to the question about break times, was based on their experience
 of the first to fourth years and being outside all break rather
 than the situation in the fifth year where they had their own
 common room. The evidence indicated that even this proved to
 have drawbacks in relation to the number of pupils in the year
 group and the size of the area which had been set aside for them.
 There was little evidence of the pre selection of various rooms
 by any particular group of friends and no direction in this
 respect by staff.

Discussion on the question of teachers shouting too much
 shows that the pupils contrasted between how they were treated
 and the treatment of other pupils in school. The best teachers
 they felt, did not shout, only when absolutely necessary. There
 was the feeling that generally teachers lose their tempers too
 quickly. The pupils felt this particularly when they had done
 something that was not right, (rather than purely wrong) and
 that the teachers showed their anger by shouting and 'brow beating'
 them. The group saw shouting and the loss of temper by the staff
 as one and the same thing and did not discriminate differently
 between the two. The group also felt that they expected to be
 shouted at in school.

The question about lining up in school indicated that many
 pupils in the answers on the original questionnaire had made

alterations. They gave the impression in the interviews afterwards that they had not consciously given much thought to this aspect of school life, taking it as part of their overall expectations of what school was like. They did not see this any differently from other situations that were part of normal life; queueing up in a shop, for a bus or to get into the pictures.

The final question in this section also reflected a view that had been mentioned earlier that the school organisation was teacher-dominated and that they, (the pupils) had little say in what went on. The school council which had elected representatives from each year group was seen as not really relevant to them. They indicated they felt they would not get elected. Even if they had been they would have been too embarrassed to speak. This is a situation which may reflect their own timidity and lack of personal confidence, rather than any organisational aspect of the school.

The final section in this questionnaire concerned with emotional and social satisfaction was the one which produced the largest percentage of the total of questions where there were common answers and also the largest number of negative answers. The questions in this section, with common answers (six out of eight which produced common feelings) were:

Question 29, Pupils are proud to wear the school uniform, (where there was strong disagreement).

Question 30, Everyone tries to make you feel at home here, (where there was unanimous disagreement, the only one in either questionnaire).

Question 31, Pupils dislike being here, (where there was strong disagreement),

Question 32, Pupils rip pages and scribble on their school text books, (where there was agreement).

Question 33, Pupils think a lot of this school, (where there was disagreement) and

Question 34, Pupils feel very satisfied with this school, (where there was disagreement).

In an important sense the answers to these questions seem to indicate the overall views of the group of pupils involved towards the school and their place in it. As in question 30 for example clearly the place was not regarded as homely and made them feel uncomfortable at the very least but it was hard to find out specifically how this occurred. It was a deep felt but, clearly very difficult condition which was perhaps best explained by their difficulties when the question of leaving was tackled. Here many of the group had very mixed feelings, for although they did not like to come to school, were dissatisfied by how they felt school treated them, they did not want to leave. Even those who had obtained a job or got on to a course which they wished to follow on leaving school, felt that going would be a wrench. It was an emotional factor and a curiously paradoxical situation which was connected with their feelings towards other pupils who were friends, teachers who they felt had been supportive and a feeling of apprehension about leaving rather than anything the school had to offer.

V. PHASE 2 : The School based questionnaire

i) Aims

This phase was undertaken to further supplement the information gained from administering the questions in both phase 1 and phase 2 of the survey. By doing this it was hoped to compare and contrast some of the feelings which pupils had displayed.

The target group in this phase was the same pupils as in phase 2.

ii) Procedure

From the information which was received from the initial questionnaire it was possible, by grouping items of apparent similarity together, to produce six major elements by which the fifth year pupils in the school had seen as factors by which they would determine success (fig. 17). It was these six items which were to be used as a yardstick to compare the feelings of pupils in this part of the research with those which had been determined by the whole fifth year.

Fig. 17

Items defining success in school determined by all fifth year pupils

- | |
|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Passing examinations (2) Understanding work that has been set (3) Getting a good job when leaving school (4) Getting on well with teachers (5) Accomplishing what you came for (6) Getting on well with other pupils |
|---|

From these six items it is possible by using the dichotomy corollary of the theory of personal constructs, Kelly, (1955) to define what would be the negative poles of these, (fig. 18)

Fig. 18

Negative poles of pupils definitions of success

- (1) Not passing examinations
- (2) Not understanding work set
- (3) Unemployment
- (4) Poor relationships with teachers
- (5) Not accomplishing what you came for
- (6) Poor personal relationships with other pupils

Kelly, (op cit 1955) described these poles as 'axes of reference'. From these axes a questionnaire was drawn up. (This questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2). It was felt that this questionnaire would be useful because firstly it would give ease of access to the information and also because of the way it was drawn up, be simple for those involved to complete. In order to gauge more precisely the feelings of the group it was decided to use an ordinal scale of scoring similar to that used by Finlayson. When this questionnaire had been given some time was given over to a general discussion of the procedure involved for this group in phases II and III. This was undertaken firstly to give the group a chance to express their feelings about what they had been asked to do and also to clarify any points that had occurred in this questionnaire which they were unsure about.

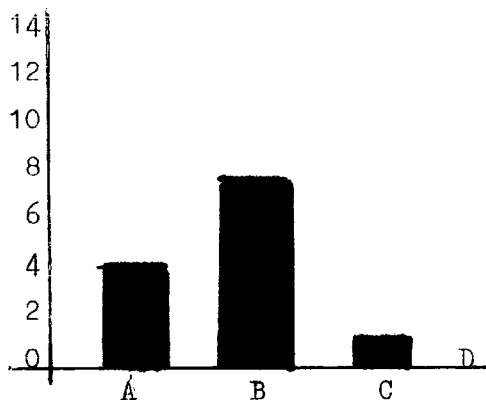
iii) Results

The results of this questionnaire have been drawn up in graphical form, (figs. 19 - 30) in order to give greater clarity of information and cross checking.

Graphs to indicate pattern of answers to school based questionnaire
(Questionnaire Appendix 2)

Question 2 - fig. 19

How important is being entered for an external examination
16+/C.S.E. to you?



A = very important

B = quite important

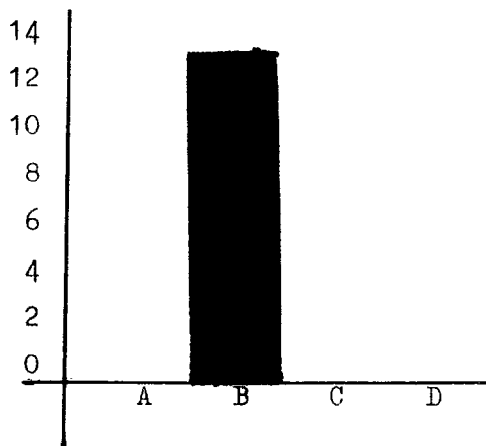
C = not really important

D = not important at all

- everyone in the group had
been entered for at least
one external exam.

Question 3 - fig. 20

How well do you feel you will do in the examination for which
you have been entered?



All in category B

A = very well

B = quite well

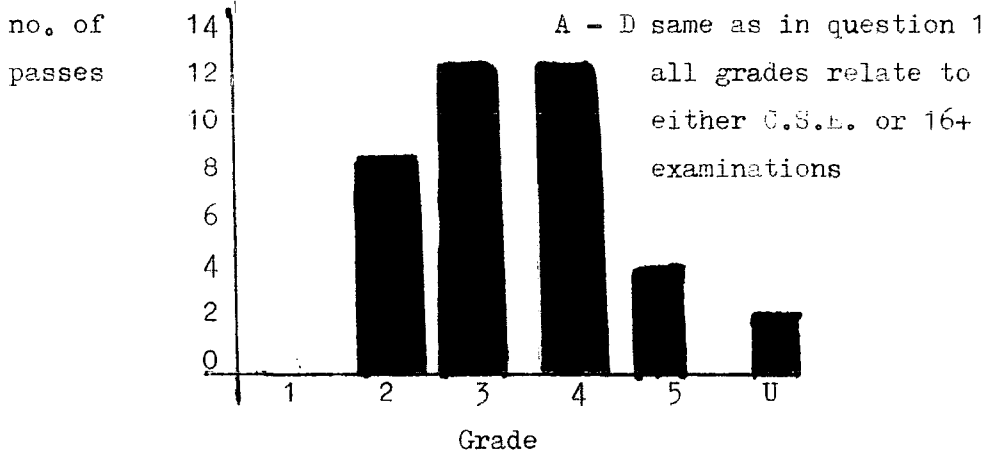
C = not really well

D = not well at all



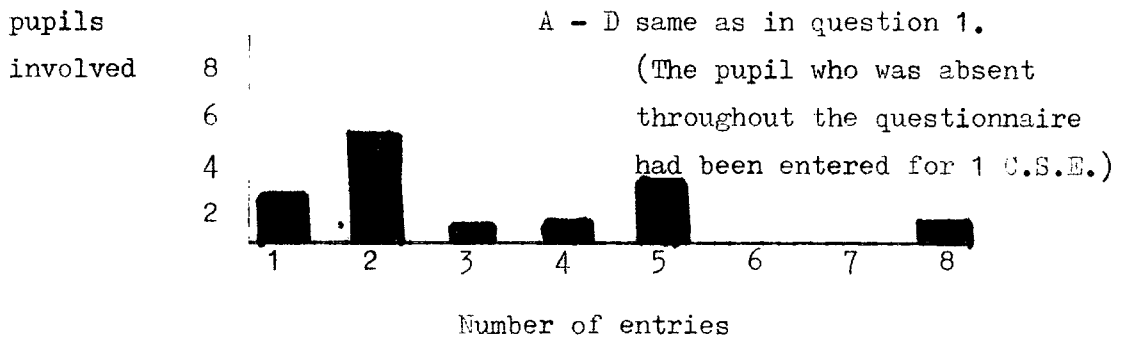
Question 4 Fig. 21

What grade do you expect to get in the subjects for which you have been entered?



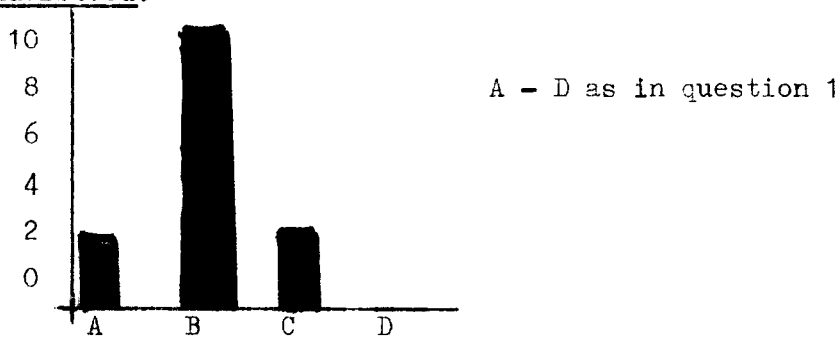
Question 4(b) Fig. 22

How many exams. had members of the group been entered for?



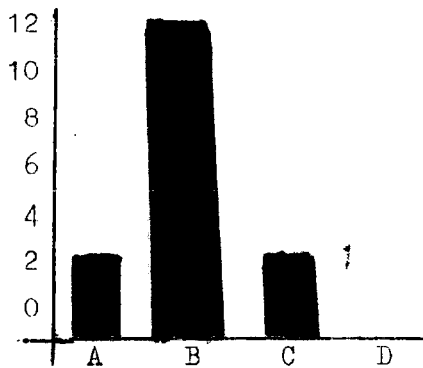
Question 5 Fig. 23

How much of the work that you have completed at school have you understood?



Question 6 Fig. 24

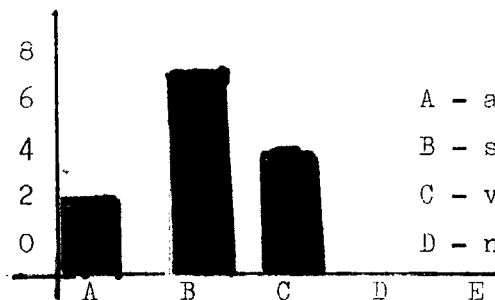
How well do you generally get on with the teachers at school?



A - D same as in question 1

Question 7 fig. 25

How much of what you set out to achieve at this school have you done?



A - a great deal

B - some of the things

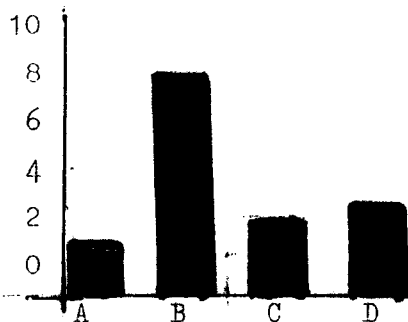
C - very few of them

D - none

E - I came with no ambition

Question 8 Fig. 26

How successful have you been in finding the type of job or course which you want when you leave school?



A = very successful; I got the job/course I wanted

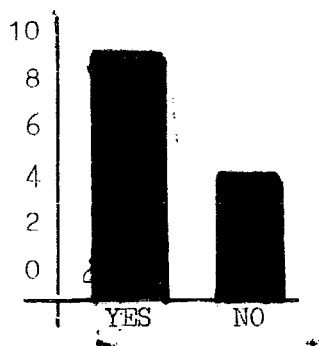
B = fairly successful, I didn't quite get the job/course I wanted but what I'm going to do is just as good

C = not really successful. I have got a job/course to go to, but I don't really want to do that kind of thing.

D = not successful at all, I have got nothing to do when I leave school.

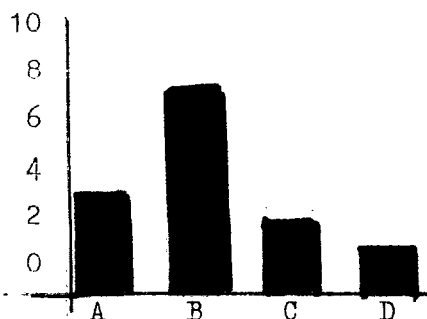
Question 9 Fig. 27

Did you expect to be employed when you leave school?



Question 10, Fig. 28

How important has being at school been in getting you the job/
course you have got on leaving school?



A = very important

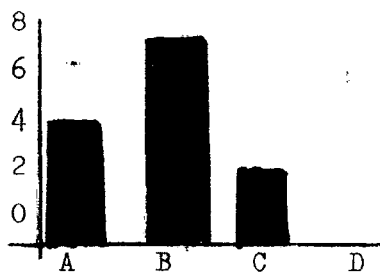
B = quite important

C = not really important

D = not important at all

Question 11, Fig. 29

How well do you feel you get on with other pupils in school?



A = very well

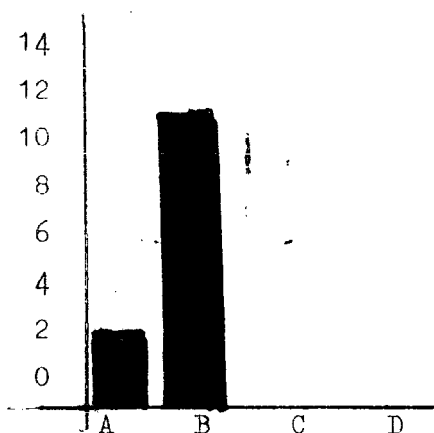
B = reasonably well

C = not really well at all

D = not at all

Question 12, Fig. 30

How well do you feel other pupils get on with you in school?



A - D same categories as question 11

The information gained from this questionnaire indicates that the feelings of the group were more positive than those expressed from the answers to the School Climate Index and the School Organisation Index.

The reason why this is the case is not clear, but certain theories may be proposed which might help an explanation. It may be the case that the questions, and the way in which they were presented were more positive than in the other questionnaire. These questions may have allowed the pupils to provide information about themselves in such a way as to be more positive about themselves. A further aspect which may be relevant is that those pupils who were questioned were closer in touch with general feelings about the criteria of success which was prevalent throughout all the fifth years than Finlayson's questionnaires would allow them to be. It may also be the case that Finlayson's questionnaires emphasised negative factors about school by the style and selection of the questions, a factor which amongst those who were generally negative anyway would not allow for their more positive aspects about school to be shown clearly.

The group confirmed the findings of the whole system that to be entered for external examinations in the fifth year was important, (as important from a personal credential point of view as a member of the fifth year as perhaps passing them was). To be seen to be not entered for any examination was regarded as a sure sign of failure and poor ability.

The question of entrance was also seen as important. In the target group the majority had been entered for one or two subjects, but one girl who was highly regarded by the rest because of this, had been entered for seven subjects (her entire option subject choice was included in that list). With regard to exams they had been entered for, all the pupils expected to do well. The criteria of doing well varied according to the grade they felt that that constituted. Many, in discussions afterwards showed they were aware that grade 4 C.S.E. was taken as average at that subject across the whole country. To attain that was something, which in the light of their experience of school, they felt to be an important personal achievement.

In this questionnaire some of the questions can be regarded as being independent of each other but as with the analysis of Finlayson's tests earlier others are clearly inter-related. An example of this are those questions related to employment and its relation to schooling, (figs. 25 - 27). The survey showed that the majority of pupils had at least a feeling of being successful in relation to where they were going and the majority felt that this success could be related directly to school. What was perhaps of greater interest and surprise was the fact that the majority of them expected on leaving school to be employed. The question was posed as to their feelings with regard to this when they had entered secondary education, (September, 1980), a time when the unemployment level in the district was considerably less than currently and before British Steel had closed one of its major works in the town with a loss of some four thousand jobs.

Lastly from this questionnaire it is important to point out the information which was gained from questions 11 and 12 (figs. 29 - 30), related to their relations with other pupils in the school. Particularly from the question related to their feelings as to how others got on with them very positive answers were received. Similarly the large majority of the group felt that they got on with other pupils outside the group and although no sociometric analysis was undertaken the group could easily identify with friends from outside the group and pupils who often had been in the sets that had operated in years one to three; a factor which suggests that most friends were of a longer term nature than the structure of fourth and fifth year classes and that they had managed to survive the division which occurred at the end of the third year.

Other factors which might help account for this situation is the organisation of the school itself which tends not to produce rigid class teaching groups but which through its option system and a policy of not having specific programmes for the less able which identify them as separate or different from other pupils.

PHASE 3 : The follow up to the questionnaire

a) Aims and Methodology

Through the answers which were given to the questions asked in phases one and two of this study it became possible to identify a facility among the group by which they were able to separate the problems which were created by the organisational procedures of the school, from those which were created by their teachers. The evidence further indicated that the group felt that not all teachers could be placed in the same category in this respect.

As far as the organisation of the school was concerned the pupils indicated that there were certain features of their life in school over which they had no control. These included such items as the composition of the rules of the school, the organisation of where they sat in class and what work they were expected to do, wearing school uniform and the organisation of the school socials and assemblies. As far as some of these items were concerned the pupils indicated that these were areas where they expected to have little or no control.

The same however, was not the case in connection with their personal relationships with members of staff. Here there were indications of an expectation to be able to have some direct control over how these developed. Yet the evidence indicated that they felt that this may not always be the case. In some instances the pupils associated some of the teachers in the school as causes of their problems. Other teachers they identified however with attempting to help them and showing them a degree of sympathy and understanding.

With this evidence in mind the third phase of this study was undertaken with the target group in order to examine these feelings. This was conducted by asking those involved to identify what they regarded as being the characteristics of the 'ideal' school and the 'ideal teacher'. By doing this it was hoped to elicit

information of the underlying feelings of the group with regard to their views about both of these. Further it was hoped that by doing this it would provide a greater understanding of what it was in the school system which caused problems to those pupils who took part.

b) Procedure

This part of the research was conducted by means of a 'brain storming' session to raise what the pupils saw as key issues. This was followed by discussions of aspects that emerged as being important.

c) Results

With regard to the idea of the 'ideal' teacher there was considerable agreement within the group as to the characteristics that would be displayed. The main characteristics which emerged were calmness, helpfulness, an ability to talk and get on with them, not being bad tempered, someone who did not moan, a person with whom they could 'have a laugh', ('having a laugh' was defined as someone who would not be serious all the time, someone who would not be oppressive from a disciplinary or working point of view and someone who could help stimulate their interests). Further characteristics which were outlined included picking on people, someone who would not help just the most able in teaching groups but the least able as well and particularly important to them someone whom they felt would not go into the staff room and talk about them so that other members of staff would think badly of them. This latter point was particularly emphasised by many members of the group who felt this had been a constant problem to them throughout the school. A factor which suggests that the pupils feel that they have an image, or reputation amongst the teachers in the school which is passed on from teacher to teacher, rather than being based on any personal relationship with a teacher that they have had much chance of influencing. A further problem which they felt existed in relation to this was that

they were 'damned for ever' once they had done something wrong and never allowed to forget it. Many in the group spoke of circumstances where incidents which had been brought up and referred to by teachers long after they had happened and been dealt with.

From the discussion that took place the group felt that three different types of teachers could be distinguished from their experience. Firstly there were the good teachers, those who generally displayed or attempted to display the characteristics outlined above. Then there were at the opposite end of the continuum, those teachers whom they regarded as poor in that they did not display the characteristics outlined and who seemingly did not care about them. The word caring in this context was given great emphasis by the group. The third group were those teachers who fell into neither of those categories, teachers who were not regarded as all in the same light but who fitted into the continuum at some place along it between the two extremes depending on the relationship between the individuals in question. The question of the same teachers fitting into the extreme categories of good and bad for every member of the group was raised. It was very clear that individual relationships would also vary the position of these teachers on the continuum. It was further agreed, however, that no one could envisage a teacher who one member of the group saw as being a good teacher, would be seen by another member of the group as a bad one. The variations in views came between either good to nebulous or bad to nebulous.

It would have been very useful if it had been possible to follow up this part of the investigation with some research on the individual teachers in the school. The ideal would have been to use the constructs of the ideal teacher to identify which constructs the members of the group associated with individual teachers. However, for professional reasons this could not be undertaken.

As far as the 'ideal' school was concerned the group saw little need to change radically the basic programme; one or two wanted to alter compulsory elements of the timetable to optional subjects and either spend less time doing them or none at all, (Maths was a particular example here), but in general the views were over minor changes according to personal whims and interests, more P.E. was mooted by some, a longer dinner hour so that getting home and back to school again was easier, and no careers lessons were other aspects mentioned. One pupil commented on Careers lessons that it did seem odd that so much emphasis was being put on getting a job on leaving school when there were so few jobs to be found and further training or Y.T.S. were the likely alternatives for most school leavers. This was a comment which accurately reflected the school employment statistics of 1982 and 1983 which showed that 18.6% of the school leavers in the town for 1982 found full time employment; a figure that fell to only 8.6% in 1983 (see fig. 31).

Fig. 31

Destination of school leavers 1981/82, 1982/83

	1981/82	1982/83
Employment	18.6%	8.6%
Full time education	39.3%	43.2%
Y.T.S.	33.3%	42.1%
Others	8.8%	6.1%

It was perhaps this aspect that made the pupils feel most of all that some of the things which they were expected to do in school had little value and that some of the aspects of the school curriculum was artificial and unreal compared with the world they knew outside. An artificiality which was expressed in the need to wear school uniform. The ideal school would have no uniform. The uniform it was said, associates us with school and we don't want to be associated with it.

Other important factors emerged with regard to the ideal school. Many, the over-riding majority of the group, felt that they had had little chance of making progress since they came in the first year and much of the work they had done in some subjects had been repetitive and that the system of schooling which existed with its emphasis on writing and spelling well in particular, had been an immense problem which they could not get over. As a consequence they felt they had been labelled and separated from many other pupils. The ideal school would concentrate less on those aspects, but as one said 'that's not like real life is it'.

It was perhaps this aspect which led to the clear feeling expressed by many that the pattern which existed in their school would be one which existed in any other school. Whatever school they went to they felt the rules would be similar. The system they said, was not able to be changed by them. They had no control over it. 'Even' it was said rather sadly 'if the rules were changed more to suit us we would still break them - we can't help it'.

(A) CONCLUSIONS

This investigation was undertaken firstly to examine the process of education and problems relating to this for the pupil. The central features of the process of education to be investigated were determined as the curriculum provision and the organisational pattern of the school.

Secondly a small scale study was undertaken to investigate the feelings of a group of academically less successful pupils in a comprehensive school in relation to the features described above.

These conclusions and recommendations will reflect both of these aspects.

In relation to the first feature outlined above, the evidence from the literature survey conducted by this author suggests strongly the following conclusions.

(i) Section A

The evidence analysed in this section indicated that despite a wide discrepancy in relation to the aims of education (p. 10 - 12) there are two main models of the curriculum evident in the school (p. 14) Of these two main models available to the school, the evidence (p. 14 - 15, p.26 - 28) indicated that the traditional model is the one which is most used and has the greatest status in the school. Despite this the evidence, (p.27 - 28) suggested that for some pupils this model may be unsuitable and inappropriate.

(ii) Section B

The evidence examined in this section indicated that the school, although it has a formal structure (p.33) cannot be defined as a formal bureaucracy (p.34). Despite this however, the evidence indicated that the school exhibited certain characteristics to be found in a bureaucracy. The most important characteristics the evidence indicated are its hierarchical structure (p.34 - 37) and its institutional influences (p.37 - 41). An examination of the overall evidence relating to the formal structure of the school, (p.40 - 43) indicated that this may cause problems for some of the pupils there.

iii) Section C

The third section confirmed that the evidence outlined in sections A and B will cause problems for a certain proportion of the pupils in the school. The evidence suggested that two groups of pupils are more likely to be susceptible to this; the academically less able and the less committed pupils. This section also indicated that five areas outlined for examination relating to the organisation of the school are possible sources of problems. These are :

- a) Examinations
- b) the organisation of teaching groups
- c) the pattern of authority and control
- d) the size of the school
- e) the equality of opportunity

iv) Section D

An examination of the evidence of the small scale survey undertaken as part of this investigation indicated that those pupils questioned attached considerable importance to four out of the five areas outlined in section C.

a) EXAMINATIONS

Considerable importance was attached to success in school in relation to examination success. This was indicated in both parts of the survey which was undertaken. The whole of the fifth year group who were questioned placed examinations first in importance in indicating success in the school (fig. 6 p.70) The target group also regarded examinations as an important indication of their success, (fig. 19 p.101)

Evidence relating to the pattern of curriculum provision in the school indicated that the group questioned had less problems in this area than the evidence of the literature survey (p27 - 28) indicated. The issues which were raised by the pupils in this area were two fold. They were firstly, problems relating to the selection of courses for their fourth and fifth year, (p.88) and secondly, changes which they would like to have made to the compulsory core curriculum, (p.111). In this latter category an examination of these, the desired changes, indicated that they were subjective rather than objective in character.

b) THE ORGANISATION OF TEACHING GROUPS

Phase one of this survey, (fig. 6, p.70) indicated that no one mentioned teaching group as an important measure of success. The emphasis given to examinations outlined above, however, is a crucial feature in this area also. Some of the target group were not taking many external examinations at the end of the fifth year which meant that they were often placed in non-examination groups. The feelings of the target group to the importance of examination entry can be gauged by the evidence of fig. 19 and fig. 22 (p. 101 and 102) which showed only one pupil indicating that examination entry was unimportant. The evidence presented in the case studies (p. 84 - 87) supports this view. The evidence examined indicated that the target group had problems with not only their teaching groups but also to the consequences of this and their social relationships with other pupils. The evidence indicates that this can be seen in relation to their form groups (p. 89) and in being asked to other group activities (p.89). The evidence presented in figs. 15 and 16, (p.81 and 82) indicated this feature also. The evidence, (p.89, p.94 - 95) also indicated that because of these feelings the group showed poor self esteem. Further, it indicated that they were aware of their position within the streaming pattern in the school. The evidence (p.95) also suggested that the group felt that they had been condemned not only as the least able but also as the least worthy members of the school.

(c) THE PATTERN OF AUTHORITY AND CONTROL

Evidence in connection with this feature of the process of the school indicated the pupils feelings that their experience of school tended to be teacher dominated. The evidence of the classroom situation, (p.91-92) indicated a strong element of social control. This was indicated to be likely in the evidence of the literature survey (p.87). In the small scale survey this evidence can be related to such features of control as the

seating arrangements, the siting of desks, the organisation of class work and the teaching method most commonly used with them (p.90 - 92).

The importance of good pupil/teacher relationships outlined in the literature search (p.49 - 52) was also indicated in the small scale survey (fig. 6 p. 70). The survey indicated that twenty nine per cent of the year group questioned felt this to be an important criteria relating to success in school. This was a sufficiently large percentage to place it third in the list of items mentioned. The target group also confirmed the importance of this feature, (fig. 24 p. 103).

The target group also indicated that they positioned staff in a continuum from good to bad. This was based on a grading by the pupils on issues such as the degree of sympathy and helpfulness that was shown to them. This evidence indicated that the pupils looked at their teachers in this way as individuals rather than collectively as outlined in some of the evidence presented in the literature search (see p. 95 and p.110).

d) THE SIZE OF THE SCHOOL

The evidence presented little indication of problems which could be related to the size of the school. The questionnaires used did not however, direct questions towards this area and no discussion or examination was possible.

e) THE EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

The conclusions outlined in the first three sections above leads this author to suggest that the target group did feel that they had less equality of opportunity than other pupils in the school. Some of the reasons for this can be seen outlined in the conclusions drawn in relation to their feelings towards their acceptability to others in their form groups and to being able to join in other social activities, (p. 89). Other reasons

can be related to their feelings about their relationships with the teachers, some of whom they indicated were not particularly supportive towards them (p.95-96 and p.110). A third area of evidence which indicated their feelings in this area can be related to the curriculum choice which was open to them. This is particularly obvious in the indications which they made concerning the teacher direction of curriculum choice they had experienced in the third year, (p.88).

An examination of the overall evidence presented in this investigation also led the author to the conclusion that those five areas which have been outlined can be split into two separate categories. The most important category, this examination indicates are the organisation of the teaching groups in the school, the equality of opportunity in the school and the emphasis given to success being related only to examination success. The two other areas concerned with the pattern of authority and control in the school and its size, the evidence indicates, (p.109 - 110) tend only to become critical to the pupil when those areas outlined in the first category become sources of frustration and failure to them. The conclusion can also be drawn from the evidence of the survey that the group of pupils felt that they were regarded as the least successful in school because they were judged there by those aspects of their performance which the school held in greatest esteem.

The survey further indicated that within the group which were questioned the girls were somewhat, although not significantly, more positive about their experiences of school than the boys.

Evidence from the target group also indicated that despite all the problems the process of schooling had given them there was a sense of reluctance and regret about leaving. This, the evidence indicated, was connected firstly with the school being a meeting place for them and their friends; leaving school would split this up. Secondly the evidence indicated that this feeling can be seen in relation to the groups apprehensions with regard to what their future might hold.

The evidence does uphold the position proposed in the introduction (p.8) that the school emphasises the importance of academic subjects and the process of examination as measures of success for pupils. This can be seen both in the literature survey and in the small scale study. Similarly the literature survey and the small scale investigation confirmed the position taken over the issue of social control as a major concern of the school, at the expense of personal development.

The literature survey confirmed that both of these features are highly regarded in the school and also outside it in determining which pupils are successful. The small scale survey indicated that the pupils had acknowledged this situation by the concern which they showed towards being entered for external examinations even though they were unlikely to receive high grade results. The groups acceptance of social control in the school was harder to ascertain certainly in contrast to those pupils described in the evidence (p.46 - 48). Those questioned in the small scale survey had shown themselves to be neither unpleasant nor generally disruptive during their five years at secondary school. How much of this was due to personality factors, their acceptance of the situation or a feeling of total 'depowerment' as indicated in the evidence (p.112) this survey was not able to indicate .

Despite their negative feelings towards the experience of school, indicated through the results of the questionnaires which the target group answered, the group were not as antagonistic towards it as the evidence of the literature search indicated to be likely. Although the group showed clear signs of the inappropriateness and unhelpfulness of some of the curricular programme which had been offered to them and also a degree of antagonism towards organisational features of the school again there was little to indicate from the answers which they gave as to why they were more easily able to accept the situation than other pupils indicated in the literature search.

FURTHER STUDIES

The evidence of this investigation indicates that further studies in this field might be undertaken. One such investigation might centre round why pupils in different schools facing the same problems in connection with the organisational features of the school and its curricular programme respond to them in different ways. Another would centre round an examination of the developing pattern of attitudes to be found amongst less academically successful pupils in relation to the process of schooling as they make their way through the secondary school.

(E) Appendices

- (i) The initial questionnaire given to all Vth year pupils
- (ii) The questionnaire developed from information received from pupils after the completion of the initial questionnaire.
- (iii) The School Climate Index (N.S.I.), Finlayson (1970)
- (iv) The School Organisational Index (A.S.I.), Finlayson et al (1970)

1. How successful do you feel you have been in school?
 - a. very successful
 - b. generally successful
 - c. fairly successful
 - d. not really successful
 - e. unsuccessful

2. What is success in school? (write as much as you need to describe what you mean)

SCHOOL CLIMATE INDEX

1. TEACHERS HERE BEHAVE AS THOUGH PEOPLE ARE MORE IMPORTANT THAN RULES

SA	A	U	D	SD

2. TEACHERS GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO UNDERSTAND PUPILS HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

3. TEACHERS TRY TO MAKE YOU FEEL GROWN UP

SA	A	U	D	SD

4. TEACHERS HERE ARE GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT PUPIL'S FEELINGS

SA	A	U	D	SD

5. TEACHERS GIVE YOU TOO LITTLE ENCOURAGEMENT HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

6. TEACHERS HERE GO OUT OF THEIR WAY TO HELP YOU

SA	A	U	D	SD

7. IF PUPILS HAVE DIFFICULTIES WITH THEIR WORK THE TEACHERS TAKE TIME TO HELP THEM

SA	A	U	D	SD

8. TEACHERS WILLINGLY GIVE PERMISSION FOR A PUPIL TO GO INTO A CLASSROOM OR WORKSHOP TO WORK IN HIS/HER SPARE TIME

SA	A	U	D	SD

9. TEACHERS ARE REALLY INTERESTED IN ALL WE DO HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

10. PUPILS WORK HERE ONLY BECAUSE THEY HAVE TO

SA	A	U	D	SD

11. IT IS ALWAYS THE SAME PEOPLE WHO ARE CHOSEN TO DO THE INTERESTING THINGS.

SA	A	U	D	SD

12. PUPILS FEEL THEY ARE WASTING THEIR TIME HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

13. EXPERIMENTS IN THE SCIENCE LABS NEVER SEEM TO COME OUT RIGHT

SA	A	U	D	SD

14. HAVING A GOOD TIME COMES FIRST WITH PUPILS HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

15. EVERYONE PREFERS THE EASY TEACHERS AND WOULD LIKE TO AVOID THE ONES WHO MAKE YOU WORK

SA	A	U	D	SD

16. A LOT OF TIME IS WASTED IN OUR CLASSES.

SA	A	U	D	SD

17. PUPILS HERE GO THROUGH THE MOTIONS OF WORKING, BUT THEY REALLY COULDN'T CARE LESS

SA	A	U	D	SD

18. THERE ARE TOO MANY RULES TO STOP YOU HAVING FUN AT BREAKS

SA	A	U	D	SD

19. THERE IS NO CHANCE OF GETTING A SCHOOL RULE HERE CHANGED, EVEN IF MOST OF THE PUPILS DISAGREE WITH IT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

20. TEACHERS SHOUT TOO MUCH

SA	A	U	D	SD

21. TEACHERS TREAT QUESTIONS THAT PUPILS ASK THEM IN CLASS AS
THOUGH THE PUPILS WERE CRITICISING THEM PERSONALLY

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

22. PUPILS ARE MADE TO TAKE THE BLAME FOR THINGS WHETHER THEY
HAVE DONE THEM OR NOT.

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

23. TEACHERS NEVER EXPLAIN TO YOU WHY THEY ASK YOU TO DO THINGS.

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

24. TEACHERS ARE ALWAYS MAKING YOU LINE UP FOR EVERYTHING HERE

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

25. TEACHERS SOON LOSE THEIR TEMPERS HERE

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

26. TEACHERS HERE DON'T LET US DO THINGS UNLESS THEY ARE PRESENT

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

27. WE ARE SORRY WHEN A TEACHER LEAVES HERE

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

28. EVERYONE HAS A LOT OF FUN AT THIS SCHOOL

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

29. PUPILS ARE PROUD TO WEAR THE SCHOOL UNIFORM

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

30. EVERYONE TRIES TO MAKE YOU FEEL AT HOME HERE

SA A U D SD

--	--	--	--	--

31. PUPILS DISLIKE BEING HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

32. PUPILS RIP OUT PAGES AND SCRIBBLE ON THEIR SCHOOL TEXT BOOKS

SA	A	U	D	SD

33. PUPILS THINK A LOT OF THIS SCHOOL

SA	A	U	D	SD

34. PUPILS FEEL VERY SATISFIED WITH THIS SCHOOL

SA	A	U	D	SD

SCHOOL ORGANISATION INDEX

THERE ARE MANY SIDES TO A SCHOOL, AND WHAT WE HAVE DONE IS TO COLLECT A NUMBER OF STATEMENTS ABOUT SOME OF THE THINGS THAT GO ON IN SCHOOLS. SOME WILL APPLY TO THIS SCHOOL, AND SOME NOT. AFTER READING EACH OF THE STATEMENTS CAREFULLY, WE WOULD LIKE YOU TO SAY TO WHAT EXTENT YOU THINK THAT EACH OF THE STATEMENTS IS TRUE FOR YOUR SCHOOL. IN DECIDING THIS, TAKE NO ACCOUNT OF WHETHER THIS IS GOOD OR BAD. ALL WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW IS WHETHER THE STATEMENT APPLIES TO THIS SCHOOL OR WHETHER IT DOESN'T. THERE ARE NO RIGHT OR WRONG ANSWERS.

FILL IN THE BOXES PROVIDED ACCORDING TO WHAT YOU FEEL.

IF YOU STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT AS A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR SCHOOL, PUT A TICK IN THE BOX MARKED 'SA'.

IF YOU AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT AS A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR SCHOOL, PUT A TICK IN THE BOX MARKED 'A'.

IF YOU ARE UNCERTAIN WHETHER THE STATEMENT IS A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR SCHOOL, PUT A TICK IN THE BOX MARKED 'U'.

IF YOU DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT AS A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR SCHOOL PUT A TICK IN THE BOX MARKED 'D'.

IF YOU STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH THE STATEMENT AS A DESCRIPTION OF WHAT GOES ON IN YOUR SCHOOL, PUT A TICK IN THE BOX MARKED 'SD'.

MAKE CERTAIN YOU PUT A TICK AGAINST EACH STATEMENT, BUT DO NOT PUT MORE THAN ONE TICK IN EACH SET OF FIVE BOXES.

1. A CROWD OF PUPILS HERE NEVER WANT TO COME TO SCHOOL SOCIALS

SA	A	U	D	SD
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. PUPILS RUN SOME THINGS IN THIS SCHOOL THEMSELVES, WITHOUT TEACHERS INTERFERING.

SA	A	U	D	SD
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. YOU CAN MAKE YOUR OWN CHOICE OF OPTIONS HERE WITHOUT ANYONE INTERFERING.

SA	A	U	D	SD
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

4. WE NEVER GET A CHANCE TO MAKE OUR VIEWS KNOWN IN HOUSE OR SCHOOL MEETINGS.

SA	A	U	D	SD

5. WE ARE GIVEN A LOT OF CHOICE ABOUT THINGS HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

6. PUPILS HERE WILLINGLY DISCUSS THEIR CHOICE OF CAREERS WITH TEACHERS

SA	A	U	D	SD

7. PUPILS READILY GO TO TEACHERS FOR ADVICE ABOUT CHOICES THEY NEED TO MAKE AT SCHOOL.

SA	A	U	D	SD

8. ONCE A PUPIL HAS BEEN GIVEN A RESPONSIBLE JOB HERE, THE TEACHERS LET HIM GET ON WITH IT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

9. PREFECTS NEVER HANDLE ANY DIFFICULTIES THEMSELVES HERE, BUT ALWAYS CALL IN THE STAFF.

SA	A	U	D	SD

10. PUPILS HERE HAVE NO SAY IN WHAT GOES ON IN ASSEMBLY

SA	A	U	D	SD

11. OTHER PUPILS MAKE FUN OF YOU IF YOU SPEAK NICELY HERE

SA	A	U	D	SD

12. IF YOU BELONG TO A SCHOOL CLUB, YOU GET SOME SAY IN WHAT ACTIVITIES GO ON IN IT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

13. THERE ARE PLENTY OF SCHOOL SOCIETIES TO CHOOSE FROM

SA	A	U	D	SD

14. PUPILS HAVE A LOT TO DO WITH PLANNING SCHOOL SOCIALS

SA	A	U	D	SD

15. IF THERE ARE SEVERAL ACTIVITIES GOING ON AS PART OF A LESSON, YOU CAN CHOOSE WHICH ONE YOU WILL TAKE PART IN

SA	A	U	D	SD

16. IF YOU HAVE MADE A MISTAKE IN CHOOSING A CERTAIN SUBJECT AS AN OPTION IT IS DIFFICULT TO CHANGE IT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

17. THERE IS NOTHING TO DO AT BREAKS AND LUNCHTIMES HERE EXCEPT WALK OR PLAY IN THE YARD.

SA	A	U	D	SD

18. RULES AT THIS SCHOOL ARE ALL MADE BY THE STAFF: EVEN SENIOR PUPILS HAVE NO SAY IN THEM.

SA	A	U	D	SD

19. EVERYONE HERE STANDS A GOOD CHANCE OF BEING PICKED TO REPRESENT THE SCHOOL AT SOMETHING.

SA	A	U	D	SD

20. YOU MIX WITH OTHER FORMS AND YEARS IN SCHOOL CLUBS

SA	A	U	D	SD

21. TEACHERS DON'T THINK WE WORK PROPERLY UNLESS THEY HAVE THEIR EYES ON US

SA	A	U	D	SD

22. TEACHERS LIKE US TO HELP ONE ANOTHER WITH OUR WORK

SA	A	U	D	SD

23. TEACHERS GIVE YOU PLENTY OF CHANCE IN CLASS TO FOLLOW UP YOUR OWN SPECIAL INTERESTS IN A SUBJECT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

24. TEACHERS GIVE YOU PLENTY OF CHANCE IN LESSONS TO FIND THINGS OUT FOR YOURSELF.

SA	A	U	D	SD

25. TEACHERS HERE MAKE EVERYBODY DO A PIECE OF WORK IN THE SAME WAY

SA	A	U	D	SD

26. TEACHERS DON'T GIVE YOU ANY CHANCE TO FIND OUT WHAT WORK MOST OF THE OTHER PUPILS IN THE CLASS ARE DOING.

SA	A	U	D	SD

27. IF WE ARE STUCK FOR FACTS IN OUR WORK, TEACHERS ENCOURAGE US TO GO OUT OF CLASS TO THE LIBRARY TO LOOK THEM UP.

SA	A	U	D	SD

28. TEACHERS HERE MAKE PUPILS WHO ARE NOT IN SCHOOL UNIFORM FEEL AWKWARD IN FRONT OF THE CLASS.

SA	A	U	D	SD

29. TEACHERS HAVE FIXED IDEAS ABOUT THE WAY PUPILS SHOULD DRESS.

SA	A	U	D	SD

30. TEACHERS LET US REARRANGE THE DESKS IN CLASSROOMS IF IT IS MORE CONVENIENT FOR THE WORK WE ARE DOING.

SA	A	U	D	SD

31. TEACHERS ARE AFRAID TO ADMIT MAKING A MISTAKE

SA	A	U	D	SD

32. TEACHERS KEEP ON AT US ABOUT THE WAY WE SPEAK

SA	A	U	D	SD

33. YOU NEVER GET A CHANCE TO CHANGE YOUR PLACE IN THE CLASSROOM UNLESS THE TEACHER TELLS YOU TO.

SA	A	U	D	SD

34. TEACHERS MAKE A LOT OF RULES ABOUT THE WAY THE WORK HAS TO BE SET OUT.

SA	A	U	D	SD

35. TEACHERS KEEP ON AT US IN CLASS ABOUT STANDARDS OF BEHAVIOUR AND GOOD MANNERS.

SA	A	U	D	SD

36. TEACHERS LET YOU SIT NEXT TO YOUR FRIENDS IN CLASS

SA	A	U	D	SD

SUCCESS AT SCHOOL. SURVEY BASED ON CONSTRUCTS MADE FROM PREVIOUS RESEARCH

1. HAVE YOU BEEN ENTERED FOR ANY EXAMS NEXT TERM? YES NO
2. HOW IMPORTANT IS BEING ENTERED TO YOU?
 - A. VERY IMPORTANT _____
 - B. QUITE IMPORTANT _____
 - C. NOT REALLY IMPORTANT _____
 - D. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL _____
3. HOW WELL DO YOU FEEL YOU WILL DO IN THE EXAMINATIONS YOU HAVE BEEN ENTERED FOR?
 - A. VERY WELL _____
 - B. QUITE WELL _____
 - C. POORLY _____
 - D. NOT WELL AT ALL _____
4. WHAT GRADE DO YOU EXPECT TO GET FOR THE SUBJECTS FOR WHICH YOU HAVE BEEN ENTERED?

SUBJECT	GRADE		C.S.E.					
	'O' LEVEL A-C	'O' LEVEL D-E	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	U.

5. HOW MUCH OF THE WORK THAT YOU HAVE COMPLETED AT SCHOOL HAVE YOU UNDERSTOOD?
 (This is not just in English or any one subject but in all subjects that you do in school)
 - a. A GREAT DEAL _____
 - b. A REASONABLE AMOUNT USUALLY _____
 - c. NOT MUCH USUALLY _____
 - d. VERY LITTLE _____

6. HOW WELL HAVE YOU GENERALLY GOT ON WITH THE TEACHERS AT SCHOOL?
- a. VERY WELL _____
- b. USUALLY QUITE WELL _____
- c. NOT WELL USUALLY _____
- d. NOT AT ALL _____
7. HOW MUCH OF WHAT YOU SET OUT TO ACHIEVE AT THIS SCHOOL HAVE YOU DONE?
- a. A GREAT DEAL OF THEM _____
- b. SOME OF THE THINGS _____
- c. VERY FEW OF THEM _____
- d. NONE _____
- e. I CAME WITH NO AMBITIONS IN THE
FIRST PLACE _____
8. HOW SUCCESSFUL HAVE YOU BEEN IN FINDING THE TYPE OF JOB OR
COURSE WHICH YOU WANT WHEN YOU LEAVE SCHOOL?
- a. VERY SUCCESSFUL; I GOT THE JOB/COURSE I WANTED _____
- b. FAIRLY SUCCESSFUL; I DIDN'T QUITE GET THE JOB/
COURSE I WANTED BUT WHAT I AM GOING TO DO IS
JUST AS GOOD _____
- c. NOT REALLY SUCCESSFUL; I HAVE GOT A JOB/
COURSE TO GO TO BUT DON'T REALLY WANT TO DO
THAT KIND OF THING _____
- d. NOT SUCCESSFUL AT ALL; I HAVE GOT NOTHING TO
DO WHEN I LEAVE SCHOOL _____
9. DID YOU EXPECT TO BE EMPLOYED WHEN YOU LEAVE SCHOOL?
- _____ YES
- _____ NO
10. HOW IMPORTANT HAS BEING AT SCHOOL BEEN IN GETTING YOU THE JOB/
COURSE YOU HAVE GOT ON LEAVING SCHOOL?
- a. VERY IMPORTANT _____
- b. QUITE IMPORTANT _____
- c. NOT REALLY IMPORTANT _____
- d. NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL _____

11. HOW WELL DO YOU GET ON WITH OTHER PUPILS IN SCHOOL?

- a. VERY WELL _____
- b. REASONABLY WELL _____
- c. NOT REALLY WELL AT ALL _____
- d. NOT AT ALL _____

12. HOW WELL DO YOU FEEL OTHER PUPILS GET ON WITH YOU IN SCHOOL?

- a. VERY WELL _____
- b. REASONABLY WELL _____
- c. NOT REALLY WELL _____
- d. NOT AT ALL _____

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