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R.O.S.L.A.

WISDOM OR FOLLY ?

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submitted by
Susan E. Bayliss.

for M.A. degree in the
Faculty of Social Science.
University of Durham,

May, 1974.

"A boy who had just left school was
asked by his former headmaster what
he thought of the new buildings.

'It could all be marble, sir,' he replied,
'but it would still be a bloody school.' "

Newsom Report, Part 1, P.2

H.M.S.O. 1963.

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Preface

Much of the sociology of education in this country has concentrated on demonstrating patterns of inequality in the British educational system. On the assumption that inequality does exist, my intention has been to investigate the quality of education available to those children whose choice it is to leave school at the earliest possible time. The problems of educating 'less able children' have become more apparent in recent years, particularly in view of the government measure to extend the compulsory minimum leaving age to 16 years.

My work within two Sunderland schools has taken the form of critical observation rather than evaluation. A great deal has been forecast about the effect of the Raising of the School Leaving Age. Because of its hypothetical nature the significance of what is predicted remains obscure. My interest has been in discovering the level of involvement 'less able' children have in their schools. I have attempted to highlight their real life interests and the problems likely to emerge following their compulsory retention in school for an extra year.

In preparing this thesis I have received help from a number of sources, in particular I should like to record my gratitude to the pupils, staff and headteachers of 'Cavendish' and 'Victoria' Comprehensive Schools, whose assistance was invaluable. My thanks are also due to the chief education officers of both Sunderland and County Durham education authorities, who were extremely co-operative in giving me the benefit of their knowledge and experience and providing me with information about resources and plans for Rosla.

I must express my thanks to my parents and to Dame Enid Russell-Smith for their practical support throughout the critical stages of writing up this investigation and to Paul and Anne for their help and encouragement in the latter stages. Also, my thanks are due to Mr. David Byrne formerly of the Department of Sociology and Social Administration for his helpful comments on the first draft.

Finally I am indebted to my supervisor Mr. W. Williamson of the Department of Sociology and Social Administration of the University of Durham, whose patience, encouragement and sense of humour have ensured the completion of this thesis. The impact of his advice and critical comments have been immeasurable, remaining weaknesses in the text are mine alone.

March, 1974.

Abstract

Much sociology of education in this country has examined the pattern of inequality which exists within British educational institutions. In this thesis I have investigated the quality of education available to the 'less able child', in the light of the raising of the school leaving age.

The 'less able child' or 'victim of Rosla' is regarded not only as intellectually disadvantaged but also as socially and culturally deprived. My study focussed on the North East, an area characterized by economic stagnation, where frequently issues which constitute only mild irritants elsewhere, can develop into severe problems.

The major themes of the thesis relate to the control and involvement of pupils in the latter stages of secondary education. I considered the apprehension of teachers to the extension of a compulsory system of education; a system based on control and dominated by the norm of selection. This is a significant feature in a rigidly stratified society which affords educational success only to the few and destines most pupils to the realm of relative failure.

Controlling pupils in school constituted the major anxiety for teachers anticipating Rosla. Even before Rosla, 'early leavers' were considered difficult to manage. Pupils' reactions varied from mild forms of 'playing up' to outright rebellion.

'Less able children' are obviously not involved in school. I attempted to determine where their interests lay and how they anticipated the adult world of work. Having considered the decision making process in relation to occupation and the life projects of the pupils it seemed likely to me that Rosla was destined for failure in spite of attempts to reform curricula and school organization.

My conclusion is that 'control' is a norm so deeprooted in the educational sphere that only a radical assault on the whole fabric of

Chapter One

Introduction

"The Victim of Rosla"

By the end of the school year 1972 to 73 nearly a quarter of a million young people in England and Wales will be required to remain in school for an extra year because of an act of parliament passed nearly 30 years ago. The decision to raise the school leaving age was taken in 1964, a policy provided for in clause 35 of the 1944 Education Act. An announcement by the Secretary of State for Education and Science, of an extra building grant, set the ball rolling.¹ This move was given a mixed reception ranging from unbounded enthusiasm on the part of educational theorists to grave doubts among many teachers and pupils.

Raising the school leaving age could be seen as an act of idealism, one means of securing a measure of equality in the British education system, all too frequently criticised for its elitist structure; but it does not end there. It has to be put into practical terms, not just of money, manpower and scarce resources but in terms of the involvement of both staff and pupils.

My interest in this policy arose from an investigation I had made into the effects of streaming in schools.² My attention had been particularly drawn to the less able children whose horizons in the present system seemed to be severely limited.³ It had become all too apparent from my early personal study into the internal organization of schools, that as low stream pupils became more aware of their lowly status and failure, as well as their reduced occupational opportunities, voluntary staying on became both irrelevant and unthinkable. To leave school was to escape from an alien culture and community.⁴ It was doubts about a policy of compulsion, in relation to these, the less able children, who were going to be most affected by Rosla, which prompted my

present inquiry. I was concerned that what appeared as a solution to educational theorists, was more than a little problematic to many people more integrally involved in the practical processes of teaching and learning. Attempts to extend the compulsory minimum leaving age had been going on for some time. Those who advocated compulsion had long fought a battle with those who asserted that only voluntary attendance at school was desirable during late adolescence. In the event, compulsion won the victory, but the real possibility ensued that many schools might find hardship in controlling let alone involving these often recalcitrant adolescents in the extra year.

Section 1 Who is the victim?

Initially it is important to build up a more detailed picture of the children under discussion. It is easy to speak in rather general terms about less fortunate or less able children usually found in the low streams of secondary schools and variously labelled as problem children, 'young tigers' and the like. It is necessary however, to narrow down this particular image.

Anyone involved in the job of teaching, or in the world of education as a whole, knows that the range of capabilities to be encountered among the pupils of even a single school is very wide. It is impossible to come to terms with the educational problems of any relatively deprived group in isolation from the social context of their deprivation. What is required is a description of the early leaver, the least successful pupil, to discover just who he is.

Hutchings and Bradley describe such children as the "less intelligent from culturally deprived homes and under achievers at school,"⁵ Such a thumb nail sketch, however, does not go far enough. in clarifying which pupils are being dealt with. The above description must be extended to cover attitudes, and some say even physical characteristics.⁶ Also requiring explanation is the belief that working class homes frequently provide both cultural and material

impoverishment, a belief all too often based on limited knowledge of linguistic retardation.

Attempts have been made to point out differences between pupils, in overt characteristics of all kinds. Often 'differences' in appearance are most obvious in the form of untidy or poor clothing, or so teachers, involved in the Schools Council investigation of the 'disadvantaged child', seemed to think⁷. The tendency and danger may however be for teacher, administrator and research student alike, actually to believe in a general label, which encompasses all types of problems both social and educational and lends credibility to a 'low ability stereotype'. Conclusions then may be drawn from minor overt characteristics which might have a bearing on a child's chances of success in the educational system.

One headmaster implies a correlation between low standards of personal hygiene and low ability children.

"Put a number of these children together and they smell,"⁸ he said.

The need for clothing grants and free school meals further draws attention to some children. Possibly too quickly, socially disadvantaged pupils, become to the teacher, synonymous with "problem children". Certainly teachers frequently draw attention to a minority of children who are difficult to integrate into school. It could be, however, that the teachers are playing a part in producing the problems by allowing stereotype labels to emerge which serve to separate the sheep from the goats. Often called 'problem children', it is a popularly held belief in the teaching profession that such pupils can disrupt a whole class. Unaware of any subconscious stereotyping, teachers turn very much to the home to look for the cause of retardation.⁹ School provision is considered adequate, in fact the assumption that it is as effective as possible, under the circumstances, is rarely questioned. Homes are branded with inadequacy and poverty is correlated with stupidity.

One view of a Birmingham 'A' stream teacher is an indication of the type of attitude of some teachers towards pupils of lesser ability, "the poorer the home, the more stupid the child".^{10.}

This correlation between material impoverishment and stupidity has been considered by a number of researchers. The Schools Council refers to a 'two nations' society where increased material prosperity of the country as a whole, throws into sharper relief the plight of those having no share in it. According to the Annual Reports of the Supplementary Benefits Committee, neither the extent of poverty nor its reflection in living conditions is widely appreciated. Although the majority of the less able children may not live in absolute poverty, even those homes not depressed by ill-health or lack of material provision often fail to provide any breadth of experience. As Coates and Silburn demonstrated in their study of St. Anns in Nottingham, the effects of relative poverty can be extremely far reaching.^{11.}

The background of the early leaver can be sketched with the aid of material researched for Crowther and used in the Newsom report. A third of these children live on housing estates which vary from the bright and modern to drab and ageing. Many others live in the old and overcrowded centre of a big city or industrial area where there are few amenities, (entertainments, community associations etc.,) and often a concentration of social problems. About a fifth come from rural and mining areas and less successful children tend to come from the larger families irrespective of class or social background.^{12.}

On the basis of information on father's occupation, from the Crowther survey, Newsom shows that five out of six of the less able children are likely to be children of manual workers, skilled or unskilled. Traditions within the home, often mean heavy domestic pressures on girls still at school and the taking of part-time jobs on the part of boys. Of relevance here is a report of the Sunderland

Rosla working party, sub committee dealing with problem pupils. Many of their findings reveal similarities to the Newsom descriptions. The survey conducted by means of a questionnaire covered sixteen secondary schools and 9,417 children. Only $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ of this number were considered extreme problems.

A taxonomy for problem children was seen by the teachers and committee to involve 3 facets:

- A - Family Environment
- B - Individual Development
- C - Resultant Behaviour

The equation developed, $C = f(A) \times f(B)$, makes no reference at all to the influence of the school as an organization which demands a particular kind of compliance. It follows that the teachers' responses generally assumed the school to have made little contribution to the emergence of such problem children.

The schools frequently devoted much of their attention to the question of family background, which tended to play a major part in their typology of problem pupils. On the whole, answers involved :

- (a) homes which were materially poor, often large families, disorganized, neglected.
 - (b) homes where control was unstable, parents weak, interest uncertain.
 - (c) homes where parents were wrong headed, unwilling to support the school.
- 13.

Some mention was made of certain individual problems involving parents, (prison, unemployment, alcoholism, emotional instability, illiteracy). One school mentioned parents who disliked their children to the extent of wanting to be rid of them, another mentioned the short term hedonism of some parents.

This belief in the inadequacy of homes rather than schools has been extended to imply the impoverishment of working class culture. It is widely accepted that intelligence is made up of a number of

factors, some of them inherent and others acquired by learning from the moment of birth. In the case of working class children, environment is often seen as impeding the chances of children expressing themselves, of acquiring new skills and of understanding the society in which they live. Many commentators, Douglas among them, show that differences brought about by environment are considerable, and greatly affect the differences in measured ability which appear between children of different classes, so that although there are indeed 'clever' children and 'backward' children - many psychologists would now hold that what these differences really reveal are the cumulative effects of impoverishment, (material and cultural poverty here being regarded as synonymous). This explanation is completely consistent with the beliefs of the founding fathers of the English education system, who discounted working class culture as all that was repugnant and wished to influence working class children, through teachers and education, to accept middle class culture and abhor their own.^{14.}

Figures produced by Douglas certainly provide cause for concern. He estimated that a third of working class children judged on ability at eight should have got a grammar school education and did not. Of the eleven year old children with an I.Q. of 110 - 114, 60% from upper middle class homes get to grammar school while 30% of the children from homes without books and material wealth are awarded a grammar school place.^{15.} Of more concern, however, is the way in which the restrictive effects of adverse environment are exacerbated by those people in a position to give positive help.

Since the publication of the ideas of Bernstein on language development and its influence on the development of academic potential it has been all too easy for teachers to latch on to fashionable ideas about linguistic deprivation. Theories are misinterpreted, and frequently use of the restricted code or rudimentary language pattern is viewed as an educational handicap

linked with the inadequacy of home, rather than as a different pattern of speech. The working class child is thus put at a disadvantage when he first comes to school and is confronted with its middle class culture, middle class teachers and their elaborate language pattern.^{16.}

It is often said that working class pupils are not interested in ideas, that they cannot handle abstractions, only being interested in people and concrete situations. This gulf, between those who have, and the many who have not sufficient command of words to be able to listen and discuss rationally, is recognized and complained about by teachers, little realising that their own attitudes and lack of understanding might have been at the root of these problems. It is not surprising that such socially maladroit children react with resentment in a school situation, against those other pupils and adults who are better able to organize themselves. Thus in defining the less able child from a teacher's point of view, one must include ideas about a lack of parental concern, where frequent use of accurate English with a rich vocabulary is uncommon. Teachers also stress the tendency among these children to quarrel, be destructive or malevolent - living in a welter of noise where he who shouts loudest survives.

The sources of social and educational handicap run very deep. Vaizey asserts that if the working class were dyed blue, the social isolation of large groups of working class children would be as visible as the social segregation of the present coloured minority.^{17.} This comes as no particular surprise, for according to Duane, every system of education in whatever country reflects in detail the "predominant values, assumptions and social relationships characteristic of its parent society."^{18.} The tendency of every education system is therefore to perpetuate the existing form of its parent society or rather the form of its parent society as it existed a generation or two previously. Characteristic of British society is a large pool of relatively unskilled labour and this pool is mirrored in the

microcosm of the school by a large group known variously as 'C' streamers, slow learners or less able children, in fact the group described above, which represents the 'goats' of the system.

In attempting to formulate my own research picture of the 'victim of Rosla', it has become increasingly apparent to me that the 'less able child' is more a stereotype than a reality. Thus we see that he or she is usually identified as being a working class pupil, socially and intellectually under-nourished not just stupid, but untidy, smelly even smaller and spottier. This picture is not so surprising: in a rigidly stratified society with a relatively inflexible occupational and status hierarchy, some children must leave school willing to take on the least rewarding jobs, if occupational and economic stability is to persist. As status is increasingly awarded to those with educational success so it could be said that the education system continues to ensure that differentials will be perpetuated with the waste products of the educational system performing the lowest jobs in the occupational hierarchy.

Thus a mirror image of the stratified society is likely to be reproduced inside school, embodying the same social relations and definition of people which exist outside school. It is as if society calls upon the schools to manufacture its lumpen proletariat.

The notion of 'who is the victim of Rosla', or the 'less able child', becomes in itself very problematic. It might be argued that a society which needs sewage plant workers also needs less able children. In this way the category of 'less able child' can be seen as a particularly insidious stereotype of a child whose educational failure might well have been manufactured in an educational system which for him is under-resourced, intellectually inadequate and coercive.

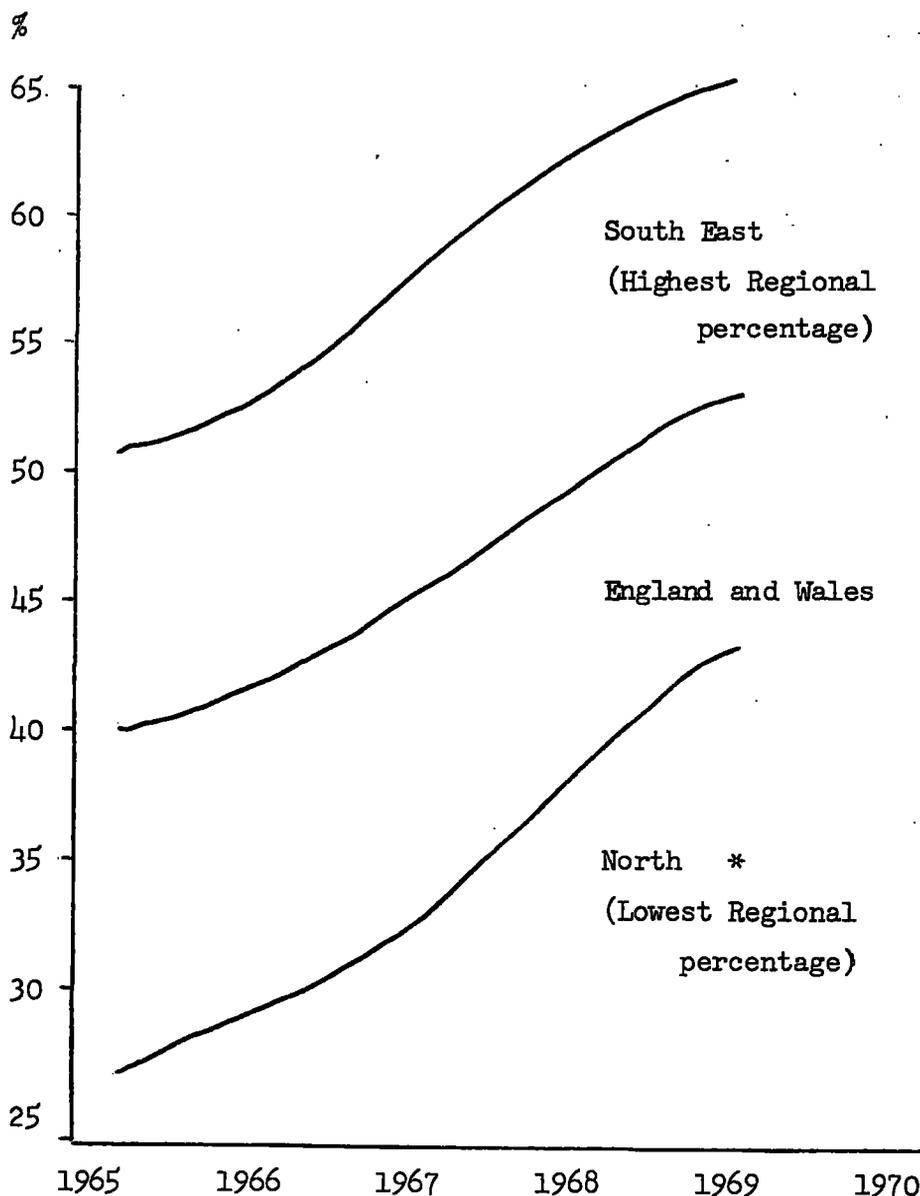
Section 2 Focus on the North East

Having spent a number of years in the North East of England, my decision to conduct a study into the education of those 'less able children' affected by the compulsory extension of schooling, in that area, specifically in Sunderland, was guided by a suspicion that, although Rosla presents problems in all areas, these problems might well be intensified in an area of relative economic stagnation.

The North Eastern region of England includes some of the smallest and poorest authorities in the country, a situation which is unlikely to be significantly changed after local government reorganization in 1974. Sunderland is fortunate in that the size of the school population is fairly static, unlike much of the North East where rehousing schemes and boundary changes have brought about a fluctuating population.

In relation to Rosla, original estimates of the number of extra pupils to be expected in 1972, proved to be an exaggeration. Between 1966 and 1970 the percentage of pupils, nationally, wishing to remain voluntarily in schools increased from 43.1% to 54.6%. In spite of high unemployment, however, the schools in Sunderland continued to attract only low proportions of students to stay on voluntarily after fifteen. As can be seen in Table 1 - the North has in fact the lowest regional percentage of those fifteen year old boys and girls staying on beyond the leaving age. The proportion would be even smaller, if figures for Cumberland and Westmorland were not included in the Northern region, for in those areas, staying on rates are higher. Rosla will, therefore, have a more pronounced effect in the North even only numerically speaking, than for instance in the South East.

Table 1 - 1 To demonstrate the relationship between region and
voluntary 'staying on' at school



* Includes Cumberland and Westmorland where staying on rates are higher.

Source D.E.S. T.E.S. 10/3/72

Percentage of 15 year old boys and girls staying on beyond the leaving age in maintained schools. 1965 - 1970.

As in other parts of the country, the voluntary rate is usually highest in the more prosperous areas e.g. Darlington, where in 1971 the rate was 57.3%. In contrast to this, at the lower end of the scale is Sunderland where only 45% of pupils stay on voluntarily after fifteen.¹⁹ Concomitant with the above is the low proportion of all leavers who finish school with neither G.C.E. or C.S.E. passes and have no incentive to pursue their studies in further education. This fact is illustrated in Table 1 - 2

Table 1 - 2

REGION	Entry into Full-Time Further Education %	Level of Attainment * %
East Midlands	19.4	52
Wales	24.8	51.3
North	18.9	50.7
Yorks/Humberside	19.8	49.8
West Midlands	18.8	48.8
North West	19.2	48.8
East Anglia	22.6	48.6
Greater London	19.1	38.0
South East	24.0	37.9
South West	25.6	37.5

* Percentage of all leavers with neither G.C.E. or C.S.E. passes of grade 5 or better.

To illustrate the relationship between region, levels of attainment and entry into full time further education 1969 - 70.

Source T.E.S. 10.3.72.

Unemployment among school leavers varies throughout the North Eastern region. In the new industrial estates around the new towns, jobs are still available, in the older, traditional areas, dominated by one or two industries such as mining or shipbuilding, they are few and far between e.g. in Sunderland there were 1,175 boys and girls 15 - 18 yrs old unemployed on April 10th 1972. With summer leavers this total was likely to be inflated still further.

It was on the basis of such evidence that I chose Sunderland as the place for more detailed investigations, on the assumption that the problems of Rosla would be seen there at their most severe.

In considering the regional problems associated with Rosla, it is essential not to lose sight of the ideology and processes which have led nationally to this present extension of compulsory education. This particular move finds its origins more than a century ago. It is the logical extension of a long tradition of attempts to provide for school attendance from as early as the Factory Acts.²⁰ By looking at the historical sequence, ideologies and subsequent justifications surrounding steps taken towards mass education, it may be possible to determine the development of a social policy pattern. It is this inter-relationship of the system of education with society and the social and economic determinants which implemented, and may continue to control 'education'. In this country, that must be taken into account when investigating the possible effect of the raising of the school leaving age.

In summary, this study focuses on the likely effect of the raising of the school leaving age on a group of children in two schools. The schools themselves are in an educationally deprived area of the country and the children examined are considered almost universally to be "less able" and to present difficult educational problems. In one sense therefore, this study is focussed on a very extreme context but a context which nevertheless, could be found to some degree in almost any local authority in England and Wales.

Chapter Two

The Dimensions of the Study

In summing up the introduction I mentioned the apparent narrowness of the investigation I have made. In this Chapter I intend to clarify both the dimensions and limitations of the present study before progressing to the theoretical bases or results of my research.

Section 1 Research Site

The empirical investigation I attempted was largely conducted in two purpose built comprehensive schools in Sunderland, and looks at the dealings of these schools with the "less able children".

I have already mentioned my reasons for choosing to conduct my research in Sunderland, it is now necessary to fill in the background of this town.^{21.} The County Borough of Sunderland lies on the north-east coast. It is a large industrial town, the commercial capital of County Durham and its largest town with a population of over 220,000. Coal mining and ship-building dominate Sunderland's industrial scene, although these traditional industries have been hard hit in recent times by retrenchment and rationalisation.

The general level of prosperity within the town is low. It has been described by a senior education officer as an 'artisan town'.^{22.} In recent years, with its traditional industries standing still if not declining, strenuous efforts have been made to diversify the types of industry offering employment in the town. While these demonstrably have achieved some success, this has not been enough to prevent serious unemployment in the town, particularly for young men and school leavers. In fact, unemployment stands at 8.7%, except for Hartlepool, the highest percentage in the North East.

This low level of prosperity is reflected in poor housing and living conditions particularly to be found in the East End of the town, though rehousing schemes are well under way. Although each school I studied had a distinctive immediate environment it would

be true to say that they draw their pupils from a town which has a lower proportion than average of people in the upper and middle income brackets.

Despite this relatively depressing picture, there has been a good deal of expansion in the realm of education. The policy of comprehensive education has been adopted by the authority and eight comprehensive schools are operative. To avoid accusations of having presented a distorted picture, unrepresentative of the schooling received by the majority of Sunderland school children, I decided against using a secondary modern school as one of the bases for my study. In such schools both resources and buildings were likely to be less adequate than the recently built comprehensive schools.

The two schools I did choose were among the largest in the authority both purpose-built and examples of the way in which the L.E.A. foresaw development. My decision to study only the two schools was a function of both accessibility and resources. Not only were there financial limitations but time also was a scarce commodity, there being only two terms available for actual involvement in schools. In an attempt to consolidate information obtained by means of questionnaires I made use of extensive observation; thus I felt it unwise to broaden the study at the expense of accuracy and depth.

The first school I studied, Cavendish is a ten form entry comprehensive school with pupils numbering nearly fifteen hundred and ranging in age from 11 - 18 years. The school population is one of immense variety, with a basic discrepancy existing between numbers of boys and girls on register, this becoming more noticeable after the IVth year when a much greater proportion of girls remain for VIth year courses. The simple explanation for this discrepancy is that the school still accepts sixty 'selected girls', a hangover from pre-comprehensive days. The school in fact, is only a recent development a combination of a girls' technical school, a mixed

modern and a girls' and boys' modern school. The opening of the comprehensive school had entailed the closure of the older neighbourhood schools. Cavendish therefore, built within a highly desirable middle class residential area, provided a radical change of environment for many of its pupils. The standing of the school in the community is quite high.

The same is true for Victoria School, an eight form entry, 11 - 18 year olds, equally mixed comprehensive school. Victoria however, is situated in a council estate and draws most of its pupils from this immediate locality. Both the schools are well endowed as regards buildings and recreational facilities. Although Victoria can be said to draw on predominantly working class homes for its pupils, Cavendish is probably presented with more acute problems of social mixing with many pupils from the 'rough East End' being brought to Cavendish and confronted with large numbers of selected, often middle class girls.

Both schools are subject to zoning and the contributory junior schools vary in character, but in keeping with the social economic make-up of the town, the majority of pupils come from working class homes. The actual respondents selected for the present study, in reality chose themselves by their decision to leave school at the earliest possible date. In Cavendish these children were to be found in a special band for early leavers, called the Newsom band. At Victoria because of the character of mixed ability grouping within the school, the respondents were drawn from three parallel bands. All respondents were in their fourth and last year at school varying in age at the time of the study from fourteen to fifteen years of age. The total number of respondents who filled in questionnaires and took part in discussions and interviews was one hundred and fifty.

Section 2 Research Methods

Because of the confined nature of the study, it was felt necessary to determine as wide a picture as possible by the use of a combination of research methods. The empirical data on which this account is largely based, was collected by questionnaires, essays, observation and interviews. The limits of the research site have also inevitably affected both the processing of data and the general validity of the findings. But as Moser points out in his analysis of Survey Methods in Social Investigation "Not every empirical research project requires the formal apparatus of the large scale survey. Sometimes it is more profitable to study intensively a handful of available cases rather than a representative sample; to use conversational rather than formal interviewing: not to aim at a set of statistics about a group so much as at a full description of each individual. There are many shades of survey approach and the researcher's art is to know which to use for his problem." 23.

Each of the above methods presented me with problems, and inevitably some elements of bias emerged. Although I have attempted to minimize the effects of the latter, it would be unrealistic to suggest that any conclusions can be unreservedly accepted. Their limitations are those imposed on them by the limits of the methods employed.

Initially, my role was that of observer, a role in which it is difficult at any time to sustain the concept of true value. One of the major problems was combining within the classroom the dual roles of active participant and detached observer. This problem was intensified by the anxiety of both schools to give me a clearly defined position with some teaching responsibility. The role which one is allocated clearly affects the ways in which both staff and pupils react to the researcher. Thus teachers viewed the student of sociology with suspicion but were immediately co-operative when

I accepted the opportunity to take over their classes for a number of lessons. Fortunately this decision was made halfway through the period of observation and allowed some 'before' and 'after' comparisons. Certainly I became aware that I was no longer identified as a threat but increasingly as an ally. The teachers obviously felt that a dose of their medicine, so to speak, would soon dispel academic idealism.

As an observer who gained a good deal of pupil confidence, it was always difficult to evaluate my own effect on the situation, particularly after I had taught a number of lessons. Pupils, like teachers, seemed anxious to pigeon hole the researcher. My problems were intensified by the tendency of teachers to glamourize my study to obtain co-operation. The danger of affective involvement also arose in relation to the pupils, as one came to recognize their problems and to understand and sympathise with many of their grievances. It became extremely difficult to organize systematically data relating to social relationships. I was constantly aware of the need to prevent distortion of observations by actively pin-pointing my biases.

I had hoped to play the part of a passive observer who is more of an outsider and being relatively anonymous is therefore allowed more detachment. However, particularly in the first school, teachers felt this kind of role would give me little insight into the problems of educating early leavers. I accepted my lot in the hope that my ability to observe would not be obliterated in the process of active involvement. Simultaneously I hope that my role has facilitated my understanding of the classroom situation and thus increased the validity and meaningfulness of my observations.

The questionnaires were administered towards the end of my periods of observation in both schools. Despite all precautions distortions are inevitable when using this particular tool of social research. It is unwise in fact to make the assumption that verbal

response in a questionnaire is indicative of behaviour. Many things can influence responses such as the lack of secrecy in replying or distrust or prejudice in relation to the person administering the questionnaires. Answers are often superficial, but although such sources can produce misleading data, the most obvious bases of distortion can be avoided at the planning stage. The worst ambiguities of wording and ordering of questions should have been ironed out early on. In the case of the questionnaire used in this survey, however, it did not become apparent until too late that one or two of the questions were beyond the understanding of many of the early leavers. The lengthy explanations required before answers could be given, in these cases introduced an element of bias which forced the abandonment of some data on the grounds that its validity was questionable. Such an action demonstrates the limitation of a questionnaire designed at a stage when knowledge of the pupils involved was minimal. I also realised that it was unsafe to assume knowledge on the part of respondents or in fact a willingness on their part to admit ignorance.

Thus, although the questionnaire has been important in obtaining much of my information on occupational choice and curriculum, I must admit to reservations about some of the evaluative questions. Their usefulness is that although subjective, they provide an indication of the value placed on certain aspects of school. They have little or no value as a measurement e.g. - two subjects with the same opinion may place themselves at different places on a scale because they form a different impression of the significance of the degrees of the scale.

These same reservations apply to the next method of investigation which I used. Essays written by the 'early leavers' are not of great advantage to a scientific analysis as they tend to be too subjective in nature. However, they are valuable like tapes when used in conjunction with other sources. Although the essays caused problems of selection and interpretation, they can be seen as

useful in revealing the pupils' experience of school. Some qualification is essential for not only is it difficult to verify whether the children have distorted the truth, it is also easy for the investigator to distort in the selection and interpretation process. Thus, for example, although issues surrounding school uniform are a major bone of contention for older pupils, it is unlikely that so much attention would have been drawn to it in essays, if a uniform inspection had not taken place that morning. With these reservations in mind, I have attempted to reveal a balanced picture of pupil attitudes through the use of essays but in particular in conjunction with interviews.

The aim in interviewing is often to achieve uniformity in the asking of questions and recording of answers, in an attempt to avoid possible conscious or unconscious bias on the part of both the interviewer or respondent. By the informal nature of the interviews I made, such uniformity was not possible, if desirable. Although there are dangers of over rapport in such interviews, having spent several weeks observing the pupils, I was anxious not to inhibit their spontaneous responses. This was particularly true at Cavendish where I had witnessed a number of interviews made by the Careers Advisory Service. Many pupils admitted after these that they had been nervous and anxious to make the right impression. The effect in fact was to present an uncharacteristic self which I was anxious to avoid in my interviews, whether or not in the process, some confusion of responses resulted. In my opinion the role of this informal interviewing is more flexible and although hard to compare, may provide a more valid picture of complex responses. It also lends itself to the small scale survey, being normally both slow and expensive.

The data obtained from the questionnaires was processed in the form of cross tabulations. It was not subject to statistical analysis largely because it was felt to be inappropriate for this survey in which the emphasis is on attitudes and involvement and

the demonstration of the atmosphere and choices pervading the education of less able children. The use of largely informal techniques of investigation necessitated an informal presentation of findings in a style softer than statistics. It was also felt that the numbers involved were too small to justify such analysis. They were small firstly because of lack of resources or time to spread the survey to other schools, and secondly because the researcher was entirely dependent on dealing with those pupils made available for observation by the heads and teaching staff. The research was frequently conducted in situations not suitable for rigorous scientific enquiry, in view of its absolute dependence on the co-operation of the schools, where occasionally visits were cancelled on the last minute and restrictions placed on relationships with students especially, and sometimes staff as well.

I am however, particularly conscious of the absence of any chi-square tests on the results from the questionnaire. Their omission was a policy decision taken on the grounds that I was dealing with whole populations rather than samples. My feelings were that they could throw very little light on my analysis and time would be better spent in the interpretation of data collected through other methods of investigation. I felt justified in my decision on the grounds that Social Research should be more than an inquiry merely garnished with a few statistical tables and a few technical words. I wanted to avoid the pitfall suggested by Michael Schofield which I think would have been applicable in the case of my data.

"This statistical sophistication has acquired a kind of glamour and some researchers have used refined methods of analysis on crude data which given the results a quite misleading appearance of precision." 24.

Having determined the limits of the present investigation, it is necessary to consider in the next Chapter the issues surrounding the Raising of the School Leaving Age. It presents a large number of problems which cannot be viewed in isolation from problems arising from the other years of secondary education, nor from the overall organization of schools and curricula. Also, as schools are institutions central to the functioning of our society their relationships with the economy cannot be ignored and should be coupled with their relationship with the class structure and distribution of political powers both in an historical and contemporary context.

Chapter Three

Policies of Compulsion

Historical and Contemporary Fears

Section 1 Policies of Compulsion

In discussing the extension of the compulsory minimum leaving age it is essential to have an understanding of what lies at the root of this policy of compulsion.

Until the end of the seventeenth century English education was organized in general in relation to a firm structure of inherited and destined status and condition. The apprenticeship system served the crafts and trades, the grammar and song schools the priesthood, while the chivalry system trained the future knights. The labouring poor were largely left out of account. Some form of mass education for the working classes first began to be provided at the beginning of the eighteenth century and throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Charity and Sunday Schools were the principal channels of education.

The principles on which policies of compulsory education were founded, have been laid fairly and squarely on to moral and humanitarian grounds, a kind of moral rescue of the poor, but equally so they can be seen as a means of securing social discipline. There is little doubt that a belief in the virtues of education in preventing lawlessness, in training the social rebel, was a powerful influence behind the Charity and Sunday School movement. According to Adam Smith writing in 1776, "The State derives no considerable advantage from the instruction of the common people. The more they are instructed the less likely they are to the delusions of enthusiasm and superstition which among ignorant nations frequently occasion the most dreadful disorders." ²⁵.

Perhaps more than anything two factors contributed to the setting up of a state system of education. Firstly the rise of an organized working class which demanded education, and secondly the

needs of an expanding and changing economy. Certainly whatever the motives for introducing compulsory education, there were obvious economic demands of an industrializing society, needing a labour force willing to tolerate the discipline and rigidity of large scale organization.

The year 1870 saw the introduction of the state system of education, although since 1830 there had been state aided voluntary schools and state supervision. Although the 1870 Education Act established the principle of state provision for education, it was nevertheless, very much a stop gap measure to make up for the deficiencies in the voluntary school set up, rather than to replace it.

For purposes of comparison, it is possible to see the establishment of an education system for the working classes as "one of the strongest of early Victorian obsessions". Certainly men like Mill, Carlyle, Ruskin and Arnold campaigned for education as a genuine response to the growth of democracy. Others regarded the 1870 Act as a protective measure fearing the consequences, if our "future masters" had not been educated to recognize their own inferiority. This whole idea of using education as a mechanism of social control is later discussed at length. A third group of people were characterized by men like Ashley who saw it as their duty to "morally rescue" the working classes. They propounded the need for moral and religious instruction, to allow any chance of improvement to the lower orders. It is this humanitarian ideal rather than any other more base motive which has become deified in the present system. The Church with its voluntary schools tended to agree in principle with a national education system, but, anxious not to lose its power, envisaged this system as viable only if it maintained "some exclusive ecclesiastical domination".^{26.}

Forster made use of economic necessity as his principal

argument for the provision of elementary education. However, the economic justification should not be viewed in isolation from the political fears and red herrings of nineteenth century England. Ignorant as the middle classes were of the society with which they lived side by side, they recognized in the working classes a threat to the security of property, position and the maintenance of public order.

Politically the society seemed extremely fragile, liable to collapse at any time, under pressure from extremist working class groups. A greater diffusion of knowledge in the form of a national system of education controlled by the upper orders was seen as a bulwark against post Chartist doctrines of Republicanism and Socialism, a control mechanism of society at large, in the hands of powerful elites.

In considering the emergence of a compulsory system of education, it is essential to realise that the scheme proposed was for the working classes only. The upper classes were to continue to be educated differently in their own public schools. The form which working class education was to take, was very much within the limits set by the existing social framework.

It can be demonstrated that religion and philanthropy were not alone in promoting education for the masses; they were joined by more utilitarian motives. Amongst these motives was fear, expressed frequently in parliamentary and contemporary discussions. Shipman maintains that,

"The debate over the desirability of extending education was between those who saw it as a threat to the docility and industry of the masses and those who saw it as a means to these ends." 27.

To isolate educational developments would therefore be to project a false picture. Industrialization and the movement into

towns that accompanied it demanded reforms of all kinds; if the revolution of the kind experienced in a number of European countries were to be avoided.²⁸ The government attempted to come to terms with public health and factory legislation, law reform, penal reform and electoral reform all in an effort to maintain a relative degree of equilibrium, in a radically changed society, where the new urban, industrial family was outside the close social control exerted in older village life.

Charity school ideologies were to be enshrined in the new system and echoed in religious rituals, as in Philip Doddridge's children's hymn of the eighteenth century,

"To those whom He hath cloath'd with power,

I should be subject every hour.

To parents and to rulers too,

Pay honour and obedience due"²⁹.

Humility and submission to superiors were to be cornerstones of the new institutions. This type of education offered therefore, only a limited amount of freedom and opportunity to the working classes. Education was conducted in a manner calculated not to raise aspirations above their station.

With the passing of the 1867 Reform Act and the enfranchisement of the urban working classes, the call for an education system for directly political purposes became even more strident and highly charged. To many, a necessary concomitant of the extension of voting power was education. Lowe was not alone in hoping to avoid the dominance of an unruly mob by educating them. He argued that the working class should be educated to appreciate and defer to the higher cultivation they would meet amongst the upper orders of a hierarchic society. The lower classes would then automatically recognize themselves as inferior and accept their subordinate position in society. To ensure such willing subordination by agreement rather than constraint, and make such

a societal image possible, the higher classes were to continue to be educated differently in their own schools. In this way, although political power had passed into the hands of the working class with the enfranchisement of the people, actual political power would be preserved by their former lords, through superior education and cultivation.

By teaching working class children to abhor their own origins and culture, their power would be neutralized and harnessed to economic labour as opposed to political activity, a form of social control in the face of any impetus for revolutionary change amongst the working class. Kay-Shuttleworth put this another way when he asserted that this system would teach the artisan "not only occupational skills but also the nature of his domestic and social relation, his position in society and the moral and religious duties appropriate to it".³¹

Accompanying reforming zeal for an education system for the masses, was a widespread belief in the inadequacy of working class culture. There existed amongst educational policy makers a severe disapproval of a total way of life where power was confirmed by physical means. This type of condemnation was consistent with the beliefs of a middle class which knew little of the lower orders. As a Times leader pointed out on September 2nd, 1851.

"only now and then, when some startling fact is brought before us do we entertain the suspicion that there is a society close to our own of which we are as completely ignorant as if it dwelt in another land and spoke a different language, with which we never conversed, which in fact we never saw." ³²

In view of such ignorance, it is not surprising that especially relevant to middle class thinking was the fact that indiscipline bred in the home and the community made it difficult for children to settle down to work industriously in mills and factories.

It was particularly in the area of the failings of the working class family that a direct link was made by educationalists and politicians, who diagnosed a political problem of instability and found an educational remedy, which substituted school teachers as a form of highly trained, highly motivated mercenary, in place of "inadequate parents". This measure has been relatively successful; it was after all, fairly easy to point the finger at popular culture which inevitably reflected the poverty and lack of power associated with working class daily life. It is also easy to extend such a belief, to the present day inadequacy of working class culture, as an environmental determinant of lack of success at school.

Thus it can be demonstrated that although motives in promoting education ranged from control to genuine concern for the advancement of the labouring masses, the links of education with fears about political instability are extremely strong. It is necessary to bear this in mind even when considering moral and financial justifications and considerations. In the case of the latter, these were certainly a major hurdle for reformers to overcome and it is these economic limitations and problems, which were as influential in the nineteenth century as they are at present, to which I now turn my attention.

Section 2 Economic Considerations

To 19th century reformers like Lord Shaftesbury, economic progress was seen merely as a bonus of the setting up of the state system of education. Mark Blang, however, claims that the concept of human investment, through education, has transformed the economic analysis of our society. Education is seen as a crucial type of investment for the exploitation of modern technology. This fact underlies recent economic growth and development in all major industrial societies. A connection between 'development' and education had already been recognized in the late eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries.

Built into the voluntary, charity school system was the belief that hard work brought about spiritual cleanliness (simultaneously it had the important side effect of increased productivity and industrial prosperity). The aims of many of the charity schools were explicitly geared to the manning of the growing industries - as Bishop Porteus declared in 1786, "that most desirable union of manual labour and spiritual instruction".³³ As an outcome of such beliefs, proverbs like 'the devil finds work for idle hands', were constantly repeated within schools, to secure an industrious and submissive attitude in the disciplined world of work.

Although education had been demonstrated as a potentially extremely valuable commodity, the Victorian belief in economy of government constantly stopped it from carrying out costly reforms until they could be seen to be entirely necessary. Unproved threats of revolution proved insufficient to stir the government, whereas, well disciplined, literate, Prussian soldiers proved conclusively the economic advantages of education, by demolishing the French, in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Education now appeared to be essential and Germany provided a model. Elementary education was seen as a basis for further practical instruction which would enable the workers to adapt to the changes necessitated by technical development. Thus financial misgivings relating to the cost of provision of state education were overcome and replaced by a limited degree of enthusiasm for a system apparently destined to increase prosperity.

Since the late nineteenth century a number of moves have been made to extend compulsory education. These, too, have been assessed according to their economic viability and have been characterized by financial squabbles. During the inter-war period, for example, the proposal to raise the school leaving age from

fourteen to fifteen, was supported at least in part, by the contention that a better educated working population was more likely to get Britain out of the economic depression. It was also argued at the time, that it was cheaper to pay unemployment benefit to some fourteen year olds, than to provide an extra year's schooling for all of them. Since 1947, however, it has been possible to relate increased educational provision in this country to technical and economic development.

In considering the economic implications of the present extension of compulsory education, it is necessary to take account of two aspects of what is usually termed, the economics of education. The first aspect deals with the impact of schooling on labour productivity, occupational mobility and the distribution of income i.e. the economic value of education. The second aspect is that dealing with the internal efficiency of schools and with the relations between the costs of education and methods of financing these costs.

In relation to the first category the links between education, manpower needs and economic development have repeatedly been proposed as a criterion for expansion and improvement in the national education system. In some countries, actual educational development plans have been formulated and implemented, dependent on the truth of this statement. The argument relating to educational investment is not solely confined to technical education expansion, it is also held that a general education is in many respects a pre-requisite for the achievement of certain skills. This is consistent with the idea that a 1st Class Honours degree in classics is qualification enough for any job.

In recent years this line of study and planning has been associated with the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. Their schemes were aimed at ascertaining which levels of education corresponded to, or were necessary for, the acquisition

of skills required by various sectors of the economy. This gives a basis for quantifying the educational needs of the economy and for expansion in the education system. By implication, if educational output is inadequate, skills in sufficient quantity or quality will not be forthcoming, thus causing a depression in productivity, output and economic growth rate.

Although this is only a simplified description of part of the "man-power planning" approach to educational planning and development, it is possible to level some criticism at it in the context of the imminent raising of the school leaving age. Rapid technological change means that the link between educational and occupational categories is by no means as fixed as manpower planning suggests. Some qualifications, e.g. an arts degree, may lead to many different types of occupations in industry and administration. On the other hand higher education in medical science is quite specific, and transfer to occupations other than doctor quite exceptional.

Further education is now revealing itself as an important means of technical training, it is certainly arguable that "as far as demand for skills is concerned, it is probably more important and certainly more flexible than an extra year of full time general education".³⁴ This is not a denial of the value of general education, rather a pointer to its probable, minor direct significance, in the case of fifteen year old leavers, for manpower needs.

It is difficult to deny the validity of attempts at manpower forecasting and educational planning, it is possible, however, that the knowledge available is insufficient to evaluate the precise effects of an extra year of general education, especially in view of opportunities available for part-time further education, apprenticeships and 'on-the-job' training.

It is true that there exists a positive correlation between

life-time earnings and education. But, as education is also positively correlated with wealth, social class and ability, such statements lose some of their validity. Unlike a completed secondary or higher education, an extra year of compulsory full time education does not lead in most cases to any distinctive qualification or degree, and its direct value for vocational purposes may not be significant. Thus the rate-of-return analysis of education does not provide a particularly reliable guide to policy in the case of the extra year, especially taken in the context of the low motivation of the large majority of these reluctant learners.

It is difficult to assess the cost of Rosla as its postponement from 1968 to 1972 complicated its position in relation to public expenditure. The bulk of the necessary capital expenditure was transferred from 1968 - 70 to 1971 - 73. In the context of the inflation of the economy, Rosla capital expenditure originally estimated at about £33 million per annum is now considerably more. Capital costs, however, are not everything: current expenditure with regard to the extra year is also going to be much higher than it would have been.

Hard to analyse are the indirect and secondary effects of the extra year, such as the extent to which pupils receiving this compulsory extension of education, deprive the economy of potential members of the labour force, thereby lowering national output. (It is worth noting that in the present economic and political climate, Rosla will give high unemployment figures a temporary breathing space.)

Another secondary effect, is the possible acceleration of the existing trend towards increased 'staying on' after the minimum leaving age. Repercussions here would be felt not only in the secondary sector, but would be reflected in greater demand for higher and further education.

It can be shown both historically and in a contemporary

context, that once a certain leaving age has been fixed the number of children staying on voluntarily beyond that age gradually increases. Weinberg believes this combination of terminal educational age with 'staying on' is a most significant educational variable. It certainly makes it possible to consider a further advance in the compulsory minimum leaving age. Yet, though, social and economic arguments justifying prolonging full time education have long been accepted, the provision of extended education for the masses has until recently always awaited a long delayed, process of legislation. The assumption within this rationale of legislation is that "whatever the case in favour of extension of schooling, the majority of pupils and parents could not be expected to respond to it voluntarily". 35.

Since 1948 there have been unprecedented changes in the degree of participation in educational decisions by parents and their children. Compulsion does not remain the only mechanism for retaining the young people in the school system; individual choice now plays a major role. In the middle 60's, pupils for upper forms were recruited for the first time from lowly secondary modern schools; grammar schools alone were unable to meet demands. In contrast with these large numbers of enthusiastic voluntary students, the fifteen year old leaver becomes further stigmatized - the failure of the system. Introduction of academic prospects to the secondary modern schools brought with them the seeds of conflict and probably intensified feelings of deprivation felt by low stream pupils.

It is through conflicts such as this, that the extent of doubts and fears about Rosla 1973 became apparent. Economic problems could be largely overcome by policy makers: more difficult to achieve is a genuine belief in the type and quality of education to be offered in the extra year.

In summary, it is clear, that no government especially in the contemporary economic situation is unlikely to make proposals which prejudice either economic or political stability.

Economic development is integrally bound up with educational investment, it is not easily measured in terms of capital outlay, or financial recoupment, as its effects are long term. Doubts however are being expressed about the level of the rate of return that will be felt from the extra school year. However it is not on economic grounds alone that the success of the extension of the school leaving age will be assessed, it is also a social issue and could have radical effects both within schools and for individuals who otherwise would have been 'forced' out of the system at the age of fifteen.

Section 3 Contemporary fears about the raising of the school leaving age.

Having considered the historical arguments surrounding the genesis of a compulsory education system, it is a short step to consider the arguments for Rosla in 1973.

The moral argument in favour of compulsion still has some force, but not in the crude form in which it appeared to nineteenth century writers. Economic and political arguments are still fairly generalized. Doubtful economic benefits and a more informed interest in current affairs, possibly leading to a more responsible use of the vote hardly seem specific enough to justify a major change in educational policy.

The proposed raising of the school leaving age to sixteen has called forth heated responses from all sides ever since it was first seriously discussed in 1944. Within the last few years large groups of people have expressed doubts as to the advisability of such a policy. These ranged from children, parents and teachers to local education authorities, employers and even Trade Unions. It was in fact, in the face of a formidable measure of criticism, that the

government, and what has been called a well-intentioned minority, persisted in the policy to extend compulsory schooling.

In spite of the decision having been made, opposition has not substantially subsided. Many of the above bodies have been vocal in their recognition of probable troubles ahead. The practical problems confronting head-teachers are fairly obvious; lying mainly in the fields of staffing, accommodation and courses. More specifically, they relate to lack of investment, poor conditions for work, large classes, high rates of absence and often rapid staff turnover, with large proportions of temporary, supply and probationary teachers. Although attempting to treat these problems separately it is essential to recognize that each has a bearing on the other. Lack of success in solving the problems in one field will reduce any success in other fields. It is important, too, to note here, that not all the problems particularly relate to the school. More loosely they can be termed problems of environment, including those associated with delinquency, unemployment and 'contact' with the social services.

A comment by Crowther reveals that it is not teachers alone who are aware of the above problems. He, as the arch-exponent of extended compulsory education, made his own reservations known in paragraph 167 of his report, where in speaking of school he questions whether "it is the right place for the ordinary boy or girl who is rising 16". He asks whether it "can provide for him, and not only for his abler brothers and sisters, a sufficiently progressive and demanding programme to feed his mind, hold his interest, develop his sense of responsibility and provide him with growing independence, including the opportunity to make and profit by mistakes". 36.

This type of doubt is at the bottom of many of the fears felt within schools; it revolves around the questionable value, for 'C' streamers, of an extra year of general education. Bearing this in

mind it is possible to narrow the problems down into a number of categories.

Firstly one must appreciate the actual size of the problem. Its dimensions stretch further than accommodation and equipment into areas such as staffing.

Certainly there is still doubt as to whether there are going to be sufficient places of the right kind, properly furnished and equipped, available for the extra pupils in 1973. Although the Department of Education and Science were very optimistic, in their circular No. 8/71, that building preparations were well in hand by March 1971, and that a successful transition would take place in 1973, the position has been further complicated by reorganization of secondary education on comprehensive lines. Although large allocations were made available for Rosla it was made clear that no extra money would be provided to meet the cost of re-organization. The L.E.A.'s were thus presented with two major tasks at once. Since they work within a limited educational budget it is more than likely that financial provision originally ear-marked for Rosla is being diverted to comprehensive re-organization. In fact it is known that only in a very small number of cases has the money been spent on secondary extensions specifically for the use of Rosla children.

Sunderland L.E.A. is probably typical in this respect, in that it intends merely to maintain what is called a "roof over heads" policy in relation to the extra children. In spite of its massive increase of school population after Rosla, it has no schools ear-marked for development, to provide suitable and properly equipped rooms for the less able children. The Deputy Director of Education of the town, emphasized that it was pursuing a long term strategy of better provision for all pupils in all its schools by re-organizing the secondary system of education which is at present a hotch potch of old and new. 37.

Four main schools, all with post war buildings have been chosen for massive development into comprehensives. All the Rosla allocation is being spent in this way. The two schools benefitting most from the expansion are two, four form entry grammar schools, which are to be made into ten form and eight form entry comprehensive schools respectively. In each case the schools will retain their sixth forms. The two former secondary modern schools are to be eleven to sixteen schools only. In some cases in accordance with the re-organization plans, small extensions e.g. laboratories are being built. These however are not ear-marked or necessarily suitable for the use of the less able children.

In fact, one of the major causes for concern throughout the country is that, although major allocations for Rosla have been made, little advantage for the teaching of the "Newsom" children, will be felt during the initial years of the change.

Even if buildings are adequate, it is questionable whether there is enough money for equipment, within the schools, to back up the £1 million spent by the Schools Council on curriculum development. It is doubtful, also, that Rosla children will receive the priority advocated for them by such bodies as the D.E.S. and the Newsom committee. One comprehensive school headmaster makes this clear, when he argues that,

"We are in danger of concentrating too many resources on a group that relatively speaking does not merit them. There are, in short, higher priorities." 38.

It would be naive to expect a headmaster of this opinion, to concentrate his limited resources on a course he considers non-viable.

Crucial to any discussion about the chances of success of Rosla is some consideration of staffing problems. Recruiting the extra number of teachers to cope with the expansion does not appear to have been creating any major difficulties, although it is not possible

to estimate reliably the size of teaching force needed in 1973. This is because "what is not known, and what cannot even be guessed at, is how many of what kind of teacher will be needed to cope with the particular pupils who will be caught by the extra year of school life".³⁹ With the new courses it is arguable, that the staffing ratio for these pupils will need to be more generous than at the present time.

Far from being purely recruitment of numbers, however, Rosla according to D.E.S. should involve the attraction of experienced and specialist teachers. Unfortunately there are certainly insufficient of these specialists trained in careers guidance and youth options to meet demands. It is also unlikely that they will be attracted to the North East of England where working conditions tend to be less favourable than in more prosperous regions.

Sunderland itself has a very high pupil-teacher ratio of 19.8. It compares unfavourably even with most of the other northern local education authorities.

Table 3 - 1 To illustrate Sunderland's unfavourably high pupils teacher ratio in relation to other North Eastern areas and the number of extra teachers recruited to maintain pupil/teacher ratios after Rosla.

Northern L.E.A.	Pupil/Teacher Ratio	Extra Teachers being recruited for Rosla
Durham	19.8	800
Northumberland	19.8	460
Sunderland	19.8	90
Darlington	19.3	209
Teeside	19.2	175
South Shields	18.9	47
Tynemouth	18.5	23
Newcastle	18.3	54
Hartlepool	17.8	-
Gateshead	16.7	-

Table 3 - 2

North Eastern pupil/teacher ratio in relation to other regions
of the country

Pupil/Teacher Ratio in maintained secondary schools		
Region	1970	1969
North	18.7	19.0
Yorks/Humberside	18.5	19.0
North West	18.2	18.3
Wales	18.2	18.3
E. Midlands	18.0	18.2
South West	18.0	18.2
W. Midlands	17.9	17.9
E. Anglia	17.7	17.8
S. East	17.5	17.8
Greater London	16.4	16.7
England & Wales	17.8	17.9

Table 3-1,2 illustrates this fact and also provide a guide to teacher recruitment for Rosla. In one Sunderland school which I visited, two teachers shared responsibility for over sixty children. Simultaneously, very small groups were to be found in the top examination streams. It almost seemed as if the school relied on a high degree of absenteeism to make staffing ratios more adequate.

The fact is that in many cases, teachers are disinclined to teach the least able children. The N.A.S. makes this quite clear in its pamphlet "Ready in Time".

"But to put it bluntly" it says, "not many existing teachers relish the teaching of B and C stream classes of 14-15 year olds. There are even fewer who look forward with any delight to the prospect of taking B and C stream classes of reluctant 15 - 16 yr olds" ⁴⁰.

This brings me to one of the major problems of Rosla, certainly as far as the teaching staff see it, that is the pupils' involvement. The question to be answered, is just why staff are disinclined to teach these students for an extra year of general education.

In many ways these children are considered to be very different from their fellow pupils. The 'Schools Council Report Young School Leavers' embellishes the stereotype of the 'problem child' as outlined in Chapter 1. It seeks to demonstrate that their attitudes to school and its objectives, their choice and evaluation of subjects and their acceptance of school behaviour are all significantly different from more willing learners. Certainly it asserts that the "less able child's" perception of the work and life of the school is likely in many cases to have made his experience of schools fundamentally different from that of the children who stay on voluntarily.

The bulk of the extra school population are commonly labelled 'Newsom children'. Mostly secondary modern pupils, there are a few

above average students 'capable' of Grammar School type examination work according to the National Association of Schoolmasters.

The rest range from a much larger group of average and below average children who have considerable difficulty in remembering and applying learning, to a fourth remedial group where pupils struggle to gain an elementary mastery of reading, writing and mathematics.^{41.}

The first group of extra pupils is adequately provided for in the present school organization. The purpose of their extra year will, it is believed, be apparent to them. In view of the impact of external examinations on secondary modern schools, they will be in a position to ensure some measure of academic success which in turn would probably offer higher job prospects. Disciplinary problems of this group are likely to be minimal, if students conform to the attitude to general discipline, of examination groups, at the present time.

The remainder, constitute the group which will be most difficult in the teachers eyes to cater for. It is a popularly held belief among teachers that these pupils see little relevance in exam., courses and that most are not capable of attempting them. On the other hand it could be argued that few have ever been given the chance to try them. As one comprehensive school headmaster spelt it out in an article about the "Waste of an Extra Year,"

"The great majority of fifteen year old leavers know their teachers pretty well and they are fully aware that most school curricula are such that there is nothing to be gained by staying on at school, unless they are likely to take examinations; they see through the flimsy challenge of C.S.E. Grade 5. They have passed the open staff room door too often not to have seen the staff tea cups being washed up by the fourth year early leavers."^{42.}

This tends to be looking at the situation from the pupil viewpoint. The teaching staff are all too aware of the kind of problems these pupils symbolize. A sizeable proportion are considered difficult in relation to school discipline. Often poor attenders; they fail to do homework regularly or conform to school standards or rules, such as the wearing of school uniform.

According to the N.A.S. Report, these are the children who will present the real hard core of resistance to another year of school life. Ten per cent of boys and seven per cent of girls are estimated as exceptionally difficult discipline problems.

Frightened teachers insist that the 'problems' associated with these children are not confined to actual school environment, nor are their numbers randomly distributed according to region.

This type of child is thickest on the ground they say in the North and Midlands and forms at least half the roll of schools in the worst areas.⁴³ In reality then, what appears as a relatively manageable % nationally, represents quite large numbers of "gum chewing, whistling, bored, bulky teenagers sitting on the back seats of their classroom taking little notice of their teacher, unable to concentrate for more than a few minutes at a time," in schools which are likely to be the oldest, least attractive, worst equipped and have greatest instability of staff.⁴⁴

The Newsom committee concedes the special difficulties a percentage of the Rosla children are likely to present in relation to school discipline. Although it would be dishonest to ignore present problems of control already apparent among 3rd and 4th year 'B' and 'C' streamers, it is obviously going to be compounded because of Rosla. It would be lacking in foresight to imagine that retaining any children involuntarily in school for another year will have no effect on their attitudes, behaviour and perhaps more important other children in the school.

Methods of control within schools vary. They need not be

rigidly authoritarian, maintained by physical sanctions. Often children behave in a disciplined way because of a personal relationship between pupil and staff based on mutual respect.

Ability to discipline has often been regarded as a major qualification in the teaching profession. Most teachers have an age and ability range of pupils with whom they can work most happily and successfully. Outside that threshold they might prove quite unsuccessful. Experience may widen the ability to control classes but whereas a good teacher working with adequate facilities can maintain good discipline without undue strain, the same teacher may well be unable to obtain the same standard when he is frustrated by unfavourable conditions.

Tales about blackboard jungles are perhaps exaggerations, but they certainly offer food for thought to those teachers involved in extended non-examination courses. The N.A.S., the most militant of the teacher's unions is probably a little nearer to the mark when it says :-

"It's easy for educational theorists to talk glibly from a safe distance of the benefits to the pupil of Rosla, but it will not be easy for the teachers who will be in the front line of the battle,"^{45.}

against what one teacher called the "Young Tigers".^{46.}

Battle and jungle image is intentionally used to describe their fears surrounding Rosla; far from being purely humorous it is a genuine likelihood in the minds of many teachers.

Closely related to and often at the root of discipline problems is absenteeism. Both Newsom and Crowther recognized the extent of this problem. Truancy tends to increase as the pupil grows older. Those of the lowest ability have the worst record, particularly girls. This is usually explained by the temptation to keep daughters at home to cover all sorts of domestic problems.

Absenteeism increases markedly in the 4th year and Educational Welfare Officers or attendance officers frequently admit to merely keeping the business within reasonable limits. The problems are endless, yet probably only the tip of the ice-berg is seen and dealt with. There can be little doubt that these problems will be accentuated if unwilling pupils are forced to remain in school until they are sixteen. Even in the most progressive comprehensive schools where voluntary staying on accounts for 70 - 80%, the rate of absenteeism among the duller pupils is high and is not insignificant among children of higher ability. Some Newsom figures in the following table reveal the extent of the trend with 'A' stream pupils having a better attendance record than 'B' and 'C' stream pupils.

Table 3 - 3

	A Stream		B Stream		C Stream	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Truancy	3%	5%	6%	7½%	15%	18%
Total Absence 3rd Yr.	1-2 wk	1-2 wk	1-2 wk	2 wk	2-3 wk	3 wk

Source Newsom Report H.M.S.O.

Truanting pupils have had enough of school and show their dissatisfaction with it by staying away. When they do come to school, their presence can upset a whole form and nullify the teacher's efforts. There appears to be a close link between truancy and juvenile delinquency and even according to the most optimistic forecasts it seems both will increase. It is also these children who are usually held responsible for vandalism within schools. Fears for the bright new glass palaces are very real.

If an increasing number of pupils are staying away from schools, it is clear that they are not involved in their work. Doubts about

the usefulness of new courses for the fifth year have led to much discussion about new curricula and teaching methods.

In the government circular 8/71 it is made clear that if old classroom attitudes and teaching methods cannot be changed in order to make the pupil a partner in his own education, then the reformers plans are doomed to failure. 47.

The major impediment to success in the extra year is the external examination system in which the learning of half the school population is not assessed. In the logic of both comprehensive education and extended education for all, the early alienation that follows exclusion from exams and the courses leading to them seems incongruous and inappropriate. It could be that the futility of exams for some children will lead to a reappraisal of secondary educational aims, eventually influencing the development of the whole system. It is not inconceivable that in the long run, a more fundamental solution for the schools, may lie in the deferment of all major selective arrangements until the tertiary education stage is reached.

At the moment, provision for the school leaver is all too often characterized by a confusion of aims, both vocational and academic. Increasingly traditional British ideas are being challenged to accept a technical bias in secondary education which is particularly acceptable to the pupils. Unfortunately there is a danger that teachers will feel themselves threatened because their beliefs and practices are called into question.

A basic conflict exists between staff and pupils. For a long time, pupils ideas of what they most want from education and headmasters and ideologists' ideas have been widely divergent. The former group tend to be dominated by a vocational rationale, while the latter group identifying with ideas of "learning for its own sake", almost denigrate useful knowledge.

New forms of examination are doing a lot to move towards freedom and expression in secondary education. Non-examination, extended courses, in fields such as the humanities have been formulated for children of lesser ability. How far these courses will be regarded by the pupils as legitimate areas of study remains to be seen. Under the shadow of compulsion, there have already been numerous murmurs regarding the practicality of courses which tend to extol the academic and abhor the vocational education. Unlike their contemporary counterparts who wish to stay on, many Rosla children see their chance of early advancement in practical experience or apprenticeship slipping away, while simultaneously no carrot of examination success entices them to better jobs.

Much depends on whether local education authorities will promote the development work suggested by the Schools Council and whether they will be sufficiently enlightened in their approach to experienced teachers to secure their support for the development courses. That is the only sure basis for the new curricula: it is no use depending solely on educational research.

Doubts about the extra year revolve to a large extent, around keeping pupils sufficiently interested in their courses not to disrupt the running of the rest of the school. It has been forcefully argued that even if the traditional restrictive atmosphere can be maintained up to fifteen years of age, any attempt to continue it for older age groups and to exclude pupils from decisions about their courses would be to court disaster. A review of the curriculum and attractive new buildings etc., will not reconcile these students to an additional year of compulsory education unless it meets their needs and retains their interest.

If there is no radical change in approach to these pupils it may well be that the imminent extension of the school leaving age may merely reinforce the educational prison - which may be little more than a "vast, formal, educational machine grinding into
48.
meaninglessness."

With plenty of opportunity for discussion and planning over Rosla, numerous possibilities for a revision and greater integration of curricula, and more flexible approaches to organization within schools have been brought under scrutiny. In considering the impact of Rosla, one must not be blinded to the contemporary problems of lack of communication and understanding within the classroom. Even the most progressive courses cannot overcome undetected barriers to interaction between teachers and pupils. If what is being aimed for is a coherent educational experience for all secondary pupils, it is little wonder that Rosla has thrown up a whole set of educational doubts not just about the future but also in relation to the status quo.

Policies of compulsion are thus being implemented against a background of qualified disapproval, poor resources and inadequate planning. For children who in any case find school problematical the prospect of staying on an extra year in conditions which, in some cases, threaten to be worse than they have been used to already, must be a bleak and frightening one.

Chapter Four

The Problem of Control

In the next few chapters I will be concerned basically with problems of social control and the nature of a young person's involvement both initially within school and ultimately in the world of work. The issues to which I have confined my study relate largely to those areas apparently surrounded by the severest doubts and fears. Initially, turning to the problem of control, I shall consider the roots of this problem and the methods teachers have used and are using to come to terms with it. Clearly children are controlled to a lesser or greater degree in schools, it is necessary to determine which sanctions prove the most effective and what other means to impose order on the pupils are at the disposal of staff.

As control is inextricably bound up with children's involvement in school, I shall then try to see why the less able children seem to be the least involved. Lack of interest in school, and achievement in the context of that particular social structure does seem to characterize this group: of significance then, are the areas in which their involvement obviously lies. Within which groups and activities is their satisfaction found? This analysis of the pupils ability to be involved in any activities leads to some consideration of the kind of life projects and life interests open to these students, and their relationship or lack of relationship with school pursuits.

School can be viewed largely as a prelude to one's working life. In the case of academically successful children it is possible to see how qualifications etc., achieved at school are instrumental in securing particular career opportunities. The link for less able children appears more tenuous. In trying to determine the sort of life chances that these children have, it is probable that a picture will emerge of the way in which a child's occupational imagery is built up. As well as looking at the pull

of the local labour market; the relative influences of family, peer group, social class, school and even the careers advisory service must be estimated. Included in such a discussion will be some consideration of regional limitations relating to such things as the employment market and mobility patterns.

It is often held that heredity and home environment are the major influences on life chances, but it may be that this kind of convenient explanation is in part a figment of the imagination. The school obviously influences a child's development, but rarely questioned is the assumption that this influence is for the good. Quality and extent of influence also goes unquestioned by those many people who feel that the school is a major rod of salvation. If the institution's effectiveness is queried at all, it is the pupils themselves who are blamed for any failure.

Increasingly, one can see more attention being drawn to curriculum change as a solution to problems of lack of interest particularly in the extended year. Many reports have been produced but the ideas they contain may not be congruent with the ideas of the pupils, nor may the resources be available to implement them. "Controls on behaviour operate for all statuses and at both informal and formal levels. They are built into the social structure like stabilizers on an ocean liner"⁴⁹. As I have suggested in Chapter III, Section 1, control is an historically significant concept in the development of the compulsory education system in England. Controls can range from the trivial to the severe, from the local to the societal. Schools provide the setting within which the actions and reactions of both pupils and teachers can be viewed through the rationale of control. Any discussions on education, whether of its purposes or justifications, demands an understanding of this problem, lack of consideration of it would be Utopian.

Frequently a teacher's ability to keep discipline is the criterion for both his emotional and professional status.

The indignity of a noisy, rebellious class is a black mark, remembered in the staffroom for much longer than poor academic results. There is little wonder, however, that problems of indiscipline arise. Even in a club, which people have joined voluntarily because of some common interest, there are often acute problems of social control. Such problems are likely to be much more acute in schools, to which recruitment is not voluntary. An intensification of such issues is likely to be one of the effects of Rosla. As one pupil at Cavendish put it, in an essay he wrote just before leaving school,

"When I leave school I will be very glad. They hask us to stop on for exams but if you do not learn enethink in the 10 year that you have been there you will not learn anithink in a nother year you stay there."

With such attitudes prevalent the schools face a hard test, in an area where problems have been "accentuated anyway by the accelerated rate of social change, which has made it even more difficult for the young to identify themselves with the values which it is the business of schools and colleges to transmit". 50.

Section 1 Why does the problem of control arise ?

Threat of disorder frequently brings forth use of social control mechanisms, yet initially the issue at question is not so much the means employed in achieving it, but just why the problem of control arises. This necessitates a look at organizational theory, applicable to schools as to many other institutions.

Etzioni claims that the central element of organizational structure is compliance. This characteristic is universal, existing in all social units and as such is a major element in the relationship between those who exercise power and those who are subject to it. Thus, any discussion of control within schools demands an awareness of the power basis that exists there.⁵¹

According to Goldhamer and Shils, "a person may be said to have power to the extent that he influences the behaviour of others in accordance with his own intentions".⁵² Intentions need not, however, be specific to an individual, they can be designed to influence a person to follow a collectivity. It is into this category that schools fall, where teachers promote and enforce the rules of the institution as part of their contract.

If a person holds power, he has the means at his disposal to manipulate those inferior in rank, through either reward or deprivation. In essence a power position implies the subjection of some other group to that power, so that, for instance, to state that teachers have a power position implies the subordination of pupils.

Etzioni perceives power to have three possible bases, it differs according to the means employed to make the subjects comply. Physical or co-ercive power rests on the application or threat of physical sanctions. These range from the infliction of pain or death, to the generation of frustration.

Material or remunerative power is based on control over material resources and rewards through the allocation of salaries, wages, fringe benefits, services etc., The third basis for power is symbolic or normative. It rests on the allocation and manipulation of symbolic rewards and deprivations such as prestige and acceptance into a group. In a sense the social type of normative power becomes organizational power only when the organization can influence the group's powers as "when a teacher

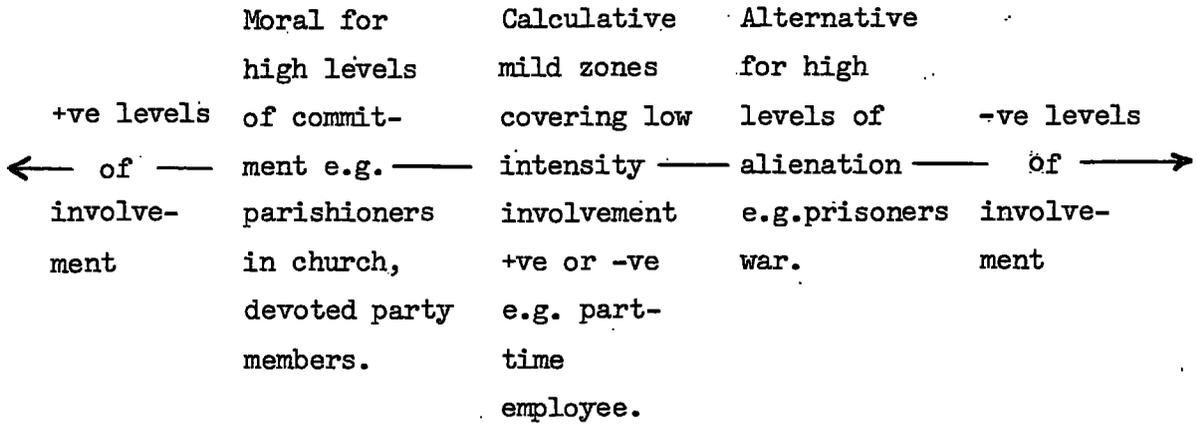
uses the class climate to control a deviant child".^{53.}

Most organizations employ all three kinds of power but the degree to which they rely on each differs from organization to organization. A school is not an organization like a prison in which coercion is the major form of social control, neither is it like an industry or business in which control is exercised predominantly by economic sanctions and rewards. Its *raison d'etre* is usually considered to be a transmission of what a community values, normative power here seems most appropriate. However, a school can approximate to a prison and the rat race in a society could distort the organization of a school to reflect it.

The major reason for power specialization seems to be that when two kinds of power are emphasized at the same time over the same subject group they tend to have a neutralizing effect. Applying force, for example, usually creates such a high degree of alienation that it becomes impossible to apply normative power successfully. By using corporal punishment on one occasion a teacher is likely to find little response to a moral appeal at a later time. This is why custodial measures are largely considered detrimental to therapy in mental hospitals and why teachers in progressive schools tend to oppose corporal punishment.

Response to the application of power may be positive or negative, one of commitment or alienation, dependent on the degree of power applied and its 'legitimacy' in the eye of the 'victim'. Etzioni evolved an imaginary 'involvement continuum' which demonstrates levels of response to the application of power. It also suggests examples of groups likely to make particular responses to the application of power. This 'involvement continuum' can be set out as follows

Involvement Continuum



Thus it can be seen that parishioners are likely to be wholly or morally committed to their church, their values are consistent with those of the leadership, therefore consensus is likely to be obtained by the application of normative power.

Ezioni combined the three types of power with the three kinds of involvement to produce a typology of compliance relations, which should prove useful in assessing why there is a problem of control, particularly amongst the "least able children" in schools.

"Although ideally speaking, children should come to school eager to be initiated into the mysteries of civilization, in fact many of them do not." 54.

In fact a majority of them are all too aware of the compulsory aspect of their presence, so much so that even the most inspiring teacher sometimes will come across pupils unwilling to submit to the discipline of the learning situation. Using Etzioni's model, it is possible to show how threats of disorder and lack of involvement within the classroom will elicit responses on the part of the teachers according to both the type of school and the relative position of the pupils in its hierarchy.

Within a Grammar School, for instance, the kind of sanctions applied are likely to be either normative or remunerative. 55.

This is because children in Grammar Schools are more frequently motivated to academic success, having received a modicum of this through eleven plus selection procedures. These pupils tend to be exam oriented. By withdrawal of free time and the right to proceed on to a particular examination course, the teacher is powerfully placed to limit the academic achievements and hence the occupational opportunities of his students. Good reports, bonus marks, quizzes etc., could also be viewed as fringe benefits which the teacher is in a position to allocate. The child's attitude is likely to be calculative, academic success is considered sufficient incentive to behave in the required manner.

In some cases, in Grammar Schools, particularly in the junior years normative power is also effectively manipulated. This, however, pre-supposes a high level of commitment or motivation. The task is basically to get the pupils to identify themselves with the aims of the school, to share the teacher's concern for what is being handed on.

This kind of identification will probably occur most frequently in schools with long academic traditions, good facilities and interesting and enthusiastic staff. These conditions, in the past, tended to prevail, only in the Grammar Schools where the middle class theme of deferred gratification was firmly established, the road to academic success being paved with formal qualifications and loyalty and dedication to the school. Traditions are frequently strengthened by rituals, school hymns, speech days, endowed prizes and scholarships all serve to emphasize that pupils are part of a greater on-going whole. Distinctive school uniform, fierce inter-school sporting rivalry, number of university places achieved are all means to increase the level of involvement in school and hence alleviate the problem of control.

In the case of secondary modern schools, the carrot of examination success is less appropriate. Academic traditions are frequently absent from schools which in many cases are the descendants of the old elementary schools. Even the physical environment of these schools all too often does little to promote identification with the school itself, let alone with any great British academic tradition. It is in schools such as this, particularly those situated in densely populated urban communities that extreme problems of control arise, and thus may well lead to an emphasis on physical sanctions and an on-going conflict situation.

There are exceptions, however, to every rule. Even Grammar Schools have their "problem children" and unpleasant incidents. Similarly with the introduction of external examinations into secondary modern schools, some pupils exhibit a high degree of positive involvement there. In other words, although power specialization does exist, there is a considerable overlap potential. Bearing this overlap in mind Table 4 - 1 suggests a typology of relations on the basis of Etzioni's model which will be more specific to schools.

Table 4 - 1 A Typology of Compliance Relations within Schools

Kinds of Power	Kinds of Involvement		
	Moral	Calculative	Alienative
Normative	1 Child Centred	2	3
Remunerative	4	5 Exam Oriented	6
Coercive	7	8	9 Custodial

Cases one and five implying a +ve level of commitment, are most likely to occur in grammar schools, or the upper streams of comprehensive schools, but not exclusively so, whereas case nine

is a much more usual occurrence in the kind of control structure and level of involvement apparent in secondary modern schools. Non congruent cases such as 3, 4 or 8 (Table 4 - 1) are more rare because organizations are under pressure to be effective.

An organization will be ineffective if for example it seeks to use normative power and symbolic rewards in a situation when its members are highly alienated.

In summary, it is clear that the school like any other organization has problems of control. The way in which an individual school deals with these problems is not purely dependent on the particular ideology of the headmaster, rather it relates to the type of school, the immediate environment and even the courses offered with their important relationship to occupational life chances.

Section 2 How are children controlled in schools ?

To work successfully as a control mechanism in wider society, a school has to achieve a measure of success in controlling children within the confines of the institution. A number of measures are employed to ensure a degree of consensus in schools, however, a minority of children never come to terms with the norms of the school and exist in a perpetual state of conflict. At best the relationship between such children and their teachers can be described as truce rather than harmonious.^{56.}

The nature of the truce and consequent educational experience of pupils, is in many cases a function of the authority of the teacher. A teacher in a school, is in a position where he has to lead. Similarly the pupil is surrounded by constraints defining his position as subordinate. In each case the distribution of power has been decided outside his control, e.g. the teacher is put in authority to perform a certain task for the community and to maintain social control in the school while he is doing it.

This distribution of power therefore, is backed by all the external forces of the education system and is sanctioned by law and morality.

In the majority of schools, pupils tend to have absorbed sufficient traditional norms, by the time they reach secondary school, that the authority of teachers is accepted in some measure. Even the most inadequate teacher manages to retain some element of control. As Shipman puts it "the pupils are at least contained within the classroom and even the toughest gang will hesitate to stage a walk out".^{57.}

A measure of order, however, is often insufficient for a teacher to accomplish his professional task of transmitting certain knowledge and beliefs to his students. All too often the necessity of preserving conditions of order, assumes immense proportions for the teacher. Two extreme fates await him. Either he emerges from the fray as the traditionally forbidding figure who "subjugates his charges by aggressive orders and coercive techniques like a prison warden or an army sergeant",^{58.} or he becomes a benign child minder who by constantly appealing to the interests of the children has identified himself with the attitudes of a consumer orientated society. Whether the techniques of the supermarket or those of the prison are employed, the effects are the same - a diminution in the chances of success as regards "educating" students to the satisfaction of society in general, and the teacher in particular.

In summary, individual authority is then an important element in the social control of the school. Emphasis on individual authority on the other hand allows for inconsistency within the system, a fact which Partridge clearly demonstrates in his assessment of discipline in Middle School.

"What seems to happen is that the boys do not come to associate a particular type of penalty with a particular crime, but with a particular teacher. So the idea creeps in that if you do

this with Mr. Y. you will get away with it, but you will not if you do the same thing with Mr. X. Mr. P. and Mr. Z. may be looked upon as absolute 'bastards', but Messrs. Q. and R. as a couple of 'softies'." 59.

Control, however, is by no means entirely a function of individual teacher authority. Teachers use a variety of incentives and deterrents to motivate their classes ranging from the granting of privileges to demotion. Highfield and Pinsent in a survey on rewards and punishments in schools recorded the frequency with which various incentives were used on difficult children. The sample was drawn from children of all ages in all types of school. The results can be seen in Table 4 - 2 and reveal that few of the incentives used were other than symbolic rewards. The order varied slightly according to sex.

Table 4 - 2 The Frequency of use of incentives to motivate 60.
boys to study

Type of Incentive	Rank order of use
Appreciation	1
Good marks for written work	2
Interest	3
Public praise	4
Success in test	5
Class treat	6
Good marks for team	7
Made monitor	8
Leadership	9
Good report to parents	10
Material reward	11

Table 4 - 3 The Frequency of use of incentives to motivate

girls to study

Type of Incentive	Rank order of use
Appreciation	1
Good marks for written work	2
Public praise	3
Interest	4
Success in test	5
Class treat	6
Good marks for team	7
Made monitor	8
Leadership	9
Good report to parents	10
Material reward	11

Appreciation, public praise, class treats are high on both lists, yet they motivate only because the children value the school.

Similarly good marks for written work, interesting work and success in tests all play a major part, yet rely on identification with the school and the academic ends it serves, to inculcate motivation.

Material rewards lack entirely this normative element and it is perhaps significant that these are the form of incentive least used.

The above tables (Table 4 - 2 and Table 4 - 3) demonstrated the positive means at a teacher's disposal to get a class to work. Negative means or deterrents are also used and Highfield and Pinsent similarly ranked the frequency of application of these. For boys, the results can be seen in Table 4 - 4.

Table 4 - 4 The Frequency of application of deterrents in order to achieve social order amongst male pupils.

Type of deterrent	Rank order of use
Urged to make effort	1
Reprimanded	2
Under constant vigilance	3
Warned of punishment	4
Deprived of marks/Given bad marks	5
Isolated	6
Given detention	7
Deprived of privilege or treat	8
Slight corporal punishment	9
Sent to higher authority	10½
More severe corporal punishment	10½
Reported to parents	12

Here again, the importance of normative control is demonstrated. Teachers rely on ticking off, close supervision, isolation from friends rather than actual physical sanctions. Because the deterrents most frequently used are symbolic, when physical punishments are used the effect is to single out the recipient as something different, usually as a particular problem. Alienation which follows such punishment will reinforce the exclusion of the pupil from the culture of the school. Of particular interest to the present investigation is that although physical sanction may in practice be a last resort ... it is likely to be applied frequently to those children who have not accepted the norms of the school. What in fact happens among these children most subject to physical punishment, is a reversal of norms. When a teacher gets angry, an enthusiastic junior school child

is liable to reel really hurt, the most probable reaction of the secondary school leaver, confronted with the same situation is to see it as funny. The usual response of the teacher is to fall back on coercion.

Clear goals and procedure which normally ensure order in school are threatened, as is the whole basis of school life. The dormant threat of force within the substance of normative controls suddenly becomes essential for the restoration of order. Force is employed, the cane being more effective than smacking which in turn has a more lasting effect than detention. Superficially at least the status quo is restored, however, instead of a consensus model, a conflict model would be more applicable in the classroom or school, with pupils and staff dividing into opposing camps.

The majority of pupils and staff are liable to be found on one side, while the 'C' streamers are mostly to be found in the camp opposing school values. The vast majority of this latter group are likely to be 'less able' or 'less adapted' children. 'C' stream children are in that stream precisely because of past failure to make adequate progress at school. The stereotype of these pupils, in the staffroom as I pointed out in Chapter One is that they are most inattentive, have pronounced anti-social tendencies and low I.Q. scores. It is for these pupils that the staff as a whole have least sympathy and interest, because these are the very children who challenge the authority of the teacher and present the most serious threat to the order and discipline of the whole school. Clearly lack of involvement in school coincides with lack of academic success.

It is one of the inevitabilities of the British education system, with its emphasis on selection, that it offers only scarce rewards to the able few. With teacher - pupil ratios of 1 : 30 or 40, the dull and slow are often sacrificed in the quest

for academic or athletic success. By the nature of the system teachers cannot arrange for all to succeed, however they frequently aggravate the situation by stressing goals which can be achieved only by a few.

Hostility may be articulated only among older pupils but its origins lie in the early years of school life where children starved of success, find compensation elsewhere, usually through group membership.

Individuals, in fact, rarely adopt deviant roles in isolation. Innovators and rebels become leaders of groups pressing for change, opposing authority and resisting official influences. Teachers usually attempt to control the situation by working on the principle of divide and rule - i.e. isolating trouble makers and splitting up groups of friends. At this stage the giving of symbolic rewards becomes increasingly irrelevant, as these too are rejected as part of an alien system. An acceptance of such norms could well necessitate a rejection of the values of the peer group or reference group. This is unlikely to happen because according to Foss,

"For humans, the most powerful rewards and punishments come from the particular group with which one wants to be identified - that is whose members one imitates; the group to which one wants to belong." 63.

Conflict anyhow increases as pupils get older and receive greater support from hostile attitudes outside school. Partridge emphasizes this trend in his analysis of 'Middle School'. He points out that it

"is the same boys who are caned over and over again both by the Headmaster and the ordinary members of staff; many of these boys become more difficult as they get older, and their

behaviour deteriorates, so that a small boy in 1.D will be a nuisance in his first year, but he may well have become an absolute menace by the time he is in 4.D." 64.

Such a statement offers little encouragement to those who will have to deal in 1973-74 with children affected by Rosla. School routine with its inevitable restriction of liberty becomes poles apart from the world of leisure which is increasingly glamorized.

Initially staff may attempt to control pupils by breaking their ranks, employing other children to carry the burden of control as form monitors, school prefects etc., This is effective only so long as students in the lower streams continue to accept the norms of the school. As they progress through the school, children become aware that certain privileges are not coming their way. It is at this stage that they withdraw co-operation. This withdrawal, creates an imbalance with prefects for example, drawn from senior forms tending to come almost exclusively from upper streams.

The internal organization of class groups can also be useful, streaming the most usual procedure, isolates the 'trouble makers' into particular classes. The processes by which problem children gravitate into C and D streams are extremely important. In fact, an appreciation of the ways in which difficult children come to predominate in these lower streams is crucial to any adequate understanding of disciplinary problems, and is discussed in relation to this particular issue in the next chapter.

In an attempt to maintain order in what are considered by the staff 'problem classes', calculated measures are employed ranging from ritual punishment to 'never leaving the class unsupervised for any period of time'. Ritual punishment is intended to deter the offenders or others from repeating the crime. It might take the form of fetching the cane or detention book from

the headmaster's study. It frequently involves punishment in public to make sure that the rest of the class are left in no doubt about what will happen to them if they copy the action.

Teachers play off boys against girls, or one row against another to achieve discipline. In particular, in a school where control is a major problem, staff express extreme measures of solidarity to sustain their own and each others authority.

In this section I have sought to give some examples of the measures commonly taken in an effort to maintain peace within schools. Little has been said about recourse to law, as whatever the situation within school, teachers are anxious to find a solution which avoids the potential criminal escalation so often associated with juvenile offenders sent away to reform school or just put on probation.⁶⁵

Issues of control clearly are central to any discussion of the effects of Rosla.

Discipline is obviously a constant headache to both those staff who seek to achieve it and those pupils who are subject to pressure to conform to it. Having already considered the options available to the teacher in attempting to control his pupils it is now necessary to look at the other side of the coin and consider the responses elicited from pupils to the type of control they are subject to in school.

Chapter Five

Pupil Reaction

The reactions of the children can be considered in two areas. In practice, these two do not involve distinctive processes, rather they are actions closely interwoven into the fabric of the pupils' response to control. First, in general terms I will attempt to demonstrate the methods used by children to play up their teachers. From my own observation the purpose of this is invariably to lessen both the influence and power of the teacher. The second issue revolves around the process by which the difficult children become labelled and separated apart from the rest of the school. This latter development is well documented and although theoretical issues surrounding streaming are discussed in a later chapter, relevant here is the way in which this process can effect the development of sub and anti-cultures within school.

Section 1 'Playing Up'

"The art of playing up in class is one that has been practised for generations, yet today there is more of this sort of thing than would have been tolerated years ago. The awkward boy is a case apart but there is a wide group of boys who are not really delinquent or unpleasant, who are always ready to join in any 'playing up' sessions." 66.

Playing-up is then, a traditional activity. It may perhaps appear as of minor significance in relation to the problem of social control within schools. Its disruptive effect on a lesson, however, can drive teachers, particular young and inexperienced ones, to distraction, thus ensuring that only a minimal amount of work is done. Probably the ultimate effect of such activity is unmotivated, unprepared teachers reconciled to achieving little with these unruly classes other than a degree of order and discipline.

In Chapter Four, Section 2 it was made apparent that in any school few rewards are available. In secondary modern schools, for instance, only a minority of pupils can expect to take G.C.E. Motivation diminishes such that one could anticipate finding at the back of any classroom, children merely putting in time. Some will probably have experienced little achievement or attention in all their ten years schooling. Having consolidated into groups seeking satisfaction through informal activity, they mobilise their own power in an effort to oppose school policy and disrupt its working. The attitude of such pupils can be summed up by a quotation from the Newsom Report.

"We had the feeling that if they treated us
like children we'd behave like it." 67.

It is possible to concede the logic of this statement, certainly the methods pupils employ tend from the teacher's point of view to bear the stamp of childishness rather than malice.

Disruption tends to take the form of a series of minor interruptions. Books are left behind, pencils and ballpoints mislaid. In the days when they were used, nibs were frequently broken, now pens are merely empty. A class will arrive late to make sure that the duration of the lesson is as short as possible. A teacher will commonly find himself left with only twenty five minutes in which to teach and even this will often be punctuated by a series of irrelevant questions each just sensible enough to require answering. Pupils become very good at recognizing a teacher's threshold of anger, they will push as far as they dare but retreat quickly. Thus a teacher can be continually on the brink of making an issue, but nothing is sufficiently serious by itself. The silence of work marred by nudging, laughing and remarks just loud enough to be heard, is a constant reminder to the teacher that although on major issues the pupils can be forced to conform, the teacher does not in fact hold all the trump cards. In this

way a teacher's authority can be continually undermined.

Webb in his study of schools in slum areas describes it as a running war against the teachers' standards, but the battle on the whole tends to be one of friendly combat. A teacher becomes adept not only at ignoring some bad behaviour but also at not seeing it. As Webb clearly indicates

"the hostility is so mild that it needs inverted commas. An example would be a teacher trying to make a class get on with a given task. They play him up by exaggerating the bluntness or breaking the points of their pencils, or losing rubbers, or complaining loudly that they cannot see the blackboard, no matter where he stations it. With firmness, and not without humour, he overcomes their irrepressibility. Here the 'hostility' is like that between two football teams playing a really friendly match - on both sides there is an element of play for play's sake." 68.

In this situation both staff and pupils share common definitions of the conflict situation. After an initial jockeying for position a compromise is reached, in which the pupils consistently feel they are getting some of their own back on the education system which demands their attendance.

Playing-up is one way in which a child can reinforce his own self-evaluation, getting away from the identity of failure which is a major characteristic of his association with school. By registering his protest in the form of drumming his fingers, tapping his feet or talking, the pupil may also enhance his position in the peer group.

Section 2 The development of sub-cultures

In Chapter Four, Section 2 the conclusion was reached that many 'C' stream children have become alienated from the norms and

values of their schools. Alienation may be the pupil's response to coercion, or the result of a realisation that they have little to gain from a system geared to fulfilling the requirements of an elitist society.

In theory, the culture of a school consists of common values shared by staff and pupils. A school, however, stresses selected values. It excludes the ugly and evil, concentrating on the good and beautiful, yet rarely do such predominate in the institution. Not only does each class and group within the classes develop its own values, but there is a division between the official values and those held informally. Morals, manners and taste can be derided as well as copied and certainly teachers who inadvertently overhear pupils talking soon realise the gap between the ideal and the reality.

Children are in a position to resist the influence of the school if supported by groups inside school. The experience of pupils outside the school can also reinforce them in opposition to its values. Symbols connected with the school are given new meanings far removed from those intended by the staff. Frequently school songs are parodied and the authority of some senior master undermined by the skilful use of mimicry.

In all organizations there are informal groups which form to satisfy individual need for security and friendship. The norms of these groups not only tend to run counter to official policy, but are all the more powerful because obedience to them is the price of inclusion. The result, then, of alienation of any scale is to create dissident, disinterested groups who will try to soften or undermine the coercion. Every attempt to stop misbehaviour by penalties, reinforces both alienation and the ties among the group punished. Soon little or no interest is generated towards work. The group becomes a clique, supporting each other against the will of the staff.

In fact "when a teacher first meets an established class there are already leaders and led, sages and fools, comics and butts. There are already norms governing work, play and relations with teachers".⁶⁹ Within the sub-groups there are ways of enforcing these norms through the withdrawal or giving of friendship or prestige, threats even violence within the informal group.

At one extreme such a group can dominate the whole tone of the school if norms are reversed so that bullying, vandalism etc., are applauded. While staff may keep up a facade of work, relations are controlled by informal leaders. This is an extreme case, only rarely would those in authority defer to the effective leader of a group. In ordinary circumstances the formal relationship is preserved and a state of tension and dissatisfaction predominates. Similarly groups of children do not only oppose the staff, but can dislike each other. At its worst this can develop among adolescents, into a protection racket, whereby a physically powerful group dominates and exploits the rest.

These various possibilities have naturally elicited anxious responses from teachers and educationalists. David Hargreaves in his study of Lumley Secondary Modern School, has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of many of the problems associated with 'reluctant learners'.

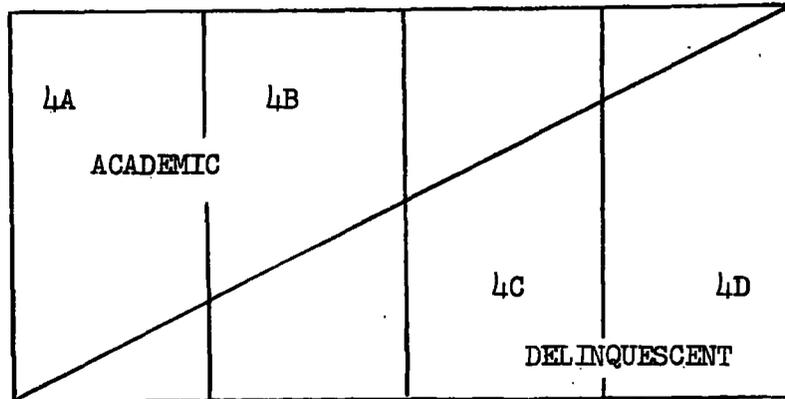
Hargreaves emphasized the presence of two subcultures in Lumley, the academic and the delinquent. By delinquent sub-cultures, he was describing those groups negatively orientated to school, in the direction of delinquent values, though not synonymous with delinquency.

Hargreaves presents an ideal typical model of the school. Figure 5 - 1 reveals the dominant values of the 'A' and 'B' streams as academic, whereas the values in the 'C' and 'D' forms are predominantly delinquent (academic values having become deviant). In each form there will be a minority who subscribe to those values considered deviant by the majority. In the case of the 'D' stream however, this group will be extremely small and

as Hargreave's diagram suggests, the 'A' and 'D' streams will tend to be poles apart by the time the

Figure 5 - 1 To demonstrate the dominant values associated
with particular streams.

70.



year group reach their fourth years of secondary education.

Like Lacey, in his study of Hightown Grammar School, Hargreaves shows the process of subcultural differentiation as taking place over a number of years. In the second year, in particular, children in the low streams are deprived of status. In secondary modern schools this is more distressing because children are labelled as double failures, by their lack of ability or motivation to obtain entry firstly to a Grammar School and secondly to a high stream in a secondary modern school. Mixed ability grouping in the first year merely postpones the inevitable differentiation on academic lines.

These 'double failures' are then, subject to status frustration, a sense which does not enable them to gain any sense of equality of worth in the eyes of their school. Furthermore, their occupational aspirations for their future lives are reduced in scope and this has the effect of further devaluing the individual. The allocation and attitudes of teachers reinforce this devaluation by stressing the limits of a low stream, which does not allow for external examinations. Hargreaves points out that often teachers increase the divergence between the upper and lower streams, by reducing the pressure exerted on low stream boys towards academic goals.

Alienated boys merely respond by coming up to the expectations of their teachers. This tendency for people to settle into the status which they have been allocated lies at the basis of objections to streaming and the whole selection norm in the British education system. Teachers' decisions are always justified because the process is largely a self fulfilling prophecy when children take on the attitudes and consequently the performance of their new group. Demoted pupils, who obviously at some stage have revealed some academic potential are unlikely to strive towards academic goals, as the new sub-culture in which they find themselves, will merely confirm and reinforce the delinquent attitudes which led to demotion.

C and D streamers constantly reject the pupil role, replacing it with an autonomous peer culture. Roles are redefined in terms of the world outside school. Pupils anticipate their adult roles, exhibiting behaviour which they feel symbolizes adult status. Activities include smoking, drinking and in some cases, it becomes mainly to do the law down. Pupils have in the earlier stages of their education been subject to conflicting demands. By the 4th year the choice is usually clear, it involves a rejection of school values or a rejection of standing with friends. Thus, for instance, a pupil who appears to be friendly towards a teacher is subject to ridicule as, "the values of the backstage culture come to insist on group solidarity against 'them', just as 'they' present a united front from the staffroom".^{71.}

Self-esteem has become a collective product of the sub-culture. The larger the school, the larger the chain of command from headmaster to pupil, the more opportunities there are for informal centres of power to become autonomous. It is worth noting that in the whole period of my investigation in both schools, no child in the classes I studied ever saw the headmistress unless he was in trouble of an extreme kind. Children from low streams

come to terms with the school culture through these informal groups. Working class children in particular, know the feeling of being simultaneously exposed to middle class values and deprived of status in those terms. Children tend to opt out of work when they cannot see any useful or tangible reward for their labours. Opting out may mean passive withdrawal, playing up, or staying away from school. In the context of the Sunderland schools I studied, all three responses were apparent in what was virtually the ninth stream down.

Thus it can be seen that the pupils' reactions are to band together to form a common block in face of the enemy. Full scale confrontation rarely takes place, pupils content themselves with "guerilla warfare" and the odd open skirmish. Their most positive move is usually to withdraw co-operation either through non-attendance at school or lack of attentiveness within classes.

Chapter Six

If they could choose

In the first five chapters I have attempted to give a broad and to some extent theoretical account of issues surrounding Rosla. I have concentrated largely on issues of control and involvement in schools, revealing disenchantment amongst both staff and pupils. I have highlighted the fears of teachers in relation to Rosla, and the disappointment of many who have fought to retain the principle of voluntary 'staying on' to sixteen. Possible pupil reaction has also been documented. It is now necessary to move away from theoretical and hypothetical accounts and in turn focus the study on the two schools in which I carried out my own intensive investigations.

Inevitably much of this chapter involves an element of subjectivity; it draws its material from my personal observations and assessments made through countless informal conversations and some more structured interviews. To exclude its contribution would be to deny all validity to the non-scientific, the human aspects of research. It is essential that to understand the problems of Rosla one must in some way become aware of the atmosphere or tone of the school which the 'early leavers' experience. I shall attempt to paint a fairly accurate picture of the main bones of contention which plague the pupils, and their more usual attitudes and responses.

Throughout my investigation I was constantly aware of the existence of an invisible barrier between 'us' and 'them'. I found myself in the position of 'misfit' swinging on a pendulum, one minute being identified with the staff, the next with the pupils. Apart from the constant value conflict this presented me with, I felt that my role in many ways facilitated my task, allowing me a good deal of latitude in pin-pointing such things as contentious rules and perennial grumbles.

In discussing the above, I shall attempt to give concrete examples of pupils' lack of involvement in the school culture. Simultaneously I should like to consider the extent to which, if at all, the tentacles of school encroach on the private life of pupils.

Section 1 "Running Sores"

In any institution requiring a degree of discipline and predictability of action, some system of rules is likely to exist. If these rules are accepted by the majority as necessary and valid, they usually operate relatively smoothly, causing friction only when the status quo changes. In the case of the schools I studied, however, there appeared at all times to be less 'consensus' and more a 'constant battle' on issues relating to school rules and their attempted implementation.

In my own opinion the school rules (with one or two exceptions) seemed in many cases to be reasonable and formulated for the safety of pupils. They were, however, rarely explained to pupils by staff and this lack of explanation possibly constituted one of the roots of the conflict. Conflict there most certainly was, largely relating to a number of rules which constituted the constant thorns in the pupils' flesh. These centred round school uniform, hair length, chewing and what was considered 'petty discipline' in schools. Whatever the reason for lack of co-operation amongst pupils, whether it be misunderstanding or the function of the rule, or downright purposeful disregard of it, in an attempt to retain individual liberty, rules were 'running sores' to the early leavers and were frequently referred to by pupils in their essays. The following excerpts are typical of the pupils' attitudes and antagonisms.

- "I think the school rules are stupid.
You get wrong for the least little thing
and another thing you can't chew Bubbly
gum in school they make you sick the way
they go on about things."

- "this school makes me sick with all its
childish rules, like having to have your
hair cut to a certain height and other
idiotic things."

- "I do not think much of some of the school
rules like having to be in class 5 minutes
after the bell went because if you are late
you get your name taken at the gate I will be
glad to leave school."

- "We have our own rules of which is not very
good you have to keep off the grass not to
run in the corridors not to carry your
haversack on your shoulder in classrooms.
You have to keep on the left hand side of
the corridor."

Throughout my investigations such statements were frequently reiterated. Many pupils felt that rules emphasized trivia; 'why on earth could one not eat an icecream in school uniform?' Most failed to recognize safety elements in rules, which were seen largely as providing staff and prefects with ammunition to fire at those who were not members of the elite.

The 'biggest grumble' by far related to school uniform. Boys felt they looked silly in it, that the colours did not suit

them and that it merely emphasized their continued 'juvenile status'. The girls felt even more badly, as to them it threatened their 'chances with the lads'. They hated the regimentation of it all and could find no reason to justify staff decisions on length of skirt, colour of stockings etc. It is easy to feel sympathy for the adolescent girl with a life project dominated by thoughts of early marriage, when she is told that only grey or fawn knee-length socks are allowed and not 'white ones'. It is rigid interpretations of rules which have led to pupil accusations that teachers are living in 'cloud-cuckoo' land if they think 'mums' are going to buy some stockings for week-ends and special ones for school. It is also the very 'unrelatedness' to working class culture which stands out at such times. The pupils' viewpoints can be appreciated from the following statements.

- "The school uniform is a load of rubbish why do we get uniform for I can not thing of any resones the teacher take a fit if you go the rong troue on I would not mind if the school pay for the uniform but they do not and that get on my wick."

- "I hate school because you can't wear trowsers to come to school with and you cant wear kitted tights, you cant wear ring, you can only wear black or brown shoes."

- "The school uniform should not be kept. This is because some parents cannot afford to buy it and the pupils do not allways like it. I think we should be able to wear what we like at school, as long as it's decent."

It would of course, be quite easy for teachers to dismiss such viewpoints on the grounds that they come only from a minority.

It is true to say, however, that this 'minority' is substantially to be found in less able children's classrooms. If Rosla is to be successful and increase the involvement of the 'early leavers' in the school's culture it appears to be essential that pupils opinions be allowed some credibility, possibly leading to discussion and some element of compromise. After all, as has been pointed out in Chapters 4 and 5, the success of Rosla will stand or fall on the ability of staff to involve their pupils. If constant battles rage on minor issues, the major opportunities of the extension of the school leaving age may be lost. Further issues of involvement relating to attendance at schools are dealt with in the next section.

Section 2 "Why should I go?"

"If I hated school all together I would not come at all", wrote one of the respondents to the survey, in assessing his interest in school. This is by no means a statement of bravado: staying away for long periods is the most extreme but most definite way in which pupils can express their lack of involvement in, and alienation from the school culture.

In anticipating problems associated with the extension of the school leaving age, it has often been put forward that one of the major worries will be actually getting the young people to come to school and remain there. In the schools I studied absenteeism was not considered to be a major problem, but a closer look at the registers revealed some interesting information on the fourth year leavers. Although the average attendance was 81%, this figure though low, painted far too rosy a picture of the situation. A minority proved to be extremely poor attenders, one boy having achieved eighty three out of a possible two hundred and forty nine attendances. This represents only a 33% attendance and although this is unusually low, a 48% attendance was far from uncommon. The teachers at one of the schools freely admitted

they could do little about it. They felt the courts did not pull their weight and anyway with high staff-pupil ratios they were often relieved to be without some of the 'trouble makers'. At this particular school there was a tendency to try and control the problem through the use of sarcasm on the truant's return. The effect, was usually to confirm alienation and often lead to a further period of absence. A couple of teacher's dealings with truants, ran as follows

(a) "Hellow son - what you doing here?"

"Been bad"

"Haven't just been bad - been wicked"

(b) "Hello - who's this - haven't seen you for a

long time (a few minutes later when the girl

is trying to find her pen)...You come back

to school and you don't even come prepared to

work. (again a few minutes later as the

commotion continues)

to me "That girls going to be in need of care and

protection before long if she doesn't improve

her ways."

The teachers certainly did not feel they were 'picking' on these pupils in anyway: they merely felt they had to draw attention to the absence in the hope that this would dissuade other pupils from following their example, though in the latter case the teacher was more bitter than normal. Frequently truancy and delinquency are associated by teachers as involving one and the same kind of child and that probably accounts for the above outburst.

In extreme cases, then, children withdraw their labour - as they look upon it. A more common way of showing dissatisfaction with the school is 'dolling off', sliding away at some time during the morning or afternoon session after registration.

This is particularly easy to do when changing over from one teacher to another. In interviews and discussions many pupils admitted to 'dolling off' particularly for something specific like a football match at Roker Park.

Many of the girls were quick to distinguish 'dolling off' from truancy. As one put it "I used to 'doll off' when I didn't like lessons but I don't play truant!". One girl who had in fact been subject to a suspension from school for two weeks felt very hard done by. She said she got caught every time she 'dolled off' but if she'd stayed away properly and played truant she'd have got off more lightly.

Whether 'truanting or dolling off', both show a degree of disenchantment with school which does not bode well for Rosla. Only a minority is involved, but the lack of continuity it brings to a situation makes even traditional teaching methods difficult let alone group projects and the like.

The majority showed their disaffection in the ways described when considering 'playing up'. In the Sunderland classes there was an air of inattention from morning till night, filing nails, combing hair, passing notes and perhaps less annoying but equally as effective in ruining a lesson, passive withdrawal, looking out of the window etc., The children were obviously not involved in school for, from their questionnaire responses and interviews, it became clear that their minds were on the adult world of work and leisure. Issues surrounding occupation are discussed in the next Chapter, but their leisure interests have a contribution to make to the description and understanding of the early leavers.

Section 3 Leisure Activities

"On a nights I go out with my mates we will properly have a game of fottball and then go up this lad's house where we carrie on. Friday nights we go to the pitcurs we always go never mind whats on about

six of us go. Saturday the best day of the week I stop in the house and watch T.V.

I like very much watching sport."

This is a typical example of the kind of interests a Sunderland boy will have outside school; his leisure is bound up with that of his friends. The pattern is similar for the girls, particularly on weekday evenings.

"On the night me and my friends walk round the town or sometimes we go down the club and listen to the records or go on the trampaleen and sometimes we go to the Rink on a Tuesday night."

The following table demonstrates the most frequent leisure activities of the young people in the sample.

Table 6 - 1 The ranking of leisure activites according to pupil preference

Leisure Activity	Preferred pastime according to pupils - %
Go out with friends	64
Watch T.V.	16
Go to Dances	5
Go to the Cinema	-
Walks	5
Sport	4
Any other	5

As far as weekday activities are concerned, they vary only marginally according to sex with 73% of boys as opposed to 69% of girls liking to go out with friends best of all. Often the activity is purely walking about and hanging around coffee bars, amusements etc.,

"My friends and me go for walks. On a Tuesday night we go to the rink and dance and have fun. Other nights we go to the fun fair spent our money stand and talk. We it closers at 8 oclock we go to someone house and listen to records or watch the T.V. If we have no where to go we just walk around or if it rain or cold we have a early night."

Frequently both boys and girls grumble that their mid-week activities are limited by the fact that they have to be in by a certain time, in order to be fresh for school.

- "when you are still at school it stop you from going out with your friends and you got to be in the house by a certain time."

Big differences, according to sex, are apparent in relation to week-end leisure activities. Forty three per cent of boys enjoy playing or watching sport whereas only 16% of girls do. Thirty five per cent of boys also enjoy watching television but this is not nearly so popular with girls who by preference would go to dances. The activities of girls, however, are often limited at week-ends by demands made on them to babysit.

- "On the week-end me and my friend Babysit and if we don't we just walk round the town or go in another friends house to watch the Television or play records."

Far from being regarded as a burden, babysitting is accepted as part of their role as maturing young women. 34% of girls are happy to be involved in it at week-ends.

Rarely does school encroach on activities outside itself. The majority of leisure activities are peripheral to school life providing few links on which to build a bridge of involvement between pupil and staff. One of the schools did however, run a successful youth club during the week and this is perhaps one way of strengthening interest in the school by offering something to the community outside the normal 9 - 4 hours.

- "school is good on Monday nights because there are youth activities on from 7.0 p.m. till 9.15 p.m. I and my friend take part in Judo and volley ball. We meet people our own age and can't get into trouble."

Thus there is one bright spark on an otherwise bleak scene, where school is called names like concentration camp and prison and is characterized by barriers rather than enthusiastic involvement. A lot of these less able children do not seem to be touched by the school which is if anything, subscribed to purely as a necessary evil. Apathy is its trademark and it may well bring about the downfall of many Rosla schemes which demand the ingredient of student involvement.

Chapter Seven

On the Threshold of Work

The main thrust of Chapters IV, V and VI revealed that the problem of control is integrally bound up with involvement. The children least interested in school, therefore, cause the most trouble. Although punishments may prove effective in keeping order, they do not really get to the root of the problem. If Rosla is to be a success and the extra year anything more than a sham, an extension of monotony and concomitant problems of order, it is going to be essential to interest this type of child. Chapter V Section 2 revealed the role of the peer group or sub-culture in offering an alternative set of values from the school. It is attitudes determined by these values which play a significant role for the adolescent suffering from status frustration within the school. Perhaps most important is the adolescent's identification with the adult world of work, reflected in his constant desire to leave school and be out earning a living.

Although an increasing number of children since the end of the war have remained at school beyond the minimum leaving age, this has not altered the fact that the majority of boys and girls, now as in the past, leave school at the first opportunity to do so and start out to work. A complex of factors ranging from the informal influences of home environment to the selective processes of educational procedures help to shape these events. Alienation from school perhaps accounts in part for the large degree of enthusiasm the 'less able' pupils retain for the world of work.

In the Schools Council Enquiry 'Young School Leavers',⁷² of interest is the information concerning differences in opinion and attitudes between various groups of young people. One such difference concerns the main purposes of education, dividing early school leavers and their parents on the one hand, from teachers on the other. The divergence took the form of leavers

widely seeing education in terms of the provision of knowledge and skills which would enable them to get the best jobs and careers of which they were capable. Teachers, however, very generally rejected the achievement of vocational success as one of the major objectives of education.

In this Chapter, I intend to consider the life projects and interests which less able children develop. This necessitates not only a brief look at the theoretical framework surrounding occupational choice, but also involves an analysis of the occupational imagery and aspirations of 'less able children', and how realistic these are in the context of local occupational opportunities.

In the case of the Sunderland school-children, it is essential to determine their attitudes to work, whether, for instance, they are geared purely instrumentally towards it. The relevance of school and curricula can also be assessed particularly as they relate to the development of occupational imagery. Finding a job, is after all, a major step, a transitional phase in which school, family and peer group, as well as bodies like the Careers Advisory Service, all play a part. Obviously the pull of the local labour market is strong with 55% of pupils leaving school as early as possible in Sunderland, but one must question this occurrence in a town where unemployment figures are high and socio-economic life-chances low.

Section 1 Framework of Occupational Choice

In a society where inequalities are reinforced and perpetuated through the hierarchic world of work, it is obvious that some people must be prepared to fill the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs. While it is posited that our society is now a much more open one, and the class structure much less rigid; to suggest that opportunities for personal advancement are available to anyone is misleading. Last century children were brought up aware of their 'station in life', and to be content to follow in

the footsteps of their parents. This century the emphasis is somewhat changed towards individual advancement yet in practice the changes since then have not been as substantial as is generally supposed, with many youngsters still contented to take on the "dead end jobs". Of importance, is the way in which the early leavers, come on the most part, to choose these apparently less attractive occupations; exactly where have their job aspirations been formulated and which agents have helped in their selection?

Social scientists have increasingly directed their attention to 'non-intellective' determinants of occupational and general life aspirations. Determinants have been sought amongst social, cultural and motivational factors. Parsons, Kahl and others have underlined the importance of social class membership as a major determinant of the occupational aspirations and achievement of youth.^{73.} Other studies emphasize the effects of cliques, peer groups and related peer cultures, and their influences upon the organization of adolescent attitudes, activities and achievement. Very many sociologists have concentrated on the effects of home environment, and an increasing number are considering the role of formal vocational guidance organizations. Perhaps, on this whole issue, Michael Carter's thesis on "Into Work" is as fair a representation of the role of the family and other groups, as agents determining occupational preference. Increasingly, however, a need has been seen for some definite theory of occupational choice. Musgrave formulated a deterministic one with its central focus on the economic socialization of a child and the learning of occupational stereotypes. He ultimately related the choice to the influence of social class and other reference groups.^{75.}

Box and Ford opposed Musgrave's consensus model which they thought ignored conflict in the process of occupational choice.

Box and Ford feel that there is already an implicit theory of occupational choice which emphasizes a rational reconciliation of individual values and job expectations with the reality of the market situations. They make the assumption that an individual will seek to maximise self interest by finally choosing the occupation where he perceives the highest probability of obtaining employment in the highest ranked occupation. 76.

The above theories are not mutually exclusive, neither do they reveal the entire picture. Other researchers like Kitsuse and Cicourel questioned this whole line of enquiry, seeking to establish the 'school' as a major mechanism of social differentiation with both allocative and selective functions. Here occupational choice is seen as an educational decision making process. 77.

Obviously a degree of confusion exists in this whole area of occupational choice and this confusion is mirrored in the responses I received from both teacher and pupil alike during the course of my investigations. The one certain thing the investigation revealed in this area, was that the young people had very definite ideas about their future after leaving school, wherever these may have been formulated. In the next section I shall try to establish just what kind of life projects and aspirations these fifteen year old pupils had evolved on the verge of passing through the transition from school to work.

Section 2 Life Projects and Interests of the 'Newsom' children

In this section I shall use the label 'Newsom' to describe the less able children, because that is the way in which they were described in one of the Sunderland schools I studied. There was no pretence not even a veil of disguise, '4 Newsom' were the dunces, the problem children, and were differentiated accordingly. In earlier chapters it was established that these children are the least involved in school, yet clearly they do have other interests and not all of these are likely to be channelled into unproductive

activity or delinquency. 78. After discussions with many of these children, it soon became apparent to me that their obsession lay with the adult world of work.

Generally speaking, school tends to be viewed by the Newsom group of Cavendish School, solely as a stepping stone to a job. If education becomes irrelevant at the secondary stage it is because its relevance to future life cannot be readily discerned or does not in fact exist. Few children, even the brightest academic hopes crave intellectual understanding for its own sake. Many want the certificate but not the learning; it is not surprising then, that children realising they have little to gain from the system, divert their attention away from the academic world of examinations and certificates towards more realistic life projects. The sights of the Newsom children are clearly focussed on the future, a future which excites them in the face of the monotony of the classroom. As they approached the leaving age, pupils were very keen to talk of their plans. By looking at their comments one should gain some insight into their life projects.

At both Cavendish and Victoria school, sex was an important differentiating factor as far as interests were concerned. The boys, on the whole, concentrated on their future occupational life whereas many of the girls saw marriage as the most important event on the horizon, though they also viewed work with some enthusiasm.

It is possible to discern many similarities in the life projects of these various children, for instance, in response to a question whether they would move away from the area in which they lived, in order to get a job or go to college, more than half said that they would not consider moving anywhere. Quite a large number in fact, indicated a preference for staying in the particular area of Sunderland in which they had been brought up.

To stress further the limited horizons of these children, one need only add that of the sixty two who were prepared to consider a move, over one third of these would restrict their mobility to the confines of the North East, in some cases County Durham alone.

The life projects of both girls and boys are rarely wildly unrealistic, however, in many cases children who aim for apprenticeship are happy to take anything that comes along up to a point. Most boys did not aspire to further education, they recognized they were not 'overly bright' and at most hoped to acquire a skill. Some of the boys refer to marriage as part of their life project but not nearly so many as the girls. A cross-section of ambitions should convey the situations of these children. Their horizons are fairly limited yet they show few signs of fear or doubts about security, most are just glad to be moving on and say so when describing their plans :- 79.

"I will be leaving school in three week's time
I am very glad because I have had four year's
of hard work. When I leave school I hope to be
a butcer but if I cant be a butcher I would be
a cabnet maker, I would like very much to be a
cabnet maker side all my mates at Ditchburns I
have had a look in Ditchburn's and it looks very
interesting and exciting."

"When I leave schooles end hoap to get a good job
I will hope that it is nothing like school. The
job I hope to get is a miners job to keep all the
mechine in good working order and I to be able to
go to the bottom of the shaft and help them to
put the coal into the wagones and then get them out
of the pit."

A few boys even from 4N aspire to apprenticeships, and sometimes

through family contacts manage to get in, even though they lack the official qualifications. One boy had already secured such a position, much to his relief.

"I have never really liked going to school very much and I still don't like it. When I leave school I have got a good job lined up for me as an apprentice joiner at Ferm near where I live this place is called Norsdrams builders, I have always liked working with wood and with my hands."

A large number of boys had considered the possibility of going into the armed forces. There is a tradition of entering the services in this area of high unemployment. Sometimes it is viewed as a preference, frequently however, it is merely an alternative to being out of work. Most who consider the services at all, tend to think in terms of entering the army. Many have definite plans to acquire a training there. A large number of boys admitted to being impressed by the glossy pamphlets and sophisticated advertisements of the recruitment centres. The armed forces, provide in consequence, a safety net for a potentially weak employment market. As one boy describes his plans,

"I have no regrets for what I have done when I leave I know one place where I can get a job. The job I hunt for is the one I hope to get I am going to go to college if possible for one day a week. If I can not get a job I am going to go into the army for 3 yr. when I come out I will just have to hope for the best."

Another is more specific,

"I need some subjects for the job I want when I leave school but the teachers are big heads some

are anyway the treat you as if you are like animals it is like a concentration camp when I leave school would like to join the navy as a Cook or Chef. I think school was a waste of time and if you had a job to go to you should be able to leave school when you are 13."

Some of the girls also include the armed services in their ambitions, but much less frequently than the boys, Again hatred of school, tied to a desire to get a job is a repetitive theme. Most of the girls in the groups I talked to had very similar ambitions, usually focussing on getting a job at one of the local clothes factories.

"When I leave school I am hoping to work at Jacksons the tailors in Hendon road. This is a big factory and there are two main jobs for girls that is the machineist and the pressers. Jacksons is one of the best places we go to and there is a few people in our class wanting to work at Jacksons. If I do get in Jackson I would like to be on the press, if I do not get in Jacksons I am going to Brian Mills or Janet Frazer."

One or two girls aspire to shop work but factories are dominant in the girls' thinking, who usually state as one of their reasons for this ambition, the influence of a member of family or a friend.

"I am fourteen years of age and I leave school in the summer. When I leave school I would like to work at New Group through fencehouses my sister June works there they make clothes and I know some people that works through there."

"When I leave school I what a good job to go in a factory. My mind has been on this since the 1 year sence. It is Heworths. I what to go to because my friends are going there and my friend sister gone they that now my friend is going they."

Marriage is the other dominant theme, many want to get married before they are twenty and often would like to live in Sunderland for the rest of their life.

"When I get married I would like to live in the East End and not very far away from where I live now."

"I would like to be engage for two or three year before I get married and if I do get married I would not be very far from my mother because I like to go and visit them when I have spare time."

"I what to get married when I am 17. I would like to stay in Sunderland to life."

Most girls are realistic about their plans, few fantasize about riches, they tend to associate that with snobbishness.

"When I am older I would like to get married and settle down and if I have children I only want two boy and a girl. When I get married I don't wan't to be posh and have a nice house I only wan't a house that has all that you need and that is nice and cosy. When I get married I would like a man with a good job."

Few girls considered getting jobs away from home. In two cases where they had thought about it, their mothers had intervened to put a stop to such ideas.

"I would like to have been a nurse but my mam said that I could not work away from home."

"I wanted to be a kennel maid but my mother would not let me live away from home until I am older, so I might try later on when I am older."

Thus it can be seen that although children are not involved in school, a similar inertia does not exist in relation to their future life projects. The children I talked with seemed far from confused in their aims. They were not dominated by ideas of entertainment and leisure, they merely wanted to be away from the humbling experience of school and settled into the adult world. As their essays demonstrate, at present the need for education and the need to become adult tend to pull in opposing directions.

Section 3 The Occupational Choices of the Sunderland

'early leavers'.

It has been suggested that the process of choosing an occupation takes place in stages and often ends in compromise. Entry into occupation is not merely a matter of the choice of just 'any old job'. Individual abilities and ambitions have to be considered against local opportunities. The meaning of a job for each person can be part of the life project of that person, or of the life history of the family and the school. Fantasies regarding jobs usually become less fantastic as adolescence approaches. The results of this research project indicate that the working class child, who generally becomes aware of the realities of adult life at an early age, tends to make realistic choices, which take into account both ability, interest and the social acceptability and availability of employment.

Job Aspirations

According to the pupils' questionnaire responses, it is apparent that they have largely made up their minds about the type of jobs they want to do, before they leave school.

As Table 7 - 1 demonstrates, their aspirations are fairly modest, with 53% of the pupils questioned aspiring to occupations classified into socio-economic group five, according to the Registrar General's Classification.^{80.}

Table 7 - 1 Pupils' job aspirations and their relationship to parental membership group.*

Socio-Economic Groups	Father's Occupation %	Pupil's Job Aspirations %
1	-	-
2	-	-
3	2	2
4	31	45
5	66	53

* Parental membership group classified according to father's occupation.

Forty-five per cent hoped to gain jobs in group four, and in fact only two pupils had aspirations higher than these.

These kind of aspirations are consistent with the pupils' own socio-economic backgrounds, which are also indicated in Table 7 - 1 and classified according to their fathers' occupations. In fact, as a group, it can be seen that these young people have marginally higher aspirations than one might expect considering their fathers' occupations, in that 53% only, aspire

to jobs in socio-economic group five, whereas 66% come from homes of that class. This implies that some children at least have hopes of a degree of upward social mobility.

A closer analysis of the extent to which social class affects the levels of aspiration reveals that, contrary to expectations, social class has only a marginal effect on aspirations in these the lower levels of the occupational hierarchy. As Table 7 - 2 shows, somewhat surprisingly, the higher the class the more likely aspirations are to be depressed and sights lowered to jobs classified into a lower socio-economic group.

Table 7 - 2 The effect of one's social class membership group on pupils' occupational aspirations.

	Socio-Economic Groups	Pupils' Job Aspirations		
		3 %	4 %	5 %
P u p i l s' M e m b e r s h i p G r o u p s *	3	-	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	66 $\frac{2}{3}$
	4	-	45	55
	5	2	45	52

* Pupils' social class membership group classified by father's occupation according to the Registrar General's Classification.

Although the majority of Group 5 are happy to stay in that group, 47% reveal a higher level of aspiration. In comparison with this, as far as group 4 are concerned 55% would be happy to take a step down. The results in relation to group 3 are even more startling but because of the very small numbers involved, they must be considered insignificant.

Sex appears to have a striking influence on aspirations, the majority of girls being extremely happy to settle for unskilled occupations. Table 7 - 3 demonstrates this fact, clearly showing the low level of job aspirations among girls.

Table 7 - 3 The influence of sex on the level of Job aspirations

Socio-Economic Groups	Boy's Job Aspirations %	Girl's Job Aspirations %
3	4	-
4	74	22
5	22	77

The discrepancy between level of job aspiration for boys and girls does not come as a surprise when one relates it to the life projects described in Section 2 of this Chapter. The girls tend to regard a job very much as part of a transitional phase between school and marriage. This fact plus the availability of many unskilled jobs in local clothing factories is probably explanation enough for this state of affairs. It does, however, often mean that girls take jobs inferior to their potential. One of the main reasons for this is that a larger proportion of the early leavers are girls. In the case of this study, there are 57% girls and 43% boys. According to the class teacher of one 'early leavers' form,

the girls' always number amongst them, some pupils who could have succeeded in higher academic groups, but who are forced to pursue a course unsuited to them because of their decision to leave early. These girls come to accept the dominant values of the form and tend to underestimate their chances, setting their sights lower than need be. It is also true to say that the school one attends may crucially effect the development of aspirations. Table 7 - 4 shows that a significantly higher proportion of children at Victoria School (58%) aspire to jobs in socio-economic group 4, than those at Cavendish, where the proportion is only 33% a difference of 25%. Presumably this discrepancy, between schools drawing their pupils from similar socio-economic backgrounds, will have something to do with the kind of advice and information given by teachers.

Table 7 - 4 The influence of school on Job Aspirations

Socio-Economic Groups	Job Aspirations of Pupils Cavendish	Job Aspirations of Pupils Victoria
3	-	2%
4	33%	58%
5	67%	39.5%

Although neither boys or girls have particularly high aspirations as far as their careers are concerned, they have very set ideas about the sort of jobs in which they would be happy. Overall the most popular kind of job was one in which it was necessary to be clever with one's hands. Sixty per cent of the respondents said they would be happy in that kind of occupation, and the next most popular was factory work, which 58% of the group thought they

would enjoy. Most unpopular overall were jobs necessitating being good at arithmetic and working in an office. In the case of the former, 71% did not think they would be happy, the latter, 63%.

These figures do not, however, present a sufficiently accurate picture of the ideas of the early leavers. As one might expect significant differences are apparent according to sex. Most of the boys felt that they would be unhappy in either office work or work with young people, (83% and 78% respectively) whereas 76% of boys revealed a definite preference for working out of doors, in jobs where one often gets dirty. This attitude is interesting in that it reflects a congruence between the preferences of the boys for the only kind of jobs they are likely to be able to get. It shows that fantasy is usually reconciled with the reality of the employment market; boys believing that they could not in fact be happy in those jobs which ability and qualifications deny them.

A similar pattern is revealed in the girls' preferences. By a long way most popular, is factory work with 75% of the girls convinced they would be happy in a factory job. Surprisingly not so popular is shop work, although in conversation many of the girls admitted a preference for shop work. An explanation of their questionnaire response might well again be, that they have become reconciled to factory work and other kinds of jobs have been relegated to fantasy, shop assistant going the way of hairdressing and nursing! Certainly a degree of realism on their own occupational life chances seems to have influenced responses, and as one would have expected outdoor jobs and dirty jobs come low on the popularity rankings for girls. Girls also show a particular degree of dislike for jobs involving facility in arithmetic, 80% of them felt they could not be happy in such work. Thus it can be seen that although occupational horizons are limited, occupational images and preferences

are fairly clearly defined. Also quite well developed are the leavers' ideas of what they hope to get out of work and what they will value most about it.

In choosing any job there is a tendency to weigh its merits according to particular criteria which might well be termed 'occupational values'. It has frequently been thought that the early leavers are anxious to leave school in order to get some money in their pockets, that they apparently have little interest in whether a job is stimulating or offers opportunities for promotion or training. Certainly the early leavers do, to all intents and purposes, seem to view the world of work purely instrumentally. Table 7 - 5 demonstrates the importance that the 'early leavers' attached to 'good pay' above all other criteria, in choosing a job.

Table 7 - 5 The Ranking of Occupational Values according to the preference of the 'early leavers'

Occupational Values	Occupational Value regarded as most important according to pupils' choices. %
Good Pay	62
Friendly People	11
Opportunities for Training	8
Opportunities for Promotion	6
A steady sort of job	5.5
Chance to make decisions	3
Varied Work	2
Near Home	1.5
Chance to change job easily	0

In fact in three choices allowed, to determine which are the most important things in choosing a job, only 10% of respondents did not refer at all to 'good pay'. Opportunities for training or promotion were rarely mentioned. Apart from 'good pay', friendly people and a job near home were most consistently referred to. It would seem from this data, that immediate gratification is very much a dominant theme, in the thinking of these adolescents as they move on from school to work, a theme frequently reiterated by these students in essays they wrote on 'Leaving School'.

- "Will When i finish school i would like to work in a factory because you get £6."
- "But when you start work you bring money in and when I start work the money Ill get I will give my mother about 4 pound and I will keep the rest for my-self and I will buy my own clothers."
- "I am looking forward for to leave school and getting a job and settling down having plenty of money and enjoying myself."
- "When I leave school I am hoping of to work in Jackson the tailor. I will be very pleased if I get the job, My sister works there and she gets good money."
- "I think factory work would be the best job for me and not only that, but you get good money in a factory."

To earn money, very frequently, was the only reason offered for leaving school early, and expressed quite directly, particularly by girls in relation to buying clothes etc.,

Sex does not seem in fact to have any significant influence on occupational values. Table 7 - 6 reveals only marginal differences, though it is of interest that girls value friendly people at work much more than the boys do, 16% as against 4%. Nine per cent less of the girls consider good pay as the main criteria in choosing a job, though a large majority of both sexes consider it most important.

Table 7 - 6 The influence of sex on the importance attached to particular occupational values

Occupational Values	Occ. Value regarded as most important by Boys. %	Occ. Value regarded as most important by Girls. %
Good Pay	67	58
Opportunities for Training	9	8
Friendly People	4	16
Opportunities for Promotion	7	5
Chance to make decisions	4	3
Varied Work	2	3
Steady Job	5	5
Chances to change job	0	0
Near Home	2	1

Similarly social class background appears to have only a marginal effect on occupational values, 62% of socio-economic group 4, rank 'good pay' as of paramount importance in choosing a job, the percentage for socio-economic group 5 is 63%.

As 'good pay' is the most important criterion for choosing a particular job, it is not surprising that earning ones own money is the experience anticipated with most enthusiasm by the early leavers. However, also of significance is the enthusiasm directed towards actually having found a job and settled in to it. Over 60% of the respondents in one of their two choices feel this is an important factor. An explanation for this might well be a fear of unemployment, which is locally very high. An indication of the level of unemployment can be demonstrated by the fact that 24% of these early leavers have fathers either unemployed or permanently on sickness benefit.

Surprisingly, being independent of ones parents is not frequently stated as a reason for looking forward to the world of work, though it was mentioned often enough in conversation and essays, in conjunction with earning one's own living, for example :-

- "When you start work you will have your own money to spend you whont have to ask your muther all the time you wont have to tell her where your gang with who the time you had to be in where you went to school."
- "Then I will be working for my own money and be able to buy my own clothes and save up to get married. I will not have long holidays like we get at school but I can go away with my friends. But when I am at school I cannot own money."
- "When you are still at school it stop you from going out with your friends and you got to be in the house by a certain time."

Generally speaking the world of work is anticipated with much enthusiasm, school suggests pupilage, work implies adulthood, the

one demands financial dependence on parents, the other symbolises earning money, nevertheless, there are some aspects of school which the early leavers will miss, just as there are things they do not look forward to about having a job. Given two choices of aspects of work they least looked forward to, overall 64% acknowledged that they would miss their school friends and the lack of finding new friends constituted one of their biggest fears about work.

- "When I leave school I want to work at Hepworths or Jacksons the tailors, and I want to have good friends, around me. I would like some one to go to work with me, or someone to go up that way to get on the bus with me."

- "I honestly wish I was left school only one thing I dont want to leave for is I will miss my friends".....
"I am going to try my hardist to get a job besides my freinds Carol and Julie."

- "When I leave school I hope that I get a job where there are many Friends and I hope that I have not to travel far and I hope that I get a job said somebody who I know so I can go to work with them."

Sixty per cent of the respondents also wished that they could retain the longer holidays of school days. A sizeable minority (25%) did not look forward to having to travel some distance to work, perhaps more significant however, is the fact that only 17% showed any concern at having to learn new things at work. These the 'reluctant leavers' in the context of school, obviously expected to be more interested and involved in their new jobs, and therefore happy to learn new things.

Having considered the occupational values and aspirations of the early leavers, it is crucial to ask a number of questions.

in relation to this data, such as :- How long have the early leavers wanted these jobs and what do they think their chances are of getting them? How far would they be prepared to move to secure such jobs, and possibly most important who has been instrumental in helping the young people to come to their decisions about occupation. The latter will be discussed in a separate section along with the role of the school in the process of occupational choice.

Dealing first with the length of time they have wanted these jobs, questionnaire responses shown in Table 7 - 7 indicate that decisions tend frequently to be made during the last year before leaving school.

Table 7 - 7 The stages at which decisions relating to occupational choice were reached by the 'early leavers'.

Decision Making Time	Early Leavers involved %
More than 3 years before	14
3 years before	10
2 years before	15.5
1 year before	30
less than 6 months before	30

Perhaps of more significance, is the differences that become apparent when the above is related to level of job aspirations. Of the 30% who had decided on their jobs within the last six months, 72% aspired to jobs classified into socio-economic group five, whereas of all those aspiring to occupations classified into group four only 19% had made their decision within the last six months. The same distinction is apparent among those who have

known what they wanted to do for two years or more, 50% had made their minds up, who had aspirations towards a job of group four, whereas only 30% had definitely made a decision as far as an occupation ranked in group five was concerned. All this tends to reveal that the earlier one's decision is made regarding a choice of job, the higher the level of aspiration.

Sex appears to have only a marginal influence on the decision making process, girls making their minds up a little later than boys, a fact consistent with the tendency of girls to have lower job aspirations than boys. Table 7 - 8 demonstrates this, with 48.5% boys as opposed to 42% girls having decided upon a particular job at least two years before leaving school.

Table 7 - 8 The influence of sex on the stage at which a decision relating to future occupation is reached

Decision Making Time	Boys involved %	Girls involved %
More than 3 yrs before	16	13
3 yrs before	13.5	9
2 yrs before	19	20
1 yr before	27	29
Less than 6 months before	24	29

As far as an individuals chances of getting a particular job are concerned, it is worth repeating that although both interviews and group discussions with the least able children, revealed incredible ignorance about careers in general, they clearly showed a down to earth realism about their own particular prospects. Aspirations are certainly low, but the chances of getting a job are assessed as quite high by the respondents. Twenty one per

cent thought they had a very good chance of getting the job they wanted, 74% thought they had a fair chance and in fact, only 5% felt they had no hope at all of realising their particular aspirations.

The majority of the early leavers restricted their aspirations to the immediate locality. As I have already stated a sizeable minority of about 25% did not look forward with any enthusiasm to travelling some distance to work. This is consistent with the extremely limited occupational horizons of these early leavers. Overall 52% of respondents were unwilling to contemplate a move away from the area in which they lived, whether to get a job or go to college. This percentage were not even willing to move out of Sunderland into some other area in County Durham. Forty eight per cent were prepared to move, but of that number 33% could only contemplate moving within the North Eastern region. Significant differences can be discerned according to sex, as the following table shows, with girls very reluctant to leave home.

Table 7 - 9 The influence of sex on willingness to be geographically mobile

Sex	Willing to move	Unwilling to move
Boys	70%	30%
Girls	40%	60%

Of striking interest is the influence that a school can apparently have on the desire to be geographically mobile. Although in the case of both Cavendish and Victoria the socio-economic backgrounds are markedly similar, there are wide divergences in results, exemplified by the fact that only 26.5% of pupils at Cavendish were prepared to be mobile whereas 81% from Victoria were quite happy to move. It might be possible to explain such

differences whilst discussing who has helped most in bringing about occupational choices.

Section 4 Agents of Occupational Choice

Most young people have little difficulty in keeping fantasies separate from their workaday lives, but even at the mundane level realistic choices are not always easy to make, often a degree of guidance is required. Despite the apparent complexities of the situation the pattern of life for most people settles itself unconsciously during the school years. The adolescent comes to terms with the various influences of family, school and friends and finally his sense of identity is moulded together and crystallized in the form of a job.

It is all too apparent from the responses of the Sunderland 'early leavers' both in questionnaires and discussions that very many young people depend on their parents when choosing a job. Following in father's footsteps does not happen automatically, but in spite of family arguments, parents tend to prevail in the end and most children accept their final advice as the most valid they are likely to receive.

The majority of the early leavers in the survey felt that their parents had helped them most in either choosing a job or thinking about a particular job. Table 7 - 10 demonstrates the relative importance of the various agents of occupational choice. It shows that the proportion who refer to parental help in occupational choice far exceeds reference to any other agent of occupational guidance.

Table 7 - 10 The ranking of agents of occupational choice
according to importance attached to them by the pupils.

Agents of Occupational Choice.	Agent of Occupational Choice regarded as most important by the pupils. %
Parental Help	52
Teachers' lessons & advice	15
Youth Employment Officer	14
Visits to factories	11
Friends ideas	3
Any other/Printed Information.	5

Overall, taking into account the two choices respondents had, only 29% did not mention parents as having been a significant influence in helping them to come to a decision about a job. Individuals tend to settle for what is familiar, for what they know makes for happiness and contentment, rather than for situations which are unfamiliar and threatening. "It runs in the family", is still often a crucial decider in choosing a job. Sex again appears to make quite a bit of difference, in that girls tend to rely on parental guidance more than boys. In fact only 38% of boys see parental help as the first most important influence, whereas 47% of girls do. Nevertheless parental help is far and away the most significant influence for both sexes, teachers lessons and advice taking second place. The 'leavers' frequently made reference to their parents in their essays on 'leaving school'.

- "I think my parents will help me get a job for when I leave school. Ena that is my step mother said she would get me a job if she could because she knows somebody who works at Hepworths."
- "When I leave school I want to work in a factory as I have always wanted too. I have talked to my parents about working in a factory and they think this is the best work for me."
- "When I leave school I am going to work at Luxdon Laundry. My parents helped me to choose what was best for me."
- "My mother said it will be best to leave as soon as possible because there are not many jobs going in Sunderland today..... My father said I just want to take a temporary job until I can find a more suitable job."

Although many of the repondents think that they will miss their school friends a lot, few are influenced directly by friends in choosing a job.

Vocational guidance experts are perhaps more appreciated than might have been expected overall 40% of respondents refer to help received from them. There is no doubt that careers masters, youth employment officers and personnel officers between them make an indispensable contribution to the welfare of young people during the transition from school to work, but family and social influences have had fifteen years start and these operate even within the school wielding a terrific amount of influence. Formal agencies tend on the whole to reinforce rather than reverse a trend though they are useful in demonstrating such things as geographical distribution of jobs.

I have studiously avoided thus far, an assessment of the role of the school in influencing occupational choice. The young people involved in this survey certainly had very definite ideas concerning the part the school should play, ideas frequently tied up with arguments about the curriculum which are separately dealt with in Chapter VIII, however with strict reference to the help given in choosing a job, the Sunderland schools come out of it relatively unscathed. On the whole, although not regarded as the most important influence in deciding a young person on a particular job, most pupils agreed that their schools offered a considerable amount of help. This type of help was apparent in the form of work experience projects, factory visits and informal discussions. In both schools careers advice was given freely by form teachers, though they were quick to admit their inadequacies, being purely 'amateurs' at the job.

Eighty One % of respondents felt that schools should give help in choosing a job whereas 76% thought that their school did offer guidance, a discrepancy of only 5%. Pupils frequently referred to their last year of schooling as the most useful, because then one started learning about jobs and hence the 'real world'.

- "this school helps all the pupils who are leaving to get a good job they take you on visits to different places and you ask questions about the place you have visited you may then be able to get a job at the place....."
- "I think the class I am in now 4th Newsom is good because learns you different things about jobs."
- "they gave us how to interview for a job and they take us to factorys to look round and if we like the factory we can go when we leaver school."

As far as attitudes to the schools role are concerned, there are only minor differences according to sex. Less girls than boys feel the school should help in the choice of a job, 80% as against 86% for the boys. Similarly more girls than boys feel that their own school does not offer help, 25% as against 19%, however, these differences are small and insignificant as are differences between the specific schools and the guidance they give.

Throughout this chapter I have mentioned the high level of realism which seems to pervade the decisions of the early leavers. They continue to express very mundane aspirations even when given the opportunity to fantasize and choose any job in the world. The majority do not have any wild imaginings, their dream job aspirations tend to be only marginally higher than their actual job aspirations. Thus a girl who thinks she is likely to become a shop girl or factory worker fantasizes about becoming an hair-dresser. The following Table 7 - 11 shows the distribution of 'fantasy' jobs according to the Registrar General's classification.

Table 7 - 11 Pupils' fantasy job aspirations classified according to Registrar General's categories.

Pupils fantasy job aspirations %	Socio-Economic Group
5	1
9	2
20	3
50	4
16	5

Even where dreams are concerned, these early leavers demonstrate the limits of their occupational images and horizons, 66%

conceiving of very low level of jobs relative to the registrar general's ranking. It is interesting here to consider the differences between fantasy and realism by comparing the two choices of the young people in question. Table 7 - 12 demonstrates how closely dream aspirations are related to real aspirations.

Table 7 - 12 The relationship between real and fantasy
job aspirations

Socio- Economic Group		F a n t a s y A s p i r a t i o n s				
		1	2	3	4	5
R e a l A s p i r a t i o n s	3	-	-	1%	1%	-
	4	4%	6%	5%	29%	1%
	5	1%	3%	14%	21%	14%

Of those who previously had aspirations classified into group five, 65% do not aspire above group four. The number is similar for those young people who aspired to group four - 67%, though significantly few of the young people had fantasy aspirations below their real aspirations (1%). Overall only 9% of the entire group aspired to group two occupations and even less 5% to group one.

Sex can be seen as an important differentiating factor in relation to occupational fantasies. As Table 7 - 13 shows 93% of girls are contented with fantasy aspirations in group 3, 4 or 5.

Table 7 - 13 The influence of sex on pupils' fantasy job aspirations, classified according to Registrar General's categories

Sex	S o c i o - E c o n o m i c G r o u p s				
	1	2	3	4	5
Boys %	8	25	5	59	2
Girls %	2	5	22	53	18

The explanation for this may well be that work is viewed very much as a stop-gap before marriage, and domestic fantasies rather than career fantasies are more likely. This idea is consistent with much of the information surrounding the girls' life projects. On the other hand 33% of the boys do aspire to groups one and two, in contrast to the 2% of the boys fantasizing about jobs in group 5. Here a strong difference emerges with 18% girls aspiring to that group.

What has emerged from this chapter is that the 'early leavers' in this particular survey and probably generally speaking, view work with a good deal of enthusiasm which is not dissipated by the realisation that the jobs they are going to do rank fairly low down in the occupational hierarchy. These young people have come to a rational choice, guided by parents and limited by local availability of jobs. Their occupational horizons are essentially geared towards the familiar. These early leavers anticipate a degree of involvement in work which they have never felt in school, where frequently the overall picture is one of disenchantment and alienation.

If Rosla is to be successful and not present too many headaches of control it demands an involved response from its 'reluctant learners'. It is necessary to determine why the pupils are not involved in school work and in what way this can be

remedied. Many educationalists are extremely conscious of the role the curriculum can play as saviour. Curriculum changes and associated new teaching methods are seen as the solution to problems of lack of involvement, however if the changes are misguided and unappreciative of the pupils' position, the root of the problem may not be reached and may well be compounded still further. It will take a lot to convince a boy who recognizes that a couple of C.S.E.'s will just put him a year behind getting an apprenticeship so nips in smartly at fifteen years while he has the chance, that the extra year is going to prove of value to him. Conceivably the 'victims of Rosla' will suffer when all the children of similar age are applying for the same jobs, the sentence may well be a year's extra monotony and a dead-end job.

Chapter Eight

Curriculum : Salvation or Downfall of Rosla

"Buildings are important; and teachers are more important still, but the raising of the school leaving age to 16 will be judged by the quality of the education provided. R.S.L.A. ought not to consist simply of tacking on an "extra year" but should involve a review of the curriculum as a whole, so that the years up to 16 represent a coherent educational experience for all secondary pupils." ^{81.}

Only 7% of the early leavers in the Sunderland survey admitted they were sorry to leave school. This feeling is a clear reflection of their lack of interest or involvement in it. Both Crowther and Newsom advocated the raising of the school leaving age but recognized simultaneously the inadequacy of present courses to satisfy the less able children. Rosla does, however, provide a suitable context for following up the curricular implications, particularly of the Newsom report. If Rosla is to be successful, then 93% of 'early leavers' who were happy to leave school at fifteen must find school stimulating enough to dissipate resentment against their compulsory retention. Curricula changes and the use of new teaching methods have been discussed by a number of interested bodies and planning committees as mentioned in the next section.

Section 1 Planning for Rosla

The Department of Education and Science made clear its awareness of the problems associated with Rosla in its Circular 8/71. With the Schools Council it has made a number of suggestions to facilitate successful adaptation to the new leaving age. Both the D.E.S. and the Schools Council question certain assumptions about

the scope and ability of "less able children", stressing the 'unknowns' evolving from Rosla. The Schools Council points out that voluntary 'staying-on' to sixteen revealed powers in pupils which many did not suspect; similarly the 'undiscovered' in the 'Rosla' children should not be anticipated as all bad.

The Schools Council met as early as October 1964 to discuss a programme of activity for Rosla; some of their suggestions have been documented in the Schools Council Working Paper No. 2, "Raising the School Leaving Age",^{82.} and the Schools Council Committee for Wales publication, "Another Year to Endure or Enjoy"^{83.} Both bodies stress their purely advisory role, the Schools Council can only offer suggestions; it is up to headmasters to implement them.

The consensus of opinion is that Rosla presents not only problems of continuity from the Fourth year, but also an opportunity for a revision of the whole secondary school curriculum tailored to the increasing physical maturity of pupils within schools. The D.E.S. feels that the rapid personal development which takes place in the latter years of school, will constitute a major thorn in the flesh of pupils who resent their humiliating school boy status, in contrast to their 'adult' life outside school. Edward Blishen in his novel "Roaring Boys", sketches the picture following the last Rosla in the late 'forties', which is possibly applicable today;

"The school leaving age had been raised to fifteen.

This was a raw issue with most of the Stonehill Street boys and their parents. They felt that it amounted to a year's malicious, and probably illegal, detention..... We teachers were nothing short of robbers. We had snatched a year's earnings from pockets. We had humiliated them by detaining them in the child's world of school when they should

have been outside smoking, taking the girls out, leading a man's life." 84.

The Schools Council and D.E.S. felt that this increased maturity could provide a major opportunity on which to build educational capital, or it could prove a disastrous pitfall. The 'opportunity' it was felt, would lie in the pupil being encouraged to make decisions about the kind of person he intends to be, the nature of his relationships with other people, his adaptation to his environment and his expectations from life. Although the above could be conceived as the distinctive task of all secondary education it is perhaps most relevant to programmes afforded by Rosla.

It is in "hypothetical areas" such as these which Rosla (with its reluctant pupils) presents problems outside the range of the direct experiences of teaching staff. Suggested courses are cloaked in cliched terms and advocated for 'smooth adaptation.' They should be outward-looking and relevant to future life, according to the Schools Council, containing a substantial practical element with the emphasis on real tasks with adult equipment. Planning across subject boundaries is applauded, as is the principle of school-based enquiry with its focus on decisions made in the past, and speculation on where 'pupils' and humanity in general will find themselves in the future.

It is my opinion that this kind of approach demands an acceptance of the pupil's 'near adult' status, awareness and attitudes, even on the part of teachers. It has implications not only for the selection of topics but the treatment of topics as well. Adult procedures in the classroom will not go down well if a different kind of relationship between teacher and pupil obtains in the corridor or out of school activity.

"If the teacher emphasizes in the classroom, his common humanity with the pupils and his common uncertainty in the face of many problems, the pupils will not take kindly to being demoted to the status of children in other relationships within the same institution. Indeed they may write off the classroom relationship as a "soft-sell".⁸⁵

Relationships therefore, need to be consistent and relaxed. There is evidence from further and adult education and from those few schools which have successfully held appreciable numbers of the less able pupils for a 7th year that 'attitude and empathy' are the keys which can throw open doors where current experience of a 4th year course might suggest they must remain closed.

What is at stake is a rigid academic tradition, which has successfully alienated annually, large numbers of children. A compromise is called for and this usually relates the work of the schools to the pupils' own view of their needs, to their own central interests and to their own evaluation of what is relevant. These necessarily are the points of departure because, although the teachers wield the power of compulsion, it is the pupils who hold the trump card of involvement. Teachers and pupils need to get together such that pupils are carried forward by the relevance of what is taught, to the next stage in their future development and understanding. Of considerable importance is the fact that these pupils will not readily perform tasks without knowing why.

The Schools Council, also felt it essential that national projects should be viewed as guidelines. They were formulated only as the foundations on which local circumstances and local initiative could build for the success of Rosla.

The theme of involving students both in decisions about courses and in the actual content of them has been substantially expanded in the Durham Education Assembly's Report No.1 on Rosla.

The report stressed that the course must not be simply a miscellaneous collection of interesting studies and activities however attractive each of these might be individually. The emphasis must be on a unifying theme such as the 'Contemporary World', or 'Home, Family and Environment', so that the pupil feels that different subjects and different approaches by a number of teachers do fit together. Relevance is a term consistently repeated throughout the D.E.A.'s report, particularly as it relates to the pupils. They must feel the courses are relevant to the business of living in the outside world. If this attitude is not developed, many of the assembly felt that disciplinary and absentee problems could get out of hand.

While most of the report relates the Vth year course to a look-ahead to employment, there is no suggestion that the course should consist even chiefly of vocational training: where this is mentioned, it is specifically rejected in favour of a broader based curriculum.

- "The education provided will not be vocationally guided and must be designed to create a wider approach to life."
- "The extra year's work should be creative rather than vocational." ^{86.}

Perhaps by statements such as these, of a particularly concrete nature, staff are already sowing seeds of destruction within the course.

The Durham committee also advocate the introduction of an element of choice into the fifth year compulsory course. * Psychologically this may help to make staying-on more acceptable. Absence of choice was certainly one of the biggest grumbles of some of the early leavers I interviewed. -

* One suggested course incorporating the principle of choice is quoted in Appendix I.

As one boy put in his essay on 'Leaving School',

"I thing if you do not lick a surton theng
that you do not lick they should not make
you do it just lick in all the other 4 years
con and only 4 nowson are the only glass which
con not pick their own subject and us are
stuk with some we dont like."

In the same way as choice is considered desirable, teachers also feel the need to offer some incentives to their less academic pupils, they realise they cannot rely on "examination motivation". Some teachers have formulated award schemes, (certificate, mention on Speech Day etc.,). However, these award systems stand or fall on the values of the children involved. In the discussion of sub-cultural development in schools in Chapter Five, it became apparent that anti-values often developed, denigrating success in the terms of the school. The pupils will need to believe in the value of the award before they will be prepared to be involved in a scheme. Perhaps one way of making the compulsory fifth year welcomed rather than rejected would be to offer more appropriate incentives, i.e. the giving of adult privileges which in some cases could take the form of common room facilities etc., Doubts have already been expressed about such privileges, due to fears that a "let-up" on authoritarian discipline would only sow seeds for future disruption of the educational process, resulting in a general lack of order.

Section 2 The Realities of the Situation

In relation to new schemes concerning Rosla, there was a good deal of complacency in both the Sunderland schools. It was felt in both cases that there was no need to develop new courses, because the present 4th year schemes still had plenty of scope and room for expansion. Although this sounded fairly unimaginative

the teachers were vocal in defence of their present courses which they felt were the best in the area and realistic with it. There was a good deal of talk about 'pie in the sky' projects which these teachers felt would never get off the ground due to lack of resources or enthusiasm. *

According to the teaching staff, the 4th year leavers group had a wide and interesting curriculum revolving around projects and informal group work.

One of the projects was concerned with the historical Sunderland, during its period of prosperity in the nineteenth century. Pupils went out to collect data on buildings, shipyards etc., Other schemes, incorporating baby care and 'health and beauty' were also being envisaged for the girls: as were house projects, with girls and boys pairing off as 'young married couples, costing and setting up a home'. The latter seemed a very good idea but the teachers had to admit that it had not really got off the ground. On closer enquiry, the same pattern emerged for most of their schemes, though this did not seem to dissipate the enthusiasm of the staff. A few days of observation of the 'Sunderland project' revealed that even here, there was little enthusiasm, with many students admitting to 'dolling off' after having found out only a minimum amount of information.

This came as no surprise, the 'Newsom' group of this particular school in Sunderland had very slim resources available for project work. All equipment, charts etc., had to be kept in two cupboards to avoid mutilation by other pupils. The frequent vandalism associated with the 'Newsom' classroom could hardly be blamed on the 'early leavers'. Their classroom was in an unenviable position, completely isolated from all other classes for most of the day, yet invaded at lunchtimes and used as an extension to the next door dining room.

* One course, so described by the teachers is quoted in Appendix II

Divided only by partitions, the classroom was often left in as disgusting a state as the canteen, and any pictures, charts or drawings left on the wall were covered with witticisms or mutilated with graffiti. Little wonder then, that the pupils' enthusiasm waned when they could make no display of their work.

Just as the room itself was effectively isolated and limited in scope, similarly most subjects were limited by available resources. There was no allocation for the use of science laboratories for the 'less able children', and the swimming pool was banned for them, following an incident with a 4.N pupil a few years earlier. It was the same story in relation to most of the specialist rooms: handicraft, a popular subject was severely cramped for space in the classroom. It also suffered because there was insufficient money for materials and the children themselves could not afford to buy the articles they had made. This fact, of course, worked most against the children from the poorest backgrounds who either made 'placemats' which they could afford, or had to reconcile themselves to selling off the finished articles, such as rugs and table lamps.

The effect of a continual need to hunt around for resources tended to make it easier for staff to reconcile themselves to relatively monotonous pursuits, such as number patterns which the better children had mastered nearly ten years before! It is also true that those given the 'N's' to supervise were never told to follow a particular course, a representative comment heard in the staffroom "Throw 'em a maths book and tell 'em to get it done". This in contrast to the apparent 'wet nursing' of examination streams.

What did become clear, after a number of weeks' observation in one school, was the extent of the power held by the class teacher, the man in this case, described by the other staff as being paid to be the 'bogey man'. Having taught boys for most

of his career, this particular teacher felt alienated from the whole comprehensive set up which had necessitated an amalgamation with a girls' school. He didn't like teaching the girls but some attempt at integration had to be made, to pacify the teacher dealing mainly with the girls (the girls were far more numerous, though on the whole more able). The teacher in question tended to clear off as often as possible with the boys, leaving something like fifty five girls for one other teacher to deal with. Obviously this meant an impossibly high teacher/pupil ratio which could never have been tolerated in examination streams, but frequently went unnoticed because of the relative isolation and flexibility of the Newsom groups.

This same male teacher also held dogmatic views in relation to industrial relations and made few bones about it. He felt justified in indoctrinating the pupils in the value of work per se. This kind of attitude was demonstrated by a lesson conducted during the 'Miners' Strike' in 1972, which went out of its way to stress the middle class ethic in relation to work and the interdependence of industries. On the board was a diagram of a ship with its parts labelled e.g. paints, rudders and props. Alongside the diagram was the following comments.

"Most of these items are made by separate factories and works. Therefore if there is a strike in a shipyard it not only effects the workers in the shipyard but the workers in all the factories which produce these items. They are 'laid off' - Reduced wages throughout the industry means people will be buying less. Therefore shop-keepers will become affected by the same strike."

There followed a discussion which centred very much on the ill-effects of strikes. The other point of view was not put at all,

although there was some murmuring among some of the boys against the teacher. The comment of the teacher is perhaps perfectly valid, though it does demonstrate the power of a teacher to influence his students. The danger is obviously more significant in this case where this form has a class teacher, responsible for most subjects, unlike the rest of the 4th year who are taught by a variety of staff of differing persuasions.

Leaving aside the beliefs of all the teachers, it is apparent that most people are satisfied with the present provision for the early leavers. Admittedly a reasonable basis does exist, but satisfaction on the part of the staff is only half the story. It is essential to question whether the students are satisfied or whether from their point of view the staff are barking up the wrong tree. Even bearing in mind all the plans made for Rosla and the types of courses presently being taught, it is conceivable that the planners are working on the wrong lines.

Section 3 How the pupils feel.....

The children in fact, do appear to feel substantially differently about their courses. Pupils attitudes can be demonstrated by looking at their response to both the subjects included in their curriculum, and the methods employed to teach them.

As far as 'subjects' are concerned, it is clear that the pupils relate their experience of schooling to the imminent adult world of work. English and Maths are clearly considered to be the most useful things done at school, with only 39% of children feeling any other subject is more beneficial. Sex appears to influence assessment only in a minor way with 63% of those who think English is most useful being girls and 64% of those who think Maths is the most useful subject being boys. The influence of the school, although discernable, is also slight with pupils at Cavendish revealing a preference for Maths, (33% as against 30%)

and pupils at Victoria a preference for English, (40% as against 31%).

Pupils on the whole like to be assured of the relevance of a subject to future experience. When this assurance is not apparent, the young people become alienated from the subjects involved. One pupil summed up this attitude,

- "In this school they learn you theng that you well not nead when you leave for instants the is French whet is the good of french. Then therere is Geography. they tell you whet other people grow in the countreys and what would you wont to no that when some peole will not go as fare as what you talk about."

As pupils hold some subjects more relevant than others, similarly they reveal preferences for particular types of teaching method. In the plans for Rosla, the committees have often emphasized the need for new approaches, a commercial attempt to market the educational goods more successfully by means of films, projects, tapes etc., Although such methods may well relieve the monotony of the extra year it appears, according to pupil response, that they are not valued highly as a means of learning. Pupils are emphatic in their belief that they learn best by a lesson from a teacher. The following table demonstrates this fact.

Table 8 - 1 The ranking of Teaching Methods according to pupils' assessment of effectiveness.

Teaching Method	Most effective method according to pupil assessment. %
A lesson from a teacher	70.5
A film	9
Finding out for oneself from books	8.5
A television lesson	7
Lesson illustrated by filmstrip	5
A radio lesson	0
Lesson by Record/Tape	0

This preference for a lesson from a teacher appears to conflict with another stated preference for working with others rather than by oneself. However, it seems that the 78% who prefer group work probably value most highly a class discussion guided by the teacher. This does not require the same degree of active participation, on the part of the pupil, as individual work which may have to be marked or tested for comprehension.

A preference for the most traditional teaching method seems to be more marked amongst girls than boys. Eight-four per cent of girls feel they learn best by a lesson from a teacher. Although the majority of the boys, 53%, are in agreement with the previous statement, a substantial minority reveal a preference for "audio-visual enquiry". Eighteen per cent of boys find films useful, against 3% of girls. In fact, overall, only 9% of girls

chose a method involving any use at all of visual recordings whereas 36% of boys did.

As teaching method is often influenced by school policy, time-tabling etc., it is not surprising that the school itself and therefore the teaching staff within, can be seen to affect the attitudes of their pupils towards particular teaching methods. At Victoria school 86% of respondents feel the most effective learning method is through a lesson from a teacher; the same belief is held by a substantially smaller majority at Cavendish school, 67%.

For those associated with Rosla who are planning to abandon traditional policies it might be relevant for them to realise that both in subjects and in teaching methods the pupils view school purely instrumentally. Table 8 - 2 demonstrates the preference of pupils for both traditional subject matter and traditional presentation of it. No interest at all is shown in **tape or radio lessons, similarly few pupils find subjects like** music, art or P.E. in anyway useful. The pupils can appreciate, however, the relevance of English, maths and in the case of the girls, Cookery, to their future experience. Overall, the respondents reveal a preference for old, well tried methods and subjects. In fact 40% of respondents show both a preference for a traditional subject and a traditional lesson from the teacher.

Table 8 - 2 The pupils preference for 'most useful subject'
and 'most effective teaching method'.

Most Useful subject according to pupils' preference.	Most effective Teaching Method according to pupils' assessment						
	Teacher	Film	Books	T.V.	Film-Strip	Record/Tape	Radio
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
English	22	4	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-
Maths	18	4	4	2	2	-	-
Cookery	12	-	1	1	1	-	-
Handicrafts	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Geog/History	1.5	1	-	1	-	-	-
Music/Art	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Typing/Technol.	5	-	1	1.5	-	-	-
P.E.	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other	5	1	1.5	-	-	-	-

Even when asked which were their favourite subjects, the pupils' choice tended to favour to a large extent those subjects which have practical ties with the adult world. The following table demonstrates this fact, the only exception appearing to be P.E. On further questioning the P.E. enthusiasts admitted to this preference either, because of membership of school teams (matches and practices conducted out of school hours) or in a few cases out of a passion for 'football' in any shape or form.

Table 8 - 3 The pupils' favourite subject ranked according
to pupils' preference

Favourite Subject	Pupils' Preference %
Cookery	22
P.E.	16
English	14
Handicrafts	11
Typing/Technology	11
Maths	10
History/Geog.	7
Music/Art	4
Other	3

Overall there appears to be an even distribution of preference within Victoria School, no subject being an outstanding favourite. The picture is different for Cavendish where the practical subjects of Cookery, Handicrafts and P.E. are clear favourites as Table 8 - 4 indicates.

Table 8 - 4 The influence of school on subject preference

Favourite Subject	Victoria School Pupils' Preference %	Cavendish School Pupils' Preference %
P.E.	14	22
English	12	10
History	14	3
Typing/Technology	16	2
Handicrafts	9	20
Cookery	9	29
Maths	12	12
Art/Music	5	-
Other	9	-

As one might expect, sex does have some influence on the kind of subjects preferred. Boys tend to distribute their preference fairly evenly with Maths, P.E. and Craft each attracting 19% of the respondents but no one clear favourite. On the other hand the girls do exhibit a decided preference for Cookery, 33% saying it is their favourite subject, 15% more than choose any other subject.

Unlike educationalists, planners and teachers, an emphasis on the vocational aspect of study is apparent in most of the pupils' thinking about curriculum. The most unpopular subjects are Music, History, Religious Education and Art, as the following comments suggest these appear irrelevant to the pupils.

- "I thing that school has been go in some way and bad in other when we get history I can not thing wot good it is going to be to to me when I lever school and the same go for music Art P.E. French R.E. The subjects that sued be taurt are metalwork woodwork math english gerograph enganeering subjects which will help you get a job."
- "In the 1st and 2nd year I got french and french had nothing to do with the job I wanted and R.E. is also a subject with nothing to do with work."
- "some of the lessons we get are no good for to get a job I do not like art, or music or geography, french."

In fact the only thing which the respondents were absolutely unanimous about is 'that people should learn things in school which will help them when they go out to work'. In the few cases when the school is explicitly praised by the pupils it is because it seems to be applicable to future experience, not so much of work but in the domestic situation.

- "I think the 4 Newsom class is good because it learns you all about when you get married what to do about a house and furniture how you measure carpets and plan room everything about settleing down."
- "Gardening is a very good lesson it helps you to know how to garden so when you get married and get your own house and you will know how to garden so gardening has been a very helpful thing."

It appears that if curriculum changes are going to be the salvation of Rosla, and many other problems associated with the education of the less able children, the conflict between academic and vocational must be resolved.

It is apparent that teachers, unlike their pupils, have generally rejected the achievement of vocational success as a major objective of education. Many of the Rosla plans seem to continue to make the assumption that anything at all vocational is to be avoided. In some cases the emphasis seems to be on 'difference' as opposed to 'relevance'. The 'relevance' that teachers strive to introduce need not necessarily be recognized as such by the pupils. For pupils, it clearly has to do with the immediate or with the very nearly imminent; thus activities relating to working life cluster at the top of the scale, more general activities group at the bottom.

Basically the reasons for existing problems stretch back to the beginnings of the secondary system of education built on the narrow and selective foundation of the Grammar School with an elementary education deemed adequate for the majority of the common folk. For a long time the two distinctive traditions have influenced the teachers but there is little doubt that the academic or grammar/public school tradition is the stronger. This kind of model has certain characteristics namely, a compartmentalization of teaching and learning by labelled subjects, limited by time-tables and subject specialization of teachers. Secondly an expectation of pupil identification with the teacher and his values and finally incentives for work such as marks, prizes etc., In recent years the extension of such awards to larger numbers of pupils in secondary schools has lengthened the 'academic tentacles'. It is still not, however, successfully applicable to the majority. If the academic model is unsuitable it may be that the vocational model may be less so.

It would perhaps be better to refer not to 'vocational' but to an 'alternative model', which depends on the joint working out of a programme, by pupils and staff meeting with student wishes and teachers' skills. A programme arrived at in this way would in all probability be vocational as pupil interest and wishes are likely to lie in that area. Such an alternative model makes no assumption of pupil identification with teachers. If anything, the identification will be the other way round with the teacher beginning where the young person is, listening, encouraging, discussing and promoting learning on the basis of teacher-pupil understanding.

A radical change of policy of this kind would necessitate a reconciliation of the attitudes of the old 'hard liners' and those involved in the 'softer' approach to the teaching of 'less able children'. A truce must be reached in the staff room before there is any chance of success in the classroom. Any curriculum is doomed to failure if teachers fear that in some way they are weakening or undermining the system by listening to rebellious adolescents and accepting their feelings and opinions. In a different way the Rosla curricula plans may also be doomed because of failure to enlist support from the pupils.

Chapter Nine

A Different World!

So far it has been established that Rosla is at least going to bring in its wake, a difficult transitional period for schools. The problems revolve around curriculum, resources and the level of involvement of pupils. This latter is liable to be the most important influence, either limiting or extending the amount of indiscipline and absenteeism. Pupils have revealed that their main interest is their life projects, if interest is to be established in curriculum it is clear that some changes are needed and these changes seem doomed to failure unless the pupils are convinced of their applicability to future experiences. Problems associated with curriculum are not confined to the need for vision and relevance, they are simultaneously associated with the limitations of local education authority resources. It is of little use to contrive a course finely balanced between the traditional and the experimental if buildings and staffing are not generous enough to accommodate it.

These are the problems, it is necessary now to question, how far these can be overcome by schools, or if there is something within the school itself which is likely to inhibit the realisation of Rosla aims? In this chapter I shall consider the role that the internal organization of the school plays, as well as the often unconscious way in which the staff culture stamps itself on the school putting limits on the expectations and the development of the 'less able pupils'.

Section 1 The internal organization of school

That inequality of opportunity exists between private and state sectors of education is a recognized fact which is often deplored. That some inequality can be traced to policies of internal organization of classes within state schools, is an increasingly frequent observation. Considerable attention has

been devoted to methods of grouping pupils, to discover whether the roots of failure and consequent problems associated with low stream pupils in any way lie within the schools.

Streaming is the traditional system for organizing classes. It developed in state schools in the 1920's and 30's reaching its peak in the early fifties. Designed to reduce the special problems facing the reorganization of elementary schools into junior and senior units, it developed from a temporary strategy to a more or less settled institution in the British education system, rarely challenged by either teacher or administrator, that is until recent years.

Several commentators have come to question the validity of a system based on an 'outdated' belief in the long term stability of intelligence testing.^{87.} Jackson Hargreaves and Douglas and many more researchers have come to the conclusion that streaming can be seen as a reflection of social rather than educational differences, "perpetuating social divisions, generating feelings of failure among many children and elitist ideas among others."^{88.}

According to Jackson this kind of division conforms with differentiation within the wider context of British society, 'A', 'B' and 'C' streams merely being examples of the many triads present in society, reflected in grammar, technical and secondary modern schools, upper, middle and working class and even in the Mass Media by different radio channels like the Third Programme, Home Service and the Light.^{89.}

As the unstreamed principle is generally followed by European and American education systems, it could be hypothesized that education is significant in perpetuating cultural differences in British society, working as an institutionalising element, steering children into an appropriate position for the economy and mass media to take over.^{90.} Certainly the process of streaming is very much a self fulfilling prophecy with most of

those children graded as 'A' in their primary schools progressing quite successfully over academic hurdles.

Streaming is often an ongoing process from five to fifteen, with the initial selection procedure taking place early on in the school career, at a time when environmental factors have played the dominant role in a child's development. The timing of this process initially favours the middle class child. Douglas claims that at every extension of the streaming process, this initial advantage is liable to be consolidated. In his own study of 'The Home and the School', Douglas points out that a child once in a high stream is likely to stay and improve his performance in succeeding years, making a striking contrast with the deterioration in those children of similar initial ability, placed in lower streams. These findings were supported by other research of the 'sixties', the picture remaining consistent, with 'C' streams, centres of declining morale, effort and attainment.^{91.}

One consequence of disenchantment and lack of involvement of groups is that teachers become disillusioned. Higher streams are invariably better taught simply because there is more continuity in material, teachers lessons are better prepared, motivation is high and rewards such as examination success are more tangible.

With the realization that the practice of streaming seems to promote visible failure to less able children, it seems essential to find an alternative method of internal organization if they are to be involved and interested in the extra year. Although I have been discussing streaming almost as if it is a universal process within schools, alternative forms of groupings are now diverse and many schools are exploring one or other of the less rigid forms of organization.

Firstly there are many variations on the theme of streaming, with broad ability bands being most frequently used. These are coarse modified forms of streaming, enabling an arrangement of

parallel groups, i.e. unstreaming within a band. Like setting, although a move in the right direction, these refinements of streaming still tend to segregate the 'poles of ability' such that the Newsom child cannot even take P.E. with the 'A' band.

Mixed ability grouping is a comparatively recent development, with each class theoretically containing an equal proportion of pupils of high, medium or low intellectual ability. Such a system of grouping is gradually being given more credibility by teachers, who originally considered it radical and impracticable.

If the success of Rosla is not to be inhibited by internal processes of grouping pupils, radical changes need to take place in British secondary schools, where according to Benn and Simon over 50% of schools employ some refinement of streaming.^{92.}

The main argument against mixed ability grouping has always been that of the danger of lowering academic standards. Evidence has emerged to contradict this view which will probably, according to present trends, lead to a compromise which avoids the extreme positions of rigid streamers or mixed ability supporters.^{93.}

If academic standards remain at least as high as with streaming, on social grounds alone, some refinement of mixed ability grouping could be adopted as an alternative to the present system. By careful organization with the provision of a stimulating educational and social climate, not only the Rosla children, but pupils at all levels, may profitably study in a number of unstreamed groups throughout the curriculum. Reorganization into comprehensive schools and the extension of the school leaving age could possibly dispel from the education system, a process which brands a large number of children, initially as incapable intellectually and later as unmanageable.

Section 2 A question of balance

The above comments and findings provide guidelines for focussing attention on the type of groupings used in the two

Sunderland schools of my enquiry. Both schools have reached their own compromise on streaming and must be considered individually, as apparently minor differences could have quite substantial effects.

Cavendish School

The school is ten-form entry, each year having approximately 120 boys and 180 girls in it. The basic discrepancy between numbers of boys and girls is due to the fact that Sunderland is still at a transitional stage in its movement towards comprehensive reorganization, and sixty selected girls are still sent to the "former" grammar school. The continued acceptance of the principle of selectivity naturally holds repercussions for the organization of the school.

The years are each divided into three ability bands denoted T, R and N. 'T' is the most promising academic band and the 'N' the slowest and least able academically. Banding takes place even in the first year, established entirely on recommendations from previous schools. There is a slight attempt at mixed ability grouping but this is only in the first year for one and a half days per week with children working in house groups of mixed ability. During this time pupils do Art, Technology, P.E. and Religious Knowledge. Although in theory the headmistress had hoped to extend the principle of non-streaming up the school, in practice she felt her hands tied by the need to prove the viability of this the first Sunderland comprehensive on academic grounds. Traditional yardsticks of examination success demanded, according to the headmistress, "purposeful grouping",⁹⁴ with fine setting even within bands, for such subjects as Maths and French.

Forms are in general mixed, but each year contains two or three all girl forms because of the preponderance of selected girls in the school. These girls tend to form the academic elite of the school being placed in the 'T' band. A fair degree of

rigidity exists within bands, subject choices tend to limit movement across 'band barriers'. Those placed in the remedial group in the first year have little chance of climbing out of it even by the fourth year.

Because there is a great deal of enthusiasm surrounding the comprehensive ideal, some attempt to combat the limitations of hierarchic ability grouping has been made within Cavendish. The mixed ability house or tutor groups used for registration etc., are designed to promote friendships across ability groups. The overall effect of such grouping is to camouflage the realities of the situation. The primary prestige hierarchy is the academic one, it is recognized by both staff and pupils and is related to future occupational placements. Mixed ability tutor groups merely serve as 'icing' on the 'ideological cake', their purpose is mainly administrative and a sop to the educationalists who criticize inflexible organization.

Victoria School

The situation is somewhat different in Victoria which has the advantage of being a purpose built comprehensive school which is not required to regard any of its intake as 'selected'.

Victoria school pursues a more flexible form of grouping, with initially all the first year intake being placed in mixed ability classes. The groups serve as administrative and tutorial groups as well as academic working units. At first pupils in all eight forms take all subjects, but after two terms a minority drop French to concentrate on extra remedial work. On entering the second year, there is a further selection process, this time to segregate high flyers who begin German at this stage.

Unlike Cavendish, however, the large majority of pupils remain in three parallel bands of mixed ability. Although the very best and least capable have been skimmed off this group, the result is a fairly wide range of both social backgrounds and

ability. Setting does take place for maths and English, but other subjects like general science, history and geography are taken in mixed groups even through to G.C.E. 'O' level and C.S.E.

Except for a very small group of remedial pupils this kind of organization means that 'early leavers' are mixed in with many pupils aiming to stay on voluntarily to sixteen. The result according to my observation, is a less marked degree of alienation among fifteen year old leavers. This inference was backed up by information from the questionnaires showing that in contrast to Cavendish, where only 35% were in favour, 60% of pupils at Victoria thought Rosla was a good thing.

Although at Victoria pupils appear to be more reconciled to their education, possibly through the use of a more flexible form of organization, there was much fear among the staff who felt that the quality of education had suffered as a result of social integration. One teacher who had formerly been responsible for a fourth year leavers group, felt that 'less able children' who would normally have been in the lowest stream, were struggling in general subjects. He also felt that children were well aware of their own inabilities, certainly staff frequently differentiated groups even within mixed ability classes. One member of staff made her feelings quite clear to me. She said she could not understand why these sub-groups could not be put together and referred to as the hopeless group,

"What's wrong with differentiation, why can't I talk about them as they really are, not just as the kids who are leaving school who can't stay on or won't stay on - we're not allowed to call them less intelligent - its ridiculous, Nits, Nitty-Grits, thats what they are ! "

On the face of it then, both schools have settled for a different compromise on organization. The latter school seems to

have adopted a system which may provide a more socially balanced education for the Rosla children, however, both schools have their problems. Accomplishment of aims in connection with Rosla is likely to be contingent on the 'preparedness' of schools to compromise further on grouping.

Non-streaming is only part of the plan which overall would require a reform of curriculum and individualization of learning. Teachers remain to be convinced on most of these counts, though one might question the priorities of a well oiled educational machine, if all resources are pooled in favour of traditional methods, at a time when re-organization and Rosla demand experimentation to overcome their particular problems.

Section 3 Systematic Status Confirmation/An Alien Culture

If pupils 'anti-social' reactions within school, are in any way a response to their positions in its organizational pattern, and the kind of identity they have built-up there, factors with roots in selective grouping procedures are liable to make their influence felt. Even where the best intentions exist there still appear to be situations in which staff unconsciously confirm the 'C' streamer in his "inferior status". The results of this process of confirmation have been noted when tracing the development of sub-cultures. ^{95.}

When children enter secondary schools their educational identity has been partially established in the records. Their placement into streams or bands is an outward indicator of status. According to Nell Keddie, this label in itself is possibly of less significance than assumptions made about ideas and meanings, relating to both the ability and knowledge of the children involved. She feels that many things are taken for granted, that they are continually referred to but never made explicit. ^{96.}

The 'C' stream identity appears to emerge through teacher/pupil interaction and not just as a function of internal selection

procedures. The criteria on which teachers make judgements apparently remain largely implicit and consensual within the staff-room. It is relevant then, to examine those features of school organization which may critically affect the patterns of interaction and styles of action which emerge within a school. It may be that the definition of the situation, which sees anti-social responses on the part of 'C' stream children as 'normal' behaviour, serves to perpetuate the very structures and processes which appear to be contributing to 'C' stream mentality, identities and careers.

Much sociology of education defines educational failure in terms of social class or ethnic differences, relying on a concept of social pathology. As I pointed out in Section 1 of this chapter, attention has recently been diverted to defining processes occurring within the school itself as the source of inequalities. In turning to these processes it is possible to see categorization of pupils and not only according to visible selection processes although in all probability greatly influenced by these.

Nell Keddie in her investigation of classroom knowledge draws attention to a number of ways in which deviant identities can be maintained, even within a school which has a high degree of institutionalized innovation. Her study specifically highlights foundations of alienation which have frequently gone unconsidered. Because of its particular applicability to Rosla children, and its fairly new perspective I have drawn considerably from her material.

Keddie casts as problematic both knowledge and ability, she raises questions concerning two aspects of classroom knowledge. Firstly - what knowledge teachers have of pupils, and secondly what counts as knowledge to be made available and evaluated in the classroom. The investigation also takes into account the fact that most teachers themselves find problematic the teaching

of low stream pupils, with problems of social control and problems in preparation and presentation of teaching material.

Keddie considers the often unconscious evaluation process which takes place among teaching staff. The negative aspects of a normal 'C' pupil emerge whenever a teacher compares 'C' and 'A' pupils. By their characterization of 'C' stream pupils as "that kind of child" and "these children" teachers reveal that they feel that 'C' stream pupils are unlike themselves. The inference is that the 'A' stream pupils are more like themselves, a point brought out very forcibly by Keddie.

Although teachers stress that there is no such thing as an ideal pupil, they still retain an image of the co-operative, conscientious, lively, non problematic pupil. As 'A' stream pupils approximate more closely to the above descriptions than 'C' streamers, they tend to be viewed as the ideal for means of comparison. The 'C' stream pupil is characterized then, as a child who tends to disrupt teacher expectations and violate norms of appropriate social, moral and intellectual behaviour.

Children in the 'C' stream come to serve as points of reference for the children in higher streams. The 'A' stream child makes a favourable comparison of his position with that of the 'C' stream child. Already he is made aware that he has gifts which at present give him prestige and in the future will lead to superior occupational opportunity if he will comply with the demands of the school. The important point is that this position of superiority is endorsed by the staff and mediated to the child through the constant presence of the 'C' stream pupils. Although 'A' stream pupils will ultimately achieve success, the school has already assigned that same success to them as it has assigned failure to the 'C' streamers.

The recognition of pupil status differences tends to produce a polarity between 'A' and 'C' pupils in which they reflect

reversed images of each other. Thus explanations from staff and pupil alike embody universal assumptions,

" 'C' pupils are.....

'Low' ability are.."

Presumably student and probationary teachers have to be socialized into such beliefs. If a concept is questioned, its universality is threatened and as such the balance of the system becomes disrupted. Thus if a new teacher views 'C' streamers reaction to school rules as normal, the 'A' streamer who conforms, then becomes the deviant. A situation would arise in which the teacher would be pressurised to accept 'normal standards', he would be branded as someone 'selling out', incapable of controlling children without currying popularity. Informal sanctions would be applied to bring a teacher back into line, or discredit him so that he no longer constitutes a threat to the system. The 'A' pupil would be restored to his position as 'ideal pupil', and courses formulated which embody an image of that pupil.

According to Keddie even an apparently undifferentiated curriculum is geared in a subtle way to meeting the needs of 'A' stream pupils most successfully. Certainly the effects of the above assumptions spill over from administrative convenience into the world of the curriculum and actual manipulation of knowledge and material in the classroom.

With the image of the "normal 'C' child" in mind, a teacher might pronounce regarding the usefulness of particular material for "A's", but as likely to be comprehended only in part by the "C's", whose thoughts are predirected away from abstract concepts. Teachers continually express regret that a major problem in motivating 'C' stream pupils is their tendency to see education in vocational terms. Many seem unable to recognize that the examination courses simultaneously fulfil both academic and vocational purposes for more successful pupils (i.e. university and college aspirations)

Higher education is not perceived as vocational, but represents to the 'A' child the same gateway to adult life as an apprenticeship to a slightly less able.

'C' stream pupils do not find the vocational rationale of the course meets up to their expectation of what their kind of work will be like. The response to this treatment is usually to behave in an inappropriate manner according to the teachers' norms so confirming their position as a particular type of child. A pupil who is perceived as 'atypical' is seen in relation to the norm for that stream. "She's bright for a 'C' " may not in fact particularly be an assessment based on ability. It may be more an explanation for good social conduct reflecting values congruent with the teaching staff.

"Thus what teachers 'know' about pupils as social, moral and psychological persons is extended to what they know about them as intellectual persons" ⁹⁷.

One of Keddie's main points is that it would be disruptive of interaction within the staffroom to question that 'B' ness exists. Working from the assumption that there is such a thing as 'B' ness or 'C' ness, a teacher may well react differently towards various groups. He may allow a greater amount of noise and less achievement in terms of work from his 'C' pupils. Thus a teacher does not deliberately restrict material, he merely chooses out that which he sees as valuable to his 'C' pupils. Teachers will, however, admit in these situations to being able to get away with not preparing work for 'C' pupils which they would not risk if they were teaching the "A's". It is not really possible to estimate the degree to which his expectations are instrumental in creating the situation as he defines it. Thus in the case of the form teacher of 4N at Cavendish School, when he describes his class to an observer as "little animals" it is difficult to assess the way in which this feeling will colour his attitudes, expectations and

interpretations of behaviour.

The conclusions that can be drawn from Keddie like approaches to the sociology of education are disturbing and do not bode well for the success of Rosla. The school may be seen as maintaining the social order through the processing of pupils and knowledge in mutually confirming ways. It seems that hierarchical categories of ability and knowledge may persist in mixed ability classes, leading to differentiation even within an undifferentiated curriculum. This is because teachers select pupils as of high or low ability, origins of which categories lie outside the school and within the structure of society itself with its wider distribution of power. Even radical innovation will not be very successful in relation to Rosla, unless the categories teachers employ to organize ability and knowledge, are recognized by them and undergo fundamental change.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion

Section 1 An inevitable failure?

In considering the issues surrounding Rosla it has become clear that they are both complex and problematic. A discussion of the repercussions of this policy necessitates the highlighting of the main themes of my investigation.

An appraisal of the impact of Rosla has conditioned an attempt to define the children most affected by it. What has emerged is that the 'victim of Rosla' or the 'less able child' is a 'stereotype', manipulated theoretically by administrators, teachers and policy makers in a sea of political and economic considerations. Rosla is not then an isolated policy; the institutionalized orders of a modern industrial society critically impinge upon it. Voluntary aspects of education are drowned in economic niceties of 'manpower planning', sowing seeds of alienation and fragmentation of social groups within the institution of the school. Even teacher and pupils fears about Rosla have proved ineffective in stemming a tide which finds its source in an area more powerful than the monolithic school system.

Throughout the study, education has increasingly emerged as the manipulator of the 'masses', a means to control and subjugate. As Everett Reimer suggests, "Schools are themselves dominating institutions rather than opportunity networks."⁹⁸ Rosla will merely be the logical extension of a system based on compulsion and limitation of freedom, strengthening rigidity and differentiation between children, cloaking expediency in a sham of egalitarian principles.

Rosla has at least provided a breathing space for theorists and educators a like. This time to rethink policies, and plan new schemes, has in practical terms, however, been a bit of a 'flop'. In the event, it has produced little new.

Reports have been published with great rhetoric and theoretical embellishments but judging from the schools involved in my investigation little will change. The reality of the extra year is liable to confirm former fourth year courses, already rejected by pupils. The 'less able pupils' will continue in their role as poor relations. After all, any hierarchic pyramid requires a large group prepared to form the base.

The plans suggested for Rosla in the Sunderland area seemed to be missing the boat, bearing little resemblance to the interests of the children involved, interests which are vocationally orientated to the adult world of work, marriage and family life. Pupils show real enthusiasm for 'real life' beyond the confines of school, with its rules and uniform. Teachers subscribe to these interests but are in most cases standing on the other side of an unbridgeable chasm, alienated from working class culture, applauding for example, the delights of the cricket match rather than the 'thrills of the snooker hall'.

What then is Rosla likely to achieve? The picture is not all bleak. For a few, it will bring the rewards of examination success and possibly the road to higher education. Even in the Sunderland schools I studied, there were one or two girls who were leaving because their parents wanted them to. Such would now be caught in the safety net of Rosla, instead of finding themselves as 'machinists' or 'pressers' in the local clothing factory. For the many, however, Rosla will mean a continuation of monotony, discipline and unappreciated rules. Courses will still be largely irrelevant and do little to justify the extra year to the pupils involved, "and to justify it to some of these pupils would require some scarcely imaginable feat of seduction". 99.

As for the teaching staff, Rosla will serve as confirmation that they were right in their original assessment of the low stream pupils as 'no hoppers', 'failures' etc., Teachers will see Rosla

as the cause of another headache in an organization already embodying sufficient tension. A consequence of this is that teachers are liable to revert to more traditional methods and subjects in which at least they feel they hold the whip hand. 'Pupil involvement' will probably be viewed as a necessary sacrificial lamb if pandemonium is not to break out with its humiliating repercussions on staff status and credibility.

Section 2 A possible solution

Pupils and staff alike are kicking against the pricks of Rosla because they are aware, for a variety of conflicting reasons that the present education of 'less able children' is generally unimaginative, and not viable as a measure to increase opportunities. It is clear that too many schools hesitate to provide 'real jobs', 'real leadership opportunities', real adult responsibilities, which the pupils want, preferring to water down courses to more manageable proportions.

It is this watering down process which brings about suggestions for less authoritarian organization, more flexible grouping, team teaching etc., all of which are considered more appropriate to present day concepts. Genuine students of the problems of institutionalised education want to "cut down the loss of student hours in parroting and forgettin, and the loss of teacher hours in talking to the deaf"¹⁰⁰. They advocate activity as opposed to "passivity" and "conformity". However the ultimate fate of all such schemes is oblivion if the basis of the whole system is not attacked. Rosla reveals problems which are rooted in an education process with its foundations in elitism and selectivity. The sponsorship norm is embedded in these foundations to the extent that any injection for the survival of the system will disproportionately favour the able and therefore put further in jeopardy the 'success' of the victims of Rosla.¹⁰¹

Issues surrounding Rosla have led me to an awareness that

'rotteness' in educational foundations demands neither destructive body blows or injections for survival bringing false hope; rather it demands the administering of a fatal dose.

Increasingly in the late sixties and early seventies there has been an emergence of a group of theorists known as the 'deschoolers'. They stress the need to think in another direction - to look for an organization of education less wasteful of human resources and social wealth than the present one. These people feel that radical alternatives are needed to the present system of education. They suggest a new approach based on the right of a young person to participate in a way that he can understand and appreciate, which will involve wide changes in education itself. As one of the respondents to my survey put it, somewhat less clearly,

"If there was more understanding between pupil and teacher and, not so much 'you are hear to lern' it would be more barable for both sides."

The question really is, whether the country can and will afford to forego the principle of compulsion in education and substitute a system attractive to and workable by all. The answer is probably 'no', although many theorists would accept that "no growth to freedom occurs except by intrinsic motivation".¹⁰².

The only real possibility of 'success' in Rosla could well be measured by the willingness of officials to admit that by extending the school leaving age they are merely compounding their mistakes, 'Institutional Diminution' rather than 'expansion' is liable to be a major lesson learnt from Rosla,

"Classroom attendance becomes a problem when it builds sterile walls around too much of normal life.

Similarly curriculum becomes a problem as it approaches international universality. How much required attendance classroom teaching and curriculum is tolerable is not a matter for academic

discussion. Free people, choosing freely as individuals and in voluntary groups among an ample array of alternatives can best make these decisions." 103.

Perhaps the most accurate assessment of what the extra year will or will not have to offer can be understood from the words of one of the lucky ones who scraped in to leave at fifteen years. This pupil had the opportunity to 'stay on voluntarily', his response was as follows.

"They hask us to stop on for exams but if you do not learn enethink in the 10 year that you have bean there you will not learn anithink in a nother year you stay there."

Appendix i

A suggested time-table

Boys			
	a.m.	a.m.	p.m.
M	Statistics	Gardening or P.E. (Dance)	Projects
T	English (Comprehension)	Biology or Music or Humanities (BBC) (1 term of each)	Social Service (1 term) Art (2 terms)
W	Science in The Home	Maths in the Home	Careers
Th	English (Literature)	Visiting Lecture or Discussion	Clubs or Societies
F	English (Drama)	P.E. (Games)	Woodwork/ Metalwork

Girls			
	a.m.	a.m.	p.m.
M	Statistics	Gardening or P.E. (Dance)	Projects
T	English (Comprehension)	Biology or Music or Humanities (BBC) (1 term of each)	Social Service (1 term) Art (2 terms)
W	Home	Economics	Careers
Th	English (Literature)	Visiting Lecture or Discussion	Clubs or Societies
F	English (Drama)	P.E. (Games)	Needlework

A Residential Centre

At this point a suggestion which has terrific possibilities and implications was made i.e. that a separate centre be built, possibly by the students themselves (under guidance, of course) to house conferences or activities on a daily or weekly or even longer period basis. This building, purpose built, to have a coffee bar cum lounge, with full canteen facilities capable of catering for 60 to 100 students for meals during conferences (catering could be done as part of a domestic science project) lecture-cum-film hall for general use, with smaller rooms for group work-discussion etc.,

Conferences and activities could be planned on a multi-lateral basis, possibly with each school in turn acting as host, organised and planned, and manned by staff with special responsibility for the 14 to 16 year olds. It could also be used for evening and weekend activities, careers forums, study and exhibition centre for displays of work done, of projects completed and the actual building of it may well be a challenge element we are looking for, whilst the fact that it is 'their own structure' may well preserve it from vandals and so prove good community training. It would also get pupils from different schools together in an 'away-from-the-school' atmosphere' which we believe is so essential for this course.

Another way in which it could be used would be for say a fortnightly scheme of course to be planned and each school to send a number of pupils to each course so that all pupils would have a month at the centre during their final two years at school. With dormitories they could stay on a residential basis if required, as an experiment in community living, planning the whole period of residence as part of their course e.g. organising cleaning, catering, maintaining and possibly extending as well as planning an instructive and interesting programme, compiling reports, undertaking projects and learning to live together in harmony, going home only at weekends if situated locally, or using the weekends more for leisure pursuits - hiking, climbing, orienteering, light-weight camping etc., - on an 'outward-bound' basis if the centre should be built away from the locality.

Problems, of course, will no doubt arise e.g. Money ! Trade Unions! Insurance against accidents etc., but we feel that the idea is well worth further exploration, and it would appear that a school due to close could possibly be adapted for their use, although it would probably be regarded as just another school and so defeat the object.

Source : Durham Education Assembly Report No.1 on Rosla D.E.A. 1971
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Class 1. Capitalists, Managers, Scientists, Artists, Professionalset.
Class 2. Small shop-keepers, lower professionals, farmers etc.,
Class 3. Skilled labourers
Class 4. Semi-skilled labourers
Class 5. Unskilled labourers
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"Please sir, I'd like to say

I would rather leave than stay

Around this school another Day

Please sir.

Please sir, you must agree

This school work is no use to me,

I'll never get a good degree.

Please sir.

I am at the awkward stage,

I want to earn a weekly wage,

So please don't raise the leaving age

Please sir."

Song by Tony Capstick