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STRUCTURAL LIMITS AND TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVES

SUMMARY

This thesis is about the relationship between schooling and the economic and political structures which constrain its institutional framework. It focusses on teachers, as mediators of structural constraints, and on middle schools, as institutions which occupy a functionally transitional place between the primary and secondary traditions.

In approaching the problem of linking the different perspectives of macro and micro sociologies, I argue the view that the individual mediates the contradictions between the socially cooperative processes of production and the competitive individualism which legitimates the private appropriation of wealth and income. The link is observable in the schooling process as a pattern of contradictions and tensions mediated by the rhetoric of equality of opportunity. In order to elucidate the link, the processes within the boundaried institutions must be viewed in the context of those changing tensions within the state administrative systems, which reverberate into schools as economic and political constraints.

Framed within the ideology of the Plowden Report (1967), middle schooling was set within a discourse which stressed cooperative relationships rather than competitive standards. Since the mid-1970s, administrative policies have heightened the competitive battle for declining resources and attacked the Plowden ideology.

Focussing the fieldwork on six middle schools in one local authority, I use an eclectic methodology to relate economic and political policies, generated in the state administrative system, to the situation in the schools between 1979 and 1981. The methodology incorporates a time dimension in order to highlight the tensions as they play upon teachers' changing definitions of the changing situation.

I conclude that the intersubjective socio-cultural relations of schooling cannot be properly explained without making explicit the changing tensions in the rule/resource relationships which teachers mediate through their particular institutions.

Gwendoline May Wallace
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Key words: policy, teachers, middle schools

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CHAPTER ONE

The Problem in Outline

I(i) The background to the proposal for research

In formulating my proposal for this research in 1978, I was concerned to investigate the links between the policy definitions of schooling which were coming from the Department of Education and Science, the changing priorities in the schools and the broader issue of government cut-backs in resources for the public sector of the economy. With some previous experience of research into middle schools (Wallace, 1977, 1980a,b), I decided to focus the fieldwork in middle schools, as these were institutions of recent origin which exemplified the tensions which existed between the progressive rhetoric of a child-centred education, orientated towards the use-value of knowledge for problem solving, and the traditional rhetoric of subject disciplines, orientated towards the acquisition of knowledge for academic standing. For whilst the 1967 Plowden Report, which legitimated middle school developments, set them into a context of delayed selection of pupils for academic or non-academic careers, the rhetoric of the 1976 Great Debate encouraged earlier recognition of 'gifted' pupils, a greater emphasis on 'standards', the need for closer links between schooling and work, a more relevant curriculum and the need for teachers to be accountable for their work with pupils. It was reasonable therefore to expect that the rhetoric indicated changes in policy which would have significant consequences for teachers in middle schools.

The account which follows is a report on the field study research undertaken in six middle schools of one local authority between 1979 and 1981. As my intention was to investigate the process of change, as shifts in policy at government level reverberated into these schools, a central feature of the methodology is the two sets of interviews with teachers from all six schools, undertaken with a twelve month gap between each set. More than sixty different teachers were interviewed altogether; forty-nine of these were interviewed twice using the same semi-structured schedule of questions. The fieldwork is placed in a broader context of policy change by drawing on data gathered from local authority policy documents and DES publications. In addition my close personal involvement with teacher-union activities has yielded data from documents which provide evidence of developments in teachers' collective perspective at local and national levels.

(ii) Analysis and interpretation

In order to be able to analyse and interpret the considerable amount of data collected, I needed to establish a theoretical framework within which the events could be ordered and related. Taking as axiomatic the sociality of all human endeavours, I have followed both Giddens (1979) and Habermas (1976) in positing a basic contradiction in western industrial capitalism between the social cooperation necessary for the production of wealth, and the competitive relationships necessary to maintain the structure of dominative and subordinate relations which legitimate inequalities in the private appropriation of what is produced.

The basic dynamic of economic change, on this reading, is located in the economic cycle of private appropriation which is defined as the cycle of investment-production-profit investment. Giddens (1979, p. 143) claims that, in its transnational form, the cycle exists in contradictory relationship with the hegemony of the nation state. Using insights from the work of Habermas (1976), among others, I highlight the disruptive effects of this cyclical process on the state based institution of schooling. As patterns of social control are disrupted, the restructuring process counters any anarchic effects within a dialectical relationship of controls which redefine the rule/resource relations. Seen unproblematically we have here the basis for a theory of correspondence which would explain the perpetuation of a status quo (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

However, I will argue that if we provide the concept of normative control with a dynamic, which operates in the intersubjective relationships between people as strategies of negotiation, then policy changes are always problematic, because they must be intersubjectively negotiated, if cooperative, socio-cultural relationships are to be sustained. Hence, it is the dynamic of contradictions held in tension between the negotiated, normative order of intersubjective cooperation and the state apparatus which sustain the property order of private appropriation, which structures the limits to change (Carnoy and Levin, 1976). Even so, it appears that traditional forms of bourgeois hegemony offer inappropriate ways of meeting the contemporary socio-cultural challenge of de-industrialisation and information technology. We

might speculate, therefore, that it is unlikely that schools will emerge from the present confusion as traditional, subject-centred and disciplined institutions. Yet that is the direction in which much policy rhetoric of the mid 1970s appeared to point.

In sum then, the purpose of this research was to investigate links between economic changes, state administered policies and schooling practices, with the fieldwork focussed on the process of change in the schools. The fundamental problem was to elucidate the mechanisms whereby economic, political and ideological changes occurred, using a theoretical framework which allowed scope for the investigation of structural contradictions as well as patterns of correspondence.

(iii) The development of the thesis

In the next chapter, I explore the theoretical issues, first in the context of current developments in social theory and secondly in terms of developing theories of the state in relationship to the place of the nation-state in the international capitalist order.

I then review critically some of the existing work including that of Apple (1982a,b), Archer (1979, 1981), Bowles and Gintis (1976), the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981), David (1980), and Tapper and Salter (1981). I use this review to argue that the interpretation of patterns of correspondence between stages of economic development and developments in government policies in education is problematic and contradictory. I suggest that state

administrative systems are best seen as mediators of contradictions, rather than as rational, policy-making institutions.

In chapter three, I review the policy developments in post-war schooling in more detail. Drawing on the body of literature which has been built up since middle school inception, I set middle schools in a context of pragmatic policy making which demonstrates their 'need' to 'balance' a range of contradictory imperatives at the time of their inception. I then set out a model of the process of change in schools which links the de-stabilising effects of the restless transnational capitalist demand for growth, with the boundaried, institutionalised patterns of change which are mediated by nation-state institutions such as schools.

The methodological issues which are raised by an attempt to research into the processes of change in schooling are considered in chapter four. Here I consider the range of resources available for data collection and the eclectic methods available for the process of researching into change.

The data are presented in chapters five, six, seven and eight. Chapter five draws on data collected in the first period of fieldwork in the schools and includes transcript material from the first set of interviews. This work also takes into account data collected in an earlier study of five of the six case-study schools used for this project (Ginsburg et al. 1977, 1979; Wallace 1977, 1980a,b). In chapter six I present a range of data to

illustrate the issues which were developing at government and local government level into questions of schooling policy. Most of the data relate directly to the period between the two sets of interviews with teachers, when the schools were left unvisited. They refer to developments in economic policy as well as in the framing of new directions for the curriculum in schools and the 1980 Education Act. The data presented in chapter seven, cover events noted in the second period of field study in the schools. By concentrating particularly on the way in which teachers' practices and ideologies were changing in relation to issues concerned with pupil evaluation and selection, the use of tests and the content of the curriculum, I draw comparisons with data from the first period of fieldwork and with the policies developing at national and local government level.

I use chapter eight for the presentation of some statistical tables which highlight similarities and differences in a selection of interview responses taken by categorising some of the replies to questions on the interview schedule for comparison across the two periods of field study.

The final chapter provides the summary and conclusions of the project. As such, I use it to redefine the theoretical issues and to relate them to the evidence of relationships between the economic dynamic which penetrates the boundaried institutions of schooling, the reactive policies of government and local government which attempt to maintain the hegemony of a social order within the boundaries of nation-state institutions by

serving the very capitalist dynamic which threatens that order, and the confusion within the 'social economy' of schools which has resulted. I conclude that the international dynamic is essentially impersonal and destructive of tradition. Labour is required which is flexible, trustworthy and cooperative and increasingly standardised and adaptable, in terms of the skills required. Yet international capital is an impersonal force: anarchic and unpredictable which breeds mistrust. The nation-state, on the other hand, maintains those hierarchical, personal relationships which stabilise and legitimate the differential distribution of wealth, but only through the maintenance of a hegemonic order which links those hierarchies to a moral concept of justice, personifying the accumulation of wealth in the personalities of the 'good' and the 'great'. The contradictions create tensions between the personal and impersonal, the formal and the informal, negotiation and coercion. They are built between the political economy of production and exchange, and the social economy of consumption. Each threatens the existence of the other, but each provides the limiting case for the other. The balance between them is in constant flux.

The question which is raised over future directions of schooling concerns the extent to which the increasingly egalitarian pressures of a de-industrialised economy, with its demand for teamwork and 'knowledge-how', can co-exist with the inflexibility of a hierarchical order which legitimates the private appropriation of the products of such an economy. The current answer by the Government appears to be on the side of a

hierarchical order based upon a return to traditional subject disciplines which will provide testable 'levels' of attainment alongside a return to a laissez-faire political economy which discounts social relationships. In spite of the pressure on teachers to conform to the formula, there is little evidence that it makes sense to them in the substantive relationships of their schools. The outcomes have yet to be negotiated.

CHAPTER TWO

The Theory, the State and the State in Education

(i) Introduction

A basic problem, bequeathed to western European thought by the renaissance, stems from the cultural split in our philosophical outlook which consistently sets the individual against the collective, freedom against necessity, free will against determinism and subject against object. I begin, therefore, with a brief consideration of this deep philosophical split and its emergence in recent sociological thought as an irresolvable dichotomy between macro and micro levels of analysis which, problematically, also assume a dynamic of change.

This leads into a discussion of more recent attempts to resolve the dichotomy and these are taken alongside theoretical developments which also challenge the notion of change as progress. Set in the materialist context of a transnational capitalist order, which is now global, in its subjugation of nature for profit, the subjugated 'social economy' through which human need is satisfied, is seen as threatened. The consequence for state systems is a crisis which challenges both the crude marxist view of change, as a simple class-based struggle, and the pluralist case for considering change as a matter of struggle between interest groups. Drawing on the work of, among others, Apple (1982a,b), Archer (1979, 1981), Bowles and Gintis (1976), the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981), David (1980)

and Dale (1983), I argue for a theoretical context which takes account of the way in which state institutions must mediate contradictions: contradictions which stem from the private appropriation of socially produced wealth and which are structurally determined.

In focussing on the contradictions which develop from the basic contradictions between the socialised relations of production and the privatised relationships of appropriation, I draw attention to the conceptual dynamic of a social versus a political economy, which transcends levels of analysis. Using this social-political dynamic we can interpret how schooling has developed historically as an institution mediating those contradictions in social relationships, which Carter (1976) defined as materialism versus morality, competition versus cooperation and egotism versus sociality.

(ii) Problems in social theory

Interpretations of human behaviour and social processes in western industrialised societies have been moulded within the liberal-capitalist framework which assumes that there is a basic dilemma in reconciling freedom and necessity, free will and determinism, individual and society. Entrenched in classical thought and derived from the Greek problem of distinguishing the free man from the slave in a culture which believed in Fate and Destiny, the philosophical problems still inhibit contemporary theorists who attempt to reconcile macro and micro social processes. Similarly, classical European thought has inherited a conception of society

which has its roots in the Greek organicist analogy of the cyclical dynamic of birth, life, death and rebirth. Given a Christian gloss by St. Augustine in terms of a god-given purpose for human history, these ideas have underpinned the notion of a social structure which has an objective existence and an evolutionary purpose, independent of individual, subjective choice. Freedom is a matter of seeking the pre-ordained destiny and going out to meet it. Dewey (1909), Giddens (1981), Gouldner (1980), Martindale (1961) and Nisbet (1969) all drew attention to the problem.

However, the basic dichotomy and the assumption of an evolutionary dynamic have persisted in a variety of different forms in the history of sociology. Durkheim, for example, retained the dilemma in his development of a positivistic methodological individualism within a conception of social structure which relied upon the organicist analogy (Durkheim, 1893, 1895, 1897). Parsons developed a complex system of 'levels' of human action and social structure which allowed for individual choice from a continuum of 'pattern variables', but which posited a social order with its own internal dynamic tending towards a state of equilibrium (Parsons, 1948, 1951). Merton's attempt to link 'levels' of analysis to human action by developing middle-range theories around the concept of role, founded on conflicts and contradictions which emerged teleologically as both cause and consequence of actors' role behaviour (Kahn et al., 1964; Merton, 1949, 1957, 1967). Gouldner (1980) has argued convincingly that Marx retained the cultural dichotomy by erecting a structure of history,

economically determined through an internal dynamic of class conflict, whilst retaining a humanistic perspective in his insistence that it is men and women who make their own history through struggle. The dualism has split marxists along a continuum which stretches from the experiential historian E.P. Thompson to the scientific determinism of L. Althusser (Althusser, 1969; Marx, 1859, 1857; Marx and Engels, 1848; Thompson, 1963, 1978). Gramsci (1934) retained the problem in a classic split between mind and body in The Philosophy of Praxis, by dividing the working class into the 'intellectuals' and 'the simple'. Weber moreover never reconciled his 'ideal types' with his analysis of social action and actors' definitions of the situations they faced (Brubaker, 1984; Weber, 1922). Yet his ideas concerning the dilemma faced by individuals between the choice of acting according to the formal rationality of the capitalist economy and the substantive rationality of commitment to a particular way of life, capture the tension in individual lives trapped in an objectively rational economic system which is increasingly meaningless in substantive terms from the subjective perspective of the individual actor.

Attempts to develop a better understanding of the actions of individuals from their subjective definitions of the situation have resulted in a wealth of data in the phenomenological tradition which reinforces the view that individuals define their worlds from idealised, competing perspectives, yet act interdependently in their situations. The attempt by Schutz (1962, 1964, 1966) to establish an existentialist philosophy which

would explain human actions in ideal-typical forms, failed thus, because the intellectuals who took on the role of elucidating those forms, could do no more than contextualise their evidence in yet another set of competing perspectives, or leave it for readers to arbitrate (see e.g. Robinson, 1981).

The question for modern social philosophers remains, as Bernstein (1979) has pointed out, that of understanding why individuals interpret the world as they do. Furthermore, there is the additional problem of how such interpretations relate to human behaviour in specific situations.

A major attempt to resolve the dichotomy between individual action and social structure has been made by Giddens (1979). Even so, Giddens has not resolved the dualism, rather he has incorporated it into a concept of recursive structuration which leaves the dynamic of change in the determinedly indeterminate realm of unintended consequence of actions taken within an enabling and constraining structural framework!

More usefully he has pointed to the restless character of capitalist entrepreneurial behaviour as it searches for private gain in an instrumental pursuit of the investment-production-profit-investment cycle (Giddens 1979, p. 143). By locating the primary contradiction of capitalism in the contradiction between private appropriation and socialised production, Giddens argues a case which presents the colonising effects of this cyclical behaviour in terms of broken relationships, disrupted communities

and atomised, rootless individuals. Such individuals have irrelevant normative beliefs and must be incorporated into the rule-bound relationships of bureaucracy and law which provide the social structure for formal work relationships.

In this process lies a secondary contradiction in that the anarchic effects on community relationships of the capitalist economic cycle are in conflict with the hegemonic concern of the nation-state.

The relevance of this analysis for theories of the place of the state under late twentieth century monopoly capitalism, lie within this dialectical relationship between international capital and nation-state hegemony. For it becomes reasonable to argue that the objective of maintaining nation-state hegemony is a substantive issue rather than a matter of formal rationality directed at a technically achievable goal. The nation-state and its associated institutional structures are indeed currently dependent upon economic growth for their financial means because although states are not commercial or industrial operations directly concerned with making a profit, they compete internationally for economic 'growth'. Yet the institutional structures of the nation-state are basically concerned with the ordering of society and the administration of its affairs within state boundaries. Whilst the form of this ordering may create the structural conditions under which international capital can operate as a productive enterprise, the order itself places limits upon the scope of capitalist operations. Politically it is

prudent to limit the power of any company dedicated to exploiting nature for profit because of the anarchic effects. On the other hand, placing conditions upon capital which limit operations in ways which undermine the formal rationality of the investment-production-profit-investment cycle, raises a threat to the State's own competitive position in the international financial markets. If, within this contradiction, the state is fundamentally concerned in practice with the interests of the bourgeois class, as Marx claimed, we do not need to consider the State purely as an abstract concept, allied in abstract fashion to bourgeois class interests in a dynamic of concrete class struggle. Rather, we can consider the role of the nation-state in practice, substantively enmeshed in the recent developments in international capitalism.

(iii) International capitalism and the nation-state

Brucan (1980), for example, has reformulated the marxist model of the state to take account of the global nature of a transnational capitalism operating with technology which is now so powerful that even socialist states have been driven into 'joint ventures' with multi-national corporations. Arguing that although class interests work horizontally within the nation state, and although class interests form a background to foreign policy, there can be (as Marx and Engels warned) no mechanical view of the relationship between economic base and politics. He takes issue also with the pluralist case, distinguishing between conflicts between factions or individuals and fundamental conflicts of power between classes. The state, he claims, must be described in both its domestic function of securing class domination and its

international functions of politico-military and economic defender of national interests against external competition (pp. 758-760). It is Brucan's case that the state can only be understood in its concrete form of nation-state, as policy decisions derive from a combination of both domestic and international factors, 'the weight and intensity of each varying according to circumstances and cases'.

Here again there is support for the view that the institutions of the nation state are concerned with both the formal rationality of capitalist enterprise and the substantive rationality of policies which operate in the general interest of the nation. We have, therefore, contradictions in the substantive political issues, between the dominant interest in appropriation and the material problems which arise for the dominant class if the subordinate classes do not have a concrete stake in defending the competitive, productive interests of the nation as a whole.

We may reasonably claim, therefore, that state-based institutions must mediate the contradictions which arise between a formally rational commitment to the investment-production-profit-investment cycle of international capital, which accumulates wealth for a property order organised for the private appropriation of the product, and a substantive commitment to that general interest which must be mobilised to defend the general interests of the nation-state.

In adopting such a theory of the nation-state, I am arguing that the commitment to the general interest is not merely an ideological commitment which exists only in political rhetoric, but that it also has some substantive form in its negotiative cultural order. Habermas' contention that motivation is social and norms and values negotiable is crucial to this. Yet although Wrong (1961), challenged the 'oversocialised conception of man', the challenge has not been used, as yet, to develop a dynamic concept of intersubjectivity which can interpret dynamic process in normative exchange relationships, in relation to culture.

In his 'rough diagnosis' of advanced capitalism, however, Habermas (1976) argues that the liberal exchange relations of the market have been replaced by state administrative structures which have taken the form of planning bureaucracies with the fundamental task of safeguarding the process of growth and profit by providing stable social conditions which offer predictable outcomes for capital investment. Yet, within the anarchic environment of competing capitalist interests, the planning bureaucracies find themselves reacting to crises rather than pursuing rational outcomes.

Re-interpreting both Marx and Weber, Habermas argues that there is a general tendency for social relationships to break down under the atomising effects of systems of work organised for the control of nature for profit. Under the rule-bound relationships of any system which is technically paced and within which individuals are differentially rewarded for their instrumental effort, 'meaning'

in the normative-value sense, becomes a scarce commodity, because it is no longer generated by negotiation in interaction. Appropriated at management level, including at the level of state management through governmental institutions, in order to generate motivation and legitimate government action, it is increasingly opened up to question and found meaningless. In Giddens (1979) terms, the normative value systems are inappropriate. Habermas (1976), contends however, that an alternative has been found in the extrinsic promises of consumer values. Motivation and loyalties are tied to expectations of a 'better' future orientated to increased consumption. This forces up the demand for commodities (within which we can include educational qualifications) and creates a crisis of expectations, which cannot be met within the limits of the existing property order in the context of a capitalist economy. Habermas (1976, p. 93) states this thus:

The definitive limits to procuring legitimation are inflexible normative structures that no longer provide the economic-political system with ideological resources, but instead confront it with exorbitant demands.

Habermas therefore takes issue with theorists of the new right conservatism in politics, like Hayek (1978, Bell (1971, 1973) and Luhman (1969, 1981a,b). Such theorists argue that the social relationships which now exist have evolved, through the division of labour in an industrialised society, to the point where normative values have largely been displaced by the rules of the system. Through this evolutionary process, the pursuit of self-interest has been brought into line with the pursuit of the

general interest through a market mechanism which creates wealth and prosperity simply by responding (mysteriously) to the aggregate demands of individual human beings. Thus, from the perspective of management it is in the general interest to integrate individuals by rule-bound contracts, into structures which contextualise contingent interests. From the subjective perspective it becomes 'rational' to be adaptable, accept short-term contracts, and pursue short-term, instrumental goals, for extrinsic reward, ignorant of that wider sphere outside of micro interactions, which is organised according to a macro-culture of law by a 'distant', elite authority.

Whilst systems' theorists disagree amongst themselves in many matters of detail and debate, they derive their basic ideas from Parsonian functionalism, with its different 'levels' of social formations based on the individual as primary unit. Thus they postulate law as a macro-social form which is separate from and not dependent upon, micro interactions. Habermas, on the other hand, insists that law must be legitimated in interaction and that state administrative systems must act in ways which can be defended in justifiable terms. If the systems' theorists are right, he argues, it means that political law must detach itself from norms which need justification and take on the role of a steering mechanism for the system. Such a move brings the communicative rationality of intersubjective discourse into conflict with the false rationality of system administration; and in Habermas' view, it is at the point where these two forms of rationality meet that there is conflict. The reply of the

systems' theorists is that conflict arises because the new forms of modern behaviour are in conflict with an outdated 'tribalism' (Hayek, 1978).

There is no space here to deal with these arguments in detail. The point of raising them is to highlight the way in which systems' theory may be allied to problems of state administration, in an unpredictable world economic order. For it obviates claims to normative social control and replaces such claims by arguments which stress the importance of administrative rationality in contract and law. Hayek (1978), for example, attacks the concept of social justice as a tribal concept and Luhman (1981a, p. 251) links morality to legal processes:

Once begun, legal communication is carried by a certain internal logic to a decision that rigorously separates right and wrong and apportions them to the participants.

Communitive rationality as defined by Habermas (1976), is delegitimated by Luhman (ibid. p. 245):

except as an interaction system constituted by concrete communication along participants who are actually present together.

In other words, the state administrative system is perceived to be legitimate if it legalises its commitment to sustaining its formal function towards the investment-production-profit-investment cycle and the legal basis of a property order organised for the private appropriation of the product, and ignores the problem of legitimating its activities in normative terms.

The extent to which the legitimacy of the state administration can be sustained, however, without a substantive commitment to the general interest, is in doubt. Corrigan (1980, p. xxi) covers a range of historical work in this area which gives him cause to claim that it has been this concern of the 'state system' for the 'social economy' as well as for the 'political economy' of international capitalism which has given rise to 'real progress for the majority of the population':

Indeed it is with the ending of England's dominant position as a capitalist power (for which we might take Harold Wilson's July measures of 1966 as a symbolic announcement) that we have seen the relatively accelerating destruction and weakening of a State system which was constructed around a compromise between social economy of socialism that would have left capitalism behind (since it valorizes all human beings for their qualities and resources) and a political economy, which resists the transformation that such a social economy would undertake.

(Author's emphasis)

Similarly Jones and Novak (1980, p. 169) find evidence enough to claim that:

If social policy has been a crucial weapon of the State to ensure the stability and viability of capitalism, it has been done only at a price to the ruling class. Financially the growth of State expenditure on welfare has come to present a major problem which is intensified by the political difficulties of effecting major cuts and more recently the future prospects of increasing unemployment and therefore increased dependency on State funds. And dependency like many things in the social policy field is double edged. On the one hand it is something which has been tolerated because it focuses working-class aspirations on the State rather than socialism as the solution to their problems. But it is also a dependency which, as many conservatives point out, threatens the work ethic. Such claims are by no means novel.

It is not possible here to develop a full review of the literature in this area, but it is helpful to note Urry's (1981) use of the

distinction between state and civil society. Locating 'civil society' somewhere between the economy and the state, Urry observes that much that is termed ideology in the literature may be perceived as elements of civil society. The state does not determine civil society any more than the economy does, but acts within it. Again, state systems must be seen as both policital and socio-cultural. Furthermore, Hunter (1983) distinguishes between productive efficiency and social justice, with the latter focussed on social consumption and human needs.

The strength of Habermas' case in this context, lies in the place he gives to communicative, intersubjective acts of discourse. he thus breaks with Weber and with systems' theorists, as he locates the evolutionary dynamic of societies in discourse, rather than in the legal-rational order. Individuals communicate because they belong to symbolic life-worlds orientated to reaching understanding, not for isolated strategic reasons, as Luhman (1981b) claims. Located in socio-cultural 'life-worlds' subjected to economic and political interventions mediated through the state administrative system, those who have their interests contingent upon institutionalised groupings, will be forced to react to events, rather than control them, in a situation where the state administrative system is reacting to the international anarchy of capitalist markets. This reaction may appear strategic and instrumental, but it will also be orientated intersubjectively towards collective purposes which represent particular interests of, what Habermas (1982, p. 222) terms, 'contingent historical constellations'.

This does not mean that the concept of social class is abandoned. At a general theoretical level it is useful to retain the view that the maintenance of the international capitalist economy and the preservation of an order which ensures that the rewards from that economy are hierarchically distributed in favour of the interests of the dominant class, are basic bourgeois requirements. Nonetheless, there is no simple class dichotomy which has the explanatory power to elucidate the mechanisms of particular historical events. As Habermas (ibid) puts it, there is a need for:

an analysis that differentiates its object not only according to stage of development, mode of production, class structure and political order, but according to national traditions, regions, subcultures and according to contingent historical constellations . . . at the same time . . . theoretical attention is directed not so much to the conflict engendering mechanisms of the economic system as to the defence mechanisms following in the wake of crisis, to the ways in which the state deals with conflicts, and to cultural integration.

On this reading, if we are to consider the place of changing policy in a local situation which is affected not only by the historical events which have shaped its present character, but also the place of present interests in a dynamic of change which includes unpredictable responses to economic and political contingencies at state and local state levels, any analysis threatens to become exceedingly complex.

On the one hand then we have the legal-rationality of state administrative systems, orientated contradictorily towards political-capitalist interests to ensure the maintenance of the

property order that supports bourgeois dominance within the nation-state. This complex relationship is taken along with Giddens' (1979) point that this is a contradictory relationship because the anarchic movement of capitalist markets undermines any system of order. Hence the laissez-faire economic policies which serve international capitalist movements tend to engender a reactive response in state administrative systems whose major objective is to maintain the hierarchical status quo of the property order, through consent.

On the other hand, however, we have the substantive demands of those networks of individuals, intersubjectively related in normative patterns of contingent groupings within particular constellations of economic and political forms, who consume as well as produce, within the social economy.

As an example, Cockburn (1978), illustrates both the complexity of this relationship in the context of a local state with an interest in developing community work policies, and the difficulties of using social class concepts in order to find some explanatory basis for analysing particular events. Her solution is to opt for a compromise in the phrase, 'class positions firmly held though culturally muted' (p. 161), a position which leaves us without any sense of a dynamic of change. Taking the view, however, that there is a moral/practical dimension to cultural behaviour which has some power to affect policy, I turn now to consider the role of state administrative policies as they have affected two decades of schooling.

(iv) The state in schooling

If we focus on state policies in the 1960s and 1970s we can note that following the continuing post-war economic decline, in relative, international terms, Britain has experienced consecutive economic crises. Most particularly, the economy was severely affected by the 1973 world economic crisis which followed the oil price rise in 1973, when the labour government became crucially dependent upon the help of the International Monetary Fund and was forced to cut public spending.

Subsequently the most obvious change in policy, as far as the recent economic management of the nation-state is concerned, has been the general shift from Keynesian demand management to monetarist remedies. Supporters of these remedies point to the failure of public spending policy to re-invigorate the private sector and broadly argue that cuts in public spending will benefit private accumulation and hence revive the economy (Burns, 1975). Here I am concerned with the effects of this policy on education policy and schooling practices. In the context of the general shift in the global economy and the shift in nation-state administrative systems towards a systems' perspective which asserts the primacy of law over consent without normative qualification, we have a shift of funds towards the private sector of the economy. We might therefore expect schooling policies to be orientated to supply, rather than demand and to shift away from the demand rhetoric of consumption of a more predictable era. Hague (1983) has argued for example, that the 1950s and 1960s were a 'golden age' for economic forecasters because of their

predictability. However, as Corrigan (1980) has pointed out above, policy makers are now faced with unemployment as well as with a period of economic retrenchment. The contradiction between the transnational global economy and the ideological hegemony of the nation state is peculiarly apparent. Although the crisis is familiar, its form takes on a new shape. We can expect the contradictions as well as the crisis to surface as new forms of tension between the negotiated, normative and the imposed, coercive patterns of control which are mediated through schooling practices (Gramsci, 1934). We can hypothesise then that, far from schooling operating at a 'level' where quite different conditions apply, the structural changes within institutions will reflect aspects of contradictions in the general structural changes as they reverberate, contradictorally, through state administrative systems. In order to consider further this proposition, I turn to the recent literature on schooling policy which has set the historical development of schooling practice into the wider context of the state administrative machinery.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) undertook a longitudinal study into the historic relationship between capitalist economic development, educational rhetoric and social policy, with regard to schooling, using data from the American system.

Throughout the book we are faced with evidence which actively refutes their crude marxist analysis that (ibid. p. 54):

The economy produces people. The production of commodities may be considered of quite minor importance except as a necessary input into people production. Our critique is simple enough: the people production process - in the workplace and in schools - is dominated by the imperatives of profit and domination rather than human need.

The reason for the failure of their thesis, in the face of evidence of a popular demand for education which they claimed was an instrument of domination by the dominant class, can be set precisely in their assumption that by providing schools, the dominant class was acting only in the interests of accumulation within the nation state. For the demand for education was a post hoc demand for fairer distribution of the wealth which capital was accumulating.

In other words, it was a demand which indicates contradictions in the basic system, rather than correspondence between base and superstructure.

Alternative approaches have developed through detailed socio-political studies of particular events such as those done by Archer (1979, 1981) and Kogan (1977, 1978). However, whilst such work produces data on the dynamics of particular situations, it raises difficulties for theoretical explanations which go beyond the interests of the participants at the time.

However, after a detailed examination of the relationship between education systems and their social origins (Archer, 1979), Archer (1981, p. 261) calls for theories that will answer the

two main questions about educational systems that have so far been neglected . . . Where do educational systems come from and why do they have different internal structures and external relations to society? . . . (and) . . . What differences do their particular structural characteristics make to how they work and change?

Arguing that Marx, Weber and Durkeim all 'treated education as a macroscopic social institution rather than a bunch of organisations' (ibid, p. 262), she claims that major theoretical developments in sociology 'were lost on the sociology of education' by the mid-twentieth century, as it split between a methodological individualism which relegated the system as a whole to the administrative 'marking out ... of boundaries which the inputs and outputs crossed' (ibid., p. 263) and a 'new' sociology of processes of schooling which denied that the system existed. The macro-micro division which results has no place for systematic analysis, provides mutually contradictory premises, assumes comparability of large and small scale operations, and has resulted in a theoretical problem 'which can only be transcended by charting a methodological path' which will lead from small scale interaction to large scale impersonal system.

Praising Bernstein and Bourdieu for their attempts to unite 'structure' and 'action', she dismisses both for elevating 'general logic' beyond the test of comparative educational history.

In a review of the major theoretical traditions, she argues for a marxism that builds on Lockwood's (1964) notion of structural

contradiction (an idea which is separated from class conflict so that systematic '(dis)integration' is as important an issue as social integration) and a historiography which gives equal weight to both the 'historical' and the 'materialist' as in Anderson (1974). From neo-functionalism she calls for more emphasis on mechanisms of 'positive feedback' which amplify and elaborate rather than sustain systems and which may show such elaboration as mechanisms of developmental change. Linked with social action theory through developments in Blau's (1964) formulation of exchanges in contexts of domination and subordination, there would be a potential for examining how 'the bargaining positions of groups are themselves conditioned by alterations in the social distribution of resources' (ibid. p. 275). Finally, in Archer's view, neo-Weberian sociology leaves sociologists of education standing condemned for 'dualizing Weber' into macro and micro concerns which he himself worked to transcend. Treating the 'historical interplay between education and other parts of the social structure as . . . truly problematic' (p. 276), could lead to a 'fruitful symbiosis' of neo-functionalism and neo-Marxism 'with comparative and historical sociology in the Weberian tradition' (p. 277). Furthermore, she claims that Weber was centrally concerned with the objective conditions which structure imposed on subjective, cultural contexts and the dynamics which worked upon and between them in the historical context. The struggle is a struggle for the institutional control of that knowledge which will serve the interests of particular groups. As such it raises questions about the links between knowledge and human interests. However, without reference to Habermas' work,

Archer calls for research which will provide 'relief maps of the cultural territory of different social groups' (p. 280): a surprisingly static view of 'cultural mapping' given the general historical emphasis in the paper.

This is confirmed when Archer offers insights into patterns of change drawn directly from her work (ibid. p. 280):

I picture this development of systems over time as a series of cycles. In each cycle the initial structure conditions educational interaction; interaction which is also affected by independent influences, eventually brings about a change in structure. Thus successive cycles of structural conditioning - interaction - structural elaboration continue to unite 'historical' origins with current operations.

Although the questions Archer raises are useful, in attacking the macro-micro dichotomy and articulating a solution which could unite theoretical perspectives in a historical approach, she has retained a concept of an internal dynamic of change which limits the crucial class struggle to interactive 'power games' and cultural cycles. Less fatalistic than some marxist analyses, the international aspects of the change dynamic are lost, nonetheless, when the analysis is limited by a systems' framework defined (ibid. p. 261) as:

a nationwide and differentiated collection of institutions devoted to formal education, whose overall control and supervision is at least partly governmental, and whose component parts and processes are related to one another.
(My emphasis)

By definition the transnational dynamic, fuelled by a global economy, is ignored. We are back with organisation.

We have then no theory of educational systems and it is debateable as to whether such a theory, if it existed, would be capable of grasping the dynamics of situations which span trans-national/interactive implications.

Apple (1982a), however, has developed a complex analysis of the relationship between education and power in which he draws on Castells (1980) to argue that the state is in crisis because it has (p. 62) the contradictory and irresolvable task of both legitimating the dominant interests and integrating the dominated class into the system. In an impressively broad analysis, Apple develops the view that the contradictions in the base are mediated through the legal-repressive and ideological state apparatuses.

Similarly, while avoiding simplistic interpretation of the correspondence theory, Apple (1982b, pp. 1-31), stresses the view that schools are cultural as well as economic institutions and, in reviewing a 'range of controversies' suggests that cultural forms may have some autonomy or may be much more contradictory than we might have supposed.

Within this general framework, Carnoy's (1982) review of the literature on education, the economy and the state, in Apple (1982b (ed.), pp. 114-123) is particularly useful in dealing with the issues raised by the work of Gramsci, Althusser and Poulantzas. Carnoy argues for a model of schooling which highlights how the very good reasons which workers have for accepting class domination (fear of the consequences of

'struggle', the financial rewards for conformity and the success of capitalism in raising workers living standards); can be associated with contradictions in the base (skill-production versus reserve army of unemployed; Taylorist practices which automise worker interests and undermine cooperation; and the link between capitalist accumulation and rising demand for wages). These are mediated into schools as problems. Hence, too many pupils qualify for too few opportunities; legitimating notions of political equality in a situation of economic inequality is difficult; and there is constant market devaluation of grades.

Dale in Apple (1982b) takes up the dilemmas of a capitalist state which 'derive from its relationship to the maintenance and reproduction of the capitalist mode of production' (p. 130), and limits the notion of correspondence by taking Gramsci's (1971) point that the state is concerned with its political relationship as a dominant group as well as with its economic function. Furthermore, he distances schooling from the state and gives it a degree of (unspecified) autonomy. Capital, he argues, cannot secure its own existence or reproduction but requires rules 'specified by a disinterested party with the power to enforce them' (p. 132). Although he appears here to be reifying capital in an unwarranted and unexplained fashion, his quote from Rosa Luxemburg re-emphasises the anarchic character of competing interests, working within the accumulation process, and the role of the state in 'irrationally' limiting the pressure to compete in order to safeguard the social formation which ensures the dominance of bourgeois interests.

In Dale's view, therefore, the general problems which arise out of this contradiction are 'writ small in the education system' (p. 136). Hence there is a constant dilemma between process and context of accumulation. On the side of process is a system which is elitist and fosters 'ability'. On the side of context is a more substantive commitment to, for example (pp. 136-137) such rhetoric of legitimation as is supplied by a policy of equality of opportunity or equality of outcomes, with the inherent difficulty that the price of '"buying loyalty" . . . keeps going up'.

In general, Dale's thesis is in line with that of Offe (1975) and Habermas (1976) in so far as it emphasises the structural contradictions which reverberate through state systems of control, including those which affect priorities in educational policy. As such, it undermines any case which claims the nation-state is tied to consistency in its ideological formations. Dale draws attention to the fact that the policies for education evidence the contradictions between process and context through discourses which rather, 'define the shifting parameters of the structural context within which schools operate' (p. 137). These are contradictions which 'even become evident . . . at the level of the classroom', and he cites his own (1977) work in support.

Even more usefully, he draws on Offe (1975) to highlight the difference in policy orientation which has been brought about by a change from bureaucratic to technical-managerial control of systems. Whilst the former requires conformity to rules and provides a mechanism for distributing powers and resources 'at the

disposal of the state', the latter demands from each level of subordinate control the effective production of a good, or execution of a task. Incidentally it is worth noting that this shift also changes the nature of the problem of legitimation. Instead of having to legitimate the goal, management sets the goals as of right, leaving subordinates to find the means and to justify any failure to achieve what is required, by virtue of their status or expertise, to the higher power. However, although Dale locates current dissension within a bureaucratic/technocratic dimension, he fails to see the consequences of a shift to technocratic control for the notion of hegemony. For although it is possible to collude within bureaucratic machines in order to make the system 'work' in substantive, rather than formally rule-bound ways, technocratic control intentionally narrows the options available in any enterprise to subordinate participative groups (Burns, 1975).

Salter and Tapper (1981), have interpreted changes at the Department of Education and Science within such technocratic-managerial terms. They claim (pp. 234-235), that DES policies in the 1970s were the means of promoting

More rational modes of management, more efficient lines of resource and ideology control which do not of themselves involve direct interference in the details of the present curriculum . . . and a more 'efficient' credentialling process and a more 'impartial' distribution of educational inequality . . .

Salter and Tapper assume a unilateral bid by the DES for more centralised control over what happens in schools. They ignore the

possibility that the DES itself is but one part of the state administrative network and under technical-managerial systems will have been made responsible for the effective execution of its subordinate task. Furthermore, they ignore the systems' management view that the objectives defined by technical-managerial approaches to control of events presuppose the need to adjust to an 'environment' constituted by the economy with all its vicissitudes. Had they not have done so they might have found space to consider the resource constraints imposed by monetarist policies and the response to crucial areas of failure in the DES by government creation of the Manpower Services Commission.

Nevertheless, they highlight the goals of the Department of State within the technical-managerial frame of reference and it is worth noting that the ultimate DES aim is to achieve a more efficiently and impartially labelled output of pupils, according to DES determined criteria, within whatever economic environment is available. Lawton (1980) comes to a similar understanding, although he again attributes the policy directions (pp. 28-49) to the 'growing power of the mandarins' in the civil service, rather than to any wider view. Even so this leads him (pp. 108-131), towards Apple's (1982a,b) observation that, against current educational thinking, the technical control of the curricula-evaluation process is gaining credence. The characteristic of this form of control for teachers lies in the use of tests to assess student performance against behavioural objectives in a way which makes teachers accountable for pupil failure in the technical-managerial frame of reference.

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (1981) interpret their literary source material which covers changes in schooling policy over the whole post-war period of relative economic stability and 'social-democratic' policies, in a marxist framework; distinguishing between 'education' as 'all forms of learning', and 'schooling' as (p. 14) 'that specific historical form which involves specialised institutions and professional practitioners'.

The writers take their stand firmly 'inside the relations we describe' . . . taking sides and 'consciously . . . arguing political preferences ' (p. 13). Given they have the benefit of hindsight, this approach results in a tendency to regret, rather than to elucidate the mechanisms of change and explain why, for example, the 'substitutional strategies' of the early socialists who educated their children in socialism through Sunday schools and co-operatives, yielded to agitation within 'statist' forms of provision for schooling. Given the failures of the labour party which they document, and its loss of contact 'with its distinctive concern to represent working class interests' (p. 47), the stress they give to the winning of consent through ideology, obscures the importance of the actual relationships of contradiction and mediation, which characterise the implementation of policy through technical, or bureaucratic channels. There is, therefore, too little about political choices and dilemmas faced by those who were struggling with the situation at the time. Too much of the evidence draws on individual rationalisation of policy decisions post hoc, with the authors treating it as though it actually

informed the decisions and policies at the moment of choice. The explanations of difference between the rhetoric of promises and the post hoc rationalisations of policy are framed conceptually within a simple mental-manual class divide, rather than within a property order inaccessible to parliamentary or government control. Conflict is thus left unrelated to the mechanisms of defining the political limits of choice. The useful insights into ideological 'repertoires' are associated with, but not linked to, changes in the economic base. The economic basis of historical change is simply replaced by the social basis of reformist policies because the authors are trapped by their own frame of reference.

David's (1980) approach to the relationship of family and education to state policy, goes much further towards demonstrating the contradictory discourses involved in state regulation of intersubjective relationships through the latter nineteenth and the twentieth century. Even so she concludes (p. 247):

The 'family-education couple' appears to be used . . . to maintain traditional relationships. Countless proposals ... have been mooted recently. Although not of themselves necessarily reactionary, they have been suggested to return order to the educational and hence economic system.

The constant need for this 'return to order' is, however, evidence of system failure. David's data, drawn again largely from written sources of intentions and rationalisations, is limited, and may be too dismissive of that cultural autonomy identified by Apple (1982b) among others. Eisenstadt (1982, p. 624) for example, in a 'comparative analysis of state formations in historical contexts', declared

The single most important element of the new perspective is the recognition that, in the shaping of the institutional dynamics of societies, two aspects seem to be of special importance: firstly, their cultural traditions and secondly, their place in the international system or systems in which they participate in particular.

Here then the state institutions are seen as shaped on the one hand by cultural tradition and therefore by cultural interpretation. Yet, on the other hand, there is the international dimension of capital. When Poulantzas (1982) raised the question of the 'present phase of imperialism' he asked what bearing the present behaviour of the multi-national corporations were having on practices within nation-states (p. 605)? It is a question which points again to the conclusion that nation-states do not develop in simple correspondence with the economy but mediate the contradictions between the social economy of 'need', (as defined in socio-cultural settings), and the political economy of capitalism (as defined by market economic theory). Labour must be reproduced for both.

What happens in the schools, as the policy decisions reverberate into them, remains to be examined, but if the view that schooling mediates the basic contradictions, rather than operates at a different level of analysis, holds up, then we can consider the problems of base and superstructure to be part of the same contradictory dynamic of change without any of the problems which arise from reducing one to the other. Hence the view that, as a consumer service, education is part of the social wage and the striving for social justice as well as part of the 'striving for

greater efficiency' illustrates the tensions which arise in schooling out of these contradictions, as does the view that the social economy may be orientated towards human need and equality, but its financing depends upon what it can appropriate competitively (Hunter, 1983; Saunders, 1980).

In this sense Carter's (1979, p. 76) view that schools mediate the tensions between competition and cooperation, egotism and sociality, materialism and morality, provides a link which relates to the structural contradiction between social production and private appropriation as it reverberates from the transnational to the institutional content.

(v) Summary and conclusion

Inhibited by the legacy of a classical analysis which has divided out cultural discourse between the subjective abstractions of the free spirit and the material determinants of physical constraint, sociological theories have often overlooked the basic fact that all human endeavour is interrelated and social, by definition. At its most basic, this human, social action is orientated to serving human, social needs, through a social economy. The abstraction of this activity into bourgeois, political economy has been matched by the growth of state administrative systems which have mediated the contradictions of social production and private appropriation, in a way which has consistently worked to maintain bourgeois hegemony over social need. The task for the state is nonetheless problematic and requires competitive negotiation in international, capitalist processes as well as substantive, national action which

may be viewed in the socio-cultural tradition as legitimate. One source of problems is the anarchic nature of competing capital in its pursuit of the investment-production-profit-investigation cycle, a cycle which can be summed up on Lall's (1984, p. 12) observation that 'it is the very essence of economic growth that structural change should occur'; and set beside Lessnoff's point (1974, p. 17) that 'rational behaviour depends on the predictability of future facts, which seem to depend on the reliability of laws . . . '

Making the future more predictable, at least as far as 'manpower' supply is concerned, is the task of that part of the state administrative apparatus which stretches from central government into the classroom and the home, in order to reproduce the labour force. The most predictable feature of this endeavour, as far as policy-makers are concerned, is the need for a legitimate hierarchy for use in the division of labour. Through this the rewards of capitalist production can be distributed in favour of the bourgeois elite.

Deterministic interpretations of schooling policies, echo the intentions of right-wing systems theorists, when they argue that the ideological and coercive apparatuses correspond to the needs of the system. However, the evidence suggests that the compromises made by state administrative apparatuses have not necessarily been in the interests of economic growth but consequent upon them. The national economic decline and the growing power of transnational capital, have reduced the power of

state administrative structures to respond to the needs of the social economy at the same time as upholding the financial base which sustains the political economy. Finance has been transferred from public to private spending in reaction to the crisis.

Recent theoretical approaches have argued that schooling mediates the contradictions in the base of capitalism, leaving schooling policy caught between the dilemma of elitism and equality: the political and the social, with the price of the latter constantly rising as 'loyalty' is bought at the expense of accumulation.

The shift towards technological-managerial approaches which measure success in terms of achievement of objectives, is the most recent attempt to unify economy and education into a common cultural system of equality of opportunity for private appropriation, through competition which will rationalise the price of loyalty. Doubts about its success derive from the fact that social cooperation is required to sustain production and collective interests, and the view that cultures and sub-cultures are generated in interaction through the symbolic 'life-worlds' of contingent historical groups. The technological-managerial approach to rational action, as that which is instrumental in the political-economy of the system, ignores the intersubjective rationalisations which create and recreate the 'life-worlds' of participants, in the contradictory spaces between economies and the polity.

As the resources available to the public sector are squeezed in favour of private capital, technical-managerial approaches shift the problem of legitimating actions onto subordinate groups in a rhetoric of accountability. In order to place this shift in its historical context and to evaluate its effect, I turn now to review the research literature which covers the last twenty years of developments in the schools, in the light of the policies articulated at government and international level which were intended to affect the structure of schooling.

CHAPTER THREE

The Emergence and Development of Middle Schooling:

A case in practice

(i) Introduction

In order to provide a context for the fieldwork which follows, in a form which will assist the formation of dynamic links with the framework established in chapter two, the focus of this chapter is on those historical and material developments in schooling which surrounded the emergence and development of middle schools from the mid 1960s to the mid 1970s. This covers the period generally viewed as progressive and stretches from the conditions which surrounded the 1967 Plowden Report to the changed material circumstances of the speech at Ruskin College in September 1976, in which James Callaghan, then Prime Minister, launched the Great Debate into education.

Hargreaves (1983) has noted:

one very interesting aspect of the development of educational progresivism and comprehensive schooling is the fact of their convergence at the national level during the mid 1960s.

Bearing in mind the points made in chapter two, I shall document something of the dynamic of this convergence in economic, political and ideological terms. Without compromising the complexity of the relationships in the pragmatic situations, it is worth drawing on Carter's (1976) definition of correspondence as a

contradictory, structural relation, in order to highlight the dimensions of the dynamic in intersubjective terms.

Carter's definition of correspondence is (p. 76):

. . . a relation between two processes that mediate contradictions in the dominant process and thereby facilitate reproduction of the structures and institutions of that process

Arguing that the contradiction in the dominant process is between the social relations of production and private appropriation of the product, Carter argues that this contradiction reverberates from the economic relationship into capitalist institutional structures. Drawing on the arguments I brought to bear on the theoretical issues in chapter two, I have suggested that we can see Carter's contradictions operating in the competitive interdependencies of nation states within the capitalist transnational anarchy, within the administrative structures of the state, and 'writ small' in the contradictory relationships in the schooling process.

In order to stress this point more obviously, we can take what Carter (ibid.) sees as three 'most salient antagonisms . . . materialism vs. morality, competition vs. cooperation, egotism vs sociality', and note the ideological connotations of the dialectic. For the political dimension of the structural contradiction in the nation-state, is hidden in the ideological connotations of morality, cooperation and sociality for just as long as the hierarchical order they support is assumed to derive

from a competitive relation of opportunity in which the best people come top and are duly rewarded in the 'general interest'. Problems arise, in practice, in the negotiative relationships, where morality, cooperation and sociality are judged in intersubjective contexts.

In the account which follows, I shall consider how the resultant tensions have been mediated historically through the paradoxes of hierarchised, administrative structures, characterised by people in intersubjective situations; people constrained by economic imperatives and political rule relations, as they negotiate and mediate the contradictions, in context.

(ii) Meritocracy and the 'Opportunity State': the mid 1960s restructuring of social relationships

Taking Wilson's (1963) speech as a guide, it appears that the concerns of the state administration with regard to educational policy making in the mid 1960s, were those of ensuring an adequately trained workforce for the technological developments of the future. Furthermore, the promises of the future were articulated in terms of economic growth associated with investment in humancapital. The first of many OECD Reports (1965) demonstrates a similar international interest in education, whilst the sequence of Government-sponsored reports for the DES such as Newson (1963), Robbins (1963), Plowden (1967) and Donnison (1970), highlight the general nature of the national debate. Pertinent also is Tapper and Salter's (1978, p. 161) comment on how, in 1965, the Committee on Manpower Resources for Science and

Technology was working on the causal relationship between the output by the educational system of scientists and technologists and the rate of economic growth.

In order to highlight the issues, four of the recommendations in the OECD (1965) Report are worth additional comment (Horgan, 1973).

Focussed on the Irish Republic, the Report was entitled Investment in Education, a comment in itself on the developing ideology. The first point, however, is that the authors foresaw a shortage of persons with the kind of qualifications that would be required in the future. The idea was widely accepted even though the report concerned the problems affecting conditions in Ireland and the future was that of the Irish Republic in the 1970s. The second point was the identification of massive inequalities in pupil participation in post-primary education; inequalities which were both geographical and social. It is hardly conspiracy theory to note that the relationship between the first and second points is policy orientated. Thirdly, the authors claimed that the relative emphasis given to different subjects in schools did not match pupils' requirements in their subsequent careers. Given that the authors apparently assumed that career opportunities for pupils would be in the new technological industries, this is unsurprising. Fourthly, the authors claimed to have found evidence of underused and inefficiently used, educational resources. Too many books were inaccessible because of teachers'

territorial rights over classroom cupboards. More cooperation over shared resources was called for.

The general problems are so similar to those identified in the DES (1977) Green Paper: minus the optimism with regard to future growth, that it is difficult to see how two such apparently similar analyses could result in such apparently different outcomes. The inappropriate qualifications, the inappropriate curriculum, the low standards of many 'underachieving' pupils, the need to use resources more efficiently, are standard complaints. The differences lie in the speculative causal relationships and the vision of the future from which present policies and purposes are defined. So it is worth considering the evidence of the conditions prevailing at the time in Britain and the policies which were directed towards the opportunities the future was deemed to provide.

Britain in the mid 1960s was perceived to be lagging behind most other OECD countries, both in the priority the government gave to investing in education and in its policy of selecting a relatively low proportion of pupils for academic curricula in the grammar schools (Benn and Simon, 1970, p. 32). In a period which Kogan (1978) later termed that of the 'Opportunity State', ministers of education like Boyle and Crossland provided evidence of an apparent consensus across the party-political divide (Kogan, 1971). There appeared to be a general acceptance of the view that more pupils had to be better educated and that investment in education would bring its due return.

However, if the general definition of the situation fitted the 'human capital' thesis espoused by all of the OECD countries, the particular problems of the material and social relationships which existed in Britain at the time, defined the intra-national constraints within which the immediate policy options had to be considered.

There was, for example, a continuing crisis in school accommodation associated with a pre-teen demographic bulge and a post-war shift of populations from cities and towns with old established grammar schools, to suburban developments and new towns with none. There was a lack of parity in accommodation between grammar and secondary modern schools which belied the rhetoric of equality of provision (Hargreaves, 1983). There was a steady decline in the relative money available for capital building projects, which was resulting in economies of space and provision (Baron, 1974). The future was opaque and so difficult was it to guess the proportion of students that would be required to have higher education that Robbins (1963) argued that it should be available to anyone who qualified. The social and geographical injustices dealt by the 11+ were so obvious that it was rapidly losing its legitimacy (Jackson and Marsden, 1963). A grammar school building programme not only had considerable logistical problems, it would also be expensive.

With provision of 'roofs over heads' the major administrative priority, the decision to abolish the 11+ was made public after the 1964 election and formalised in circular 10/65. Crossland,

who assumed office as Minister of Education for the Labour party in January 1985 (Kogan, 1971, p. 186; 1978, p. 54), claimed that the decision was the consequence of influential ideas from academics such as Vaizey, Floud and Halsey although Vaizey claimed that major decisions were made by permanent civil servants (CCCS, 1981, p. 115). However, the fact was that 262 comprehensive schools already existed and it was economically and politically impossible to retain a rigid system of selection at 11+. Selection, however, was not abolished, although its public form was modified. Circular 10/65 made it possible for administrators to broaden their options and react more flexibly, whilst encouraging authorities to take up the comprehensive option.

Not surprisingly, the consequence of Circular 10/65, which requested that local authorities submit plans for the development of secondary education along comprehensive lines, was not uniform. Local authorities had their own logistical problems as well as particular ideological commitments. The immediate demographic and economic pressures encouraged both creative coping, directed at the existing problem, and idealism directed ideologically at dreams of a dawning age of technological growth and development. Buildings however are a pragmatic issue, and authorities already had buildings of the wrong type and in the wrong place which counted, under DES 'roofs over heads' criteria, as available school accommodation. The best documented account of how one local authority dealt with its problems is that which covers the work of Sir Alec Clegg in West Yorkshire. A brief summary of the case, both supports the general thesis that state

administrative systems mediate political contradictions within the corresponding limits of the international economy, and shows how the particular historical context of middle school development emerged out of a negotiated 'balance' of tensions.

The ministry preferences for local authority reorganisation were outlined in Circular 10/65 along with the request to local authorities to draw up their plans. The subsequent development of the possibility that age of transfer, as well as selection might be dealt with flexibly, was largely the result of lobbying by Clegg. West Yorkshire had its own logistical problems and dropping the 11+ divide altogether offered a way around some of these.

In order to illustrate this, I draw on Sharp's (1980) account of events. Sharp records an exchange between Clegg, then Chief Education Officer for West Yorkshire, and Walter Hyman, Chairman of the Education Committee. In a situation where political control of the County Council had changed five times in twenty years, County divisions had been left to organise their own patterns of secondary organisation. Both Clegg and Hyman were sympathetic to divisions where labour controlled councils wanted schemes of comprehensive education devised.

Sharp (1980) quotes from the West Riding Education Committee (August 1958):

Clegg knew that the ministry would not approve of the establishment of brand new eleven-eighteen schools in some of these districts, since the existing secondary school buildings there were quite serviceable. Many of these buildings moreover, were not suitable for conversion into eleven-eighteen schools as they were relatively small and on sites where physical constraints made it impossible to add large extensions. The Chief Education Officer agreed that if there were two secondary schools within a quarter to half a mile of one another they could be combined in a comprehensive scheme as an upper and lower school, but he came out strongly against (i) the union of units which were several miles apart, (ii) the federation of buildings in bad physical condition, (iii) the combination of two or more schools under a mediocre head . . . as early as 1958 . . . he told Hyman that he thought the Committee ought to be prepared to consider systems of junior and senior high schools on the understanding that both types of school were non-selective.

It seems obvious that Clegg's reasoning is related to the logistics of the problem he faced and his personal view that comprehensive schooling was desirable. Begging the question as to why he was personally in favour of non-selection, we can also deduce from his stance that he was concerned with the consequences for teachers and pupils if the logistical solutions proposed could not be made to work for reasons of distance between or condition of the buildings. It is not unreasonable to speculate that this concern was related to the fact that he would be held responsible by teachers and pupils for the decisions made (as well as by their elected representatives in Council) and would be expected to account for his decisions on educational grounds. His colleagues in the administrative system would also have to effect the changes in face to face relationships with the people directly concerned, and they would also want decisions to be justifiable to those they administered. Clegg then was not acting in a simple, instrumental fashion, balancing the economic and political arguments from a position of power. He was, in many respects, acting under the

normative control of colleagues and subordinates as well as of clients. Furthermore, Clegg was also campaigning vigorously in the press against the solution being adopted in Leicestershire for self-selection into senior high schools, on the grounds that the 'bright child of feckless parents', would stay in junior high schools.

Given that the dominant explanations for pupil failure at the time were being articulated in academic circles as family problems, explained either by dysfunctional primary socialisation or cultural deprivation, and that this is obvious in the factors given weight in the 1967 Plowden Report, then Clegg's reference to 'feckless parents', had political and academic weight behind it. He was not articulating a lone opinion, but one in which he had the support of powerful friends and colleagues. The point of all this is to demonstrate the social networks into which Clegg as an individual had been woven: networks which crossed any bureaucratic-power relationships and offered a supportive, if roughly defined, consensus, for his decision making.

On the other hand, we cannot relate Clegg's general preference for comprehensive schooling against formal selection, to anything more than the prevailing administrative view that restrictive social configurations would hamper the economic dynamic of change. As such it mirrored the level of official interest in research directed to incorporating socially and geographically disadvantaged groups into the meritocratic order, just as the OECD (1965) Report had identified the problem in Ireland.

That process of incorporating all pupils into bureaucracies and hierarchical relationships which was marked with scholarships for the few in 1902 (Eaglesham, 1962) had become a matter of extending downward the ladder of opportunity to all pupils:

It's recognising the interaction between what we are born and how and where we grow up and all the time using the education service, not just to do justice to talents but to help expand the supply of national talent, as as I put it earlier on, to get away from the situation in which boys and girls are allowed to write themselves off below their true potential of ability. The Ministry of Education wants to be the sponsoring department for as many young people as possible going up the ladder as far as their potential abilities can carry them.

That was how Boyle, the Conservative Minister of Education from 1962 to 1964, who was given a seat in Cabinet for the last six months of his office rationalised it to Kogan (1971, p. 65).

Clegg, however, had further problems to deal with. Having opted, temporarily at least, for transfer of pupils to high school at fourteen, in a modified version of the Leicestershire scheme, he received feed-back from the teachers that a fourteen year-old transfer, tied to a fifteen year old statutory leaving age, was difficult for them to handle and administer, both in organisational and administrative terms. At the same time, those schools where pupils were entering at eleven and leaving at thirteen, had all their pupils either coming or going (Mason, 1964; Sharp op cit., p. 34).

Clegg mediated the tensions with a compromise plan to set up three tier schools with transfer ages of nine and thirteen, after which he fought to get the scheme accepted on the grounds that it was

educationally the best scheme, at the least cost, although he was not against other ages of transfer which gave a three year run up to 'O' level (Sharp op. cit).

In a move to increase local authority flexibility, DES Circular 13/66 left age of transfer to local authorities. Building Bulletin No. 35 (1966) argued for the flexible use of space, but set out the overall standards (minimum for 420 pupils 9-13, 12,810 square feet) with the declaration that 'artificial incentives should not be created in favour of one age of transfer rather than another'. Available economic resources, demographic pressures, the potential wish to incorporate more pupils into the extending 'ladder' which justified differential distribution of work tasks and work rewards, and the rhetoric of a 'fairer' society with an expanding opportunity structure of opportunity open to all, had met in a contingent and flexible relationship, within the politically defined, economic constraints.

Middle schools, the pragmatic administrative solution to the problems of 'roofs over heads' for the pre-teen bulge, located in the suburbs and new towns, without ready accessibility to grammar schools, had been tied to a rhetoric of equality of opportunity. Plowden (1967) tied the same rhetoric to the problem of pupil home circumstances of working class pupils and the importance of teachers' understanding of pupil needs.

Many of the concerns of Plowden (1967) show similar influences as those of the OECD (1965) Report. The inequalities of provision,

geographical and social, led to the setting up of the Educational Priority Areas. The inappropriate curriculum and the waste of resources, led to a new emphasis on teamwork. There was stress on integrated topic work for pupils, with importance laid on problem solving skills to appeal to practical minds. The emphasis on individual potential and the obscuring of those formal methods of selection characteristic of grammar school academic practices and their examination-orientated outcomes, showed that the idea raised by the Newsom (1963) Report that pupils gave up trying because they identified themselves as failures, was being taken seriously. Pupils had to be encouraged and understood. A whole new area of social provision and socially orientated teachers, was built on the idea. Children would be brought willingly into the new meritocracy of technological developments. Young's (1958) vision would be mellowed under a caring meritocratic order.

I will return to these points again when I look in more detail at the research into middle school development. First though, we can incorporate into this schema yet a further strand of administrative work that research on pupil progress with particular reference to the problem of low attainment amongst working class pupils.

(iii) Some research questions for meritocracy

If the ideology of the time was one of equality of opportunity, the research questions of the period were directed at why so much rhetoric was having so little effect and what needed to be done to change it all. The Schools' Council was set up in 1964; the

Social Science Research Council in 1967. Money went into research to study problems of 'underachievement' and to set up schemes for individualised learning using experiential methods. There were input-output studies of the kind done by Halsey and his colleagues (1961, 1972, 1980, for example) and longitudinal studies of working class families such as that of Newson and Newson (1963, 1968, 1976). The ethnographic studies of school culture and counter culture which emerged, ranged from the early orthodox explanations of Hargreaves (1967) to the marxist reproduction thesis of Willis (1977), by way of Lacey (1970). Another strand of thought brought a microscopic examination of the 'labelling' thesis, which shifted from evidence of support in the Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) study, through Rist (1970), Goodacre (1968), Nash (1973) back to Hargreaves et al. (1975). Furlong's (1976) work introduced more scepticism and the explanations began to take account of the active role of pupils as subjects with strategic interests in the situation rather than objects to be socialised into control or oppositional peer groups conforming to peer group norms.

By the mid 1970s, research into schooling was defining the classroom as a battleground of strategies and tactics, which took in ethnic, gender and class relations as it swept along. The perspectives ranged from variations on the theme of class, gender and ethnic 'labels' to the view that pupils were resisting the imposition of white, male, class, power (e.g. Barton and Walker (eds), 1983; Corrigan, 1979; Walker and Barton (eds), 1983; Woods, 1980a,b) or the softer view that classrooms were places of

negotiation and compromise where teachers settled for the best relationships they could get (Pollard, 1982, 1983). Schools, it appeared were, on ethnographic evidence, contradictory, divided institutions (Woods, 1979). The contemporary developments in macro perspectives which followed Bernstein's (1970) paper declaring 'Education cannot compensate for society', evidenced the growing interest in the structural conditions which affected what teachers and schools could do, as the rhetoric of equality of opportunity developed an alternative moral discourse in new demands for more equality and more opportunity.

At an intermediate level research into innovation and change revealed the tensions, frustrations and difficulties teachers faced and the contradictions in their roles (Gross et al., 1971; Lortie, 1975; Lacey, 1977, Spady, 1974). Sharp and Green (1975) demonstrated the difference between teacher rhetoric based in the progressive discourse of Plowden, and teacher practice which continued to discriminate against working class pupils even in progressively organised schools. Belak and Berlak et al. (1976) revealed the hidden structures of the open classroom and the control mechanisms they represented. Hargreaves (1978, 1979) developed the concept of creative coping strategies as a useful way of mediating aspects of a class-divided society at the structural level, to the interactive behaviour of teachers in classrooms. More theoretically, Bernstein (1975) followed Bourdieu and Passerson's (1970) lead in looking for constraints and continuities in the cultural-knowledge structure, in the cultural values and knowledge held by families.

Elsewhere, however, yet another debate had been taking place, shaped around the perceived threat to the social order of the growing anarchy in progressive methods of schooling. Framed in the discourses of the Black Papers (Cox and Dyson, 1969a,b; Cox and Dyson, 1970; Cox and Boyson, 1975, 1977), it was to have a growing effect on teachers. Bearing in mind the Tyndale case (Auld, 1976; Gretton and Jackson, 1976; Elliott et al., 1976), Grace's (1978) view that, in his study, teachers were aware of 'very little overt control' (author's emphasis) even though they were held within a 'framework of constraints' by examination boards, resource provision and 'crucially' time, is, perhaps surprising. Yet it took the 1976 Callaghan speech and subsequent overt political interventions into the curriculum, before the sociology of education researchers turned a full spotlight onto matters of policy. Even so, from the literature on the development of middle schooling, we can clearly discern the shifts which Crossland identified in the postwar Ministry of Education; shifts in the Ministry's function, from 'holding the ring' . . . between . . . 'the local authorities, churches and parents', into a body exercising control as a Department of State (Kogan 1971, p.170).

(iv) Middle school realities

By 1970, there were 136 middle schools in England and Wales: 105 'deemed secondary' and 31 'deemed primary' (Benn and Simon, 1970, p. 162). Between them they accommodated a variety of age ranges and demonstrated the pragmatic nature of the local authority exercise. Transfers could occur at eight, nine, ten, eleven,

twelve, thirteen or fourteen years of age. However, although at that stage, the nine to thirteen schools formed the majority, by 1974 the balance had changed. Out of a total of 1,212 middle schools, 504 were deemed primary and 403 deemed secondary (Blyth and Derricot, 1977, p. 38).

Again, the nature of the exercise was related not only to the demographic bulge, but also to the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen years in 1973-74. As Plowden (1967) had suggested, and LEAs noted, retaining twelve year olds in primary schools left the more expensive space required for the fifteen year olds in the secondary schools. However, the wide variety of accommodation provided for middle schools, provides further evidence of the compromise solutions that were formulated. In one local authority studied, buildings ranged from a 'purpose built' primary school which was converted to a middle school in the last minute change of plan, to a 1920's building that had served every age group during its life time (Wallace 1977, 1980a).

Yet, in spite of the creative coping evident in the compromises made for economic reasons, the rules for distributing the products were politically standardised (DES, Building Bulletin No. 35). Teaching space per pupil, pupil to teacher ratios and capitation allowances were regulated by controls established either nationally or locally. These regulations were, nonetheless, subject to modification in particular circumstances. What counted as teaching space, depended on the nature of the building. The incorporation of 'work areas' into purpose-built schools, which

could be shared by a group of classes, be used to hang coats and serve as circulation space, concentrated the space available and obviated the need for corridors and cloakrooms which did not count as teaching space under the regulations. In another example, the introduction of sinks into the wide corridors of a 1920s-build school, turned corridor space into teaching space (Wallace *op. cit.*). Pupil to teacher ratios also varied according to local authority criteria of 'need', whilst the major link between the economy and the political decision making, the level of capitation, depended on the annual priorities set by the Rate Support Grant from central government and the local authority budget (Wallace, 1977). There was, therefore, sufficient flexibility in the political regulations, for economically determined factors to be accommodated at official discretion.

We also have evidence of the intersubjective debates which occurred between local authority advisory personnel and heads and teachers in schools. A familiar forum for such debates was the working party, set up to consider the implications of establishing middle schools, when the proposals were still at the planning stage. Evidence from two such working parties, referred to in an earlier publication (Ginsburg et al., 1977) is available in the form of working party reports. the Droitwich Report compiled in 1968 and the Bromsgrove Report of 1970.

The Droitwich Report is particularly noticeable for the way in which the child-orientated rhetoric of the Plowden Report shaped the way in which the working party considered the issues. The

variations to be expected in pupils' physical development in the middle schools years, the 'stages' of their mental development, and the need to develop each child's potential through a curriculum of relevance to the child, are central to the discourse. On page 9, for example, we have:

It is as well to keep these various stages of development before us, so that we organise our teaching in such a way as is likely to bring the greatest return for our labours . . . What is taught must be relevant to the experiences, interests and environment of the children . . . a curriculum of real benefit to the children in our care.

Furthermore, the existence of the 9-13 school was posited as an opportunity to 'liberalise' the curriculum, 'further and further up the chronological age range' (ibid. p. 10).

Although the Report records that some teachers questioned whether or not the children would obtain 'the necessary skills' it records no answers. The restructured school was to be a place of team teaching, unstreamed ability groups, staff who had 'fruitfully prepared themselves', and an innovative, child-centred curriculum.

There is rather more caution two years later in the Bromsgrove Report of 1970. The teachers' working party were embarking on the implementation of 'the first large-scale exercise in moving to the three tier system'. Expressing themselves in broad agreement with the Droitwich Report, they listed society's 'growing complexity', 'technological advance', and 'need for better qualified workers', as important considerations and noted the increase in leisure and the need to balance individual rights against the demands of the community. These wide-ranging concerns were combined into a short

statement of aims which began with child-centredness and ended with social constraints (p. 6):

The needs and aspirations of the pupils must be met according to their age and development and the wishes and demands of the community, including other schools be born in mind.

A strongly worded call for 'suitable accommodation and facilities', if team teaching was to be possible, was included, and a lengthy list of the accommodation and facilities teachers required was defined as 'specific needs'. A 'liberal appointment of clerical and ancillary assistants' was also deemed necessary (p. 13).

There is no sense at all in this document of teachers who were unaware of the constraints within which they would be working, as Grace (1978) found; nor is there any sense of teachers who had mistaken rhetoric for practice as Sharp and Green (1975) argued. There is, rather, a considerable awareness of constraints and of the conflicting demands to which these teachers felt subject. The teachers' problem was defined as one of finding a 'balance' between those conflicting demands. They might have conceded the vision of a child-centred rhetoric, but they firmly noted the difficulties of implementing it.

A similar awareness of the conflicting demands of middle schooling, as envisaged by the Plowden Report (1967), is demonstrated in the 'handbook' produced by Tom Gannon and Alan Whalley (1975). The authors, who were pioneering heads in the

West Riding, manage to contain their commitment to the progressive rhetoric within a range of recommendations which, in practice, contradict it.

They speculate, for example, that middle school organisation is likely to reflect the social needs of its pupils and claim that, small schools are less likely than large schools to adopt a 'do as I tell you approach' (p.4). Yet they specify a tutor's role in terms of a 'day to day' organisation, which involves 'periodic checks', on children's 'school dress, tidiness and cleanliness'. They argue for a hierarchy of authority amongst the teachers, where year coordinators are viewed as responsible for year teams and are detailed in classic style to undertake surveillance of subordinates and (pp. 49-50):

to be aware of the strengths and weaknesses of tutors attached to the year and to keep the head or deputy informed of matters likely to cause concern.

Yet pupils and staff are expected to see year coordinators as people to whom they can turn in times of trouble and to disregard the relationship of domination and control which is inherent in the year coordinator role.

The whole book offers a mixture of paradox and ambiguity, highlighting the contradictory nature of the teacher's position. Hierarchy and authority are seen as the means to achieve cooperation, sociality and morality, rather than the reverse.

The recommendations concerned with curriculum method are even more difficult to untangle. On the one hand we are told (p. 50):

With mixed ability groups . . . there will obviously be a practical necessity for learning by discovery to be prominent, since children will, inevitably undertake a great deal of work on their own in a situation where the teacher is concerned with each child as an individual . . .

On the other hand we are warned of the 'danger of individual approaches', which can accentuate differences (pp. 75-76):

It must not be thought that when the idea of streaming ends, class teaching automatically ends with it.

From their position as pioneers, these heads obviously perceived no conflict between the Plowden ideology and their right to dictate to teachers what they might or might not think about classroom methods. Yet, what they were also promulgating was a practice which was it appeared, intended to delay selection in order to retain pupil commitment to schooling.

As Nias (1980, p. 73) pointed out:

In both Launching the Middle School (1970a) and Towards the Middle School (1970b), the DES set their collective face against a selective curriculum. Five years later this notion had achieved the status of a principle (in) the Schools Council Working Paper on The Curriculum in the Middle Years.

Nias identified the ideology of the ideal middle school as egalitarian, responsive, innovative, pluralist, optimistic and integrative and it is in this form of the ideology that we can see the alternative cultural-normative view available in the discourse. For if Gannon and Whalley had seen hierarchy and

authority as the means to achieve sociality, morality and cooperation, Nias found an alternative set of possibilities. In the alternative discourse, middle schools were egalitarian in their emphasis on teamwork. The traditional school hierarchies amongst staff were disregarded (not abandoned). The non-selective curriculum kept open pupil options for as long as possible. Staff were responsive and adaptive to their several different roles and to the differing rates of development in pupils. Teachers were aware of pupil experiences outside school and were willing to incorporate them into the curriculum. The use of team teaching, the mixed ability work, the sharing of space and resources, were all indicative of the innovative nature of middle schools. Philosophies were pluralist. There was hope, optimism and a fostering of interdependencies (Nias, 1980). The ideal rested on a different reality.

One of the earliest books to be written from a research perspective, drew out some of these optimistic trends, but warned about the ambiguity and the transitional position of middle schools (Blyth and Derricot, 1977). The authors reflected on the difficulty of defining what a middle school was and pointed to their diversity and lack of models to follow. Even so, they saw the schools they visited as culturally generative and claimed that the patterns of interaction and the cultural outcomes constituted much of the schools' claim to purposive existence. Teachers were 'impelled by circumstances' to work as a team because of the relatively egalitarian salary structure and the division of curriculum from pastoral policies.

In spite of this the book bristles with warnings about the middle school position: caught between the expectations of primary and secondary schooling. Here the authors perceived problems for pupils who were left to identify and internalise their own norms in a society divided over its own values. They raised the question as to how consensus might be achieved. They warned of the problems of ill-defined roles where 'individual patterns of expectation . . . (from teachers) . . . and . . . busyness' substituted for a value consensus and the proper evaluation of effective learning. Heads were seen to have a difficult role in reconciling 'different functions and interests' (pp. 60-66).

The middle schools they visited were nonetheless 'happy places' (p.89), where there was tolerance for pupils' shortcomings (p. 185):

Middle schools can more readily be seen as places where children behave in particular ways than as places where they learn particular skills and knowledge. Moreover, it is around curricular problems that the conflicts along the upper interface are concentrated.

Middle school teachers, it appeared, were resolving the tensions in their interrelationships, in favour of the egalitarian interpretation of morality, sociality and cooperation. In order to do this, they had modified their approach to the competitive, egotistic requirements of academic 'subjects' and individual grades of assessment. However in doing so they had largely lost any sense of direction or purpose. Busyness, as Galton et al. (1980) noted of the primary classroom, had become an end in

itself. Productive activity, regardless of the purpose or value of the product, was the major objective of teachers.

The purpose of productive activity, is however, not a matter of isolated individualistic achievement, for as such it has no meaning. Meaning, as Habermas argues, is tied either to the negotiated consensus or ideologically shifted into the instrumental search for extrinsic reward. In a hierarchically ordered society, where constraints legitimate the unequal distribution of the product, middle schools could negotiate no shared consensus about the purpose of their pupils' productivity. The consequence was atomised, not pluralised, perspectives.

To take this view opens up the possibilities for intersubjective negotiation rather than constrains them within narrow formulae. For example, Holly (1977, pp. 184-186) argued that conflict in comprehensive schooling stemmed from conflict between the rationalistic routine of middle class instrumentalism (where the 'highest level of academic excellence is compatible with a minimum of critical consciousness'), and the coercive routines of working class, mechanistic, compliance (where the 'organisation reflects social relations of exploitation and domination'). Previously accommodated in separate institutions, the combination of the two under one organisational form, resulted in a questioning of both. The tutor role is accounted for as an aspect of 'pre-capitalist social relationships'.



While this explanation is plausible, it ignores the coercive aspects of the grammar (and public) schools which underlay the 'rationalist' ideology and falls into the error of assuming that social class is a matter of a mental-manual divide: a point which Young and Whitty (1977, pp. 1-14) dispute.

Further, while Holly conceded that need for 'pedagogical argumentation' established by team planning was introducing 'criticism into teacher consciousness', Young and Whitty argue that the new educational policies which were finding support on the Left of the political spectrum, 'merely provide more efficient means of maintaining the status quo' (p.6). If we adopt the view that contingent groups may find it in their interests to negotiate either position, then we can look more closely at the pragmatic contingencies which apply in particular situations.

Young and Whitty's point that, 'the basic educational dilemma of our time is a cultural one' (p.7), draws on Bantock (1973) for support, and is obviously pertinent across the political spectrum. The problem is to identify more clearly the contradictory strands in the dilemma and point up patterns of contingent tensions as they are culturally mediated.

Hargreaves and Tickle (eds., 1980) provide some data for a response to this, in their focus on the origins, ideology and practice of middle schools. Although the contributions are in general undertheorised, they raise many of the most relevant issues surrounding cultural ideologies, administrative policy and

teacher practice. Hargreaves, for example, contributes some interesting comments on the search for 'the unique identity of the middle school' (authors emphasis, p. 89), particularly with respect to the 9-13 middle school. He argued that four mechanisms were involved in the process of detaching the middle school from the primary and the secondary sectors. The language was indicative of 'an exaltation of new and innovative educational practice', as the notion of the extension of primary practice had been dropped and the notion of 'too early specialisation' resisted. The constraint of selection for upper school examinations had been formally rejected, even though pupil differentiation in the 'linear' subjects appeared to be extremely common; and finally and more positively, the concept of a 'transition model', within which the notion of 'balance' provided the ideological solution, had been promoted (p.92):

This notion involves a portrayal of different educational alternatives as extreme and irreconcilable if accepted in toto. Yet, it is argued, there is good and bad in each tradition and the task which lies ahead involves selecting and combining what is recognizably good.

Hargreaves then quoted Hardcastle (1977): 'This middle ground is consistent with a liberal, democratic view of society . . . ', and comments himself that the 'notion of balance . . . transforms contradiction into complementarity'.

Other contributions to the Hargreaves and Tickle (1980) volume, provide further evidence of the contradictions in curriculum and organisation. Meyenn and Tickle (1980) identified the discrepancies between the stated intentions and the practices in

two middle schools where the organisational intent was orientated towards the 'smooth transition model'. One of these was organised for an abrupt change of style between years two and three, the other provided for more abrupt changes into and out of the school (pp. 139-158). In Wallace (1980), I identified the problems heads experienced in 'balancing' the early aims and intentions of middle schooling against the pressures of High School demands related to examinations, and accommodating the mix in a range of architectural styles that stretched from 1929 to 1971. One 1939-built-senior-elementary school still used a HORSIA hut for music and accommodated most of its first years in a 'purpose built' open plan area. The contradictions of open plan architecture, which signify openness and freedom but offer too little, poor quality space, where teachers experience difficulties with surveillance and control, were explored. In common with the survey by the Council for Educational Technology (1973), it seemed that economy rather than suitability had dominated the planning criteria.

Contradictions in the staffing arrangements, defined in the organisational split between the horizontal control of the year group by the pastoral teacher and the vertical control of the subject specialism, were discussed by Bornett (1980). He provided evidence of the way in which the year tutors' seniority relative to subject tutors was enhanced, following the Houghton/Burnham settlement of 1975. This general pattern was nonetheless considerably modified in practice by the contingencies of particular schools because of the practice of providing staff with responsibility for dual roles (pp. 159-179).

More ominously, Derricot and Richards (1980) warned of the growing strength of the arguments for teacher accountability and pointed to the weakness of the Plowden ideology of child-centred curricula, as an individualised concept, in the face of arguments for overall continuity in any school's curricular policy (pp. 180-200).

Lynch (1980) went even further and argued that 1974, the year of local government reorganisation, 'was a disastrous year for English education' in general and for middle schools in particular. He argued that there was evidence of an actual drop in educational spending 1974-75 to 1978-79. Although enough teachers had been employed to maintain existing standards, capital spending on schools was falling sharply and many old schools were in bad condition. He highlighted the evidence that showed progressive practices to be rare and suggested that progressive methods 'peaked' 'around 1969'. He quoted the title of a book by Burrows (1978), a former HMI, to epitomise the contradictions in its title: The Middle School: High road or dead end? He argued that demands for a more rational system, with curricula which were coordinated, controlled and accounted for, came to a head, in the Queen's speech at the beginning of the new conservative government, May 1979, and he claimed that power was passing from the periphery to the centre (pp. 106-116).

A later, nation-wide survey of middle schools (Taylor and Garson, 1982), found further evidence against middle schools. There was little evidence of successful innovation; there was a lack of

continuity in curricula for pupils; a considerable variation in size and types of school, with distinct differences between the ideology and resourcing of 8-12 and 9-13 schools; and there was evidence of problems over resourcing and staffing. Given the coping strategies which marked the policies shaping middle school origin, the survey's results might have been predicted.

The post-war idealism that Kogan (1978, pp. 21-29) termed that of the 'Opportunity State' had all but evaporated. With it went the ideology of the middle school. The policies which followed the 1974 reorganisation of local government, were a response to a long-term economic decline which came to a crisis point with the sudden rise in world oil prices in 1973.

Again, however, the crisis and the policy changes were not merely confined to Britain. Crossland noted the shift towards more centralised control by the Department of State (Kogan, 1971, p. 170), so did Manzer (1970), who put it down to 'new men' who 'came into the Ministry' and 'did not share the tradition of partnership of the interwar period'. Manzer also noted 'a more critical attitude to the allocation of resources . . . not shared by the teachers or the local authorities' (p. 25). We can however, look even wider for expressions of concern regarding the costs of education. The logical development from the middle school curriculum, in its more conservative guise of individualised equality of opportunity, was that social-democratic institution, the multi-option High School. Most evident in Sweden, West Germany and the north American continent, the multi-option High

School came under OECD scrutiny following the oil crisis. In a survey of the building implications, Ader (1975) began by noting the contradictions and ended by noting the cost.

Even more transnational in its implications, was the World Bank (1974) paper, which called on Third World countries to avoid the expensive western model of education and aim at more 'basic' provision. The international financial institutions were involving themselves in national public spending policy. The International Monetary Fund made cuts in public spending a condition of their financial assistance to the Labour Party in 1974 and the transfer of funding from public to private interests became a classic doctrine of monetarist economic management. The nation-state was itself newly constrained and its institutions under pressure to restructure themselves. OECD examiners (1976a) critically reviewed DES management style. With new awareness, sociology of education shifted from a concern with equality of opportunity to a concern with the role of the State in defining efficient policies. Evidence of that role over the last twenty years, suggests a growing centralisation of power, directed against any egalitarian trends in schools.

(v) The redefinition of education

Begun as a defence of the elitist grammar school (Cox and Dyson, 1969), the conservative educational backlash characteristic of the Black Paper writers, at first struggled for legitimacy. By 1975, the attack had developed into a full scale onslaught onto comprehensive schools, on the grounds of falling standards and

rising disorder (Cox and Boyson, 1975). The drive against progressive practices in schools exploded into the public arena with the William Tyndale case (Auld, 1976; Elliott et al., 1976; Gretton and Jackson, 1976), a media attack on teaching 'standards' (Crutcher, 1979) and the (mis)use made of Neville Bennett's (1976) study of teaching styles. Lawton (1980) and Lynch (1980) amongst others, have summarised some of the points made in the, still secret 'Yellow Book', which HMI prepared for the Prime Minister as a brief for his speech at Ruskin College, Oxford; the speech which launched the Great Debate into Education in September, 1976. I shall return to the ramifications of this and the contradictions and conflicts in policy it signified, in chapter six. For the present it need only be noted that the major issues of the debate were defined and elaborated in a Green Paper, published by the DES in the summer of 1977. Education was called upon to be the efficient servant of a managed economy (DES, 1977, para 1.16; Simon, 1977). Furthermore, the raised 'standards' which were required, were to be brought about without additional resources. In a close reading of the text, Donald (1979) claimed that education was 'being redefined' and the issue was 'the preconditions necessary for the 'internationalised' reproduction of capital' (p. 44).

Referring to the OECD (1977) report, Education for Working Life, he claimed (p. 45)

The starkest political threat to the reproduction/restructuring process is contained in the growth of youth unemployment. What employers fear will result, according to Frith, are political and social unrest, the growth of an unemployable sub-proletariat and possibly skill shortages in the future. The OECD also underlines the importance of education in overcoming such problems . . .

Donald argued that there was a 'new settlement' which included,
(with OECD quotations)

tighter management of education and also participatory democracy 'as an instrument of policy as well as an objective in itself'; more careers education, hegemonic teaching about industry, work experience and 'realistic counselling about employment possibilities'; dealing with the academicism of schools, the widespread holding of qualifications and 'the large number of young people who are unsuited for employment when they leave school'; and the use of education 'to promote a more constructive use of enforced idleness during working life'.

The 'restructuring of the state apparatus through which it is being imposed', included the creation of the Manpower Services Commission and the Training Services Agency. The DES was thus brought under pressure to 'change its ways'.

In a speech to local authority advisers in September, 1980, William Taylor quoted an OECD Report (1976b):

The disillusion which is felt by many leavers from all branches of education is mainly due to the fact that the accepted relationship of level of education and level of job has become much looser. The 'implicit contract' is being broken and the guarantee provided by credentials in time of scarcity of education is no longer valid . . .

Taylor then made the point:

Enhanced quality of life expectations and the problem of 'ungovernability' that arises from what are seen as the denial of entitlements, has emphasised the role of the school as an agent of political socialisation, especially in relation to subsequent democratic participation both as citizen and worker . . .

The implications of both sets of OECD quotations and the commentaries of Donald (1979) and Taylor (1980) support an interpretation of the Great Debate as a reactive response by the state administrative apparatuses, to a developing crisis of expectations inherent in the expensive 'Western model' of education. Following the oil crisis of 1973, these expectations could not be met within the structural limitations of the existing economic and political order. It was therefore necessary to intervene administratively and, through a process of redefinition (Donald, 1979) to restructure the system to make it economically more efficient and to re-establish those relations of authority and hierarchy which would put teachers and pupils back 'in their place'. In other words, the Great Debate represented an attempt at the level of the nation-state to realign the aspirations of individuals with the economic 'realities' (Wallace and Tickle, 1983).

However, Donald's (1979) paper ignores the contradictions. The state and the international capitalist system, he claims, work together, with the corporate state a 'Corollary of internationalisation' (p. 46). Within his theory of correspondence, however, he cannot identify the nature of the 'struggle' which he claims is a feature of the restructuring process which the latter requires of the former. Yet if the

mechanisms are contradictory, outcomes must be a matter of empirical investigation within a theoretical and historical context (e.g. Dale, 1983). I turn next to the methodological issues related to the problems of carrying out such an historical, socio-empirical study, on the basis of the pattern modelled below.

(vi) Conclusion, Model and Hypotheses

In this chapter, I have documented links between the post war social democratic consensus, the pragmatic nature of the political compromises in the cause of 'balance' and the ideology of a comprehensive schooling committed in general to the integration of individual pupils into a 'ladder' of opportunity. The links are necessarily sketchily drawn and rely upon a review of literary sources, many of which are specifically orientated towards the origins, practices and ideologies of middle schools. I have claimed that the data provides evidence of contradictions which reflect the basic contradiction of capital in that production is socially organised but the product is privately appropriated according to an ideology of differential worth signified by an hierarchised division of labour.

The rule-resource limits within which agents negotiate intersubjectively to resolve the contradictions and conflicts in their cooperative-productive roles call forth an ideology of 'balance' which de-legitimises 'extremist' solutions. Agents are thus expected to hold in tension the contradictions as they mediate them. In its extreme forms, teachers in schools mediate the contradictions between materialism and morality, egotism and

sociality, competition and cooperation, either by sentimentally and idealistically disregarding the hierarchies and taking an egalitarian view, or by asserting the 'naturalness' of the hierarchy of individuals and the societal need for cooperative sociality. Middle schools, with their progressive ideology of teamwork, were ideologically interpreted in egalitarian terms because (paradoxically) it was necessary to disregard the hierarchies in order to incorporate more working class pupils into the hierarchical ordering of the 'ladder' of opportunity. This was done by emphasising the productive activities (busyness) and leaving the goals to individual (guided) choice. Traditional conservatives saw this as a threat to the 'natural' order of society. Their rhetoric was available to justify new controls to ensure accountability.

The OECD (1976b, 1977) documents, argue for the need to re-unite questions of order and questions of productivity, in a new educational settlement. Like other systems' orientated ideas, they ignore the problems of the limits placed on change by a property order which appropriates the products of labour according to an hierarchical order which is difficult to justify. The contradictions within this order constitute a major source of conflict and cultural tension.

We can now make some general hypotheses which reflect the interests and conflicts of agents within the state administrative systems in general and the educational administration in particular:

1. Within the boundaries of the nation-state, the state administrative systems mediate the contradictions between the social relationships of productive activity and the privatised appropriation of the results of social labour.
2. The state administrative systems cannot resolve this contradiction but must work within the limits of a contradictory rule-bound resource framework which they administer, to make the claim that the system works in the general interest.
3. The ideology of mediation is that finding a 'balance' operates in the 'general interest' in a legitimate way.
4. Different agents of state administrative systems and different clients, all of whom occupy different positions in an atomised system, have different notions of what constitutes a 'balance' in their particular interests, from their particular perspectives.
5. Finding compromises and agreements in intersubjective contexts is in the individual interest because it reduces the stress of mediating contradictory imperatives and aids the formation of coping strategies which 'work' in the situation.

6. In consequence the intersubjective dynamic tends towards compromise and egalitarian solutions, wherever the situation allows for intersubjective negotiation.
7. This cooperative, intersubjective dynamic, is counterposed by the dynamic of capital working competitively in the interests of the dominant class in a restless cycle of colonial activity (investment, production, profit, investment) to restructure the social relationships for production and redistribute the profit for investment. Individuals have differential 'chances' in such a market. Resistance is based on previous cycle of intersubjective, productive interests.
8. In a decade of crises for Capital, where there is low national 'growth', the state is using its national-administrative structures to shift money from public to private investment and to demand that the public services retain or even raise their level of productivity, with fewer resources. The educational system is being restructured.
9. In the contingent ideological construction of a relationship between 'accountability' and 'standards', a new settlement in publically administered education is being negotiated. Not just 'productivity' but the goals of productivity are being defined and measured.

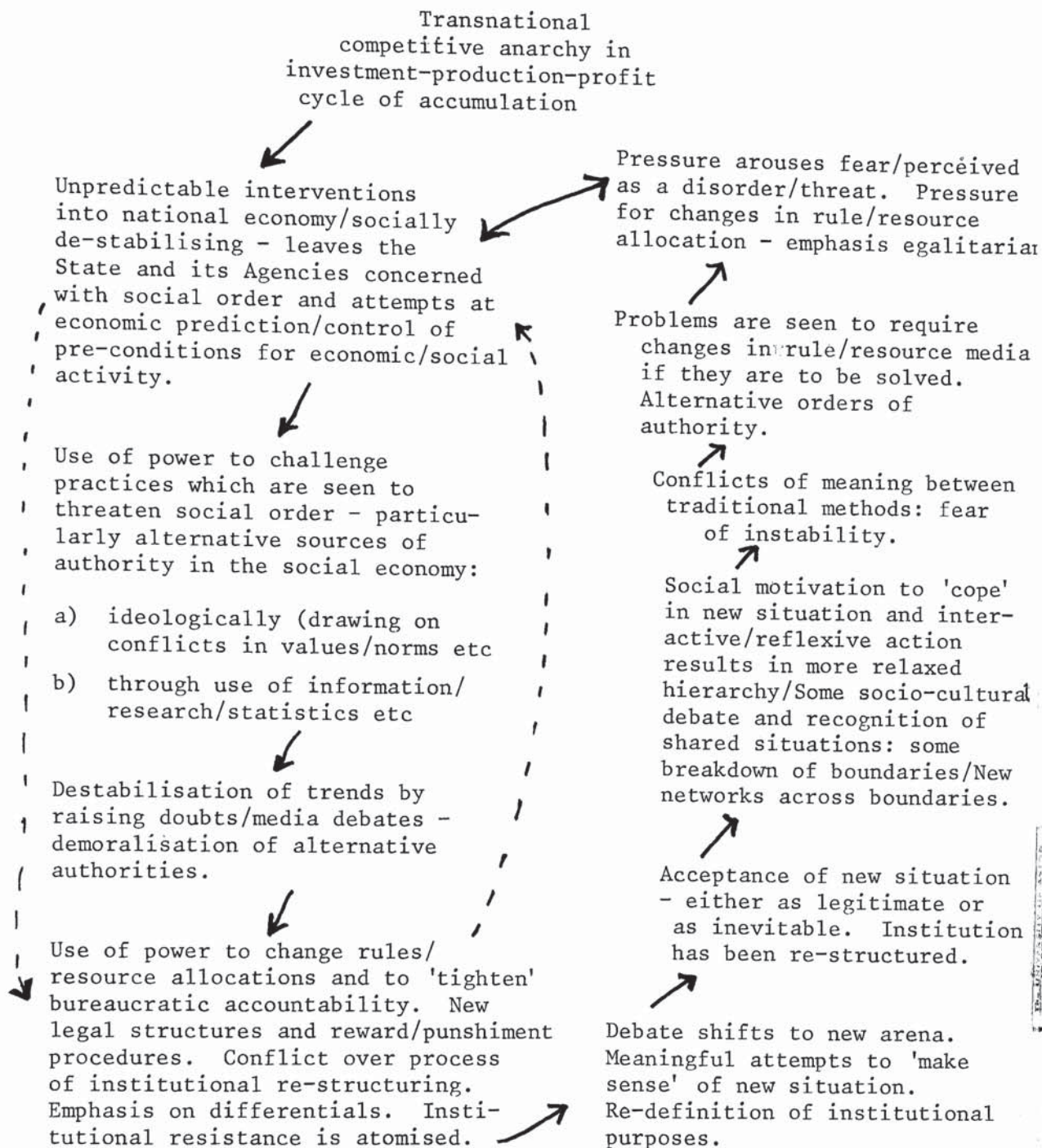
10. The new settlement creates a contingent relationship between the available economic resources (within the prevailing property order), the goals of the system for a defined and justifiable hierarchical order, and a participative democracy where the administrators of the system are made accountable not just for their conformity to rules but for using their resources to attain pre-set goals, regardless of resource limits: teachers are being held accountable for reproducing both the productivity and the product. Reward and punishment operate to achieve the technical goals. There is no cultural consensus.

Table 1 models this process.

In the next chapter I shall discuss the methodological issues which this raises for a study intended as a research project directed towards elucidating the process whereby the new settlement was mediated to teachers and the form in which it reverberated into six middle schools.

The general hypothesis then is that the policy intentions embodied in the ideology of 'balance', where contradictions between production, which is socially organised, and distribution of the product, which is privately consumed will be to unite production and cultural interpretations of productive activity, ideologically, in an attempt to legitimate product distribution in line with the legitimization of an hierarchical social order which favours the dominant group.

TABLE 1: An overview of the change dynamic



ALL THESE PRACTICES ARE APPARENT IN INSTITUTIONS. THE PATTERN OF CHANGE IS NOT NECESSARILY CYCLICAL AND THE MORE UNSTABLE THE ECONOMY, THE LESS LIKELY IT IS THAT HIERARCHIES WILL RELAX INTO SOCIALITIES. HOWEVER, THE MORE OVERT THE POWER STRUCTURE, THE MORE THE USE OF RULES AND RESOURCES PROVOKES COUNTER RESISTANCE. THE FACT THAT BOTH HIERARCHY AND SOCIALITY CUT ACROSS THE BOUNDARIES OF INSTITUTIONS IS IMPORTANT FOR METHODOLOGY.

Culture, however, is not a matter of rule-bound relationships defined through an imposed normative/coercive structure, but is normatively creative and is intersubjectively negotiated within the 'contingent historical constellations' (Habermas, 1982, p. 222), which make up the civil relationships of the social economy. In an anarchic, unpredictable environment the rule-resource allocation must be in constant flux. As the economic and political framework of schools changes, and as changes in structure, are manifested in contradictory rule-resource changes in the individual institution the reward, punishment structure fails. The people engaged in the social construction of the realities of schooling, are forced to renegotiate and re-balance their practices, in order to mediate new forms of tension in their situations. The form these negotiations take cannot be pre-determined, but they will have their own effects on the rule-resource limits, in ways which may mount new challenges to the established order, particularly where they have their base more in the social economy of the school, rather than the political economy of the state.

For although the concept of equality of opportunity has the appearance of an ideal socio-cultural link between individual and economy, neither the ladder of opportunity, nor the economy, has the kind of predictable substantive existence that enables systematic planning for the future to 'work'.

In the next chapter, I consider the methodological problems of researching into the contradictory interactive links between policy and process, as they are mediated in the change dynamic. I also set out details of the data gathering process and include some basic tabulated data on the characteristics of the schools and the teachers from whence the data was collected.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

General Introduction

I have argued in the previous chapters, that there is a structural contradiction in the capitalist economic system, which derives from a basic problem: namely that, the product of co-operative, productive activity is privately appropriated. This contradiction reverberates through the institutions of the nation state as contradictions within and between the impersonal and anarchic concerns of a restless capitalist economic cycle, which contracts labour for instrumental purposes, and a hegemonic system of order which sustains the property order of the nation state, in the 'general interest'. Intersubjective activity may be identified through what Habermas (1982, p. 222) has called 'contingent historical constellations'. These represent networked patterns of intersubjective negotiation which operate to hold in tension the negotiated strategies for coping with intersubjective human interests, and rule-resource constraints. In legitimating its hegemonic role, the state has developed a substantive commitment to this as a 'balance' of interests, in the form of a social economy at variance with the political economy.

As this study focusses on changes in schooling policy, and its consequences for schooling practices, the crucial state administrative system is identifiable as that which operates through the Department of Education and Science. It includes the

links that the Department has with government, local authorities and schools, in a variety of patterns and forms. The networked patterns of intersubjective negotiation are the relationships between the people who are constrained by the limitations of the rule-resource pattern the system represents and who mediate the contradictions of a system in which cooperative, social and moral discourses, support competitive, egotistic and materialistic reward structures.

We have then, two crucial dimensions of analysis: the bureaucratic/administrative dimension of rule/resource allocation and the socio-cultural dimension wherein the rules are renegotiated in an active, creative, interpretation of normative behaviour (Hargreaves et al, 1975). More importantly, the two dimensions should not be seen as different 'levels' of behaviour whereby the former constitutes a coercive structure, within which the latter provides an interactive ideology. Rather, the two patterns of relationship must be seen as structurally interdependent and operating dialectically to mediate the basic contradiction of the capitalist system, through tension-ridden patterns of relationship.

In designing a research plan for the fieldwork which would accommodate the collection and interpretation of data across the usual boundaries of institutional structures and take into account the necessary time dimension required for an analysis of policy change, three different kinds of strategies were required:

- (a) The scrutiny of policy debates, documents and directives associated with the policy intentions of state administrators in relation to changes in the rule/resource pattern of relations;
- (b) A process of data gathering from participants which would enable the developing interpretation of events by teachers in the case study schools to be recorded, over time and in process;
- (c) The observation and recording of changing (or non-changing) practice in the schools.

The first dimension has been undertaken through two basic sources of information. The first source is the publicly available documentation of policy debate and information. The second is that of personal observation of the intersubjective processes of negotiation at local authority level, through involvement in teacher-union activities and negotiations from school to county level in the authority studied.

Data on the second and third processes has been gathered from six middle schools between 1979 and 1981. A key aspect of this data gathering has been the incorporation of a period of absence from all of the schools of about twelve months. Two sets of interviews, undertaken on two separate occasions: before and after the period of withdrawal from the schools, were intended to

provide evidence of the process of change, as the teachers perceived it.

In Part I, I discuss the methodological issues, associated with the data gathering, in terms of their inherent strengths and weaknesses, and the relationship of the data gathering process to the research task. In Part II, I provide details of the field study schools and the interviewees.

PART I: The Methodological Issues

(i) The scrutiny of policy intentions, debates and directives

The problems involved in identifying particular directions and specific purposes which lie behind any policy debates are considerable for four main reasons:

- (ia) The political process whereby the state administrative apparatus gathers support and consent for particular administrative policies is articulated in public debate in terms of various 'needs' as well as in terms of various 'checks and balances'. Part of the exercise involves drawing on meanings which have been intersubjectively negotiated, and reorientating them towards the 'balance' required by the dominant order. We have then, what have been termed 'weasel words' (Holt, 1981) - such as accountability and standards, which mean different things to different groups. The cultural language may be the same, but the meanings, as understood, may be in opposition (Laclau, 1977).

- (ib) The debate articulated in the public domain of discourse is a process which draws to itself new concerns and problems which are incorporated and developed along with the change process. The interaction between Clegg, as symbolic of the difficulties local authorities were experiencing, and the DES, as representative of the broader policy direction over the implementation of comprehensive and middle schools, offers an example of this.
- (ic) The process of change is a process which develops over time to take account of both the developing patterns of intersubjectivity amongst particular groupings of interests, and the anarchic shifts in international, capitalist interests. As mediators of this dialectic process, state administrative systems do not pursue coherent, rational, lines of policy development, they react to events.
- (id) What is available in public documents and pronouncements is both profuse and limited. It is profuse, in that anyone with an interest in developments is free to add a personal perspective. It is limited in that much of the policy formation in education retains the status of state secret (Lawton, 1980).

Nonetheless, the particular circumstances which surrounded policy in the state administrative system concerned with education policy, appeared to produce the contingent historical

circumstances which rendered the arena highly visible. The OECD documents offer a case in point, where the policy issues were publicly articulated for all western industrialised nation states. In addition, Callaghan's (1976) inauguration of the great debate into education, defined the issues and subsequent documents elaborated them. The setting up of the Assessment of Performance Unit and Her Majesty Inspectorate's concern with the school curriculum, highlighted the nature of the process of change.

Furthermore, much of the data is now available in secondary as well as primary sources. Lawton (1980), CCCS (1981), Holt (1980), Salter and Tapper (1981), Kogan (1979), Bush and Kogan (1982), Ahier and Flude (eds) (1983) all provide sources of contemporary data as well as their particular gloss on events and thus provide opportunities for critical reference to a wide range of material.

I was not, however, limited exclusively to written sources from central government agencies or the general literature, as I also had access to the debate at local and national level through my involvement in teacher union activities. This involvement provided a unique opportunity to gain insights into the way the issues were developing, as policies and politics interacted at local authority level. The nature of this involvement and the use to which it has been put in this study, are problematic in methodological terms, so I set it out fully below.

Over the relevant period of this study, I was associated with active union involvement in the following arenas:

(a) From 1977-1978, as a teacher in a comprehensive school, I acted as school representative for the National Union of Teachers. During this period, the school was engaged in direct action connected with the union campaign for improvement in teacher salaries. I therefore experienced directly the conflicts and contradictions of inter-staff and staff-pupil relations, during a period when the 'normal' ordering of the school was deliberately challenged. Other disputes in the school, associated with inter-staff conflicts (which included the head) brought me into direct contact with the officials of the union and provided new insights into their methods.

(b) In the early part of the fieldwork between 1979 and 1980, I was in office as President of the local association of the NUT and attended meetings at County level where policy was discussed and decided at executive level. I also attended the 1980 Annual Conference at Scarborough and a special one-day conference in London which subsequently agreed the 1980 salary settlement.

The activities were not, however, undertaken for research purposes and were not used for ethnographic methods of data collection, for ethical reasons. Even so, the experiences have influenced my perception and interpretation of events and they also provided access to publicly available material which I will cite in the course of data presentation. Without this involvement, I might well have been unaware of this data.

As a corollary to this experience, I became increasingly aware of the extent to which different teacher's perceptions of events could be limited by differential access to information, particularly in its subtler forms.

It is fair to say, therefore, that the data on policy formation which was available to me was considerable. The major problems were not in the area of collection of information but in evaluating and selecting from the wealth of material available. I have taken the decision to represent as wide a range of perspectives on this as possible, so that, for example, government, HMI, local authority and union material has been used in order to highlight policy problems and debates. Even so, the issues dealt with are specifically those which were reverberating into schools and affecting teacher practice and belief, in terms of the curriculum and of pupil evaluation and selection, as data on these issues forms the central themes of the change dynamic for this thesis. Other questions are of only peripheral concern in this thesis and must be left aside for now.

(ii) Data gathering from participants in the schools

Three issues are of particular importance with regard to gathering data from participants consideration of which will enable some valid interpretations of teacher perspectives on policy change to be identified. These are:

- (a) the question which surrounds the problem of capturing a process as distinct from a 'snapshot' of events;

- (b) the issues which surround the use of case studies and/or samples and the extent to which either actually provides the valid data
- (c) the problem of interpreting idiosyncratic rationalisations in any kind of typical or representative terms, whether gathered ethnographically or in aggregated form.

These questions are deliberately presented in a form which presupposes that an eclectic approach to data gathering from participants is both possible and justifiable and I shall take each issue in turn and explore the ramifications of the debates for this study.

(iia) Capturing processes

Data gathering from participants has traditionally divided along the boundary between the ethnographic approach, which seeks to identify the whole cultural experience of participants in their intersubjective relationships, and positivistic approaches which have used questionnaire or closed interview techniques in order to obtain aggregate data from representative groups on specific questions. The major disadvantage of the first approach lies in the temporal and spatial boundaries placed around the intersubjective relationships of participants. The researcher joins the group as a participant-observer and seeks to identify with the situation, at the same time as he or she brings an 'objective' outsider's view to events. Macnamara (1980) has mounted a trenchant attack on the arrogance of such 'outsider'

interpretations, and although some of his comments maybe unduly critical, it is the case that ethnographers are in a position to select, from a wealth of material, particular items which may support their implicit definitions, ignoring (or possibly ignorant of) the examples which refute them. Furthermore, in this study, I needed to find a method of transcending the traditional boundaries of the intersubjective situation, in order to understand the historical and environmental context which shaped the participants' definition of their situation, as the process developed.

The case against a positivistic approach was also strong. Questionnaire or closed-question interviews pre-define the nature of participants' responses and result in 'snapshot', aggregated data which degrade the events they represent into little more than head-counting exercises, stripped of meaning.

On the other hand, two sets of 'snapshot' data taken at different points in time, could provide some measure of changing viewpoints on specific issues.

King (1981, 1982), offers a rare example of the changes which can occur in school organisation overtime, using an action approach to data gathered from 45 secondary schools studied first in 1968/69 and again in 1978/79. The organisational changes he studied covered patterns of pupil differentiation in streams and sets, testing and bureaucratic procedures, ceremony, rituals and participation in decision making and control, amongst others. He

also made use of the post hoc rationalisations of head teachers, in an attempt to discover any causal factors within the participants' definitions of reality. However, I wanted to capture the process of change from a wider perspective, including in this the interpretative data which teachers might supply as they 'made sense' of events.

The simplest solution to the problem was to observe the schools over a period of time and to ask the teachers what was happening and what they thought about it: a solution which shifted the methodological problems into the critical realm of selection, interpretation and evaluation rather than data collection per se.

In order to make this process more systematic, therefore, I planned to gather data across six middle schools in one local authority at two separated intervals over a two year period. In effect, each school was visited for approximately four to five weeks between October 1979 and April 1980 and then again over the same period twelve months later. The period in the schools was spent as a participant-observer, and data relating to the issues could be collected using ethnographic methods in any available form. At the same time, teachers were interviewed according to a semi-structured schedule of questions, designed both to allow respondents to explore the issues in their own terms, and in some areas to provide data which could be categorised after the interview in order to provide quantifiable measures of change, across the time period (see Appendix I).

The study was thus set into the eclectic tradition used by, for example Goldthorpe et al. (1968a,b, 1969), with a major emphasis on organisational structure and participants' definition of the situation.

Between the two sets of school fieldwork, the policy-making process at government and local government levels was kept under scrutiny, but there was no contact at all with the schools. I hypothesised that there would be observable changes in organisation and definitions of the situation between the two sets of fieldwork, and that these would find echoes in the policy making process which I scrutinised.

My major concern was to identify the common policy effects across the six schools, rather than to highlight the differences. However, as I shall explain later, the schools were selected for their differences rather than their similarities and this allowed for some observation of cultural autonomy in the different institutional effects of the same policies.

Many of the problems associated with ethnographic approaches, with respect to the wealth of data available and the problems of evaluating and selecting material, remained. However, designing the data collection around the issues identified for policy change and structuring these in the interview schedule, set limits to the study in the schools, and removed the institutional boundaries of interpretations faced by ethnographers.

(iib) Case studies or samples: what counts as valid?

In rejecting the limitations of an ethnographic approach which would have provided me with six case-studies of six middle schools from which I might have extracted some typical responses to policy initiatives, I decided to limit my observational data largely to aspects of the organisational problems with which I was concerned. This would provide me with six studies of organisations but neglected the socio-cultural dimension of participants' definitions of the situation. I therefore decided to use the interview procedure in order to sample teachers' definitions and rationalisations across the institutional boundaries, in a way which would elucidate common policy effects (or non-effects) on participants' views.

Interviewing offered the potential for data which would be both flexible enough to accommodate idiosyncratic explorations of issues by the interviewees and standardised enough to permit comparisons between individuals and groups across the time span. In taking this approach I was not seeking to 'uncover' and explain the subjective states of participants, as individuals, but rather to obtain descriptive accounts of their material situation as they saw it. The questions were therefore orientated towards teachers concrete problems, rather than their philosophies and beliefs. The questions were framed in terms of what, and how, rather than why, on the assumption that data so gathered would reveal the problems teachers had to consider without placing them in the defensive position of having to justify their actions. I reasoned

that methodologically this would provide data on intentions and purposes, rather than merely offer post hoc rationalisations.

Even so, the post hoc rationalisations are viewed here as important aspects of the teachers' explanations of their involvement in changes. Hence any question likely to produce a rationalisation was made as concrete as possible and located at the level of the craft of teaching, rather than the philosophy of the particular individual.

However, the participants' responses cannot be taken as causal explanations. Rather, they remain subjective forms of understanding which require a context of relationships for their interpretation. Such a context is provided by the schools' organisational form, the teacher's place in it and the possible constraints of the interview situation. The form that the interpretation takes, draws on Weber's characterisation of the Spirit of Capitalism taken from his examination of the writings of Benjamin Franklin (Weber, 1930; Keat and Urry, 1975, p. 170).

The general idea here is that Weber contextualised Franklin's words in a way which Franklin did not intend. He could do this using a decoding process which set the linguistic utterances into the conditions under which it was made. The interpretation was made in the light of those conditions (Keat and Urry op cit). Taking this approach to the data shifts the question away from data validity per se and towards the valid interpretation and use of data. Hence, I would argue that data itself has no intrinsic

validity as data; its validity must rather be judged in the light of the interpretative use to which it is put. The question for the critical reader must always be, 'In what sense does this data support the point being made?'. The real issues concern the links between the utterance and its context; and context, in this sense must be as comprehensively defined as possible.

An example from the literature is in order here and Sharp and Green (1975) provide a useful lesson in this respect. Sharp and Green are concerned to establish the discrepancy between the progressive rhetoric of child-centred, needs-based educational theory and the actual practices of teachers in a progressive infant school, where the ideology appears to have underpinned progressive innovations. Yet in focussing on the teachers' failures in practice, they neglect to explore how teachers came to adopt it. Teacher reservations about the progressive rhetoric are not examined. The rhetoric is assumed to be a radical critique of traditional methods by 'child-centred teachers' (p. vii).

The prevailing ideology of teacher training, the pressure from advisers and inspectors to innovate along 'progressive' lines, the possibility that teacher professionalism at the time virtually required teachers to talk as though they were believers in child centred methods, are left implicit in the analysis, even though the context of such talk points to the problem (p. 175).

I have cited evidence in chapter three, which shows how teachers had strong personal reservations about progressive methods in

middle schools: reservations which they expressed, for example in working parties organised to 'prepare' them for the innovations of 'progressive' approaches (see Bromsgrove and Droitwich Reports). Part of the answer as to what it was that teachers had to cope with might well have been the expectations laid upon them by policy makers, inspectors and researchers, by the ideology itself.

In the light of this observation, I needed to be able to obtain data which would identify aspects of those changing expectations, without placing teachers in a position where they would be forced to defend what they themselves had not created. It was important therefore for teachers to see me as 'on their side' (Caplow, 1956), rather than one who was there to make judgements on their professional competence. I therefore used my experiences as a teacher to indicate that I understood their dilemmas and was anxious to understand them better. I presented myself as researching into 'the cuts', rather than providing evidence of my wider concern, in the belief that this too provided them with evidence of my empathetic understanding of their position. The effect of this, turned my role as interviewer, in some instances, into a therapeutic one. Teachers thanked me for the opportunity to talk to someone, sometimes said it had been 'a relief to have someone to talk to', and were generally anxious to explain the dilemmas and problems they argued they were facing. Although the interview schedule was designed to take about thirty minutes, few interviews were completed in that time and on numerous occasions, several hours after school were spent with teachers who wanted to put me in the picture and make me understand what their situations

were like. Some interviews had to be left uncompleted because the time put aside for them proved to be too short and no other time was available. This was rare, however, and affected only the last two or three questions on the schedule. Where it occurred it is indicated in the data presentation as necessary.

How to present the accumulated data in a valid interpretation of the effects of policy changes in schools was another problem, but, bearing in mind that it is the relationship between data and interpretation which provides the nub of the validity issue, then an idiosyncratic view, placed in context and identified as such, is as valid a piece of data in its place, as evidence that particular groups of teachers held common views on particular issues, either within or across schools; always providing that the data is framed in justifiable explanatory context.

In this sense I have taken the view that data may be presented in any form or any context, providing the form and the context is made demonstrably explicit. To this end I have used evidence from individual transcripts of interviews as well as tabled categories of response, as and where appropriate. Whilst the former provides evidence of particular perceptions, definitions of the situation and subjective interpretations of events, the latter are seen not as positivistic 'facts' but something closer to what Durkheim appears to have meant by 'faites sociaux': that is points indicative of the conditions which give rise to social actions. The interpretative exploration of those indications remains a matter for debate.

(iic) Typifications or representativeness?

The problems of positivistic approaches to sampling techniques are well known and relate to the statistical probabilities that any particular sample of individuals (however sampled in the sense of random, proportional, cluster or opportunity samples) may be taken as representative of the views of the population from which the sample was taken. I shall return to the question of the characteristics of the interviewees below. For the present it is only necessary to explain that the teachers' responses were intended to provide illustrative material of the range, process and direction of their thinking, rather than sets of attitudes or beliefs, representative or otherwise.

In this sense, the more relevant issue is that of typicality rather than representativeness. In so far as responses provided typical kinds of thinking centred on specific issues these could be illustrated both by any particular example of the genre and measured quantitatively against other typical groupings for any significant correlations. No parameters could be assumed, but different perspectives could be registered.

Even so, I have argued that there is no intrinsic criterion for data validity and the underlying issue does not change with regard to whether or not individual views were either typical or representative of collective responses. The question was a matter of discovering how far policy changes were being reflected in teachers' reactions across the schools and to what extent these

were apparent in the interview responses. By definition, a head could indicate a policy directive, which he or she had received, in a way which was not at all typical of a scale 1 classroom teacher. The indication alone was evidence of policy decisions reverberating into schools through the heads. Such an item could only be typical in the sense that it affected all six heads, in these schools, if they had all received a copy of the directive. Hence a non-typical response could provide important items of information which, in turn, offered explanatory material for findings that did appear to be typical across the schools. Again the problem was a matter of providing a valid context of interpretation for quantitative findings, rather than merely considering the statistical issues in statistical terms.

(iii) Observational data

My basic hypothesis was that the mediating role of the state administrative system concerned with education policy and schooling was changing: with consequent changes in the 'balance' which would reverberate into schooling. Such a change would become observable in new institutional arrangements for control of rule-resource structures. In-school observation was not an isolated, boundaried activity, however, but one which would be inextricably bound up with the data collection. Informal observation of staff debates and decision-making processes provided one source of material. So did observations of staff practices 'on duty' in corridors and playgrounds. Documented evidence of rule changes, whether for teachers or pupils, and even

changes in timetabling, were useful evidence of organisational practices.

The focus, however, was on the rule-resource context for which the observational data provided illustrative exemplars, rather than vice versa. In other words, the behaviour was measured against the political-economic structure, rather than against the beliefs and ideologies of participants. The latter were taken as rationalisations of events post hoc, rather than policy intentions in control of future processes. More crucial was the way in which the 'survival strategies' identified by Woods (1979, p. 153-164) would be re-negotiated to accommodate new demands.

In sum, the methodological processes draw on a range of techniques in an eclectic fashion which takes as axiomatic the principle that any data is only as useful as the critical understanding of its production and its interpretative context allows. In this sense, the data informs what is essentially a debate about the issues and must be evaluated in terms of the extent to which it contributes to a deeper understanding of the social processes involved.

PART II: The Fieldwork

(i) The Six Schools

Five of the schools used in the field study had been the subject of research by a team from the Department of Educational Enquiry at the University of Aston between 1976 and 1977 and they had been selected at the time, in negotiation with the local authority, by reason of their differences rather than their similarities (Ginsburg, et al. 1977; 1979).

The three major dimensions of difference were (a) age and type of building, (b) size of school, (c) the social-class composition of the neighbourhood. In addition, the Heads professed to hold a broad range of views with respect to their personal philosophies of education. Two heads admitted to holding very traditional views about education - although these were by no means synonymous. One school was voluntary aided and had close links with the local church and its establishment. Two heads professed more progressive views and one of these heads was a woman. The age of the heads ranged from the late thirties to near retirement.

I was involved in the Aston research in the Spring and Summer of 1977, when as part of a Master's course, I studied the relationship between the aims of the heads, the organisation of the school and the architecture of the buildings, for a dissertation (Wallace, 1977; 1980a,b).

Given this background of involvement and study in the schools, the data already available on their history, and my established relationship with the heads, I decided to negotiate to undertake the field study for this project with the same schools. A talk with a local official from the LEA produced the suggestion that a sixth, new and expanding middle school with a woman head, would add a further dimension to the study and provide data of a school which was expanding rather than contracting in an otherwise contracting environment.

Table 2 sets out the broad differences in the six schools, with a qualitative assessment of the neighbourhood housing stock to

TABLE 2: Characteristics of the six schools 1977 - 1981

SCHOOL	CATCHMENT	No. ON ROLL	TOTAL PUPILS TO STAFF TEACHERS
1) 1969 primary built + 1973 open-plan addition. Became middle '72.	Mainly middle class village commuter area.	1977 396 1980 373 1981 360	17 22.7 18 20.7 16 22.5
2) Purpose-built, open-plan, 1973 middle school.	Declining area, working-class estate.	1977 465 1980 351 1981 333	23 20.2 18 19.6 15 22.2
3) 1939 built secondary-modern with 1st year open-plan block, for 1970 middle school re-org.	Mixed working and middle class Loss of m.c. '77-'80. Sec. mod. staff retained at reorganisation.	1977 629 1980 660 1981 637	29 21.7 30 22.0 30-1* 21.-2
4) Purpose-built, open-plan, 1970 middle-school.	Working-class estate, poor housing, new town area. 85% rented accommodation.	1977 530 1980 584 1981 571	25 21.2 28 20.8 26 22.0
5) 1929-built infant school 1940's used for secondary mod. 1970 middle school conversion. V.A.	Mixed working and middle class. New head 1978.	1977 587 1980 595 1981 570	26 22.6 27 21.8 26 22.0
6) 1977-built open-plan middle school, still undergoing extensive building work. Classes in temp. huts.	New town area of mixed housing.	1977 420 1980 470 1981 520	NA NA 23 20.4 24 21.7

* Staff lost mid-term: Feb. 1981

NOTE All schools took pupils from two contributing first schools. Each school was one of two or three contributing to a single High school. Pupil age range was 9 - 13 in every school.

indicate the socio-economic status of the catchment area.

The column showing numbers on roll in the spring term of each year, demonstrates the extent to which falling rolls affected all but the sixth school. Whereas the original five schools expected some further losses, the sixth school was anticipating a climb to 590 pupils in September 1981. In Table 3 below, I provide each numbered school with a fictitious name (for reasons of confidentiality) and provide a further indication of its socio-economic composition with the percentage of pupils entitled to free lunches at the beginning of the spring term, January 1981.

Table 3

Percentage of pupils entitled to free lunch; January 1981 (shortly before the system changed radically)

	<u>School</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
(1)	Hollywell	4.9
(2)	Yarrowfield	8.5
(3)	Thistlebank	4.3
(4)	Buttersley	17.24
(5)	Clackington	6.0
(6)	Fleetwood	10.4
	Mean per cent	8.55
	National mean* (October 1980)	9.9

* Figure announced in the House of Commons by the then Junior Minister of Education, the Rt. Hon. Neil Macfarlane.

(ii) Devising and Piloting the Interview Schedule

The broad concerns of the data collection instrument have already been identified above. In order to discuss the issues further, it is necessary to consider the way in which the events following the Great Debate of 1976 had structured and focussed the questions onto (a) narrowing a 'too wide' curriculum into a 'common core' of 'basics'; (b) identifying and providing appropriate education for the 'gifted'; (c) parental 'choice' of school; (d) making schools more responsive to industry; (e) the need to cut-back resources; (f) teacher accountability; and (g) the question of 'standards' linked to a general view that these were deteriorating because of the 'progressive', child-centred ideologies which had affected teaching styles.

Questions directed towards finding out what was happening in each of these areas, how teachers perceived the issues and how issues were reverberating into school policy and forms of organisation, were obviously necessary. I also wanted to know details about the teachers themselves; their status in the school, length of experience, experience in other kinds of work; their training and the age group and subjects they taught; as these offered potential categories of common group experience which would be of use in analysing the statistical data in accordance with the hypothesis that status and experience would affect their responses.

Initially, I also saw a case for attempting to establish, for each respondent, some kind of overarching philosophical belief system which might pre-dispose them to view events in a particular light.

Accordingly the schedule was structured into three sections; a preliminary section orientated towards categorising the respondent by age, sex, training, experience and beliefs; a second section orientated towards discovering the way in which the respondent had observed and made sense of changes in school organisation, cut backs, pressures to increase teacher-accountability, questions of curricula standards and provision for the 'gifted'; and a final section orientated towards discovering how they perceived the future and their part in planning and constructing it in the neighbourhoods they serviced.

Visits to the schools to talk generally to teachers in staff rooms and to introduce myself as researching into middle schools and the 'cuts', gave me the impression that teachers were generally unaware of much of the policy debate and perceived little or nothing of the way in which policies initiated outside the schools, were creating situations which directly affected classroom practice. At the time, the teachers' major concern was for the outcome of the Clegg Commission's Report on their salaries.

They tended to perceive the pressures on them to adjust their methods or change the way the school operated, as pressures from parents (for 'results'), or from pupils (for firmer discipline).

I therefore revised the questions in Section II of the schedule so that they would not be led into wider issues of policy by the question unless they so contextualised the issues for themselves.

The questions were circulated for comment amongst research students and staff in the University Department, modified again to counter any tendency to contextualise the issues into wider debates on teachers' behalf, and orientated towards how teachers coped, how they taught, how they evaluated and selected pupils and how they had modified their methods and organisation since the school's inception. Rationalisations were left entirely to teachers to produce, although the final two questions directed teachers' thinking towards the place of the school in the wider organisational framework of neighbourhood, local authority, government and teacher-union activities.

The questions were piloted on teachers attending in-service courses in the University Department. The results suggested that the questions were relevant, and 'made sense' in terms of teacher experiences. They allowed teachers to explore the issues and identify the extent to which they were involved in changing circumstances without leading them into perceiving the issues in any pre-established framework. Some questions were too long, some language needed simplifying. The questions were modified. I arranged to try the schedule on a sympathetic head of one of the middle schools and subsequently on the staff there.

The major modification following the piloting in this school stemmed from the problem of getting staff to elucidate a philosophical framework of beliefs in terms of the aims and objectives they held. Initially I had incorporated a question on teacher objectives into the first section of the schedule. I

modified this after the first pilot by setting it later in the schedule on the grounds (noted in my field notes) that this 'alarmed the respondent at a stage when the interview had not "warmed up"'. However, placing the question later in the schedule did not produce answers of any substance and the question was obviously disliked. A subsequent visit to the school and some informal talk in the staffroom produced the generalised staff view that

everyone wanted children to be 'literate', 'numerate' and 'self aware' and that was 'it'. Any answers to questions on objectives could only produce ideals which were usually meaningless in practical terms.
(from field notes).

I therefore removed from the schedule any questions directly related to ideals, objectives or philosophy and made each question relate to a practical issue. Teachers were, for example, ready to make a decision about how they thought the 'gifted' might best be catered for in schools, but unwilling to discuss the philosophical issues of elitism or 'equality'. Similarly they would discuss the curriculum and teaching styles in terms of what 'worked' for them under particular circumstances but flinched from discussions which situated such questions into issues of principle.

The final schedule is reproduced in Appendix I. It begins with the collection of basic data on variables of school, sex, age, experience, qualifications and training, in section I. It moves in Section II into a consideration of how the school organisation may have changed since inception and the way in which the teacher was involved in bringing any changes about. It considers the

teacher's experience of progressive methods in terms of team teaching and preferred teaching styles. It asks teachers to identify the major pressures they experience when making decisions about their teaching and it asks for information about when and how they use tests and test results. In a less practical vein, it asks for teachers' views on 'standards'.

Section III centres on the curriculum and the issues of 'core', breadth and 'basics', with a corollary on the best way of educating the 'gifted'. Section IV leads the teacher into a discussion of how he or she perceives the school changing, the relationship of the school to the community and the extent to which teachers see themselves as having some autonomy in the context of policy making in the school, and in the wider local authority and Government circles. A final question introduced the subject of union activity.

In this way, the interview was concerned with the most concrete experiences of teachers in schools for most of the schedule. Deeper questions of policy and power were only indicated in the final section and then in ways which permitted a variety of depth of response.

A final pilot in the same school (Yarrowfield) and the schedule was ready for use in the remaining five schools.

(iii) Sampling the Teachers

My overriding aim in selecting teachers for interview was to gather as broad a cross-section of teacher experience and ways of thinking as I could, in order to identify how far common factors related to the changing policy issues would emerge over the period of the field study.

I also wanted sufficient numbers of teachers from each school, and across each of the variables of status and experience, to allow some statistical across-school analysis. I had informed heads of these points when approaching the schools for access and had suggested that ten teachers in each school would provide a suitable sample. In the event each head handled the issue slightly differently and I had to negotiate the situation in each school. In the case, for example, of Hollywell, there were only eighteen staff altogether and they were all urged to volunteer by the Deputy Head. In the event I formally interviewed twelve who all expressed the wish to talk to me. In Buttersley and Clackington, with considerable assistance from the Head and Deputy respectively, ten staff were relieved from classes who were identified in negotiation as providing a wide range of experience and opinion and who agreed to be interviewed. At Thistlebank I was given total freedom to negotiate my own contacts and arrange interviews. As there were thirty staff altogether I revised my target and managed to interview half of them. Parkside was the sixth school which had been added for this project where I had not previous contact with the Head. I therefore spent somewhat longer

in learning about the general characteristics and problems of the school and in negotiating my position. In the event I only carried out formal interviews with six staff on the basis of the schedule, but I interviewed the Head separately on a wide range of issues. As I had used Yarrowfield for the pilot, I could only include data for three of the interviews in the final analysis and this school was left out of any statistical analyses which identified staff by school. Table 4 sets out the general characteristics of all staff in all six schools in terms of age and sex and points up some of the similarities and the differences in staffing.

It is worth noting, for example, how few staff there were over 55 years of age; a fact which led to the dropping of this variable for the purposes of statistical analysis and the substitution of a variable based on years of experience.

The youthfulness of staff at Yarrowfield reflects the decline of the neighbourhood and the associated rapid rate of staff turnover. At Fleetwood, the same factor indicates the relative newness of the school. On the other hand, a large number of the Buttersley Staff had been employed straight from college when the school opened and had developed a strong loyalty to the local pupils. The relatively balanced age groups at Thistlebank indicate that many of the staff had stayed with the school when it changed from Secondary Modern to Middle School. Some had never taught anywhere else and had been in post for twenty years or more.

TABLE 4

Age and sex as distributed across all staff, by school - January 1980

SEX		Hollywell	Yarrowfield	Thistlebank	Buttersley	Clackington	Fleetwood	TOTAL
	<u>Men</u>	no.12	6	12	13	9	7	59
	%	66.6	33.3	40	46.5	33.3	30.4	41
	<u>Women</u>	no. 6	12	18	15	18	16	85
	%	33.3	66.6	60	54.4	66.6	69.6	59
TOTAL		18	18	30	28	27	24	144
<u>AGE</u>	U.35	no.11	14	12	5	15	16	73
	%	61.1	77.7	40	17.8	55.5	69.6	50.7
	35-55	no. 6	4	15	23	11	7	66
	%	33.3	29.2	50	82.2	40.8	30.4	45.8
0.55	no. 1	0	0	3	0	1	0	5
	%	5.5	0	10	0	3.3	0	3.7
	TOTAL	18	18	30	28	27	24	144

In the context of the wide variations between schools, and the varied experiences of staffs, the sample must be seen as illustrative of a range of experience, rather than representative of aggregated teacher experiences, or even typical of particular types of teachers in particularly typical situations. As illustrative material it is designed to demonstrate the contradictory nature of the teachers' experiences and the dilemmas of 'balancing' irreconcilable conflicts. In this sense it is only claimed that the data will illustrate ways in which contradictory policies reverberate into institutionalised patterns of schooling.

The extent to which the sample related to the overall characteristics of staffing across the six schools, may be gleaned from the data in Table 5.

Whilst aggregated and group data guarantee a level of anonymity for respondents, this is less likely to be the case where a group is particularly small. I have therefore grouped heads, deputies and senior teachers together as administrative staff, even though they had differential access to information in sometimes quite crucial areas of policy, in order to safeguard their interests.

When I have presented data as transcribed responses, where teachers freely dealt with quite sensitive matters on occasion, I have designated the author of the response by status, rather than by school. To have provided both would have risked the anonymity promised to participants. I have also obscured the gender of

particular respondents for similar reasons, as the relative sparsity of women in some status positions could render them highly visible.

Table 5

Group characteristics of staff interviewed twice N = 49

	<u>No</u>	As a proportion of this group across all six schools (per cent)
All staff	49	41
Men	24	41
Women	25	29
Class teachers	13	24
Subject advisers	14	28
Year coordinators	13	57
Administrative staff (heads, deputies, senior teachers)	9	60

General Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter I have discussed the methodological issues which surround the problem of investigating the process of change. I have described the process of devising and piloting the interview schedule and I have discussed the range of other data collection methods I used.

In the course of these discussions, I have argued that recent approaches to understanding the schooling process, which have relied either on ethnographic, case study methods, or measures designed to discover views of participants through aggregated responses to defined issues, have offered inadequate approaches to understanding the human, social processes which go into the construction of the schooling experience. My case is, that a more eclectic approach is necessary; one which can both elucidate the process of change in the wider organisational structure, and provide a dynamic link, through the overall rule-resource structure, with the changing patterns of intersubjective negotiation and mediation which characterise human, social, relationships.

In the next chapter I present the data gathered in the six middle schools during the first phase of the fieldwork, in an approach designed to show what schooling means to teachers.

CHAPTER FIVE

Mediating Policy Through the Middle School

(i) Introduction

I have argued in chapter two, that there is a structural contradiction at the base of a capitalist economic order, which sets the social, cooperative relationships necessary for production, against the cultural hierarchy which legitimates differential distribution of the product. Historically we might expect that in the restless cycle of international, capitalist entrepreneurial activity: investment, production, profit, investment; the competitive hierarchical structure is most threatened at the cooperative, productive point of the cycle but that the cooperative relationships will break down at the moment when profits are appropriated. In practice, the opposing tendencies are held in different dynamic tensions, mediated in intersubjective contexts. I have argued that the evidence suggests that the contradictions reverberate through state administrative systems of schooling ameliorated nationally by the cultural ideology of 'equality of opportunity'.

The particular tensions of the middle school have been associated therefore, with its transitional nature, in the context of ameliorative policies. If it is recalled that the Plowden (1967) concept of the middle school was associated with the postponement of selection in order to counter the sub-cultural opposition associated with failure (Newsom, 1963), Bernstein (1982),

Hargreaves (1965), Lacey (1970), we can link pupils awareness of 'failure' with the school's selection of pupils for differential curricular experiences leading to differential experiences in the labour market. Obscuring difference has a function for cooperative relations during the transition. Hargreaves (1980, p. 90) draws attention to this functional transition period and the form it takes in the middle school

In the comprehensive school this differentiation usually takes the form of streaming or banding. In the middle school, more often it takes the less harsh form of setting in the 'linear' subjects such as French, science and mathematics, particularly in the upper years where the integrative pressures are most keenly felt.

The rhetoric, however, encouraged cooperation between pupils and teachers for as long as possible; a curricular organisation and a cooperative, problem-centred approach to tasks, which initially left the problem of 'cooling out' to the High Schools. However the challenge to Plowden from Hirst (1965) and Phenix (1964) upheld subject disciplines which, in their discrete forms, offer commodity knowledge to be measured and evaluated on a packaged basis. Middle schooling was caught between contradictions in instructional styles, curricular content and timetabling (Blyth and Derricot, 1977; Doe, 1976; Hargreaves, 1977, 1980; Meyenn and Tickle, 1980; Nisbet and Entwistle, 1966; Schools Council, 1975). Any failure to tackle disciplinary-based subjects and to differentiate between pupils created problems for orthodox high schools (Taylor and Garson, 1982). The problems multiplied as the social democratic 'solution' of a multi-option High School, orientated to consumer choice and lifelong education, faded. A

new 'balance' was needed between the increasingly obvious contradictory imperatives of the economic and the cultural 'realities' (Ader, 1975; Donnison, 1970), in order to deal with the crisis of expectations.

This chapter is about the experiences of teachers in six middle schools under one local authority, as the state administrative system reacted to the new 'realities', following the 1973 oil crisis and the 'threat' of a 'crisis of expectation' (Donald, 1979; Taylor, 1980). The data draws on work which began in 1976 but focusses, in the main, on fieldwork undertaken between October, 1979, and April, 1980. Many of the data come from transcripts of responses given in interview and demonstrates the way in which teachers saw their work, and the organisation of their schools, as changing over time. I concentrate particularly on the issues which relate to the 'need' to differentiate between pupils, the increasing use of test procedures and the subjective rationalisations of teachers as they 'made sense' of what they were doing, and sought a new 'balance'.

(ii) The 'need' to differentiate

The evidence I shall present from observations and from interview data, supports the contention that, across all six schools the pattern of organisation was changing in favour of increasing the formal differentiation of pupils by 'ability', while teachers were under increasing pressure to bring curricula in line with the examination syllabuses followed by the High Schools. Ginsburg et

al. (1977) picked up the early indications of these shifts in five of the middle schools which were also used for this study:

While we would argue that some form of classification will inevitably take place to some extent when a teacher is faced with the material reality of a class of 30+ pupils (see Sharp and Green, 1975) the trend towards formal methods of classification does seem to be increasing. In these middle schools plans have been discussed and implemented which will lower the age of the pupil at which setting begins and which will increase the number of subjects where setting occurs. Mixed ability arrangements do seem to be 'losing favour'.

Ginsburg et al. located the reasons for these organisational changes in the rhetoric of the Great Debate, the increasing pressure middle school teachers were under in their relationship with the High Schools, and the problems experienced by teachers when trying to cope with the demands of a mixed ability class, particularly if they adopted the traditional didactic teaching role.

The pressures were not, however, readily rationalised by the teachers. Ginsburg et al. noted that they felt they were being scapegoated by the media and that their work was under attack. They had doubts about bringing schools into line with industry, as the rhetoric of the Great Debate urged. Some teachers declared that it was society that needed changing.

In general, they perceived pupil 'standards' in terms of the Plowden rhetoric of individual pupil potential but had problems of finding the means to achieve such an end. They expressed doubts about how 'standards in general' might be measured or even

established and they questioned who would set such standards. As they viewed the Great Debate, somewhat cynically, as a 'cover up' for the economic cuts in resources, they were sceptical about its relevance to education in general or to themselves in particular. As far as 'the basics' were concerned, they argued that they already gave them high priority and they saw little of use to their own practices in the emphasis the Great Debate was giving to curricular issues.

Ginsburg et al.'s work, was a small scale venture into middle schools, in which participant observation was supplemented by some interview data. It made no claims to representative findings. Nevertheless, by the time I went into the six middle schools in 1979 for this study, six interrelated organisational changes were taking place. Although there were variations in detail, depending on the original organisational pattern and the logistics of within-school restructuring, the following could all be observed to be having an effect:

(a) All schools had extended selection into the first year (i.e. the nine year olds) in some form. Generally this meant that a 'top group' and a remedial group was withdrawn from the mixed-ability classes for mathematics. Some differentiation was also taking place in some English lessons in some schools, usually for didactic instruction related to graded comprehension exercises. French was usually set for ability in the second year and further differentiation was introduced for mathematics and English. At Hollywell, a fourth year 'top' class was working together for the

whole of the timetable and was being taught Latin in addition to the subjects available to other classes. Timetabling problems meant that the fourth year at Clackington was taking Physical Education in its setted English groups. Yarrowfield had introduced sets for science.

(b) The county authority had encouraged the use of standardised tests (particularly the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills). All but Yarrowfield had introduced some kind of formal test procedures annually, using the Richmond tests. Other tests, such as those produced by the NFER were in widespread use across the schools. The head of Thistlebank was addressing heads at meetings and promoting the use of the Richmond Tests as a more 'objective' means of grading pupils for sets and for the county record cards. Teachers had been required to grade pupils according to the 'normal curve of distribution' throughout the country, since 1972 (see also Ginsburg et al., 1977, p. 25).

(c) There was growing and persistent pressure on the middle school staff, from the high school staffs, for all pupils to be ranked hierarchically, on the basis of test scores, prior to transfer, in order to avoid the 'wasted' year when high school staff had to 'get to know' pupils before allocating them to the 'O' level, CSE, or non-examination 'bands' in the high schools. Where high schools had operated more flexible option choices, these were being circumscribed by policies which limited pupils' options so what was available to their band. This was not merely a response to general county advice, but was a necessary policy

development in the face of falling rolls and cuts in capitation and staffing. Faced with the prospect of the 1980 Education Act and parental 'choice' of school, high school staffs were placing their falling resources disproportionately at the disposal of the 'top' bands.

(d) Staff in the middle schools were giving more and more of their time to liaison work with high school and first school staff. The processes varied somewhat from school to school, but generally it was those teachers who had responsibility for mathematics and English who were most involved. This work was usually undertaken out of school hours and was generally seen by staff as 'voluntary'. Sometimes staff used a non-teaching period to contact an associate at another school. Some staff complained of wasted journeys. High school staff were increasingly specifying the 'skills' they expected middle school pupils to have acquired prior to transfer.

(e) Specialist staff, who had previously worked in the third and fourth year 'teams' were increasingly being used to take 'top' groups for work in the first and second years. This had the effect of increasing the range of difference between different pupils, as the 'top' sets were expected to work harder and faster and to get further with their specialist teachers. It also prevented cooperation between year teams as the timetable became more fragmented.

(f) In line with this, and as Ginsburg et al. (1977) noted, teachers who had worked cooperatively were working together less, even on planning as far as year teamwork was concerned, and returning to the privacy of their own classrooms.

Given these shifts, the crucial organisational questions concerned the concept of 'ability' upon which the reorganisation policies were based. However, I have selected four responses below, which clearly demonstrate that the concept of 'ability' remained as unexamined as it did when Keddie (1971) reported on curricular changes. Each respondent is from a different school.

Coordinator (A) rationalised the changes as follows:

We started off on a pretty informal basis and tried some integration . . . and it didn't work for a number of reasons. One was resources . . . and equipment to do it effectively. And the other one was we still have a wide ability range with a few at the top and there's a big chunk in the middle and just below average ability . . . and gradually we introduced streaming (sic but it was in fact setting) to try and give all of them a decent chance. It started off just with the older ones but over the years it's picked up until there is now some sort of streaming (sic) even in the first year now . . . not for every subject but for certain subjects.

(my parentheses)

Administrator (A) took a similar view but individualised the differential progress of pupils and provided the teacher with the role of one who instructs and inspires:

. . . as the child develops the gap between the child who has real learning problems and the child who obviously has ability in the subject becomes larger as it matures and it is exceedingly difficult for a teacher to give the right instruction to both and inspire both at the same time in one group . . .

However Administrator (A) also explained how it had once been possible to provide an additional member of staff in some groups, to provide additional help with remedial pupils. Falling rolls and staff cuts had taken away that option. Setting offered an alternative.

Administrator (B) provided an example of personal involvement in reorganising the ability groupings:

When I came there were only three sets for the maths in the second year and they'd already managed to negotiate four sets for the first time . . . the year previous to my coming. And then, when I came I organised it so there were er ability sets . . . four ability sets for maths throughout the school . . . I don't think that had been the case beforehand and also when I came none of the French was done in ability sets . . . at all . . . anywhere in the school and . . . um . . . actually none of the English either

The reference made here to negotiation applied to the way that staff apparently persuaded the head to permit an extension of setting. In fact the process happened in reverse as the head was a firm believer in the genetic inheritance of 'ability', who had been out of sympathy with mixed ability teaching but had been unable to resist the general policy of the county, not to set in middle schools, until the climate of opinion changed in the mid 1970s.

Administrator (B) also declared:

. . . and it's my belief that this is . . . from the point of view of the teaching of the child . . . the most efficient way of teaching certain basic skills to children of mixed abilities.

The final extract comes from a young class teacher who had recently moved from a school where all the teaching had been done in mixed ability groups:

I must admit I prefer teaching the sets because children do tend to need a lot of individual help and when you can give the same explanation to quite a big group, rather than go through lots of different things with lots of different children it does make it much easier. In a way you can take them on further as well because you can concentrate on the needs of a smaller range.

I shall return to this teacher in chapter seven, in order to highlight how it was possible for someone to argue a quite different case a year later. For the present, however, it is worth noting that although there was common agreement in all the schools that there was more, and earlier differentiation of pupils, there was considerable disagreement as to why this had occurred. A French specialist with advisory responsibilities argued that 'while mixed ability teaching is quite nice, it's not something to do with the important subjects', and thought that the return to setting was a matter of 'going back to the secondary modern days':

A lot of us are left over from the secondary modern, and the other staff . . . a lot of them were new. Four of them were probationary teachers come in together and possibly . . . well I know several things were advised to them. You know . . . 'this is how you should do it with these new young children'. I think then they just decided it didn't necessarily work.

However Coordinator (B) in the same school, claimed

The whole idea of setting has been established by (the head) and we have, you know, done as he wished.

A mathematics specialist, with an advisory role, who had previously taught in a school where all teaching had been mixed ability declared that it had been an enjoyable experience but that its success depended:

upon the staff you've got working together. We were fairly easy going and accepted everybody else's point of view

. . .
(Setting) ties in with the maths scheme . . . the feedback I get is such that teachers would find it much more difficult teaching a mixed ability group . . . the type of material we do.

It seemed clear enough from the evidence then, that the change from mixed ability to setting had not evolved out of any collective decision-making process based upon teachers' experiences in their particular schools. The decision had been made elsewhere and teachers had been given the task of implementing it, and hence defending it. In spite of the different rationalisations, Coordinator (B) provides an extended example of the way this left individual teachers wondering in an ad hoc, pragmatic fashion, about which system 'worked' best as a means of teaching:

Well when I was in the third year, I always did different sorts . . . I wasn't very keen on setting them as young as that as far as their ability was concerned. So what I tried was taking out the very bright and the very slow ones and then having um . . . the rest of the children divided into two or three groups. So I had a sort of average . . . a good to average and an average to not so good . . . a sort of mixed bag . . . so I'd taken out both ends and I'd got this sort of block of children in between. Um . . . I don't know . . . that worked reasonably well. I wouldn't say it was the answer to all the problems I had . . . because then you had . . . you could have done with a sprinkling of good ones to sort of trigger off ideas and so on. You could have done with that. Now they're set according to ability in English in the 4th year . . . older children . . . um. I think possibly that's the best answer as far as doing the mechanical skills on communication are concerned. As far as doing anything more to do with creativity, imagination . . . that sort of thing . . . er . . . well I wouldn't say it's all that successful to be honest.

The lack of success was then related to the 'sort of standard ideas you're getting' in terms of pupil contributions to oral work in class and it was a complaint echoed by other teachers in other schools. Setting worked best in theory, where work was mechanically paced through a linear programme and where the teacher's task was to instruct pupils in the next stage of the work. Ability measures it seemed were inextricably linked to curricular issues.

Administrator (C) who evidenced considerably anxiety in attempting to justify the increasing emphasis on differentiation, in a school which had formulated its rationales around the Plowden rhetoric, demonstrated difficulties 'balancing' a school philosophy dedicated to promoting good relationships and equality of opportunity, against the pressures coming from the LEA and the high schools to raise academic standards in subject disciplines:

(Setting) varies from year to year to suit the system that needs . . . well it creates the system . . . the needs of the children creates the system . . . we believe that we should operate with the best of all words you know . . . If you take maths for example . . . which we regard as a distancing subject . . . In year one . . . when the children come in, after a series of tests on entry . . . and the recommendations of the feeder first schools, we will create, in the first year a top maths set . . . a bottom maths set and then four mixed ability sets. Now I understand the shortcomings of calling them mixed ability sets because the best and the worst are taken out . . . or the weakest ones . . . But those four middle sets then . . . shall we call them . . . There's a range of ability but they're not stratified. This is where the relationship thing is set up. They are always taken by the class teacher. The head of maths goes in and takes the top set. Imagine the advantages of being taken by a trained mathematician now! And then the remedial specialist takes the bottom set. All the rest are taken by their own class teacher. Now by the time the children are in the fourth year, third and fourth years, the stratification process will have taken place through the year group . . . into a

full setting situation which is still flexible enough. The children do in fact step from one set into the next and they are regularly looked at for movement between sets.

As teachers sometimes commented, the slow, difficult process of differentiation, begun in the first year and undertaken with considerable heart-searching, bore evidence of its effectiveness by the 4th year, when they should see that they had 'got it right'. However, in order to do it at all, they were claiming they had to be able to judge pupil progress in linear fashion in linear subjects, so that the best possible 'match' between pupil ability and curriculum could be provided. Leaving aside, for the moment, the ready association of pupilability with the 'best' and the 'worst', the logic of this position leads inexorably to the problem of identifying a means whereby pupils could be properly matched to curricular 'levels'. The solution might have been available in the county's promotion of the Richmond Tests of Basic skills. If they were not adequate, teachers had a range of other tests they were using from NFER and including the (outdated) Schonell Word Recognition Test, but it was Richmond that had local authority backing.

However, in his study of primary teachers' attitudes to record keeping, Farebrother (1977) points out that the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills are not at all predictive of pupil potential. Children given different experiences during the year will perform relative to the experiences, because the results reflect whether or not pupils have been taught to cope with the test items. In addition, pupils must master an answer sheet which requires that the answer must be transferred to it in the form of a coded

letter. In their teachers' guide, the authors, France and Frazer (1975) claim that the tests are 'diagnostic', in the sense that they will highlight gaps in pupil performance which teachers need to fill. In the light of this, we need to consider the tests teachers were using and the purposes to which they were put.

(iii) Testing for what?

Following the general dissatisfaction with the 11+ examinations as tests of pupil potential, tests in general appear to have fallen into disrepute. In this county, teachers had continued to provide an approximate guide to pupil ability by assigning them grades from A to E according to the normal curve of distribution, for both effort and ability. Ginsburg et al. (1977, pp. 24-26) suggested that teachers objected to the subjectivity involved in using this form of grading and many initially welcomed the county's promotion of the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills. By 1979, however, the tests themselves were under teacher scrutiny for their inadequacy as grade-related measures. Administrator (C) for example, after cataloguing the use of, 'NFER maths, English and non-verbal tests . . . administered by the high school at the end of year 4', and adding in Richmond, Schonell, Neale and Daniel and Diack, distanced himself from them with his own critique of the out of date Schonell and declared that the tests were of no use for setting pupils:

The test results are not used on their own for setting. They have been used but the whole idea was thrown out because we proved that er they were wrong and that our assessment, carefully discussed was by far the better judgement. And in fact . . with those NFER tests that are given to children when they leave here, irrespective of what those test results throw up . . if we make a recommendation to the h.s. about a child, irrespective of

that test result, they'll follow our suggestion rather than the result. Which brings a whole question mark over why we test anyway, which I've said to them ad infinitum. We tend to be proven . . .

Against the test result, this administrator set the question of 'knowing the child' and claimed that the school 'has more than our fair share of volatile children'. In this frame of reference a whole variety of reasons might explain pupil failure at tests, and everything had to be taken into account.

This method used for differentiating between pupils for sets is described by Administrator (B). This kind of process occurred across all the schools:

We meet usually once a term . . . everybody who teaches English . . . everybody who teaches maths, everybody who teaches French. We may get together and say, 'Look this child is misplaced'. We may use the tests as partial criteria, but it's not the be all and end all. We use our own objective assessments as well and if we think a test result either particularly reinforces our decisions or our feelings or our findings, then so much the better. Occasionally, of course the test result may contradict our own particular individual assessment and we may feel that the individual assessment is, more valid than the test . .

It was clear from the evidence that teachers, in practice, did not find the tests of much use in differentiating between pupils and sets. Whatever the tests measured, they did not cover the psycho-social behavioural dispositions which teachers considered important in 'top' set pupils. Considerable probing in interviews elicited other criteria used for setting, such as 'a willingness to work in class', 'an ability to get on without too much supervision', 'regular completion of homework', and 'the right kind of support a child gets from home'. The introduction of the

Richmond tests had not changed any of this. The problem remained acute for the middle school staff to the point of grading pupils for high school transfer. Coordinator (A) explained:

We used to send them an ordinary record card which had A, B, C, or D and the usual 25% were A's . . . but last year and this year . . . what they wanted . . . they've just written down 160 places and banded it off with lines . . . and they want us to block them . . . you know top twenty or next twenty and where their ability bands across over there are half a dozen places where they want us to be as specific as possible about the order of merit there. And what we have to do . . . I mean it's very difficult not to be subjective about it . . . because it could affect their choice . . . what they're going to be allowed to do when they go to the high school. So in effect it means getting our English sheet and doing it for our English sheet, then doing it for our French and then doing it for the science sheet and then doing it for maths, and then looking at the four and you have to balance . . . Well . . . you know . . . he's about 20th in English and 15th in maths and . . . um . . . (long pause) . . .

Coordinator (B), who had recently returned from a course and had missed some of the change process in the schools, declared:

I was appalled to go to a meeting recently because I found that lots of middle schools . . . what you call middle schools had been asked and were actually doing it, were actually ranking the children who were leaving them to go to the high school, ranking them as whether he was a hundred and fifty or a hundred and twenty fifth according to maths, English, humanities and so on. It just appals me because the fact is they just see them as a child of a certain IQ, or a certain ability, shoved into a stream or set . . .

and later:

There just didn't seem to be any flexibility at all and the demands on the middle school seem to be, you know . . . this business of getting them prepared . . . (for examinations)

The ranking was done on class marks plus intersubjective debate, because the tests teachers had at their disposal were considered inadequate for any justifiable use as measures either of

potential, or of attainment. The only teacher to have a few qualms about the process was in a school where teachers branded pupils for high school courses prior to transfer. Coordinator (D) was in charge of the logistics of the operation:

Mr brings the option slips from the high school and we explain it all to the parents. We go through it with parents and then we have a parents' evening when they come and see us and discuss it. It's got to relate to their ability. The parents choose and the slip comes back to the form teacher. I put down the set they're in for English and maths, and then we go through the sets and consider if there are any round pegs in square holes. If so I get the parents in and talk it over to see if they'll change their minds. By and large the parents are cooperative . . . I put the pupil names in options and send them off to the high school. Then they do the timetable.

We can say then, that teachers 'by and large' had accepted the high school line on banding pupils, if sometimes somewhat reluctantly, and had taken a broadly fatalistic view of what was required. The differences between individual teachers was largely a matter of conscience and belief, rather than of practice. Conscience was mitigated by the considerable efforts that went into 'getting it right'. Differentiating between pupils at an earlier age did mean that pupils were getting different curricular experiences and that the differences between them were growing. However, one difficulty was that the high school banding system did not match middle school sets. Even so, the major range of ability difference was not in dispute. All of it had been accepted in some form since middle school inception. So what was changing? In particular, why was so much attention being given to tests, like Richmond and other NFER tests, which apparently served

little purpose except for diagnosing difficulties where pupils had particular problems?

The logic of it all was not at all obvious. Coordinator (C) had learned more of tests on a course and decided that tests could be useful for diagnostic purposes, in spite of previous opposition to them, but argued they had no other purpose.

Coordinator (B) on the other hand, claimed not to be 'au fait' with the tests at all and to pass on diagnostic problems to the head of remedial work in the school.

It was an English specialist with advisory responsibilities who explained how they had been introduced and adopted in one school:

It was a democratic procedure if you like, that a note was sent round saying, 'These Richmond Tests have been highly recommended' . . . um . . . Miss (X) who deals with testing in this school suggested that we might like to give them a try and it seemed a big churlish really . . . just because we'd adopted the NFER ones, really because I had no experience and I don't think anyone else did, which tests were best or they seemed to give us material to work with, albeit it might not have been of the best standard but it gave us material to work with so that we could say 'Well look, the feelings we have about child X, that he's been underachieving in the group he's been in in English are born out so well by the results he's had on this test, isn't it about time we considered moving him instead of leaving him to make his way up the school in the set in which he's been placed?'

No-one appeared to know much about the purpose of blanket testing. Teachers had adopted them on trust. Some had reasoned that tests would provide some kind of objective measure of pupil attainment which would help to match curricula to pupils.

However, in schools where the tests had been in use, they had proved of little value and the hypothetical case woven around the possible benefits of using the tests was not born out by teacher practices. Nonetheless, in this interview, the teacher declared again that it would be 'churlish' not to use the tests for an experimental period and acknowledged that the two they had already tried had provided some objective data about pupils he did not teach.

A more prophetic line of thinking came from a coordinator explaining how testing affected what teachers taught.

Coordinator (D) reasoned:

I think if the children haven't come to grips with the concepts I'm trying to put over they need some reinforcement which will probably move . . the next thing we move on to . . slant it a slightly different way so we can reinforce rather more the work we were doing before . . although obviously one would try and link it altogether . . so you know one topic reinforces the one we've done before . . and build up a progression.

On the face of it, this seems a highly professional approach to teaching. Assuming that learning is a linear progression it follows that tests of attainment, not only show which pupils can answer which questions, they also provide feedback about 'gaps' in pupil knowledge.

Although the tests were not acceptable to teachers as a means of grading pupils by ability, because they did not cover attitudes and personality, and psychological factors, paradoxically they

were affecting the curriculum, where that effect related directly to the view that pupils 'ought' to be competent in certain measurable skills before they transferred to the high schools. In line with this view, there was evidence of a structure of constraints conspiring to make teachers accountable for pupil test results on a linear scale.

There was evidence from teachers to show how this structure was forming, even where its influence was denied by the teachers concerned. Coordinator (E) provides a pertinent example:

We are going to do a battery of tests at the end of this year . . . mainly for our information. The high school requires simply the children's ability in English and maths. Umm. They have great problems up there with that . . . but that's what they want. They do not want us to test. We shall use Richmond . . . although I'm very wary about using Richmond. I think it's over used . . . and I don't think it's used now for the purposes for which it was intended. Umm . . . everybody very quickly says, 'Oh let's use Richmond' and having been horrified on a course recently by one school that did it at 11, 12 and 13, the whole bank of Richmond tests . . . I think that's awful . . . because it moves away from what I think the middle school stands for. We may give the children some practice in the sort of questions that they'll meet at the high school, because one of the main criticisms by the high school of middle schools is that children (a) can't revise and (b) answer questions properly. We find that even with our fourth year, they can't answer a question.

This coordinator went on to argue that they were not being pressurised by the high school

because we in the middle school feel it as well. The children should be capable of using the formal situation to their advantage . . . the children's advantage . . . I think the two feeder middle schools are aware of this as well . . .

Given this 'formal situation', then 'practice in the sort of questions they'll meet at the high school' was a means of 'helping' pupils cope with the inevitable.

A science specialist, with an advisory role, tells how teachers in one middle school were beginning to question their teaching methods, in view of the 'formal' situation pupils would meet at the high school:

The only thing that does unnerve us a little bit is that we are sending the children from this . . . this situation where there is a lack of formality in learning to a high school where they are taught traditionally and . . . um . . . I still think it is very much in the interests of the children for them to be able to use a library, to use magazines, to use film strips etc . . . their own resources themselves . . . although this opportunity is going to go now . . . probably until they get to college . . . some of them . . . and I understand the reason why. And that is a conflict if you like. It is a conflict within my own mind . . . um . . . about whether or not we shouldn't be sitting them down in rows of formal desks and getting them used to that sort of situation . . . all the way through . . . um . . .

From a more formal school, the English specialist explains it all in a similar fashion:

I think, particularly for the children that I teach, because they are 'O' level potential, it's important to get them into the discipline of English. You um, if you like, there's a certain routine about it. I don't particularly like that part of my job, because I'd much prefer there were no 'O' levels hanging over my head and nobody down at the high school to say to me, 'Look you've sent these children down to me totally unprepared to sit down and learn for 'O' level . . .

He went on later to illustrate the more general intersubjective problem of choosing a textbook and curricular method, in the light of the opinion of colleagues in the high school, and pupil behaviour:

I do classics, and I've got a set of classics books. 'The Cambridge Classics', . . the University project. Having looked through them . . and we haven't got quite enough to go round the class anyway, but having looked through them, I can see, yes, they could be good. But knowing the sort of behaviour problems that are coming to the fore, I wonder if they wouldn't abuse them, the time they were working by themselves . . . some of them . . um . . and once again, I feel that perhaps the criticism that would be levied by the high school would be, 'Oh well they've been doing this airy fairy nonsense er, up until now, and it's now we've got to knock them into some shape'. I do sympathise with colleagues there. A great many of my friends teach in high school and I know that they perpetually moan that the children haven't been taught to sit down and listen . . um . . that's their basic complaint - not about the standard of knowledge they've got but just that they don't know how to sit down and listen. And they don't know how a classroom is organised. So they come along for a subject, say physics, a new subject to them, and the kids are all milling round and want to be in groups talking and you know, I think that at the top end of the middle school you're in a different position. you want to make the middle school idea run on its own, on the other hand you've got to be fair to colleagues who've got to deal with the children later . . and to the children themselves.

(My emphasis)

In spite of a personal view that examinations were not 'what it's all about', this teacher was well aware of the pressures and contradictions:

I find I'm on a knife edge there. On the one hand I want to do things which don't necessarily tie in with the exam, which is, incidentally why I'm in a middle school and not a high school, um . . but on the other hand I feel it's unfair if I take it too far away, ignore that completely and say, you know, 'Well I disagree with the examination structure and therefore I will work actively to ignore it'. That would be unfair on the children.

Yet the pressure is not a matter of teaching children more about the subject. Rather it is a matter of getting them to take in the views that are fed to them; getting them to listen and to respond to examination questions in the appropriately formal manner.

These pressures are about form, not about content, yet the very formality of the examination process, sets limits on what can be taught and learnt. Coordinator (A) provides corroborative evidence from a different school, contributing to another of the high schools:

. . liaison came back from the high school that they felt pressurised, because they'd got children coming in who'd got no idea of just the practical necessity of how to sit down and write an exam paper.

What the tests tested was whether or not pupils could sit down and do the tests. Teachers were being called upon to teach pupils to sit down and do the tests in the name of 'accountability'. The structure of opportunity, however, did not depend on pupil success or failure at doing the tests, because it was already predetermined by the banding process at the high school.

This was now, however, the whole story, for another pressure was affecting some schools more than others. Administrator (D) was in a school where the staff were responsible for allocating pupils to their high school bands before they transferred. This was an unusual situation and appeared to have its basis in the conservative curriculum at the school, the willingness of staff to undertake the task and the trusting relationship between this school and the high school. The less the high school staff trusted the staff in the feeder schools, the more likely it appeared, that they would run their own tests on incoming pupils. Even so, Administrator (D) was aware of a growing practice in high schools of testing all pupils, from whatever

middle school they came; a practice likely to increase if the 1980 Education Act, with its clause offering parents the right to 'express a preference' as to the high school they wanted, upset the prevailing relationship between high schools and contributing middle schools:

Mostly the testing seems to substantiate what we're doing and um while we're not complacent . . . again what I said earlier on . . . we're not going to change just for the sake of changing.

But later:

I think the sort of thing that might make one change one's mind about a form of testing of a particular school of teaching would be a comparison of schools feeding into the same high school. If we found we were sadly lacking in some particular area, then we would have to look at that area. But this would only be revealed by mixing the children from the other school. And as yet we haven't met that sort of situation.

Thus, in one sense tests offered legitimating devices for teachers in that they substantiated the differentiating process, without inhibiting teacher practices of bypassing test results which did not conform to their judgements of pupils. Yet, in another sense, there was, within the test procedure, a mechanism for controlling teachers, by making places in the bands dependent upon competitive examination. That mechanism becomes clearer the following year. For the moment we can note that the high school option system was narrowing down in its scope and that pupils were being allocated to 'O' level, CSE or non-examination bands, with little possibility of flexibility or change, on entry. Hence the pupils were being placed on their respective rungs of the latter of 'opportunity', with some finality, at the point of transfer. Secondly, we can note the examination pressures on the high schools which had grown with the stress on 'standards' and the

publication of results, following the great debate. Thirdly, we can see this stress reverberating into middle schools as a call for more formalisation of work processes in terms of listening to instructions and responding with correct answers to questions. Fourthly, we can note, in the distance, hints that gaining the rung on the opportunity ladder, is a competitive matter both within and between schools, and (hence) it is teachers who are accountable for the particular pupils. The tests which were used as a means of ranking pupils, could be used as a means of ranking teachers, or schools. Culture and economy could reunite in a common notion of what counted as success.

None of this, however, makes much sense. The tests were of little or no use to teachers in the classroom situation, there was no evidence that formal instruction about the kind of knowledge required to answer test questions was of any use to either pupils or teachers, and the kinds of practices which teachers were developing from experience, were being challenged by practices which were geared to examinations, long before they were either desirable or necessary. The tests were time-consuming, expensive, and largely useless. Yet they were being seen as matching the 'formal' realities of schooling, particularly from the high school teachers' perspective.

There was some understanding of how teachers were having their work affected by the policies being made outside of their own institutions. However, when teachers did refer to 'the system' in some form which was critical, many tended to dismiss this as an

unworthy cynicism, appearing to need to believe, idealistically, that what they were doing was motivated either by concern for colleagues or by concern for pupils. Here, however, we have another aspect of the tensions which placed teachers in a position of ambiguity and constraint. It is worth considering further therefore, how these teachers saw themselves in the overall pattern of change, as individuals in relations to others.

(iv) The Inter-subjective rationalisations

The teachers most closely concerned with the high school pressures were those who dealt with pupil transfer in some form. These included subject specialists, administrators and fourth year coordinators, and largely excluded first and second year staff, whose view of teaching was frequently limited to the year they were in.

In both cases, however, and sometimes where teachers acknowledged various logistical problems post hoc rationalisations were often expressed in terms of intersubjectivity, rather than instrumentality.

Administrators (D) for example, having explained that the major pressures came from the examination system and were mediated by the high school, put the case for acceding to the pressures in intersubjective terms:

It does make their (the high school teachers) job easier that we feed them (the pupils) in the right material before they go.

A teacher with advisory responsibility in mathematics, put the problem, intersubjectively, in terms of the teacher-pupil exchange relationship:

It's the bubbling up of noise . . . having to stop, get quiet and start all over again and that from the actual physical teaching of them is the hardest thing. It's to get them to be in a receptive mood if you like . . . to calm down and listen.

Another teacher with advisory responsibility in French, set the rules against the expectations of both pupils and parents had argued that they did not match at all:

Children seem to expect less discipline, at the same time as we are expected to take more care of them. Health and Safety regulations are demanding things which the children don't expect us to . . . making it physically impossible for a fool to hurt himself. We've been told that the gymnasium probably ought to be locked to prevent the children getting into it in case they climb the wall bars and fall off . . . but against that some parents would see no reason why their children shouldn't be allowed into any classroom at any time . . . and see no reason why a teacher should be on supervision or should stop them throwing things at each other . . . Those are two extremes.

I shall return to the issue of rule changes as they affected teachers scope for intersubjective negotiation, in chapter seven. What is worth considering briefly is the question of what teachers had to offer in their exchange relationships with high school colleagues and the pupils they taught. For as these middle school teachers conceded the necessity for an increasing amount of examination-orientated work to high school colleagues, they had less and less scope to negotiate areas of cooperation with pupils. Woods (1979, pp. 153-159) has provided many examples of how teachers developed 'survival strategies' for maintaining pupils' cooperation by reconciling pupils' interests with the material situation. These strategies were now at risk. Even with

the top group, one mathematics adviser for example was struggling to find a text which would have something to offer pupils:

Well we've been given the books in the first place by the high school who've said, 'We want our brighter ones to follow this'. OK we've been giving them what they've asked for and now I think . . . having seen it for so long that I'm quite er . . . I was aware that it was quite academic, but I'm trying to move over to something which will also stretch the academic ones and . . . even in the top group leave the not quite so high flyers still with work that they can cope with.

The point I am making here is that, as soon as we dispense with the view that teachers are individuals with relative autonomy within a system of constraints, and see them instead as caught up into networks of contradictory relationships, then the constraints can be reformulated as contradictory alternatives, neither of which can be ignored. Each alternative consists of a set of relationships, rather than an individual, instrumental choice. Teachers are trapped in a position where they must 'balance' the competing demands.

Tables 6, 7 and 8, help to illustrate this by providing an analysis of the broad categories of teachers' responses to three issues raised in the interview.

Tables 6 and 7 quantify the categories of pressures which teachers argued affected their work. Table 6 covers organisational factors which relate to the school generally; and Table 7, those factors which were particularly relevant to the teaching process within the classroom boundary.

In Table 6, we can see that, not surprisingly, Most teachers (57.2% plumped for lack of time, as the major overall constraint, on the grounds that, as individuals if they had more time, they could 'cope' much more effectively with all the other difficulties. The second highest set of responses, highlighted the fact that 21.4% of the teachers were more cynically conscious of the contradictions of the 'system', in so far as they could not match their economic resources to the socio-cultural expectations laid upon them by 'society'. This response was not far removed from the first, in the sense that both groups of teachers recognised the tensions in their position but the first group of teachers were idealistically more inclined to argue that, given more time, they could make it work. The second group believed they needed more than just the time. They needed more resources, more space, more money, more teachers.

The final group responded with a more limited view of constraints, frequently because they felt they had cause for particular grievances.

From Table 7, however, we can see that the general issue of lack of resources in some form, concerned nearly 40% of the teachers, as a source of constraint. 23.2% were more concerned about pupils' behaviour, but this too was usually linked to a resource problem, as though more books, materials, space, etc., would ameliorate the problem. Fewer than 18% identified constraints as coming from the high school or from future pupil careers or examinations objectives. Almost 9% considered that they had

TABLE 6

General pressures identified by teachers as factors affecting their work in schools

N = 59

<u>Broad categorisation of response</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Time	32	57.2
Factors in the 'system' such as the relationship between resources and the expectations of 'society'	12	21.4
Specific problems of time- tablling, rooms, pupil/ teacher ratio for specific lessons (e.g. science, crafts)	8	14.3
None	4	7.1

TABLE 7

Pressures identified by teachers as factors affecting methods in the classroom

N = 59

Money/resources/space	22	39.3
Pupil ability and/or behaviour, frequently related to resource constraints	13	23.2
Exams/pupil careers/High School demands	10	17.9
None (because they had learnt from experience 'what worked')	5	8.9

solved all the problems and experienced no constraints because they had learned from experience what worked. It was these teachers who had negotiated a 'balance' of survival techniques which, temporarily at least, gave them some satisfaction.

Table 8, on the other hand, categorises the teachers responses to a question, toward the end of the interview, when I asked them if they saw their jobs changing at all and followed this by asking them to indicate how they saw their jobs changing.

The dominant response here is from the 26.8% of teachers who saw themselves changing in response to changes in pupils. This was a common theme throughout the interview and it is worth noting that 52% of respondents raised this point at some stage.

The main line of argument was that the changing pattern of family life was throwing social problems onto teachers and these were increasing the pastoral workloads of staff. We do not have to accept the rationalisation, in order to accept the point that staff were spending increasing amounts of time with pupils on matters of discipline. The corollary of this is that pupils had the power to create changes in teachers: a point which supports the contention that teacher-pupil relationships were negotiated, rather than prescribed. The interesting feature of these negotiations is their location in the pastoral, rather than the academic domain in line with the 1960s interpretation that individual and social pathology 'caused' academic problems. That too was about to change.

TABLE 8

Sources identified by teachers as causing changes in their work

<u>Broad categorisation of response</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Teachers who saw changes as administrative decisions deriving from High School demands or school-administrative structures responding to LEA or Government pressures	11	19.6
Teachers who claimed a permanently 'fluid' situation of constant changes	9	16.1
Teachers who claimed to be responding to changes in pupils which were adverse and increased their pastoral workloads*	15	28.6
Teachers who hadn't noticed any changes since middle school inception	12	21.4
Teachers who claimed to be moving towards a clearer middle school identity	5	8.9
Missing	4	7.1

* In a follow up question on the relationship of the school to the community, 29 teachers (52%) argued that changes in pupils' behaviour were increasing teachers' pastoral workloads. These changes were usually rationalised in terms of the changing pattern of family life and the increased incidence of one-parent families.

TABLE 9: Correlation between teachers' experience and their
identification of causes of change in their work.

Years of Experience:	Under 5		5-15		Over 15		Total
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N) %
<u>Causal agency</u>							
Administration/ bureaucracy/high school examinations/policy decisions	(3)	6.7	(5)	11.1	(2)	4.4	(10) 22.2
Permanent changes	(4)	8.9	(2)	4.4	(0)	0	(6) 13.3
Adverse pupil changes	(2)	4.4	(4)	8.9	(9)	20.0	(15) 33.3
No changes	(0)	0	(4)	8.9	(5)	11.1	(9) 20.0
Moves to middle school identity	(1)	2.2	(3)	6.7	(1)	2.2	(5) 11.1
TOTAL	(10)	22.2	(18)	40.0	(17)	37.8	(45) 11.1

Missing observations 4.

Differences significant at better than 5% figure.

However, almost 20% of the teachers located the causes of change outside of the school boundaries, somewhere in the administrative/bureaucratic structure, whilst 16% argued that they were in a state of constant change. Against this, we can set the 21% who had not noticed any changes at all, since middle school inception. Only 9% of the responses indicated that teachers believed they were moving towards their original objective: the establishment of a middle school identity.

While none of these responses correlated significantly with teachers' training or status, there was a significant difference (better than the 5% level) between teacher response and their years of experience. As Table 9 shows, it was the most recently appointed teachers who either located the causes of change within the 'system' or felt that they were in a permanent state of flux. It was the most experienced teachers who were likely to 'blame' pupils for the increase in their pastoral workloads, and situate the causal relationship in social pathology. Given the decline in the credibility of the argument that family structures 'cause' pupil problems in school, over two decades of research, we can note that long-serving teachers were having problems with pupils, whilst more recently trained teachers believed they were having problems with the decision makers. Interestingly, the teachers with 5-15 years of experience were spread across the different categories. Even so, the evidence supports the findings of Woods (1979, p. 41) who noted:

. . . my analysis of the constraints on teachers portrays them in the ever tightening grip of a powerful pincer movement, with 'professional demands' on one side, and 'recalcitrant material in the form of reluctant or resentful pupils on the other, with shrinking aid or the ability to resist either. In the crush, the kernel of their real job, teaching, is lost, and only the cracked shell of their personal defences remains. Teachers labour to piece it together, and as is the nature of repaired shells, it can appear deceptively full.

However, if we look at the situation in terms of the two aspects identified in this chapter, with the formal rule/resource structure, on the one hand, and the negotiated, intersubjective relationships with professional colleagues set in contradictory relationship with the intersubjective relations with pupils on the other, then we have a dynamic situation which can take account of differences within and between schools and teachers. In so far as the rule/resource structure made some areas increasingly non-negotiable within the schools (for example teacher-pupil ratio, space, capitation, examination system and so on) it acted as a constraint. However, much of the available rule/resource structure remained negotiable within the school boundary, in the sense that heads negotiated the distribution of status rooms, classes, timetable and so on with teachers, and teachers negotiated which pupils could get which curricular experiences, with parents pupils not least through setting practices (see e.g. woods, 1979). What counted here then was the kinds of resources that individuals and groups brought to the negotiations as they became increasingly orientated to managerial demands. What was happening in these middle schools was an adjustment within the rule/resource framework which was strengthening the negotiative

power of those high school colleagues who were pressing to bring middle school practice in line with test and examination constraints and why that was happening, was not merely a matter of intersubjective negotiation within the schools. To understand it better, we need to know more about the part played in negotiating the structure within the state administrative apparatuses beyond the school boundaries. It is to this that I turn next.

(v) Summary and Conclusion

I began this chapter by reviewing the particular tensions of the middle school in the context of a structural contradiction between cooperative productive processes and privatised distribution processes. I claimed that the latter was formalised as a competitive relationship, whilst the former required intersubjective cooperation. I argued that the Plowden concept of the middle school, emphasised cooperation, rather than competition in an attempt to retain pupil cooperation for as long as possible. In the light of the economic crisis of the 1970s, and the failure of Keynesian economics, a new balance between the economy and the culture reproduced in the schools was necessary.

I listed six, interrelated changes which were occurring in middle schools: earlier pupil differentiation in more subjects, the reintroduction of testing, the ability ranking of pupils on transfer to middle school, more specialist teaching in top sets and the general breakdown of teacher cooperation across year groups.

I provided evidence to back these observations, but showed that tests, as measures of ability, had little credence with teachers. On the other hand, tests were influencing the curriculum, in the sense that teachers were seeing them as an end rather than a means, and orientating their curricula in order to 'help' pupils to do better on the tests. The reason for this use of tests was set, by teachers, in the context of 'helping' pupils to cope with the formality of the high school processes of listening, learning, revising and answering questions. However, there was also evidence that it related to a growing competitive relationship between middle schools, which in turn had roots in teacher fears of falling rolls and the potential effect of parental choice enshrined in the 1980 Education Act.

In spite of these policy-orientated shifts, teachers rationalised what they were doing largely in terms of their intersubjective relationships with colleagues and pupils, within a framework of rule/resource constraints. I have claimed, however, that the rule/resource constraints are not absolutes, but are distributed by those with access to them. It is this distributive mechanism which I shall consider next.

CHAPTER SIX

Pressures, Politics and Policies

(i) Introduction

In this chapter, I shall focus on the changing structure of rules in relationship to the changing priorities for distributing the resources made available to schooling, through the state administrative structure. My case is, that, in spite of the rhetoric of cooperation which surrounds schooling as a means of reproducing a cooperative workforce in the 'general interest', the cooperative process is limited by an administrative structure which ensures the maintenance of a hierarchical social order. This order functions ideologically to legitimate the private appropriation of socially produced wealth.

The rhetoric of equality of opportunity which defines the schooling process constructs a metaphorical 'ladder of ability' which, in its competitive form is competitively resolved, but which in its cooperative form is portrayed as a matter of individual choice. In stressing the cooperative aspects of schooling, the post-war, social democratic consensus, united a vision of a 'growth' economy with a vision of expanding choice, as a means of incorporating neglected social and geographically disadvantaged groups into the bourgeois ethic of individualised effort and delayed gratification. The 'growth' appeared as consumer demand for credentials, which, when the economy was clearly declining, gave governments grounds for alarm over a

developing crisis of expectations. Hence there was a need to restore the relation between opportunity and the hierarchy of credentials so that resources could be legitimately distributed in a way which linked economy and order.

The Great Debate of 1976, is taken as the public signal of a formal change in government policy. The themes of the debate: an 'overloaded curriculum', declining 'standards', neglect of the 'gifted', teacher accountability, and the need for an education system which serviced the 'needs' of industry and was dependent upon the success of such service for its own financial support, struck at the fabric of the old consensus of liberal, individualism, placing systems' needs in the centre of the debate. The DES (1977a) Green Paper, set out the issues. Education was discussed in cabinet. In Framework for the Curriculum, the government set out its interest in more centralised control of what was taught in classrooms (DES 1980a) although any intentions to control teaching methods were frequently denied. Local authorities were brought into line, with a survey of their curricular policies for schools (Circular 14/77) which was repeated every year.

There was, nonetheless, some evidence of disagreement, even within the DES. Where Framework for the Curriculum stressed basic subjects, Her Majesty's Inspectorate argued for 'more than a series of subjects and lessons', in curricular analysis. Based upon what they had found in their surveys of primary and secondary education (DES, 1978, 1979b), HMI 'categorised the experience and

understanding to be sought through the curriculum' (DES 1980b, p.3) so that, although the government called for a 'basic core', HMI appeared to have settled for continuing process towards more egalitarian provision, through a broad, but 'common' curriculum.

However, alongside the subsequent debate on the curriculum, but largely separated from it, there was the debate on standards and accountability. Focussed on the setting up of the Assessment of Performance Unit, to monitor national standards, this debate was presented as having no effect on the curriculum, although the two developments were, in effect complementary.

Some of the major lines of development in policy debate have already been documented by CCCS (1981), Holt (1981), Kogan (1978), Lawton (1980), and Salter and Tapper (1981) and I shall draw critically on these sources, as well as on primary source material, as I set out my case.

I begin with the technical-managerial implications of Salter and Tapper's (1981) case that testing was a means of controlling what was taught, but I shall argue that it was a means of providing a 'scientific' measure of levels of ability of pupils. I set out the view that control of the curriculum, at least in certain 'core' areas, was a necessary precondition for improving the efficiency of resource distribution, by differentiating pupils by 'levels' of subjects achieved. Such a measure could replace the discredited IQ test but serve the same social purpose of selection.

In other words, with the concept of measurable 'potential' through IQ tests, discredited, policies were directed at rehabilitating the differentiated social hierarchy, by establishing 'scientific' criteria for its measurement, in order to justify changed priorities in resourcing.

Having set out the case, I provide an account of the political processes which were working towards this end, in a number of different arenas.

I then shift the focus of the chapter to the local authority of the six middle schools studied in the field research, in order to present data which interrelates the political process of rehabilitating the concept of ability, with the cuts in resources and the changing rule structure for their distribution. I link this process of restructuring in the local state with the process of restructuring in the schools, in order to demonstrate the way in which the policy issues were reverberating into schools. The technical-managerial control of resources, in line with a concept of ability, failed, however, to merge with a concept of efficiency, within the political/economic contradictions.

(ii) Testing and curricula: means or ends?

Hunter (1981) dates 1974 as the year when there was a significant shift in educational policy making. Holt (1981, pp. 38-39) notes the significant comparison between the changing role of the National Assessment of Educational Progress agency in the United States, and that of the Assessment of Performance Unit in Britain,

which occurred in 1974. Set up in 1967, NAEP was charged originally with collecting data 'on the strengths and weaknesses of American education', and was particularly concerned with weak subject areas and with 'subgroups of the population', in association with the evaluation of curriculum projects funded by the federal government. In 1974, its role was changed to place the technology NEAP was developing, at the service of the state and local government, and it was charged with the task of refining its techniques and technologies on 'achievement data'. Lawton (1980) claims that the APU which was set up in 1974, had its origins in an earlier concern about the progress of immigrant children. The terms of reference changed in 1974 to include 'the development of methods of assessing and monitoring the achievement of children at school', in a form which indicated that the sub-cultural question of minority group achievement was now a minor issue. The monitoring process of mainstream pupils had become a central focus of government interest.

Holt (1981) has provided a useful and penetrating account of the origins, development and decline of the APU. My purpose here, is to set that development alongside other policy developments, in an attempt to unravel the logic of it so that we can set the intentions against the process as it reverberated into the schools. The significant points to associate with its development at this stage, are the declining economic prospects and the switch in emphasis from that of the problem of sub-cultural resistance of minority group pupils to incorporation on the opportunity ladder,

to the problem of developing a technology which could assess any pupil's level of 'ability'.

Lawton (1980) and Salter and Tapper (1981) all lean towards the view that the APU was a device designed to control the curriculum and increase efficiency. Salter and Tapper (1981, pp. 234-235) see it to be part of a forward planning policy designed to achieve:

more rational modes of management, more efficient lines of resource and ideology control which do not of themselves involve direct interference in the details of the present curriculum ... It is the management of the educational future with which the state apparatus is concerned, not the blatant manipulation of the present. Looking at it this way, the apparent double think of the DES statement (1979:1) that 'Secretaries of State do not seek to determine what the schools should teach or how it should be taught; but they have an inescapable duty to satisfy themselves that the work of schools matches national needs', becomes more comprehensible.

This kind of thinking is in line with that of Lawton (1980) and Manzer (1970), in that the underlying explanation is that the DES was trying to increase its power over schools in order to increase its manpower planning efficiency. However, the question of what that efficiency consists of is generalised in terms of inputs and outputs and is obscured by an analysis of the interest-group conflicts in the way the game is being played. Future stakes assume priority, obscuring the limitations of existing options. The process is then portrayed as a conflict-ridden planning process, rather than as a reaction to the present crisis.

Salter and Tapper do note the rule/resource link when they state (p. 235) that:

Social inequality can then be legitimated by an education system organised and run along 'rational' meritocratic lines.

However, they view this almost as an incidental offshoot for the future, rather than the objective limits set on the policy makers. Furthermore, these limitations do not change from policy to policy. What changes is the means necessary to sustain them. The mid 1970s for example, provided an economic crisis characterised by a surfeit of inappropriate credentials born out of 1960s attempts to incorporate minority groups into the ladder of opportunity, through an ideology of individually-motivated choice.

In order to substantiate this point further, it is worth considering the role of the HMI Brian Kay, in reshaping the curriculum to suit the switch in policy. Kay's (1975) article in Trends in Education, has been singled out by both Lawton (1980) and Holt (1981), for associating the monitoring of pupil progress through six 'kinds of development', with public 'interest and concern' ... and 'some anxiety about standards'. Kay's use of the six kinds of development broadly mirror the later work on curricula by HMI in all their subsequent documents (e.g. DES, 1977d, 1980b, 1983a). However, there is an even earlier article by Kay (1974), in the same journal, in which he begins by establishing subjects as the starting point of curriculum development and rehabilitates the notion of pupil learning as a linear process tied to a structured programme of objectives, which can, through programmes of training and practice, bring pupils to (pp. 8-9):

as high a level of proficiency as possible ... There is no reason why adequate practice in all the skills necessary to the pupil should not be built into an interdisciplinary course, but if this is to be achieved there is need for a more sophisticated analysis of objectives, a more structured planning of the individual pupil's programme and a closer monitoring of his development than is usually found.

Now this passage is clearly framed within the general discourse of the Plowden ideology, in so far as it concerns the individual's progress to the limit of his or her potential. The major additional assumption is the association of ability with subject levels and the rationalisation of the teacher's role within this framework. It is also worth noting that Kay's concern was to avoid the danger of confusing methods and objectives and to present skills as 'tools supplied by subjects', which children could be 'trained to use'. He argued that using the tools for multi-disciplinary work in problem solving brought the danger of confusion between method and objective. Although problem solving in adult life might require multi-disciplinary techniques, it was not 'secure' to deduce from this that it was appropriate for pupils.

Before taking this further, we also need to take account of another point and one that is missed by Holt; namely, that the NFER had been involved with the production of test items since it had been asked, by the Schools Council in 1966 (Wood and Skurnik, 1969, p.1):

to carry out a pilot study into the feasibility of establishing banks or libraries of examination questions or items suitable for measuring the achievement of 16-year-olds taking examinations in various subjects.

The idea behind the project was to produce items, with the cooperation of teachers, which would provide a national bank for teachers of mode 3 CSE, with comparability 'built in from the outset' (ibid. p.5). The pilot study concentrated on mathematics and provided teachers recruited to it, with a classification of behavioural objectives covering (ibid. pp. 17-18):

- A. Knowledge: recall of definitions, notations, concepts.
- B. Technique and Skill: computation, manipulation of symbols.
- C. Comprehension: capacity to understand problems, to translate symbolic forms, to follow and extend reasoning.
- D. Application: of appropriate concepts to unfamiliar mathematical situations.
- E. Inventiveness: working creatively in mathematics.

These classifications drew on Bloom's (1956) Taxonomy of Objectives in the 'cognitive domain', and the Husen (1967) International Study of Achievement in Mathematics. Teachers were also warned that some verbs were 'suitable' in choosing objectives (Choose, Name, Describe, Select, Write, Solve, Underline, Order, Construct) and others were not (Infer, Analyse, Associate, Contrast, Demonstrate, Relate, Compare).

The authors warn that 'one cannot be sure that (the behaviours) correspond with real mental functions' (p. 23) and quote criticisms of behavioural objectives, by, among others Asubel (1967). They declare (p. 25):

critics of behavioural objectives should not be allowed to derail the movement. There is no evidence that it is harmful and some that it is beneficial. It is only when one forgets that these behaviours are only useful constructs which help us to conceptualise intellectual achievement and starts thinking of them as real and independent mental functions, as the so called 'faculties' of the mind were once regarded, that the mischief begins.

Almost incidentally, they note the problem they had with one of the teachers in the pilot study who inconsiderately wanted to pre-test the items he had produced to measure his pupils work in History of Mathematics. They note (p. 47):

The problem of satisfying the more avant-garde teacher could be considerable if item banking were introduced on a large scale. Much depends on how far pupils in this country share a common fund of mathematical experience.

I do not intend to pursue this aspect of the item banking process any further, as my task here is scrutinise its adoption as policy, rather than confront the technical issues of testing pupils' attainment on the basis of a cognitive model of learning which remains highly controversial, to say the least.

We can observe from Kay's (1974) article, however, that he had made links between pupils' ability, 'levels' of subject knowledge and the curriculum. Furthermore, we have evidence that, at the time the article was produced, Kay was already heading the Assessment of Performance Unit and links with the NFER work were being established (Lawton, 1980; Holt, 1981). It seems reasonable to suppose that Kay was using his article to air DES policy.

One year later, there are significant differences in the Kay argument; differences which appear to be related to the political

problem of dealing with the resistance of teachers to a national system of testing.

For in the Kay (1975) article, the emphasis is on evaluating the curriculum, rather than the individual pupils, by use of a sampling process. It is a policy supported by Shirley Williams, when she addressed the Consultative Committee of the Assessment of Performance Unit in March, 1979. The NUT Report 1979 (p. 92) said of the address:

The significance of the APU's work was that it was not based on the exhaustive testing of everything or of crude blanket testing. The APU would help by making a distinction between valid and invalid criticisms ...

... there were fears that blanket testing would lead to a narrowing of the curriculum and teaching to the test ... (but) ... the outcome of the APU's light sampling would largely ignore these pitfalls while giving useful information about the curriculum. The procedures to be used whereby only a small number of pupils in any one school would be tested, and different pupils would complete different tests would provide safeguards.

All of this, however, ignored the link established between the NFER, the APU and the item banks of tests which were being constructed for Local Education Authority use, in line with the national norms which it was the APU's task to discover (Holt, 1981, p. 69). It also ignored the fact that the APU had adopted the Rasch model, a mathematical model which assumes that the 'likelihood of a person getting a test item right depends on only one factor (or trait ...)', (Holt op cit, p. 68). In other words, there is a presumed link between the level of ability of the pupil and the level of ability of the item; what Goldstein and Blinkhorn (1982) call the assumption that ability has unidimensionality.

The debate on the Rasch model has been argued by Goldstein and Blinkhorn (1977, 1982); Goldstein (1979, 1980); Bryce (1981); Gipps and Goldstein (1983) and has been explored by Holt (op cit). The major points to stress here are firstly its applicability to a belief that school subjects can be studied, practiced and learnt on a linear basis, and secondly the association of pupil ability with the level of progress through that linear programme. As Goldstein and Blinkhorn (1982) argue, however, it is unlikely that ability and attainment will match in a system where curricula provision and methods are diverse. The logic of the pursuit of national norms, against which pupil ability can be measured, therefore requires the establishment of a national curriculum.

Control of the system for measuring pupil ability against nationally established norms, presupposed at least a curricular 'core', common to all pupils. In this sense control of the curriculum was a means to an end, not the end itself. The end was the monitoring of pupils' learning: an accomplishment which would permit policies on resourcing to be matched more rationally to national 'needs'.

Here then, we have the crucial rule/resource link which is the raison d'etre of state administrative systems. It is a link which must be responsive to both the political and the social economy, as it mediates the contradictions between production and distribution. Within this contradictory relationship, the link could be used by some local authorities, who were using tests in

1979, to follow up results with 'special help' for some schools under their control (Holt, 1981, pp. 91-92). The rule/resource link is therefore a matter for political negotiation. It is also a mechanism which can be used to rationalise selective intervention. Power over the mechanism is a function of resource control, it is about deciding who gets what, when, and how.

For if the demands of consumer choice create a crisis of expectations, the politics of supply are about rationing, the distribution of the available product. In the relations of the market, that distribution is governed by price which, in turn, limits individual choice to individual access to wealth and income. A further rationalisation links individual wealth and income to the individual's 'value' to the economy, whether as entrepreneur or as labourer. In rationing the distribution of schooling, price operates only at the top end of the market. The crucial link, as far as the state administrative system is concerned, must be made between the kind of schooling that is necessary to reproduce the established order, and the relative worth of the individual to that order. If the APU was about measuring the relative worth of individuals against national norms, the curricula issues were about the kind of schooling that should be made available to differentially valued pupils. I have argued already, that the measurement of the individual's worth, presupposed a 'core' of common experience, available to all pupils. The second strand of this argument shows that this process of measurement is also a selective process, whereby the decisions as to who gets resourced beyond that common core, are

made. In order to scrutinise how policies were developing in this respect, we must focus on the debate about the curriculum.

(iii) The route to selection?

The debate on the 'common' curriculum is defined by the HMI document Curriculum 11-16 (DES 1977d). HMI are critical of the options which had developed in secondary schools, on the grounds that education is a right and that options give pupils freedom to opt out of important experiences. However if we take the HMI (1977b) survey of modern languages we can illustrate how their ideas were also accommodating a concept of linear progress through a subject.

At the conclusion of a two-year survey of eighty three schools, the Inspectorate reported (DES, 1977b, p. 45):

One of the most striking features of the survey was the haphazard and infinitely varied provision for language learning encountered as one moved from school to school. With the present mobility of the population it is highly desirable that there should be less diversity of provision so that heads, teachers, parents and pupils are enabled to make certain basic assumptions about the opportunities that pupils will be offered ...

Two pages later, they add that there is a need to specify precise objectives for pupils of different ages and abilities. Whilst their argument for less diversity of provision has a superficial appeal in a geographically mobile population, it does not provide grounds for the 'need to specify precise objectives'. Such a statement only makes sense in the light of the APU plan for testing modern languages nationally. It seems reasonable to link this statement with the test apparatuses being erected within the APU/NFER linkage.

In the same year HM Inspectorate attempted to define the 'gifted child' and use their definitions to attack the egalitarian ethos of the middle school (DES 1977c). If we take the definition first, we find that gifted children are (p. 4):

children between eight and eighteen who are generally recognised by their school as being of superior all-round intellectual ability, confirmed where possible by a reliable intelligence test giving an IQ of 130 or more;

or who exhibit a markedly superior developmental level of performance and achievement which has been reasonably consistent from earlier years;

or of whom fairly confident predictions are being made as to continual rapid progress towards outstanding achievement, either in academic areas or in music, sport, dance or art; and whose abilities are not primarily attributable to purely physical development
(original emphasis)

HM Inspectorate excuse the considerable breadth and vagueness of this definition of 'giftedness' on the grounds that:

A narrow definition would have precluded us from examining the widely differing ideas of giftedness which we met.
(My emphasis)

Nevertheless, the definitions provide a platform for an attack upon middle schools and their egalitarian ethos. For HMI go on to claim that (pp. 32-34):

the working party gained the impression that three tier systems found it more difficult to provide for the gifted than two tier systems

and to argue that transfer:

seems to be accompanied by some loss of documentary information ...
seems to involve some loss of academic momentum ...
means that 'senior' pupils revert to a 'junior' role ...

but most importantly, there is:

... an understandable reluctance ... (for) ... the school to categorise pupils too early. Mixed ability groups are frequently found in the early years of a receiving school ... because such an organisation avoids early categorisation based on inadequate information ...
(All emphasis mine).

Now whatever else we make of this information, the report as a whole clearly links together the desirability of a less egalitarian schooling with measures to separate the 'gifted' from the rest of pupils, somewhere about the age of eight years of age. Furthermore, there is the statement on p. 4 of the report that:

it is more useful to think of provision for particular aspects of giftedness than to attempt to provide for general giftedness

Taken together, it seems that the HMI did not want a return to separate schools, but did want some differentiated schooling for the 'gifted', within the comprehensive system. What they recommended was 'enrichment'.

Yet 1977 also saw the publication of DES funded research by NFER which had investigated the ability groupings at Banbury School. This school was specifically selected for the research because its pupils in different halls were being grouped differently and could provide examples of different ability groupings for comparison. The findings were summarised in the second report as follows (Newbold, 1977, p. 11):

overall the principal conclusion from this study, conducted in a controlled situation with common objectives for homogeneous and heterogeneous ability groups at first and second year secondary school level, is that mixed ability organisation leads to social advantages without academic disadvantages - in fact there is evidence of actual gain for low ability children in mixed ability classes.

In fact the researchers discovered more variation between halls than between different systems of ability grouping, and declared (pp. 70-71):

when the scores at the end of year 2 are examined, the significant differences generally favour the mixed ability system especially in mathematics or English for low ability pupils and in the fluency measures for all pupils ...

The study did not mention the 'gifted', because the notion of 'giftedness' had only just been revived. Furthermore, whatever criticisms might be made of the Banbury Project, its research base offers a challenge to the ideas, impressions and inspired guesswork of the HMI work on the 'gifted'. Even more pertinently, within the rhetoric of 'giftedness', HMI were linking pupil differentiation with the old ideology of IQ alongside curricular objectives and 'developmental levels of performance and achievement'. A new ideology was forming.

With Cyril Burt dead and discredited, it was an inauspicious moment to attempt to rehabilitate the intelligence test as a means of pupil selection, yet Dr Rhodes Boyson, then in parliamentary opposition, attached the DES (1977a) Green Paper and claimed that selection was coming back (TES 14.10.77). It seems reasonable to conclude that the DES involvement with the APU and NFER, was providing the promise of the technological developments that would

'rationalise' selection, in every sense of the term. As Pollard (1977, p. 77) put it, 'the plain fact is that 'comprehensivisation' is just not going to make the best use of our resources'.

It is more surprising to find the National Union of Teachers (NUT), an opponent of both testing and selection, recruited to the cause. The route, however, was not via the APU/NFER link up, which they continued to reject (Holt, 1981, pp. 97-98), but through the lure that technological approaches to pupil assessment, offered teachers as a 'professional' tool. In other words, they rejected the implications of the debate about pupil monitoring by government, but accepted the validity of teacher assessment of pupil learning in the debate which was being constructed around the issues of curricular objectives.

In November, 1979, the NUT gave over a whole issue of its Secondary Education Journal to articles concerned with assessment techniques. Quoting the Schools Council Examinations Bulletin No. 31, Evenden (1979, p. 19) argued the benefits of criterion referenced testing for building up a 'continuous judgement' of pupils and for understanding the process whereby any pupils achieved particular learning objectives. He quoted Bloom, Krathwol et al. and Gagne as academic authorities. In the same journal, Evans (1979, p. 21) argued that testing not only provided valuable information for parents, employers and higher education institutions and so on, but also demonstrated to pupils that

teachers valued their work. Not to test, 'by extension' 'could be seen as a lack of regard for it'.

However, both these authors and others who contributed to the volume, assumed that comprehensive schooling and mixed ability work were well established and desirable. Evans specifically stressed the importance of an equal distribution of resources and claimed that testing is important because it 'helps' pupils. Another view, and one I have frequently heard from teacher meetings when policy moves have been discussed, is that teachers can retain control over events by taking the policy initiative, rather than waiting for government direction. This was the view expressed by the journal's editorial (pp. 1-2):

Several ... authors ... suggest the time is ripe for Headteachers and their staffs in secondary schools to develop their own individual policy on assessment. Such policies recognise the supremacy of the curriculum and its aims and objectives, but they stress the vital role of assessment as a truly professional tool of fundamental importance to effective teaching and learning.

The present government and its predecessor, has by its overbearing attitude to testing and assessment clouded the objective consideration of important educational issues.

All of the journal articles were written by authors with connections with the Welsh Examinations' Boards, and we can only speculate that progress towards the development of the technology of testing had gone so far that the NUT has decided to concede the struggle whilst attempting to lessen the damage to its own professional image. The message from the NUT was that testing was a 'help' to pupils.

By 1979 then, the NUT had moved to accommodate the government on the questions of common curricula and objectives-based, criterion-referenced testing, but had attempted to retain its ideology of teacher autonomy by urging teachers to take their own initiatives within their own schools and classrooms. At government level, the publication of Framework for the Curriculum, (DES 1980a) with its emphasis on a core of basic subjects (English, mathematics, science, modern languages, religious education, physical education - and Welsh in Wales), plus preparation for working life, was published in January. The HMI version, A View of the Curriculum, (1980b) followed, with its ideas for whole curricular policies, based on the areas of experience which had developed from Hirst (1965) through Kay (1975) to HMI's own thinking from Curriculum 11-16 (1977d) onwards. It is worth noting however, that the HMI version appears to be on the wane. In the more recent publication, Curriculum 11-16: Towards a statement of entitlement (DES 1983), the authors relegate the areas of experience to a questionnaire on the appendices (p. 72) whilst retaining reference to them in the text. In its latest form the areas comprise: aesthetic/creative, ethical, social/political, linguistic, mathematical, physical and scientific: the (1977d) version - minus the 'spiritual' dimension.

A further indication of the fate of the HMI curricular policy, is found in the long delayed report on middle schools (DES 1983b). In this report the areas of the curriculum appear only as synonymous with 'subjects' (p. 42, 6.12).

In addition, the links between curriculum, standards and teacher accountability are made explicit. Teachers are urged (pp. 44-46) to monitor pupil progress and pass on records, so that (6.23) 'on transfer pupils are not held back and made to cover the same ground'. A further association is made between subject specialist teaching and 'standards' (p. 24, 3.19) although the apparent scientific gloss given by the statistical tables to this item of information largely obscures the footnote in the appendix that subject grades depended on HMI who (p. 148):

indicated the general standard of the children's work in each subject by awarding grades on a six-point scale, ranging from 'very good' to 'very poor'.

Again, we have an extraordinarily subjective process of 'impression gathering', used to justify moves towards a subject-based curriculum which, in turn, will provide the basis for testing pupil progress, through a linear programme, 'technologically' defined and measured according to precise curricular objectives which will affect pupils' curricular experiences. As the DES had already decided that all new teachers shall be trained as subject, rather than generalist teachers (Circular3/84), it would have been more pertinent to have provided evidence using some sample test procedures!

Furthermore, the HMI statistics also demonstrate that resources varied widely and that, even on HMI rules of thumb, the differences in resource provision were by far the most important factors in explaining differences in standards of work (pp. 138-140; p. 149). The selective method of resource provision was well

in evidence between schools. Within the schools also, a range of different policies were employed by heads in order to differentiate between pupils. Everything from streaming by ability throughout the age range, to mixed ability classes. 'Most of the survey schools formed mixed-ability classes for the majority of subjects', however (p. 24, 3.22). Surprisingly, there is no sign that this information was treated as an independent variable in assessing the overall standards of achievement in any subject. On differentiation HMI state that 'whatever the ability group', the work was directed towards the average, rather than the able pupil (p. 10, 2.15; p. 125, 8.10). Ability groupings, as such appear to have lost their significance. We are back to individualised work, differentiated by curricular objectives, in line with pupil's individual progress; the 'gifted' have vanished. The 'able' have arrived.

Such then has been the changing context of debate about testing, curricula and standards, over the last ten years. Debates alone, however, do not necessarily affect teacher practices. What we need to know is what effect the debate was having in the local authorities and the schools but even more importantly, we need to understand the structure of controls within the state administrative system, which may ensure that policies are effectively implemented, but which also may create the conditions for unintended consequences to arise, and to react back on the policy.

Whilst local authorities and schools undoubtedly differed in their response to changing DES policy, a closer look at one of them provides some insights into the mechanisms of response and their relationship to central government. Before we look closely at the policies, we need to understand how local government powers had been affected by reorganisation in 1974.

(iv) Restructuring the local state

I begin this section by showing how three overlapping and interrelated trends in local authority structures had both redefined the nature of legitimate power and had changed the criteria whereby that power could be exercised on behalf of schools, by the end of the 1970s. Alongside these three trends, I set a fourth trend: the growing fragmentation of teacher-union interests.

The first trend had developed as the traditional powers of the Education Committee, to control its schools within the limits of its negotiated budget, had been subordinated to the control of a powerful, overarching control, vested in the committee for Policy, Resources and Finance (PRAFF). As part of the corporate restructuring process, the Education Committee had subsequently lost control over its property to the Property Committee and over its personnel to the Personnel Committee. A further complication emerged from the merger of different personnel interests, previously separately administered.

As a consequence of the new organisational forms, the second trend occurred at the interpersonal level and was signified by a dramatic change in the relationship between the Education Committee and the teachers' representatives. Prior to reorganisation and merger, one of the local education committees had given its teacher representatives voting rights in the Education Committee meetings. Following reorganisation, the representatives first lost their voting rights and merely attended meetings to voice an opinion. Following this, during 1979, a teachers representative was publicly rebuked in Committee for implying that he represented anyone. Teachers' representatives were informed that they were no more than individuals from whom the Committee might seek an opinion. In a subsequent NUT meeting, the representatives expressed the view that this ruling severely affected the authority of their opinions in Committee.

This change in interpersonal relationships developed, as the institutional form of the employer/employee contact was renegotiated. By 1980, the teachers' side was engaged in consultations to change the practice of discussing policy with the Teachers Consultative Committee and to set up instead a Joint Negotiating Body. Whereas the former structure offered relatively informal discussions over policy, the latter structure was intended as a means of formally negotiating the implementation of management options.

After considerable discussion, the TCC survived as a consultative group but a Joint Negotiating Body was also formed. The latter

included the Chairman (sic) of PRAFF, twelve representatives of the employers' side and sixteen representatives of the teachers' side, drawn from all the different teachers' associations.

Teacher resistance to these changes was undermined by the LEA's refusal to negotiate enhancement of pension rights for teachers retiring early under pressure from falling rolls, until the negotiating body was set up. In the meantime, the LEA negotiated a range of private agreements with individuals (particularly long-serving heads) which threatened the authority of the unions. As some teachers were prepared to retire early even without enhancement, union members who were holding out for an agreement, were concerned that they could lose their opportunity.

Once established, the Joint Negotiating Body was presented with a 'packaged deal' which included teacher redeployment as well as enhancement of pension rights for teachers retiring early in a form which left union Representatives with little choice but to accept the deal offered (with some minor amendment). They were then faced with the task of convincing all union members that they had acted in the general interest. One line of post hoc rationalisation adopted by union officers was that of the 'need' to act professionally in dealing with managerial tasks, now they were incorporated into the management structure. Sometimes members suggested at NUT meetings that the officers and members of the Joint Negotiating Body should produce alternative options. However, the scrutiny of management documents was taking up a considerable amount of time and this did not happen. This did not

prevent the unions acting to oppose any management document prepared without teacher-union knowledge, but it left them without the institutional machinery, within which the protest could be accommodated and a compromise found. The Joint Negotiating Body was not the place for protests not already defined in management terms.

The third trend also affected interpersonal relationships. This time within the 'informal networks' between heads of schools, councillors and officials. In the first set of interviews, for example (1979/1980) one head had argued that he could often get problems sorted out by a direct telephone call to the office, more quickly than by going through any formal procedures. However, by 1979/1980, all heads were finding themselves increasingly subject to management advice and directives which allowed little room for negotiation. The progressive inroads made by the LEA, into capitation allowances and ancillary help, which had begun in 1973, had hardened into detailed scrutiny of areas where savings could be made. One example was the LEA's issue of instructions to heads about the supervision of the use of cleaning materials. Another came in the rules controlling windows and the use of heating oil, issued as a directive in the winter oil supply crisis. The rules made then, provided authority for caretakers to shut down heating systems if they saw classrooms with open windows.

The Health and Safety at Work Act was also a source of management rulings. These resulted in a considerable increase in paper work, and were particularly onerous on teachers who took pupils outside

the school grounds for project work. Written parental permission was required to go beyond the school gates or teachers were deemed liable for insurance purposes in the event of an accident. In one school a parent objected to girls going unsupervised on a cross country run, a matter which threw the coping strategies of physical education staff into confusion.

The general work required to assess, equip and monitor buildings and equipment for safety also increased the workload of teachers, although much of this left teachers feeling insecure about their responsibilities. Major sources of additional work derived from the increased consultation within and between schools on planning the 'core' curriculum and ensuring continuity. The increasing paper work associated with the testing and recording of pupil progress was also very time consuming.

Heads who had once been able to rectify problems to some extent, with a telephone call to the 'Office', found themselves on the receiving end of increasing demands for 'accountability' procedures which subjected them to management controls. In each District of the County, for example, Local Consultative Committees were formed, made up of County Councillors and the District Officer for Education. Consultation thus took on a new meaning as these committees were empowered to make decisions about the schools in their areas, without consulting even the heads or governors of the schools affected. The committees could, however, invite a head and the chairman of governors to attend meetings where decisions about their institutions were being discussed. An

example of the power of these committees and their potential effect, can be found in the rule made in 1979/80, that heads had to obtain the permission of their Local Consultative Committee before spending more than £100 on any item. The ruling came towards the end of the financial year, when the authority was concerned about its budget, and a head reported in interview that, in spite of telephone calls on the 'informal' network, he had a request for an item of equipment (for which capitation was available) refused.

So far, I have identified three different trends in management processes which were affecting schools: (1) the loss of autonomy over educational interests within the boundaried limits of resources available for the education budget; (2) the subjugation of teacher-union roles to the negotiation of policy within management-defined options; and (3) the increasingly rule-bound nature of heads' and teachers' day to day work in schools. The law was increasingly invoked as a means of control.

The implementation of these changes worked through the bureaucratic-control mechanism. Management by objectives was accompanied by the expectation that the 'managed' were responsible for participating in the process necessary to achieve the goals and indeed accountable for their successful implementation, regardless of the substantive problems of the situation. Moreover alongside the changes in the bureaucratic-control system, there were developments in the ideology of policy objectives which

delegitimated any substantive case which could be made against the objectives.

In October, 1979, for example, a County Councillor was given time in a regional television programme, to make the case that people who were employees of the County Council, should not criticize its policies. Later on, another County Councillor declared that heads, as council employees, ought not to be using parents in campaigns against policies of the County Council.

Following the County Council elections, in 1980, the ruling Tory group overweighted committees, in terms of the overall number of councillors elected, on the grounds that it was 'elected to govern' and could only do so if policies could be got through committee without undue opposition.

A Report in the Teacher (the NUT newspaper), suggests that the theme had more generalised application than in the county in this study. This is how the Chief Education Officer of Staffordshire was reported to have asserted his definition of teacher rights to influence policy (The Teacher 28/10/80):

The input teachers have at every level of policy making, from national level downwards is considerable and important. But once decisions are taken, teachers have to do the best they can with them. Teachers do not have the right to take active political stances on educational issues.

The accusation that education had become a 'political football' continually surfaced in union meetings and even appeared in letters to the local press. There was little evidence, however,

that the County Council was trying to win 'hearts and minds'. The definition of legitimacy was located in the definition of the right of the elected to govern. Opposition was thus illegitimate by definition.

Far from provoking a united opposition, however, the management moves appeared to fragment teacher interests. The head teachers in the National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT) chose to sit as employers on the Health and Safety Committee 'illustrating their management function'. This met with criticism from other teacher unions (TCC Report Feb. 1980). As the NUT had the largest representation on the Joint Negotiating Body, it tended to come in for criticism when unpopular decisions were made. Further ill-feeling was generated over the industrial action taken by different unions during the prolonged salary dispute of 1979. The NUT withdrew 'goodwill' with disruptive effect on lunchtime supervision of pupils. The National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers (NAS/UWT) worked a five hour day on the grounds that they were working to their contracts. The Assistant Mistresses and Masters Association (AMMA) took a half day off to protest.

The diversity of union action, created so much disruption in the schools that unions actually lost members. Heads and deputies who were left responsible for pupils, were placed in an unenviable position of either 'managing' their schools (and upsetting union staff) or sympathizing with staff (and upsetting local authority and parents).

Following the dispute, the NUT approved the action of the Chairman of the Education Committee in deducting salary from NAS/UWT members and in stopping a half day's pay for AMMA members: an action which did not encourage fraternal feelings, but which highlighted the difficulties unions had in justifying their separate existences in the face of common pressures. The unions appeared to be playing out their own interest politics by the rules of an obsolescent game, apparently unaware that fundamental shifts in control were occurring. We can see the effect of these changes if we scrutinize some of the other policy developments which were being formulated around the issues of the school curriculum, staffing and resources. I set out next, therefore to describe some policy events as they occurred during 1979/81.

(v) Restructuring the Schools

The first document to be made public which dealt with curriculum, was produced by the County Advisory Service, originally as a 'secret' and confidential document. According to NUT officers, the document was made public at NUT insistence. On its release, the document appeared with the title Schools - Staffing the Curriculum, followed with the information that it was a Management Consultative Document. The 'experiences' of HMI's common curriculum were listed on the cover only as 'linguistic, mathematical, scientific, social, physical, aesthetic, creative and ethical', thereby demonstrating an unwillingness to acknowledge political education as an experience. The following three pages developed this basic belief, in terms of a minimum curriculum for the age groups 5-9, 9-12, 12-16 and 16+ pupils

still at school. For each age group, the paper specified what 'should' be taught in terms of a brief list of desirable outcomes. These outcomes were at their most specific for the 9-12 age range. Two important points are worth further note. First, a chronological age span of more than two years in any one class was deemed undesirable, in line with DES policy. Bennett et al. (1983) have shown how far the DES attempts to control this factor have been unsuccessful. Second the writers made the assumption that:

Beyond the age of 16 about 25% of the pupils will stay at school, another 25% will receive full-time education or training in colleges or within employers establishments and 50% will receive little further education or training.

This assumption was then used as the basis for the curricular plans, in relation to staffing policy, for the secondary schools. Table 10 sets out the subject curriculum identified in the document as a 'minimum' basis for staffing the examinations' options, specifically for the 15-16 year olds. The 'core' for all pupils was identified as English, mathematics, physical education, and general studies. Additional curricula depended entirely on the ability 'band' to which pupils were allocated. Bands A and B were offered a limited range of academic options. Band C had no options and was allocated social studies, crafts, work preparation, science and art. Given the percentages provided in the assumption above, only two thirds of Band A were expected to stay on for post-16 education. All of Band C and about two thirds of Band B might be expected to 'receive little further education or training'. We may recall that the interview data from the middle schools which I presented in chapter five, indicated that middle school pupils were being allocated to their option bands on transfer.

TABLE 10: Curriculum and staffing: an LEA definition

Minimum curriculum for 15 - 16 year olds

'An appropriate organisation for these older pupils might be:

Core studies:	Periods		Groups
	5		
English			4
Mathematics	5		4
Physical Education	3		4
General Studies	3		4

Selected courses: Pupils arranged into 3 bands.

4 periods	Band 'A' (30)	Band 'B' (34)	Band 'C' (20)
	French	French/Geography	Social Studies
4 periods	Physics/Dom. craft	Biology/Chemistry	Social Studies
4 periods	Biology/ Wk. Craft	Art/Tech. Drawing	Crafts
4 periods	History	Geog./History	Work preparation
4 periods	Geography	Domestic/Workshop crafts	Science
4 periods	Chemistry/Art	History/Physics	Art

Clearly, the banding policy was a policy for rationing educational experiences to fixed percentages of pupils, and clearly, such a policy would have a reactive effect on middle school curricula, given that the inter-school liaison which was planning for increasing continuity in pupils' experiences. Clearly too, parents with any interest in their children's futures, would be anxious to provide opportunities in the middle schools which might enhance their chances of a place in the 'top' band. We would expect the middle school to become more competitive and academic in providing for its able pupils.

The document, however, roused considerable controversy amongst teachers involved on existing working parties or in the executive councils of the teacher-unions. However, it had little effect as a discussion document in the schools themselves. In the course of the field study visits, one deputy head, for example, dismissed the document as 'more bumph from the county'. In general teachers were unaware of its existence. The idea that the county could control curricula was treated with some scorn.

Following something of the pattern set at DES and government level, a second, more elaborate and wide-ranging document appeared in January, 1980.

The second document had the authority of the Chief Education Officer behind it and appeared as a report for the Education Committee. Using considerably more words to put its case, the document made out a case for a common curriculum in terms much

influenced by the HMI curricular documents. At the end of this, the document contained, 'Suggestions for Debate'.

In this final section, the authors drew on the HMI Primary and Secondary surveys (DES, 1978; 1979a), to make seven suggestions.

These included: the LEA's

duty to formulate policies and objectives which meet national objectives and command local support . . .

the need to 'ensure' both that primary headteachers managed their school curricula and 'fully extended' the 'most able' pupils; and that secondary schools reviewed the content of the curriculum to ensure that the 'courses followed by the more able pupils are not too narrow', while others followed courses 'less orientated to traditional examinations'; and that all were more aware of and better prepared for, work. Schools' staff were told to monitor their own performance and were assured that the CEO was drawing up plans to assist them to do so. The County's Working Party on Assessment Procedures, was quoted as recommending:

throughout all the schools in the country there should be an effective system of assessing pupils' performance in relation to specific curricular goals so that pupils' progress may be monitored, and accurate information on their progress, their potential and their needs passed with them through their school careers

(My emphasis)

The objective of establishing specific curricular goals appears to encompass every aspect of the pupil's life: present, past and future.

The purpose of this activity is to differentiate between pupils in terms of their 'ability', in order to 'ensure' that the courses they follow are appropriate to national needs. National needs are synonymous with the plan to ration the education available, in favour of the most 'able'. Selection was back. It was the means whereby resources could be rationed. Such then were the political objectives to which the restructuring of the education system was being reorientated. What I have not considered yet, is the question of the available resources, in the context of the restless cycle of international, economic anarchy.

It was clear from the County Advisers' plan for staffing the curriculum, that school option systems were expected to narrow down the courses available to pupils, but to retain as academic a programme as possible for the top and middle bands. The plan therefore presupposed some decline in the available resources. What is also clear, however, with the perspective of hindsight, is that the predicted decline proved far more restrictive than was expected. We can also see from the document that there is no indication of the developing work of the Manpower Services Commission and its role in training school leavers (see CCCs 1981, pp. 218-240). The major interest is in preservation of academic programme for the top band. In this sense, it hardly represented a coherent, forward planning policy for education. If we turn now to what happened to the resources available for schooling, we can also see that it hardly represented a coherent plan for the top band either.

In January, 1980, following the new level of Rate Support Grant announced by the government, the Education Committee proposed to reduce its budget by £3,000,000. PRAFF, however, demanded a further saving of £2,000,000. Four councillors (dubbed the 'four wise men', by cynical teachers), were delegated to review the education budget.

From the Report of the Teachers' Consultative Committee which appeared on school notice boards in February, PRAFF had recommended a General Rate of £1.06 or 1 pence less than the treasurer considered necessary to maintain balances. In reply to a query by the teachers' side as to why the County was cutting expenditure by 7%, when the government had asked for 3.5%, the CEO replied that, despite the government's insistence that there had been no reduction in real terms in Rate Support, there had in fact been a cut.

The unions, however, were in no position to mount any opposition to the decline in the education resources. Following the previous year's action on salaries, teachers were torn between union loyalties, staffroom colleagues and support for the head in maintaining order in their schools. They had no wish for further fighting and disruption and attendance at meetings was down to between 20% and 10% of membership. The Clegg commission was still deliberating on the salaries issue.

In recognition of this, the NUT County Secretary wrote to members in February, 1980, thus:

We have decided against public demonstrations to press our point of view but instead are relying on deputations to speak with key figures in the council ... We are seeking a meeting with the Chairman of the Council and the Chairman of PRAFF to press our arguments ...

The local authority proceeded to cut free milk for infants, cut money available to Further Education for post 16 year olds, cut £200,000 of the book allowance, charge parents a flat rate of £15 a term for school transport, charge for music tuition on individual instruments, and free transport for swimming lessons, and cut cleaning and caretaking to the order of £100,000.

These plans were upset by the House of Lords rejection of the government bill that would have made charges for school transport legal, and by the following February (1981) by a court ruling that charges for music tuition were illegal, where tuition was part of the school curriculum. Individual music tuition went out of school hours at parental expense.

By July, 1980, the local authority had dropped its plans for 'staffing the curriculum'. Staffing had to depend on anyone available in school to teach. Even top band courses were threatened where schools lost a member of staff and the authority refused to allow reappointments. Following parental and teacher protests using the press, an appeals procedure was implemented to allow for 'special cases' where pupils' examination courses were threatened. In schools with falling rolls, heads were having to assume a loss of staff on their September timetables, even where no staff planned to leave.

By October 1980, the County was threatening to axe some 550 teachers' jobs, 250 of which would match the schools' 'falling rolls'. As I have noted already, this acted as a spur to the continuing negotiations on early retirement and teacher redeployment, as the authority was negotiating private 'deals' with individuals, in advance of the January (1981) agreement.

Touring local associations of the NUT in November, 1980, a County NUT officer declared (from notes):

It is a political issue - education. Either you fund it or you don't. Councillors have to decide the choice of either raising the revenue and fighting Heseltine through the courts or facing trouble in the schools because the teachers say they are not prepared to make bricks without straw ...

On November 10th (1980), the Teachers' Consultative Council reported to teachers in the schools that the 550 teachers required to go would be made up largely of:

temporary teachers, teachers on fixed term contracts and by retirement. A small number of teachers may have to be retired prematurely.

As the LEA had been appointing new recruits and married women returners to fill scale 1 posts on temporary contracts for some time, this offered a way of reducing staffing without affecting permanent posts. The unions protested, urging that individual teachers write to their own County Councillor and take up the matter with their school governing body. Officers of the unions tried to make their views known.

In December's issue of the Report of the Teachers' Consultative Committee, a teacher representative reported on the plans for cuts which had been presented to them:

Teacher members tried to impress on Councillors the severe effect the cuts were causing in the schools. It was evident that some members still believe that teachers are only trying to protect themselves and tend to blame the present pay rise for the further cuts ...

For middle schools, the cuts meant that 35 teachers in the area would lose their jobs. The unions argued that the cuts would affect teachers' conditions of service and that the plan should go before the Joint Negotiating Body. The Chief Education Officer disagreed and the unions withdrew from the Consultative Committee meeting to reconsider their position. A motion was then put forward by a representative of the Secondary Heads' Association:

The document will affect teachers' conditions of service. TCC deplores the document as the implications contained in it will destroy the education service (as we know it) in this County. Therefore, before any part of the document is implemented, the Authority should enter into negotiations with the teachers.

The Chief Education Officer was reported to have accepted the motion and to have agreed to present it to the next meeting of the Education Sub-Committee, with his suggestions, although he was not happy with it. In the meantime, the NUT adopted the tactic of alerting members and parents through letters and through the press. As a result, the meeting of the Education Committee in January, 1981, was packed with parents and the cuts in teacher numbers was reduced from 550 to 250. The County claimed that a 'windfall' Rate Support Grant, (possibly related to the

forthcoming County Council elections worth 5.7 pence in the pound, had allowed jobs to be 'saved'. The NUT claimed credit for its press campaign, some cynics claimed that the County had always intended to reduce the numbers of job losses they had announced, as the original figure allowed for negotiation in the face of expected resistance, some teachers claimed that the success of the protest restored their faith in the democratic process. The cut in the Further Education budget this year amounted to £5,000,000. The County Rate rose to £113 pence in the pound. Measures to coordinate union action on education lost impetus and were abandoned in February.

The extent of union failure to do more than react belatedly to the overwhelming pressure of events, is underlined by the message of a union official to a local association meeting in July, 1981. He argued that the work of the Joint Negotiating Committee on redeployment and redundancy agreements would ensure that the 'reduction of 300 teachers will be humanely carried out', because 'safeguards' had been negotiated. Asked by teachers what they could do under the attacks on the education service, he advocated the recruitment of parents to the teachers' cause and urged them to work through Parent Teacher Associations and other organisations:

We can play our part as citizens ... put plenty of pressure on our elected members ... whoever they are.

Teachers, he claimed were 'up against' media attacks and a climate had been built up which represented Trades Unions as a disease:

Yet we are talking about people within our committees, people who wouldn't dream of abusing the individual ... In our communities is where we can get support.

The NUT was turning away from its traditionally defensive processional image where parents were concerned and was looking for new friends. It was a symptom of the break up of the old institutional alliances forced upon them by the new rule/resource structures of management by objectives. It was also a sign that new alliances would form in the new 'contingent historical constellations' (Habermas, 1982). For the present, however, we cannot take this issue further. The major point to understand as I turn back to the fieldwork in the schools, is that teachers were under pressure to restructure the curriculum in line with the policies for differentiated distribution of educational resources being set for the 15 and 16 year olds in the High Schools. At the same time they were facing continuing and unpredictable cuts in resources, which included threats to their own jobs. It is within this contextualised arena of events, that teachers had to make sense of what they were doing and plan for their pupils, their institutions and themselves.

(vi) Summary and conclusion

I began this chapter by noting the conjunction of the 1974 change in world economic outlook, the switch to 'monetarist' cuts in public spending, the setting up of the APU and the rise to dominance of a linear view of curricular subjects which pupils could traverse, through training and practice from one level to the next. I argued that this was an ideological device which

could be used to restore the credibility of the notion of 'ability', following the discrediting of the IQ test as a means of selection.

I described how the debates about the APU and the curriculum and the APU/NFER link up over the banking of test items, occupied different ideological frameworks. Hence, the NUT, which had consistently opposed national testing, actually came to advocate criterion-referenced testing of curricular objectives, as a professional tool which could 'help' teachers to 'help' pupils. I also documented the decline of the HMI case for a 'common' curriculum, as the case for differentiated curriculum¹ for the more 'able' pupils eclipsed the notion of curricular 'enrichment' for the 'gifted'.

Turning to the local authority context, I have documented the changing rule structure of administration, as the interest-group negotiations which had once focussed on the distribution of surplus product, gave way to a structure of management by objectives which planned for reductions in resources and a more differentiated distribution of what was available for schooling, in favour of the top band of pupils. I have shown how management could use this structure to make new rules and require accountable responses from employees. I have described how the new structures fragmented teacher-union interests and left them reacting inappropriately to management processes in terms of their own interests.

However, I have also documented the failure of management to predict the scale and scope of the 'cuts', so that, they too were left reacting inappropriately and belatedly in ways which undermined their legitimacy and provoked widespread protests. The participation in management by teacher unions through the negotiation of processes designed to implement management-defined options, were inappropriate for negotiating the kinds of compromise 'deals' that had been possible in the era of economic growth. The attempt to unify the cultural/political mechanism, with the economic realities, failed to work, because the economic realities were unpredictable, and the next political manoeuvre at government level, was also unpredictable. Rigid rule systems could not work but neither could long-term negotiations. The political system had to react increasingly rapidly to the changing economic resource base. The future looked less and less predictable; the consequences of actions were even more difficult to evaluate.

Such was the developing context at local authority level as I undertook the second part of the field study in the six middle schools between the Autumn of 1980 and the Spring of 1981. It is to this I now turn.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Managing the Middle School Muddle

(i) Introduction

In chapter 5, I identified changes in the six middle schools used for the field research, which were pulling middle schools curricula into line with work for high school examinations, through greater emphasis on testing and test procedures, earlier and more formal differentiation of pupils into examination and non-examination bands, more specialist teaching for top sets of pupils and more emphasis on routinised work in the 'basics'. Given the policy developments outlined in chapter 6, these developments seemed to be in line with DES and local government initiatives to concentrate resources at the level of the more 'able' pupils in a rationalisation of a system under considerable financial pressure.

However, I also identified some of the problems which middle school teachers were experiencing in this context of change. Time was at a premium, pupils appeared to be more recalcitrant, resources and space were frequently perceived as inadequate, and there was little sense that the tests helped at all. Even so, it could be argued that none of the problems were new, and that about a fifth of the teachers had not noticed anything of significant change since middle school inception.

Given the technical-managerial controls which were reverberating into the schools in an attempt to make the whole system more technically rational, we might expect to find more accurate diagnosis of individual pupil problems, through increasing use of improved test procedures, teachers who were busily matching curricula to pupil ability and a more professional, team approach to the achievement of learning objectives.

My case, however, has been that the system is fundamentally contradictory and that social cooperation over schooling is bought at the price of some disregard for the hierarchies on the competitive ladder of opportunity. The more competitive and examination-orientated the curriculum, the less appeal it has for those who are excluded by virtue of their status or 'ability' ranking. Fletcher (1974, p. 14) sets these two contradictory relationships against one another with respect to mathematics:

Disquiet over the maintenance of proper standards of basic computation and uncertainty about comparisons over the years may lead to some form of monitoring of standards of mathematical competence being achieved in schools. If this comes about, we must remember that in recent years some schemes of work have been formulated with the aim of improving pupils attitudes to maths, and increasing such qualities as the social function of maths and the desire to continue further with it.

Something of the way in which teachers try to 'survive' amongst the contradictions between 'standards' of competence alienated from the pupils who are expected to achieve them, and the task of maintaining pupil cooperation, is revealed by Woods' analysis of teacher strategies. Woods (1979, pp. 140-161) distinguishes eight different strategies: socialisation of pupils into conformity,

domination of pupils by punishments, negotiation with pupils through the use of 'appeals, apologies, cajolery, flattery, promises, bribes, exchanges and threats', fraternization through identification with pupils, withdrawal from pupils and reality, in a variety of forms, the use of ritual and routine, occupational therapy or 'busyness', and morale boosting or 'we have to believe'.

Whilst examples of all of these strategies are readily observable in schools, I want to suggest that within all of Woods' examples lie the tension between what has to be done to conform to the hierarchical rules of schooling practices, and what can be negotiated within these limits to make life more mutually satisfying or, at least accommodating, for participants with differently formulated interests. In the former category for example, we can place the expectation that teachers will not absent themselves (other than officially) so frequently that their capacity to teach at all usefully is questioned by their employers. In the latter category is the more pressing consideration that relationships with colleagues become strained if teachers are viewed as 'not pulling their weight'. In addition, as pupils lose the routines which particular teachers negotiate to assist discipline in the classroom, absence is not lightly undertaken, for the latter rather than the former reasons. Strategies are therefore not discrete, and as such offer only tension-ridden ways of coping with interdependent and contradictory problems. In this sense, teachers depend upon

sufficient "elasticity" (p. 91) to permit negotiation in any situation.

In middle schools, the Plowden ideology sanctioned fraternization in mixed ability work and negotiation in projects and visits. These strategies, with their child-centred rhetoric, were under increasing strain as teachers, trained mainly in the Plowden beliefs, were forced to rationalise post hoc, the consequences of financial cuts for their extra curricular activities, and the consequences of the new directives in limiting the strategies available.

I am not, therefore, merely talking about changing ideologies of schooling, but also considering the changing rule/resource structure, within which teachers had to negotiate their individual strategies and their collective ideologies. I have claimed that this negotiative process is best viewed as the mediation of contradictory social relationships: cooperation versus competition, sociality versus egotism, morality versus materialism (Carter, 1976, p. 76), and that the point of 'balance' shifts as the rule/resource structure is renegotiated in different contexts through the state administrative system.

I begin therefore, by scrutinising the effect that management decisions were having on the schools over the second period of the field research. These effects are identified as seven areas of uncertainty for teachers. These uncertainties are reflected in some loss of teacher belief and commitment and a turning towards

pragmatic responses of compliance to external pressures, even where they make little substantive sense. As the economic cut backs and loss of staff reverberated into the schools in the spring of 1981, compliance with the rules of the technically-rational organisation, yielded to the more creative necessity of coping with the anarchy of market forces. What was left were the tests and teacher accountability for the results, in a sea of unpredictable confusion.

(ii) The market mechanism of disorder

I begin by listing the seven areas of uncertain relationships facing teachers, before providing some general illustrative material from the interviews in order to highlight the dilemmas as teachers expressed them.

I Individuals were experiencing uncertainty with regard to their own career prospects because of falling school rolls. Not only was there little prospect of promotion - or choice of move to another school, there was an alternative prospect of being identified for redeployment. This affected teacher relationships with heads, as teachers were unwilling to voice open opposition for fear of being selected for redeployment. In turn, heads expressed dislike of having to identify staff they could manage without. Recently qualified teachers and married women on short term contracts were highly vulnerable anyway.

II Heads (and some staff) were uncertain about the future of their institutions with regard to the effects of the 1980

Education Act. LEA decisions with respect to the way the act would be implemented to take account of parental 'preferences' and LEA plans, were awaited with some trepidation.

III All staff experienced uncertainty as to the general commitment of the LEA to middle schools. A document was released at Easter, 1981, which confirmed teachers' worst fears, when staff at one school learned of plans to change the high school to which they would contribute pupils to one which recruited at 11+. The plans reached most teachers through the local press. Incidentally, these plans have not yet been implemented and appear to have been dropped. Nevertheless, the teachers' mistrust of their employers was aggravated by the incident.

IV Heads were uncertain about spending their capitation allowance where they required items costing more than £100, because of the LEA's machinery to vet such spending in the spring of 1981.

V Heads and deputies were uncertain about how to plan for staff losses and timetabling of lessons, given the threats to staffing posed by the budget cuts.

VI There were general uncertainties regarding the extent to which staff might be held liable for pupil safety and supervision under the Health and Safety at Work Act. Some staff were considerably more anxious than others on this score. Problems of copyright on printed and video material also concerned some staff,

who felt unnecessarily restricted by injunctions from the LEA which placed responsibilities for infringements on to teachers. In one school, Physical Education teachers were particularly concerned that the LEA appeared to be backing parents who complained about 'dangers' (such as unsupervised cross-country running or sending pupils to subsequent lessons still wet from rain).

VII There were growing uncertainties about what constituted a defensible professional role with regard to the pressure for curricular changes which subsumed middle school practices under the imperatives of high school examinations. Three sub areas of this professional disarray can be identified:

- (a) the appropriateness of different ability groupings
- (b) the issues of testing, examination and teacher accountability for standards
- (c) the issue of curricular content.

Whereas it was this last area which appeared central in the previous year's fieldwork, with teachers frequently focussing their discourse on their relationship with the high school, or with recalcitrant pupils, the issues were much broader and wide ranging by the autumn of 1980. Teacher interest in the political and economic developments still varied widely, but, as I shall show later, the system had become much more politicised because of the economic uncertainties.

Some illustrations of the effect of the administrative uncertainties is available from the interview data. The first extract comes from an interview held in November, 1981. Administrator (A) is concerned about uncertainty over staffing in the following January:

What they originally said with the curriculum ... the staffing establishment, was that they would protect the curriculum. Now originally this meant that in order to do this you would be overstaffed. They have now ... they are saying 'Yes we will protect the curriculum, but you will not be overstaffed ...

(and later)

So that now, there's the possibility that (we) may lose (our) French teacher. He's on interview on Thursday. If (we) do, (we) have got to replace him ... and in order to replace him (we) have to ... another member of staff has to be redeployed ... And that's the nasty ...

(and later, describing an earlier ruling)

They sent (us) a little note saying, 'yes, (we) could have a Home Economics teacher providing another member of staff was redeployed'. That's the way they're saying it.

GW

This comes through in little notes?

Admin (A)

Yes. And 'phone calls. Yes. There's no policy ... stated policy. That's the way it's being felt by schools with reducing numbers.

Administrator (B) was interviewed in December, two weeks before the end of term, as the LEA deliberated about how many teachers would be axed from their pay roll:

... it's difficult to see how the present number of groups can be retained. Even if we're just losing one member of staff. If there are two members of staff going, then it's going to be that much more substantially affected ...

(and later)

One of our major problems is that we've been told by the County Advisory staff for craft and for science that er .. we should not, under any circumstances, have more than

twenty four third and fourth year pupils in our rooms ... in the practical rooms for practical lessons because the rooms are not adequate really to take any larger numbers of children of that age and size ...

As I have explained in chapter six, the LEA settled for a much lower reduction in staffing than it had originally suggested necessary and this school lost only one member of staff on a temporary contract. I shall return later to the staffing problems this created for the organisation of the substantive situations in the schools. Before that, I provide a further example of the way the uncertainties remained unresolved (even after, as I documented in chapter six, the staffing situation for January was clarified). I look at the growing pressure to compete, and demonstrate the effect of the loss of belief in the system as it affected staff, using data from one of the teachers committed to the Plowden ideology, and I finally identify the managerial commitment to the new ideology, within the schools.

Administrator (D) was interviewed in February, 1981, and expressed views about the uncertainties facing the institution which could not be planned for, or resolved, until the County announced how it was going to respond to the 1980 Education Act:

Even if it's not going to take place until September, 1982 ... there's still an awful lot of planning and detail to go in before we can come up with a scheme ... And there's got to be a scheme - otherwise we could easily find one school being denuded of pupils and another one getting overful and this sort of thing ... I don't know how they're gonna do it. They've said we're going to have a limit on numbers ... so they've got to put a full limit on numbers on each school ... over which we can't go ... and they've also got to give us some guidance er ... on the process of accepting them ... parental requests. We can't just accept them willy nilly until we're full or we might be accepting children from way out of the area and creating a lot of problems for other schools.

In effect, the ideology of parental 'choice' embodied in the 1980 Education Act, actually placed considerably more power in the hands of the local authorities than the 'duties' laid upon them by the 1944 Education Act. In the Schools where heads were not responding to local authority, staff feared they could find they had a limit placed on their intake.

The effect of the 1980 measure therefore was to set institutions in competition with one another on the basis of the testing encouraged by the LEA, rather than, as Administrator (D) suggested above, to increase mutual consideration for the problems faced by different staffs. An example from administrator (A), (once strongly committed to the Plowden ideology) in a school when introduction of the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills, had been firmly resisted, shows how strong the pressures were becoming:

We have made a decision as a school to introduce more testing this year than we had last year, in basic subjects ... such as English and mathematics and French and Science ... and this has been because of our position with ... over pupils we're finding ourselves ... well we're beginning to feel in competition with (X school) which has caused pressures and made us think ... 'Right if we don't test children more ... we shan't know (a) if we're doing our job as well as we hoped we're doing it ... more more importantly ... the children have experience of an examination situation.' Previously when we've done testing we've always done it in classrooms ... um ... on quite a sort of informal sort of basis ... We have now decided that once a year at least they will have formal testings in a hall sort of situation .. Um .. really thinking that um if they've not experienced this ... this could be a disadvantage when they arrive at the high school. And they find themselves in competition with children who had already experienced it ... but it's the first time we've ever done it.

Here then, we have the link between the political and the economic pressures. Under the guise of parental choice, local authorities

could decide which schools would decline and which expand, and hence which teachers would be redeployed or made redundant. The prevailing belief amongst heads and deputies in the middle schools, if not other staff, was that this was legitimate because parents would 'choose' to send their children to schools achieving standards which would get most of their pupils into the 'top' band at the high school. This belief was common in all middle schools and encouraged a growing sense of competition. In the instance, cited above, for example, the high school tested all pupils on entry with formal tests, before allocating pupils to its banding system.

Alongside the curricular debate, there was also a debate about pupil behaviour which attacked informal relationships as anarchic and symbolic of poor standards of work. One response by heads was to institute a general 'tightening' of disciplinary rules and demands on both staff and pupils. The most extreme example of this was observed in a school where management by objectives followed a new appointment to the administrative staff.

In this school, the process of communication was being conducted formally in what many staff claimed to be a 'one way process', even though formal consultative procedures had also been introduced. The following item from a written document entitled 'Notes on Discipline', provides an example (all emphasis in the original):

Following discussions already held this term and from my recent observations, there is room for considerable tightening up of general school discipline. I set out for the record, decisions taken in the last two terms that need to be born in mind and acted upon.

IMPROVEMENTS WILL NOT BE BROUGHT ABOUT BY A SUDDEN SHORT LIVED PURGE, REGULAR AND CONSTANT ATTENTION TO DETAIL AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A REGULAR ROUTINE IF WE ARE ABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS.

The memorandum continued with instructions about when and where doors should be locked, where pupils should wait, enter school, not go at all, when they should enter school, and so on.

Exceptions to any of the procedures could only be made by the head, claimed one document.

Staff in the school expressed strong resentment at the formal documentation of rules in such a way. Accustomed to strategies of negotiation and fraternisation (it was the school where I was most frequently offered biscuits and sweets by pupils at break), staff generally refused to take much notice of the 'rules'. Even so, there was a considerable voluntary change in staffing at this school, some of which could not take proper effect until staff had worked out their notice in the September following this project. It seemed likely that there might be more support for the new managerial approach as new staff were taken on. Outcomes of this process could not be predicted at this stage.

Changes in policy were less abrupt in schools where the administrative staff had already established paternal or even fraternal relationships with teachers lower in the hierarchical order, but everywhere rule structures were becoming more formalised and less negotiable. As the resources of time, money and staffing which had supported an alternative social economy within the boundaries of the institution, declined, so did the

teachers' scope for negotiative strategies in the less formalised work of projects, visits and extra curricular activities. It was these strategies which had allowed the real relations of domination, to be modified or even obscured under a rhetoric of child-centred teaching and 'caring'. As the boundaries were eroded and financial and political support became dependent upon compliance to the rule/resource system of the technical-managerial approach, the aspirations and plans of staff became increasingly dependent on the next ruling by authorities outside the institutions.

For some staff, those whose commitment had been to the negotiated relationships of cooperation, sociality and intersubjective morality, the obvious intrusion of political motives brought despair and confusion. Coordinator (B) tried to make sense of it all:

It's very intangible. I couldn't tell you exactly how it's come about ... but ... the business of redeployment is looming over our heads ... The fact that members of staff are not going to be ... they may be redeployed, they may be moved to other schools from day to day ... some members of staff ... And generally the sort of lack of concern about people who have been working in this authority for a very long time ...

(and later)

It's got to the stage whereby ... whereas ...you might have gone home and spent several hours doing something ... I'm afraid some things now which don't get done, don't get done because the pressure of work is far too great ... There is no way that I can do now the pastoral care ... the curriculum ... the discipline ... the looking after staff and so on ... in the time that is available to me ... and I cannot do any of those particular roles properly.

What was being lost in these schools, particularly in the schools where staff had planned work across the year as a team, were projects, visits, clubs and the time to plan and discuss together the work for their year groups. What was either replacing or adding to work in these interactive processes, was time spent more formally, in rule-bound situations testing and recording pupil progress, in form filling and responding to the whole range of managerial demands, including discipline.

In the context of the administrative uncertainties about the future, we can see then two, psychologically contradictory processes with their source in the economic control of resources. The first of these was a tendency to submit and comply, which was being reinforced by the disciplinary 'tightening up' of rules and procedures. The second process, however, required a competitive drive towards domination and superiority over rivals, in an attempt to achieve high standards in academic subjects. Both processes were evolving their tension-ridden paths in a context of uncertainty and reactive policy-making within the schools, atomising individuals by disrupting the socially negotiated processes through which intersubjective strategies for coping had previously been evolved and sustained.

However, because of the uncertainties in the situation, neither the disciplinary rules of compliance, nor the competitive rules which might have defined success and failure, actually hardened into concrete, routinised practices. In the unpredictable, intersubjective world of the institution, teachers had to respond

to situations not rules. It is in this intersubjective world that teachers negotiate the creative coping strategies which define their 'professionalism'. The trick is to 'balance' contradictory forces so that domination is achieved through negotiation and fraternization, rather than through open coercion, if possible. In the context of an institution subject to arbitrary change, however, life within the institution becomes a matter of arbitrary control. Take Administrator (B)'s description of life in one of the more formal of the schools:

... it doesn't matter how much you plan ... or how far ahead you try to look ... I find in this position where you are in control ... or largely in control of the day to day administration of the school um ... that a lot of your time is devoted to dealing with spontaneous matters. Um ... such as money disappearing .. such as children being sent to you for misdemeanors .. or suddenly finding that you have two or three members of staff short .. or this kind of thing .. so er like anyone in an administrative position .. there's not a great deal you can do to organise your time as efficiently as one would like to do er .. simply because much of what you're dealing with is spontaneous. Um .. you can't go from A to B to solve a problem without picking up two others on the way.

Jackson (1968, p. 149) noted teachers'

ability to tolerate the enormous amount of ambiguity, unpredictability and occasional chaos created each hour by 25-30 not-so-willing learners.

Coping with the least willing learners, the sick (teachers and pupils), the accident prone, parents who visited unexpectedly, teachers whose strategies had failed under strain, as well as the forms, the registers, the inspectors, advisers, caretakers and cleaners, were part of the daily lot of heads and deputies. In this intersubjective milieu, the directives and advice from the LEA, and the calls upon heads to 'manage' their schools was simply a further set of pressures with which they had to cope. Forced to

mediate tensions in arbitrary ad hoc reactions to events, with irrelevant normative beliefs, many teachers suffered low morale and anomie. If we now set these intersubjective problems of 'coping' beside the pressure for accountability for curricula, testing and pupil differentiation, we can see how the situational imperatives actually put into reverse the managerial imperatives for more specialist subject teaching and less mixed ability work.

I will take first the staffing problems which faced schools in the spring term of 1981, and demonstrate the problems these created for teachers. I then look at the problems of differentiating between pupils which faced teachers forced to 'reset' pupils in the middle of the year and consider the role of testing on this. I then turn to the effect that testing was having on the curriculum. Finally, I discuss the links between what was happening in these schools and the changing policies of the local and central government.

(iii) Unsettling the sets: the problem of change

Following the decision of the LEA to cutback on the pupil teacher ratio at the start of the spring term, 1981, all but Clackington lost at least one and in some cases two, members of staff, through a variety of processes. The major problem faced by the teachers left in the schools concerned the re-setting of pupils for mathematics, French and English, wherever the staff loss affected the setted groups.

Although teachers' post hoc rationalisations differed, there was a generally expressed dislike of 'upsetting' the sets. Coordinator (C) explained the process as it took place:

English was more difficult in that it was a middle set so that we've virtually got to reassess those children to find out which set they're going to join .. whether they're going to go up .. if you like .. to the next set .. or down .. although we've decided not to .. er .. label it as a downward move .. if you like .. um .. we're going to do away with C sets .. so in fact all the set numbers .. including that set .. the numbers will go up .. that's a bit complicated.

The complication is rooted in the 'balance' these teachers were trying to achieve between their dominative power over pupils in terms of an autocratic decision which would determine the curricula available to them in future, the disruption of a routine which had been unquestioned as a matter of 'ability', and an ideology of pupil interests which could be used both as a symbolic form of fraternization and a bargaining point in negotiation.

Coordinator (C) confirmed this by continuing:

We felt it was wrong for the children in the next to bottom set to suddenly think they were in the bottom set when in fact what we were going to tell them was that the bottom set was going to come up and join them. They'd all gone up in the bottom set and they had stayed where they were and the next to bottom set had gone up in fact .. All it is is just moving sets but we tried to make the children feel they had not been demoted .. through no fault of their own .. just because we were one teacher short.

The moral blame attached to the 'bottom' set, noted in chapter 5, resurfaces here and I shall return to this issue again shortly.

More importantly, and more generally expressed across the schools, was the problem of differentiating between those pupils who had common curricular experiences, in a way which would locate them in sets of presumed ability difference. The humanities adviser

explained how 'a lot of A3 are the same', and went on to talk of the difficulties of differentiating between them even though everyone had been tested:

Well you see .. English is a great sort of area .. You see you get articulate children who obviously have the English there .. It's ridiculous to say they haven't .. and you get dyslexic children. You know that they can express themselves .. yet they're having this dreadful difficulty of putting it down. You have some children who .. well for instance, they're very imaginative .. their eyes perk up when they hear poetry and creative work .. When it comes down to the bread and butter English they're not so interested .. so how do you sort of say? Well you've got to balance it .. and it's very difficult to test that sort of imaginative side in an hour. It's rather a false situation .. but you have to bring that into account .. you can't be too objective.

This respondent went on to argue that the tests were just guides, and distinguished between the 'clever Dicks who can always sum up the situation', and a child with:

so much lively imagination that we feel we shouldn't stifle it by putting him down with slower people who you've obviously got to do more humdrum stuff with.

Whilst this kind of rationale leaves teachers with considerable scope to sponsor pupils in line with their own prejudices, it also highlights the problems teachers have identifying pupil ability in terms of some kind of linear progress along pre-determined curricular paths.

Hence it was the case that teachers could not identify pupils for sets on the basis of impersonal test criteria because the narrow focus of the test procedures took no account of other psycho-social characteristics valued in the cultural setting of the classroom. Ball (1981, p. 257) for example, has noted the preference teachers had for mixed ability teaching because it

enabled them 'to inhibit the development of anti-school peer groups by moving key personnel into other forms'. In these middle schools it appeared that 'mixed ability' groups on test criteria, could function as 'ability' sets because teachers bypassed the technical criteria of competence.

This evidence is reinforced by two teachers in another school who explained as we sat in the staff room, how they coped with the problem of setting pupils:

Originally we had two top English .. (Interruption: The English setting didn't work very well) .. No
(Interruption: because, to set the middles we couldn't decide a criterion for setting them and therefore, when we tested, we only tested for certain things and it wasn't sufficient information to change the sets .. so we ended up not knowing why we were setting the middles, and what criteria we had for setting them and so on). And the groups .. We had four joint middles and this group that's in between the middle and the bottom now ... (Interruption: .. has evolved .. has evolved during the year. We discovered that we've got roughly a middle group but there were certain ones in every group that had these problems .. (Interruption .. They were good orally and they've got a good Richmond comprehension score ..) But they couldn't (Both together . get it on to paper ..) So we abandoned .. (Interruption: so we abstracted about 15 .. sorry .. interfering aren't I?). It's working better now.

The solution adopted in this school with this year group was to have two top groups, 'three joint middles, a group that need extra help in certain areas and a bottom group.' The top groups were defined as the 'motivated' ones.

As the teacher with responsibility for advising on English and French in the school put it:

Testing has taken a turn .. we're doing fewer now and I'm far more interested in what the teachers say .. If we have a meeting to decide any movement the main consideration is 'will the child cope with working at a higher level?'

The 'weazel words' here are 'coping' and 'level'. It would seem that coping with different 'levels' of work is precisely what tests of competence are about. Neither the 'coping' nor the 'level', however, actually refer to competencies in relation to subjects, because both refer to the willingness of pupils to exhibit behaviours appropriate for 'top set' pupils. That is a willingness to 'get on with work' in class without making too many demands on the teachers; a willingness (and ability) to complete homework on time; and a generally instrumental attitude to the necessity of rote learning for classroom tests and so on. One of the complications for the teachers was that such pupils did not necessarily achieve as highly on the test scores as some of the less compliant 'clever Dicks'. Differentiation therefore necessitated 'knowledge' of the individual as a personality, rather than as a test score. Administer (C) sums it up:

Testing was part of it, but it was largely as a result of extensive discussion between the people who taught them last year. You see the people who teach in the 4th year this year .. two of us .. The head of English and myself .. also taught in the third year .. English last year .. So we knew between us nearly half the children .. not half the children .. but we knew at least two sets of them .. and after discussions with the third year staff, and the discussions with the new staff in the fourth year .. we decided on that sort of arrangement.

Convinced that they could not manage without sets, yet mystified as to the criteria they were using to distinguish between pupils, teachers struggled to 'balance' the technical competencies required by test procedures, with the psycho-social criteria they intuitively identified as appropriate in the dispositions of sponsored pupils.

A team of first year teachers attempted a 'solution' based on pupil progress through a series of comprehension exercises, graded according to 'level' in the series. Pupils went to one of five different groups with their appropriate text for some didactic teaching on the set exercise. They then returned to their mixed-ability class, where they 'did' the exercise in their books. The class teacher then marked a set of books containing five different exercises according to pupil 'level'. The benefits of this procedure were rationalised by the teachers in social terms, on the grounds that class teachers got to 'know' the individual pupil and could best help him or her with their individual difficulties. The reality came closer to Ball's (1981) point, that the anti-social, anti-comprehension, pupils, were dispersed across the year for the productive part of the operation.

In sum then, in spite of the introduction of the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills, by the local authority; and in spite of all the other tests which teachers were using the previous year, teachers had decided that the tests did not provide the information they needed in order to set pupils, by 'ability'. The actual process of differentiating between pupils, although increasingly formalised at an earlier age, remained largely a matter of negotiation between staff and between staff and pupils. This latter negotiative process was largely unrecognised and unformalised, but nevertheless occurred in the day to day transactions between teacher and pupil in the classroom. Occasionally a parent influenced the process overtly by challenging the head over a particular placing. Generally, even

parental influence became incorporated into the process of 'knowing' the pupil, through interventions (or non-interventions) over time. The influence of testing did not appear to have affected any of this. So why had the middle school which had resisted the introduction of the Richmond Tests, introduced formal testing every year in the school hall? To understand this, we must leave the negotiated arena of pupil differentiation for sets, and turn to the question of testing qua testing.

(iv) Testing qua testing

Two major problems with the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills, are cost and time. Pupils are required to transfer the answer codes onto a specially printed format which can only be used once. At a time of financial stringency, heads were reluctant to spend money on such items. Considerable teacher time is also required in order to profile results, particularly if the whole battery is used. The resulting information was of little use.

Formal testing appeared to be in decline, with testing using Richmond, largely limited to the fourth year. One mathematics specialist said they were used in order to help standardisation with the parallel, contributing middle school, but then claimed that teacher recommendations carried more weight than the tests anyway.

Even so, Coordinator (C) who claimed the previous year not to be 'au fait' with tests, now laid some claim to be an expert on the subject. In spite of the meetings to decide pupil placings which

largely disregarded the test results, and in spite of professing a personal preference for mixed ability teaching this coordinator argued that the tests provided evidence that pupils needed differentiated teaching in the sets:

I have got children who have been scoring for the past two years on Schonell .. 12+ to 12.6 and on Richmond they've been on 130+ and then I've got a girl who's got a reading age of 8.4 .. just. Well the difficulties are enormous in that situation .. because the work that you do you lose one and bore the other one ...

In spite of the loss of credibility of the tests for setting purposes in the substantive situation, this teacher retained the technical rationale that tests provided objective information about pupils' 'levels' of general ability, because the figures provided 'evidence' that it was so. In order to reconcile the difference between the substantive reality and the technical criteria of 'ability', teachers argued that the pupils either would not or could not do the tests in a way which demonstrated the 'abilities' which teachers 'knew' they had. If we can comprehend the logic of this rationalisation, then we can comprehend the effect of the testing on the curriculum.

Coordinator (E) demonstrates the restricting effect of testing, partially appreciating the subtle changes that this effect was having. This respondent began by explaining that tests in science classes were intended to test if pupils could use the material they had been taught and apply it to different situations:

When I actually see the results, I'm more interested in having a look at the answer paper rather than the numerical score to see which ones they were getting right .. which ones they were getting wrong .. and I did actually, a year ago, do a graphical analysis of which questions they were getting right and which questions they were getting wrong .. and try to look at the sort of questions they were getting wrong and the reasons for it.

The respondent concluded that there was a relationship between the length of the explanation given and the likelihood of pupils getting the answer correct. Too much information confused the pupils and they failed to answer the question accurately. What was required was 'practice':

If you look at the old primary/secondary situation .. they got plenty of practice .. for the testing at 11+ and answering questions. Well that's gone .. and the High School find the same. They cannot answer a question accurately ..

... so what we do now is tend to set them written questions occasionally .. and let them have a go at them .. rather than you know .. do topic work .. We try and give them structured questions .. especially next term .. the last term.

In the final term before transfer to high school, these pupils spent much of their science time practicing multi-choice questions in order to improve their chances of getting 'O' level or CSE level work at the high school; chances which depended on getting placed in the higher level ability bands.

Coordinator (E) rationalised it thus:

Well project work is very much child centred. But I feel that our system of education in the high schools .. leading up to examinations .. is not .. I think it's very much examination geared .. examination centred .. although a lot of the Boards are now allowing project work as part of the assessment. It still required you to answer questions accurately at the end of it .. and I feel that unless we prepare them for that soon enough .. early enough .. they're going to find great difficulty.

(and later)

The other benefit I see as well is that a question will narrow children down. It will make them talk within well-defined parameters .. trying to avoid rambling and that sort of thing.

This concern with accuracy, focus and narrow application of 'knowledge', as a means of demonstrating individual differences in pupils' ability was evident in other responses.

The response from Administrator (A), who had had a visit from Her Majesty's Inspectorate the day prior to the interview, rationalised the differences between test results and what pupils had been taught as a matter of teaching pupils to be accurate, and claimed that the HMI had agreed that the problem was one of accuracy. Administrator (A) then blamed television for the problem:

It affects their listening, television does .. because it's on all the time and so it's all a background and so they don't hear what you're saying. I think this is another thing that happens .. They don't listen accurately. They don't observe accurately either. And this shows up in science and art.

GW And you think you can actually detect this .. in science and art?

A(A) Yes .. we think so .. we've discussed this .. very much so in art. I think in art more than science .. much more .. but if you're looking at an object .. virtually .. They don't really see it. They don't really see it. They're so used to seeing things .. moving things .. going before their eyes, they don't look and say, 'Well is that line straight? Is that an acute angle?' You know they just don't look.

HMI involvement in this trend towards evaluating art as well as science, by reason of the accuracy of the reproduction of the object, can be found in an HMI report on art teaching in six 9-13 middle schools in Kent (DES 1984b). HMI Praise is generally reserved in this report, for work which demonstrates 'rigour of study or focus of attention' and is withheld from work which does

not (p.8). For example, a pattern project, 'linked to a humanities study of the Middle Ages' ... (p.10):

required pupils to make a complex tessellated pattern using a limited number of colours and work of a high standard was seen. The exercise had been designed in part to heighten pupils' levels of concentration and accuracy of working. In this school there was a strong emphasis on pattern and some work of a high technical standard was being achieved.

Similar phrase goes (p.9) to 'pastel paintings of textured objects such as rope, hessian and wood'. If accuracy in science required pupils to 'narrow down' their focus, and accuracy in art, required attention to detailed 'object' drawing, accuracy in mathematics drove Administrator (C) back to rote learning:

I don't know if we're taking steps backwards .. I'm sure we are at times .. but it's because we see that certain children's progress is being hampered because we're sticking to .. in maths .. for example .. the conceptual approach.

Reading this response in the context of the pressures for teacher accountability to be measured by pupil results, we can largely disregard the rationalisation which locates the issue at the level of pupil interests and locate it instead in this respondent's concern that the school should appear to be getting as good a set of results on the tests as any other middle school.

The solution offered is mechanistic and utilitarian:

We think that there are certain children who will get on faster .. for instance .. just being made to learn by rote .. as an example .. various formulae on for instance .. volume of a cylinder .. Never mind how you work it out it is πr^2 .. that's what you use ..

(The use of length to complete the formula was indicated non verbally and does not record on the tape).

The question of rote learning of formulae and its consequence for adducing teacher accountability was felt equally powerfully, but from a different point in the hierarchy, by a young teacher in the same school:

Children in (this locality) have got this ability not to retain anything .. from one day to the next. And the .. One of my ways in English that I'm trying to overcome this .. is .. apart from my giving them some spelling tests .. because my group have got this problem .. um .. er .. we're doing poetry .. short poems and getting them to learn them .. just for the practice of actually learning something .. and some of them are having awful problems .. even with a nice short rhyming poem.

The notion that the pupils might have no good reason for memorising 'a nice short rhyming poem', did not appear to be taken into consideration. The respondent went on to explain why it was important to remember things in mathematics:

You see .. um .. you can teach something one week .. one day .. and they remember the technique the next day .. but give them a week and it's not just a matter of revising .. you've got to reteach. This is what we're discovering . If it was just revising .. Well that's fair enough. You don't expect everybody to remember .. but it's not. You're reteaching. So from one year to the next .. when they're supposed to .. I know (the Head of Department) will say, 'Right you should have done this .. we'll do a quick ...', and he'll think, 'Well they don't and it's not revision ... you've got to reteach' .. and they go back and back and back .. So they're right .. They're reteaching.

It would be incorrect, of course, to claim that rote learning ever left the classroom completely. What has reappeared here though is the sense of panic in teachers, held accountable when pupils fail to demonstrate that they 'know' what they've been taught. The consequence of this was seen in the strategies teachers were finding to 'help' pupils 'fix' techniques, spellings, or formulae

in their heads. The problem had become the mechanistic one of how to get pupils to remember what teachers kept on telling them.

The next teacher had responsibility for advising other staff on the teaching of mathematics:

I would like to see maths adjusted on the timetable to occur on a more regular basis ...

(and later)

... There's two days a week when the children are doing no maths at all theoretically .. Throw in the weekends .. that's four days .. um .. when quite conceivably they could forget about it altogether .. I think this might be one reason for the retention problems. Whereas, if we had it on five days a week .. the same time but on five days of the week, at least you would be getting over that constant practising of the subject ... which is missing at the moment. It needn't necessarily be timetabled maths lessons. It could be something arranged in registration periods .. But again this is .. presents difficulties when you come to put a timetable together ..

The solution to the problem rests in its diagnosis. More practice equals more retention equals better test results.

Given that the problem is seen as solvable if pupils get more practice, the question loses any contact with intersubjectivity in teacher to pupil or pupil to teacher terms. The solution rests in the logistics of the timetable. The problem has an organisational solution.

Perhaps surprisingly, a more intersubjective approach was being adopted in one of the more formal schools by the first year team of teachers. Coordinator (G) explained:

(from my notes)

We could never decide what to do with spelling. This year we've given them a little book. The words are corrected in their written work and they start off writing the word correctly. We don't correct every word; just those that are wrong frequently .. ones they'll need again. They are supposed to copy the words into their books and learn them. Every Friday, they're paired off into like pairs and they test one another with ten spellings from their books. After the testing the teacher adds five words of her own which they think they should know. They get a tick from their partner if they spell the word correctly. Five ticks and the word is learned. The teachers mark the words in their books. For the top group a wrong spelling is just indicated and they look it up. It can get quite noisy but as they are all doing it at the same time, it doesn't matter. It's all checked every week by me.

The class teachers feel it's good for morale and are trying to make it work and do it thoroughly. We're hoping p'raps by the summer, the spelling might improve in their books but in all honesty there's no sign of it yet. Possibly spelling is absorbed through reading and these children don't choose to read in their spare time.

Quite clearly, these teachers were not adopting a technical/managerial view of teaching spelling, and appeared much more relaxed about the whole process. The pupils, however, were not showing evidence of learning their spellings any better, but the negotiative strategy employed made life much pleasanter for all concerned.

This is partially explained by the relative protection from examination pressures enjoyed by this first year team, and partially by the traditionalist ethos of the school which protected them a little from the attacks on institutions formally carrying the 'progressive' label. Behind this protection, there was space for some negotiative strategies.

Administrator (C), on the other hand, felt threatened by the way rolls were falling, and was conscious of the relative lack of

esteem in which his institution was held when it came to competitive examination results. As mathematics was defined as a key area for improvement, the head of maths was acting as a 4th year, 'floating' member of staff. Administrator (C), once, ideologically one of the most 'progressive' of heads, had been converted (almost) to management by objectives:

.. If only I could do it with other people .. you know through the rest of the school .. I feel certain that we could increase the whole level and pace .. er .. That preoccupies me at the moment .. This pace of learning .. um .. largely because people are finding difficulties over direction .. over the direction they should be aiming at. I don't mean overall direction .. I think we've got a fair idea of that .. but .. er .. the direction over certain elements. And we just haven't got the staffing to go and visit them and talk about it with them often enough.

GW There's two things there .. pace and direction .. I'm not altogether clear .. er .. what the increased pace is aiming at, if you're not clear where you're going .. if you see what I mean.

A(C) Yes I do .. I hope .. (laugh). I do anyway .. um .. If we set out at the beginning of a half term .. say .. with objectives to cover .. not saturate necessarily .. but to cover .. within that half term, we are more or less giving .. more or less flexible guidelines for people to work along. Children are .. some of the children we're encountering are very complicated .. Well they have difficulties which we find are complicated .. not just to diagnose .. but to give a real prognosis on .. and therefore .. we're having to change direction .. a little bit .. within those objectives .. Now it sounds ever so vague .. I don't really think that might, strangely enough confuse it .. um .. and then the pace for the mainstream children I think has suffered because people have become preoccupied with the children who are having various difficulties .. I feel that um .. by giving more direction to how th .. how th .. on the ways of how various aspects should be covered .. or how best to cover them .. or how best to cover them with that child in mind .. well he's giving the teachers a chance to increase the pace with the rest of the children. I don't really see it in that sort of categorical way though ... and I don't say, 'Those children are always going to have difficulty'; you set in maths after all .. and here we have the great irony of .. tremendous ability range within the sets! That too we're finding confounding. It may be the fact that we have some

sort of inexperienced staff .. which is why I should have .. a little bit more liberal staffing so I could try and improve things.

This confused mix of ideas can only be understood by taking into account first, the fact that an HMI had visited the school the previous day and had clearly been stressing the new managerial approach to the curriculum. Second, the deduction from this that the view of the curriculum that HMI had been projecting was one which designated responsibility for school curricular development to 'curriculum post-holders'.

If we restrict the discussion to mathematics 'postholders' we may assume that HMI reinforced the version outlined in the 1978 primary education survey and later specified in detail in the Cockcroft Report (1982, pp. 354-358). Campbell (1984) has provided a very full discussion of the problems that middle school curriculum postholders encountered in another county, because of the considerable range of curricular and interpersonal skills required to implement the specification. In brief, a successful curriculum postholder would need to be up to date in the conceptual structure and methods of the subject; must be able to draw up, implement and assess for effectiveness a programme of work; must select from and 'manage' different materials and approaches in order to achieve a 'match between pupils' developmental stages and the work programme; must work with and advise colleagues and must be able to present and justify work to outsiders such as parents, governors and local authority advisers (Campbell op cit, p.4).

The notion is echoed in the more recent middle school survey (DES, 1983, p. 122):

Progression is easier to manage in those parts of the curriculum where activities can be ordered according to clear logical sequences, but it also needs to be sought in areas of subjects where it is not possible to be so precise
...

The Machiavellian implications of such a specification lie in the fact that each school's curriculum postholders are enjoined both to work out a programme which matches the 'conceptual structure of the subject' to pupils' learning progress, and to justify the consequences to colleagues and (presumably) HMI.

Whilst it is a relatively simple matter to define the objectives for curriculum postholders thus, the specification embodies the massive assumption that a potential 'match' between the postholder's view of the conceptual nature of a subject (which must be sequenced) and the linear progress of pupils through that conceptual structure, is possible. Pring (1976) offers a critique of the view of 'knowledge' presupposed by such an approach. He called it 'knowledge how', which assumes that pupils (p.52) can have techniques 'stuck on' to them, without engaging their 'imaginations and aspirations, their questionings and puzzles, their values and concerns'.

However, even apart from these assumptions about knowledge, the specification also presupposes a generalisable concept of 'ability' which will be revealed by pupil progression through the

sequenced subject matter: an idea Administrator (C) above simply could not comprehend.

Administrator (E), on the other hand, found the new approach perfectly simple, because he rationalised it in relationship to his earlier grasp of innate, measurable intelligence. Furthermore, he also clarified the problem puzzling Administrator (C) with regard to differentiating between pupils:

The most important thing is to make them realise we're all different. The problem going through the school is to make them realise their own potential ... I would rather see more emphasis from employers on individual school write ups than exams. We put far too much into exams for people who don't need those exams. It's stupid for non-academics. It's much more important for a child to do things related to responsibilities. I think this is what employers are looking for rather than that ABCD grading .. which is all right for the brighter ..

Say you're doing maths or for the second year fractions. You introduce it to them altogether and the ability would depend upon the class you've got and what you're aiming for. With the bright class you know you're going to get a lot further. This is what worries me about science. The teacher puts them in groups .. and the bright ones lead the others and the others just chug along .. The only way to teach is individually ...

Many of us are too subjective, not objective. We're frowning on Richmond now. It's going to be more on the ones we do here now ... Richmond's not so popular because of the time factor and then it doesn't tell the correct things and people have been accused of teaching to the test. We want to be sure now that the children have got the ability. Richmond is giving the teacher a pat on the back. If you know a child has got a good IQ, the teacher will jump on poor work. The new tests will be for English, maths, and reasoning. It will be introduced at various stages. In the whole county we'll have a good idea where we're going.

Administrator (E) was a member of the County's Working Party on Assessment Procedures, so we can reasonably assume that he was articulating County policy as he understood it. I have already referred to this body in chapter six and noted its recommendations for the close monitoring of pupil progress. I have also noted the relationship that such monitoring had to the rationing of economic resources, and its association with pupils' future potential. Alongside this I have noted the developments in Item Banking which, it was assumed, would provide national norms, against which the criterion referenced monitoring could be measured. What I have not yet pointed out, however, is that, in combination, these factors were in practice pushing the teachers back to the view that mixed ability classes could be more appropriate than ability sets.

(v) The economy hits back

The problems teachers were experiencing in the schools stemmed to a large degree, from the contradictions between the political rulings about the objectives they were expected to achieve and the prevailing uncertainties about the resources that would be available to achieve them.

With staffing, capitation, pupils on roll and teacher responsibilities, subject to change at short notice, and with many areas of uncertainty unresolved at county or government level, teachers were being charged with the task of constructing a justifiable structure of 'opportunity' for pupils which would legitimate the differential distribution of the existing resources

in favour of the most 'able' pupils. As each contraction in the service affected this differential structuring, teachers found themselves less and less able to defend it. In the face of the problems of resetting when staff were lost, and in the face of the difficulties of motivating pupils to work longer and longer periods on the treadmill of comprehension exercises, multi-option science questions, mathematical formulae, and spelling tests; by the April of 1984, teachers in three of the schools were to be found discussing the merits of reverting to mixed-ability teaching by the following September.

In conversation with heads, I discovered that this idea was being floated by some of the local inspectorate as a means of promoting a more flexibly organised school which could respond quickly to any county decisions to cut resources. In any event, as I shall show in chapter eight, teachers were doing more generalist teaching in the spring of 1984 than they had been the previous year, in spite of the DES policy, frequently expressed in the HMI documents, that more subject specialist teaching was desirable. As schools lost, irreplaceable specialists, teachers might (or might not) undertake to teach something of the subject with their own classes, rather than an ability set, because of the problems encountered, not only with the logistics of finding an appropriate dividing line for the set that had to be split, but also in soothing distressed pupils who had been 'put down' and in possibly having to deal with irate parents. A class teacher who taught in the school with fast rising rolls, and who had argued the previous year for setting policies, now rationalised the situation thus:

Personally I'd like to see more subject .. more class teaching in .. I would rather ditch some of the setting, even if it means losing standards a bit and getting kids better settled, because I think it's more important at this stage than the academic ability. You know. Obviously you get more out of them when you're in a setting situation .. but I think it's unsettling them. Now not everyone agreed with me, you know .. There are two of us who feel this in the second year and two of us do feel that if we saw more of our classes, and gave up a bit on the academic standards .. that we'd settle the kids down far better.

Again, these reactions appear to be wider than in either the fieldwork schools or this county. Reid et al (1981) noted that the trend towards setting had been reversed and that more teachers would be required to teach mixed-ability classes as rolls fell. In similar vein, Bennett et al (1983) has recorded the extent to which schools are being driven by cutbacks and falling rolls, not only into mixed-ability teaching, but into mixed-age teaching as well. Furthermore, project work also continued because it 'worked' as a strategy. In one teacher's view, it provided 'variety and interest'.

More recent policy changes in 1983 and 1984, suggest that, having largely failed to legitimate differential teaching for the more able by the formal restoration of selection of the most 'able', interventions by the Manpower Services Commission through the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative, will encourage selection of the more 'practically' minded, from the age of fourteen. The effect of this on middle schools has yet to be worked out.

What can be said, however, is that the contradictory nature of the rule/resource developments must challenge any presupposition that

the managerial-technical approach will achieve its objectives. A traditional teacher who shall remain otherwise anonymous declared:

From the county point of view, we are battling against people who really don't understand education .. who don't understand schools. The average councillor rarely comes inside a school and makes decisions about the school, which, as far as I can see, they don't really understand.

The most frequent complaint was that the county 'wasn't listening', while the final irony came in the following comment from another teacher:

I don't really believe in a sort of militant power, but I would like to see far more involvement of teachers in their own destiny .. in their own training and the running of their own profession.

(and later)

I mean .. we had this Great Debate which fizzled out and never really came to anything. Now I was looking forward to that. That really meant something to me. And I thought, 'Well now we're really going to examine what we're doing'. But of course, we've gone back .. I think that's affected the morale of a lot of people .. that it never really came to anything.

(vi) Summary and conclusion

I began this chapter by identifying seven different areas where teachers were experiencing instability and uncertainty as employees, as managers and as professionals as the relative autonomy of an education system responsible for administering its affairs within the limits of a fixed share of the economic surplus, gave way to an education system reacting, through technical-managerial forms of control, to the instability of market economics in decline.

I then showed how, in spite of the apparent scientific nature of test criteria for evaluating pupils' competence, teachers were still using methods to differentiate pupils into ability sets for the 'basic' subjects of mathematics, English and French, which relied upon negotiated socio-cultural relationships for evaluating pupils.

The continuing dominance of, what appeared to be largely useless test procedures, over curricula, was shown to be related to the teachers' belief that, although pupils had abilities, they had not learned to demonstrate these accurately enough to get the correct responses to test questions. What they needed, therefore, was more practice. There was, however, no evidence that practising the technical procedures required by the tests actually had any effect on pupils' competency in responding accurately to questions.

Underlying these teachers' approaches to testing and the curriculum, were pressures for standards and accountability which could be traced back to HMI, DES and LEA curricular documents and prescriptions. In combination they appeared to have a substantive effect on the schools' (and hence teachers' futures), because teachers believed that parents would prefer to send their children to middle schools which could place a higher proportion of their pupils into top bands at the high schools. In fact, however, the power over the size of any schools' rolls rested with the quota of pupils assigned to it by the local authority. The local authority therefore had the power to favour some schools at the expense of

others, on grounds of a measurable efficiency (unless teachers could enlist sufficient support from parents to make this politically unwise).

In spite of this link between rules and resources, which carried with it the ideology that the most efficient schools and teachers and pupils would be most rewarded (that is, the ideology of equality of opportunity), the rules could not be maintained in the face of the unpredictable and uncontrollable decline in resources. Adjustment to decline in the substantive situation, just as much as the legitimization of the division of surplus product, requires an intersubjective rationale which places the controlling decisions within a discourse of 'fairness'. The ideology of equality of opportunity did not equate with practice during the era of expansion, but it gained credibility as selection became less formalised and opportunities for choice widened into adult education. The declining availability of these opportunities and the early formalisation of selection within the schooling process, revived an earlier doctrine of natural 'ability' under the cloak of criterion referenced testing. The evidence from these schools suggests that such a revival only made sense to the rare individual who retained a generalised notion of ability which was rooted in the discredited concept of general intelligence. The consequence of reviving it serves only to justify that 'natural' hierarchy which legitimates the doctrine that some are born to govern and the rest to follow.

Whilst this rationale may be appropriate for an age which is stable and hence which generates habits, routines and rituals sufficient to encourage the belief that such a 'natural' order exists, it is much more difficult to create and sustain such an illusion in fast changing times. As resources dwindle the rules of distribution become increasingly arbitrary and power more visible.

During the period of expansion, and initially during the post Great Debate shifts in policy, teachers located their adaptive behaviour in their relationships with pupils. Change occurred in many teachers' view, because pupils changed. In the uncertainties of the early 1980s, teachers became increasingly aware of the political nature of change. The debate began to shift from problems of social pathology, to problems of rules and resources, options and organisation. In the next chapter, I will draw together some of the aggregated data from the interviews, in order to illustrate this.

CHAPTER 8

Confirming the Cases

(i) Introduction

In this chapter I explore briefly some of the quantitative data obtained from the interviews. Although the figures can indicate only degraded versions of teachers' perspectives as they expressed them during the interviews, they offer some indications of the changes between the two sets of fieldwork.

In order to provide a comparison, only data from the respondents interviewed on both occasions is used and this covers 49 teachers from across the six schools. As we are dealing with 35% of staff across only six schools, all of whom were in some sense volunteers, these tables do no more than illustrate the general range of opinion and shifts in opinions which occurred amongst this group. Although the same interview schedule was used on both occasions, responses were wide ranging and were designed so that respondents were, only occasionally confined to choosing between pre-existing categories.

One approach to dealing with this data in quantitative terms, was to group responses to some of the more restrictive questions under broad general categories. This indicated the general range of ideas within which a group of respondents defined the situation; that is how they expressed their general frame of reference on the events. In Tables 11 and 12, I have adopted this approach to

categorising teachers' perceptions of change and teachers' perceptions of changing standards.

Such an approach provides some discrete groups of nominal data and offers possibilities for nonparametric tests of significance against teachers' status, qualifications, years of experience and sex.

Another approach was to offer teachers the choice of some pre-coded categories along a continuum of responses. This provided some ordinal data, derived from the subjective choices of individual respondents, regarding their personal 'feelings'. This method provided indications of teachers perceptions of their own power to influence events in schools, and affect local authority and government policy making. Again it also offered the chance to test hypotheses regarding the relationship between the aggregated views and teachers' status, qualifications, years of experience and sex. Tables 15 to 19 derive from this approach. Further statistical discussion is reserved for Appendix II.

Tables 13 and 14 are used to identify organisational features affected by the policy changes. Table 13 uses teachers' descriptions of their roles as 'generalist' or 'specialist' teachers, in order to show trends over the period. Table 14 uses data taken from the timetables of the six schools, in order to provide a measure of the timetabled time given to 'specialist' as opposed to 'generalist' subjects.

The final discussion incorporates some non-attributed comments from teachers, which relate to the way they expressed their relationship to their professional associations, in the context of the changes.

(ii) Teacher perceptions of changes

As I have already indicated in Chapter five, I was surprised to find teachers largely unaware of the political processes at central government level, which were affecting their work with pupils in 1979/80. Table 9 showed about a fifth of the teachers conscious of administrative factors influencing their work and many only saw this in terms of pressures to bring middle school curricula in line with the examinations syllabuses at the high school. About a third of the teachers, on the other hand, argued that they were having to change because pupils were changing and needed either more 'discipline' or more 'pastoral care' (terms which can be synonymous in practice).

By the second set of interviews, this situation had changed. Table 11 sets the data from the second set of fieldwork alongside the first and demonstrates a considerable change in teachers' awareness of the politics of the situation. Nearly two thirds of respondents (61.2%) saw their jobs changing as a consequence of political decisions made outside of their own institutions. Interestingly no-one mentioned the objective of establishing a middle school 'identity', although one teacher outlined a personal strategy for changing the way she worked.

TABLE 11

Teachers' Perceptions of Job Changes'

<u>Broad category of response</u>	<u>Numbers</u>		<u>%</u>	
	<u>1979/80</u>	<u>1980/81</u>	<u>1979/80</u>	<u>1980/81</u>
Generally a bureaucratic or top-down pressure (inc High Schools)	10	30	20.4	61.2
Job was always changing/ need for constant adaptions	6	4	12.2	8.2
Increasing social problems/ pastoral care work/pupil behaviour difficulties	15	7	30.6	14.3
No changes at all	9	5	18.4	10.2
Change directed to establishing a 'middle school identity' through school policies	5	0	10.2	0
Personal strategy for change	0	1	0.0	2.0
*Missing	4	2	8.2	4.1
TOTAL	49	49	100	100

* This question came near the end of the interview and the missing category covers respondents who, for various reasons, had to terminate the interview before fully completing the schedule.

This does not mean that teachers were any the less concerned about pupil discipline. Indeed, as I have indicated in chapter six, a general 'tightening up' of rules and procedures was under way. There was also evidence of less tolerance by teachers towards pupils who broke the 'rules'. As an example, I witnessed one boy being severely reprimanded for not eating his lunchtime sandwiches in the dining hall, when he had been found wandering round the playground instead. An ancillary member of staff had brought him in, because he had no sandwiches to eat and she had expected some remedial action to be taken. In a school where staff prided themselves on their 'caring' approach, neither the child nor the ancillary helper had any opportunity to explain the problem. In the same school, another teacher declared with some bitterness, 'You can't bleed for these kids.'

If we assume that the objective of the policy interventions was to increase 'standards', then we might expect to find teachers across the schools highly conscious of the problem and acting on it in some positively constructive ways. Teachers were therefore asked: In the time that you have been in this school, do you think that standards have (a) improved, (b) worsened, (c) stayed the same?

It is illustrative of the difficulties of interpreting responses to this kind of data that it was impossible to assume that a continuum of responses emerged. Some teachers queried what I meant by 'standards', and attempted distinctions of their own which centred on the differences between standards of work and standards of behaviour. These distinctions are interesting in that they again reflect the difficulties teachers were having in

evaluating their work in any generalisable sense. They had no general, technically definable criteria against which they could offer a generalised comment. Nonetheless, I hypothesised that it was possible that some intuitive notion of 'standards' might emerge. After providing an additional category for teachers who insisted that standards varied from year to year, the other responses were categorised nominally in terms of the general indication they gave regarding their view of changes in standards.

Table 12 places both of the sets of data into a matrix, in order to demonstrate the differences in responses over the period. Whilst there was no overall difference in the two sets of responses; to the extent that the row totals for 1979/80 correspond almost exactly to the column totals for 1980/81, there is a marginal increase in preference for 'stayed the same' and a marginal decrease in preference for the 'worsened' category. However, the actual spread between categories is such that responses seem to be random rather than representative of any real indication of change. More than half the teachers opted for the 'stayed the same' or the 'varies yearly' categories on each occasion; thereby indicating a tendency towards non-committal answers.

A closer look at the matrix indicates little consistency in the replies given by individuals. Only 6.8% claimed that standards had worsened on both occasions. Although correlating the data against training, sex, years of experience, status and qualifications revealed no statistically significant relationships

(see Appendix II), on each occasion, roughly two thirds of respondents who opted for the 'worsened' category, came from teachers with more than 15 years of teaching experience. Possibly such teachers were more inclined to view the past in a more favourable light than the present, but the lack of consistency even here, suggests that they had no clearer grasp of the meaning of 'standards' than anyone else.

It is nonetheless worth noting that teachers who took the view either that standards stayed the same or that they varied from year to year, were applying a normative concept of 'ability'. The former assumed a 'natural' spread of ability, which left most pupils 'average'. The latter adopted the view that the standards of each year depended on small variations in the pupils at the 'top' and 'bottom' of the ability range in a way which similarly left most pupils 'average'. This is unsurprising coming from teachers who had been required for about ten years to grade pupils as though they fitted into the normal curve of distribution (Ginsburg et al 1977). It also indicates why much of HMI talk about individual differences between pupils was making little sense to teachers. The use of the standardised Richmond Tests of Basic Skills as criteria of ability, were similarly unhelpful in indicating a wide range of difference. We can only conclude from this that the consensus view on standards matched teachers' understanding of the normal curve of distribution. The notion that this could be improved or worsened therefore made no sense at all. This may account for the random nature of the responses across the categories, and the strong preference for the two

TABLE 12

Teacher perception of changing "standards"

		1980/81				% Row total
		Stayed the same	Improved	Worsened	Varies yearly	
1979/ 1980	Stayed the same	11.4	9.1	6.8	2.3	29.5
	Improved	9.1	11.4	2.3	4.5	27.3
	Worsened	9.1	0.0	6.8	4.5	20.5
	Varies yearly	2.3	6.8	2.3	11.4	22.7
	Column Total %	31.8	27.3	18.2	22.7	100.0

Missing observations 5

categories which do permit a normative understanding of the concept.

Omitted from the chart, however, is the respondent who argued that it was standards of resourcing that were falling. If we consider the DES preference for a shift towards selection by ability and also for specialist subject teaching, we might expect to find some changes in this direction over the two years. The evidence suggests that in the context of declining resources, the reverse was the case.

(iii) Changing resources for change

I have already shown in chapter seven, how the cutbacks were pushing teachers towards more mixed ability teaching rather than less. The next two tables indicate that they were also pushing subject teachers into more generalist teaching roles.

Table 13 provides data from respondents who were asked at the beginning of each interview to define for themselves their major teaching area: that is the kind of teaching to which they gave most of their time.

As can be seen from the table, the major change was in the number of teachers who switched from describing themselves as specialists in 1979/80 to describing themselves as generalist teachers by 1980/81. The reason for this could be found in the cuts in staff and the falling rolls. The most extreme example was found at Yarrowfield. This school had lost its music specialist, its home

Table 13

Major teaching areas of respondents, as affected by changes

Subject Area	<u>1979/80</u>		<u>1980/81</u>	
	N	%	N	%
English	4	8.2	3	6.1
Maths/science	11	22.4	12	24.5
French	4	8.2	2	4.1
Practical subjects	8	16.3	5	10.2
Humanities	4	8.2	2	4.1
Physical education	2	4.1	1	2.0
Remedial work	3	6.1	4	8.2
General subjects	13	26.5	20	40.8
<u>TOTAL</u>	49	100.00	49	100.00

economics specialist and was anticipating the loss of its French specialist, all in the course of less than 12 months. A local authority adviser had lent the head some books so that a volunteer on the staff could take over some of the specialist work in home economics. Class teachers were taking their own classes for music lessons utilising the BBC broadcasts. The overall decline in the staff-pupil ratio had created problems for specialist work in art and craft and this could be mitigated by timetabling larger classes for 'object' drawing in normal classrooms so that smaller groups could have occasional use of the practical rooms. Yet, alongside this, in several schools, teaching designated on timetables was increasingly fragmented into techniques specified as 'spelling', 'comprehension', 'mental arithmetic' and so on.

As the generalist work on these techniques tended to involve subjects which had formerly either been divided under English, history and geography - or merged into some form of multi-disciplinary studies, I have collected together the subjects designated under any of these headings to provide an indication of the proportion of such generalist work being undertaken in each school.

Table 14

Proportion of time given to generalist teaching: English, humanities or general class work, according to timetables

School	<u>1979/1980</u>	<u>1980/1981</u>
	%	%
Hollywell	35.7	37.7
Yarrowfield	42.5	45.0
Thistlebank	27.5	27.5
Buttersley	42.5	37.5
Clackington	40.0	35.0
Fleetwood	32.5	37.5

This generalist picture excludes other subjects such as music and art, which were often also being taken in some form or at some stage by class teachers. The drift away from specialist teaching at Buttersley, had been halted by increasing the time available for practical work in the fourth year, at the expense of first and second years, who were already timetabled for a considerable amount of time with the class teacher. Only at Clackington had there been sufficient movement of staff for the head to increase the number of science teachers, and thus timetable more science for pupils generally. As the largest of the schools, and the one

with the most stable environment as far as staffing was concerned, Thistlebank had yet to feel the effect of falling rolls, and was maintaining a broad subject-based timetable. Fleetwood, the school with rising rolls, was recruiting additional staff for the following September, but having lost a member of staff at Christmas because of the LEA's stringent application of the pupil - teacher ratio, had also increased the amount of generalist teaching.

It would be surprising, if teachers experiencing such economic stringency were to remain unaware of the LEA's interventions. Nevertheless, it is common for schools to be perceived as areas of relative autonomy, insulated, at least partially from direct control. With the growing tension between the expectations laid upon schools and teachers both by the technical-managerial constraints of prescribed objectives and the uncertainties of the 'market' economic environment, it appeared that teacher autonomy in any sense was a vanishing dream. I have argued already that, in practice, teachers mediate contradictions between the political order which legitimates the differential distribution of resources, and the socio-cultural necessity of maintaining cooperation within an intersubjective environment. Teacher autonomy, in this sense, derives from the social economic base provided by 'surplus' resources which are not tied to the property order. This permits negotiated trading in extra-curricular activities, visits, clubs, perhaps physical education and so on, where fraternization is appropriate. As teacher activities were increasingly tied to technical-managerial objectives in relation

to declining resources, the scope for such activities in the social economy declined. With the pace of change placing limits on the development of taken-for-granted routines, as well as undermining existing routines, teachers increasingly fell back on strategies of domination in order to cope. Teachers might be expected to view themselves as increasingly powerless in such a situation. I therefore set out to test this hypothesis against the subjective views of the respondents.

(iv) Changing perceptions of power

In order to test the extent to which teachers were changing their perception of their power in relation to policy making, I handed them a card containing the three different words: 'School', 'County' and 'Central Government'. Below this I had listed five categories of power, from 'considerable power' to 'No power at all', as listed in tables 15 to 19. These were designated (a) to (e) and respondents were asked:

On this card I have specified three different levels at which educational policies are made: school, county and central government. Will you now decide which of the categories (a) to (e) below, best expresses the extent to which you feel that teachers in general can influence policy at each of these levels?

Table 15 presents an overall picture of the results of this survey, with teachers confirming the view that, they had considerably more power to affect what happened in their particular schools than at either county or government level.

TABLE 15

Teachers' perception of the power of "teachers in general" to influence policy

	IN SCHOOL		AT COUNTY LEVEL		AT CENTRAL GOVERNMENT LEVEL	
<u>% Response</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>1980</u>	<u>1981</u>
1. Considerable power	38.1	32.7	0	2.0	0	2.0
2. Some power	42.9	38.8	20.4	20.4	4.1	8.2
3. There's a balance between different interests	12.2	10.2	14.3	8.2	2.0	4.1
4. Very little power	2.0	6.1	40.8	38.9	55.1	36.7
5. No power at all	2.0	0	16.3	14.3	28.6	32.7
* Missing observations	2.0	12.2	8.2	16.3	10.2	16.3

* Three respondents (6.1%) avoided replying directly to all but the first part of this question. The rest of the missing responses are accounted for by a failure to complete the schedule in the time available.

There is a noticeable slide down the scale even within the schools over the period of the field research, although there is also a shift in the opposing direction at county and government level. In order to consider the possibility that teachers with high status would feel they had more power than young class teachers; that teachers with most experience would welcome the more conservative policies, more than recently trained teachers; that women would feel less powerful in every context than men; and that the more highly qualified teachers would have a greater understanding of events and hence feel they had more control over them; an analysis of variance was carried out against the variables of sex, qualifications, years of experience in teaching and status position in the schools.

As the highest category of power was given the numerical score of 1, and the lowest was given the score of 5, in each case, the lower the mean score, the higher was the sense in which teachers rated their power to influence policy. A mean score of 3, reflects the belief that there was 'a balance of power between different interests'.

We can note that teachers in the group did express the belief that they could influence policy within their own institutions, to a considerable extent, almost regardless of their sex, status, qualifications or experience. There is some sign that teachers with five to fifteen years experience were inclined to believe themselves to have less control over policy than either the recent recruits or the older hands. Yet it is the recent recruits who

appear most alienated from policy making in the school by the following year.

This factor shows up in the scores of advisory teachers and class teachers in Table 19. Taken alongside the observational and the interview data, it is possible to say that there was a decline in the democratic ethos of the institutions over the period, if only because the heads were implementing policies over which they had no choice. The trick of floating ideas into the staffroom through a deputy head or coordinator worked in some cases, as the talk over returning to mixed ability teaching demonstrated. Another route used, was that described in Chapter five, to introduce the Richmond tests, where a member of the remedial staff, with some expertise on testing, recommended their experimental use. As one teacher declared, it would have been 'churlish' to refuse. When it came to redeployments and resetting and passing on county directives, the decisions were too immediate for such methods to work.

Hence, most of the scores which indicate how teachers expressed their feelings about power at county level fell at or below the mean. The most obvious exception was the school administrators in the 1979/80 interviews. However, by the following year, they too had sensed their loss of control over events and were ranking their influence as less effective. There were also some teachers who believed that heads could influence county decisions, even if they could not, and this accounts for some greater sense of power amongst the least experienced and least well qualified staff. The

general idea was that teachers were represented somewhere 'up there'. This view was observably encouraged by heads who took a 'leave it with me', approach to problem solving. Sometimes they could get results (such as repair work). However, as the directives came in from the county, the heads became people who implemented unpopular (or 'unworkable' regulations) rather than the people who could relieve teachers of their problems.

Even so, interpreting the data is difficult and requires some speculation based on the fieldwork. Some teachers, for example, defended the county and claimed it was 'doing its best' in the face of government cuts. Others cited the reprieve of staffing cuts in January, 1981, as evidence that teachers could influence policy. There is also a sign that teachers with more than fifteen years experience actually welcomed the return to a more 'disciplined' approach, and found echoes of their own sentiments in the rhetoric of 'standards'. These were more likely to feel they had more power to influence events as policy making reemphasised Victorian Values. It was also these teachers who were beginning to benefit from the early retirement schemes.

TABLE 16

Sex differences in perception of power to influence policies

	<u>School</u>		<u>County</u>		<u>Government</u>		N
	1979/80	1980/81	1979/80	1980/81	1979/80	1980/81	
Women	1.7	2.1	3.2	3.4	4.4	4.2	19
Men	1.8	1.7	3.9	3.5	4.5	4.0	22

TABLE 17

Teachers' qualifications and their relationship to perception of power to influence policy

	<u>School</u>		<u>County</u>		<u>Central Government</u>		N
	1979/80	1980/81	1979/80	1980/81	1979/80	1980/81	
				**		*	
Certif- icate	1.7	1.9	3.4	3.0	4.4	3.8	25
Degree (and above)	1.8	1.9	3.8	4.1	4.6	4.5	16

* Differences significant at better than the 5% level

** Differences significant at better than the 1% level

TABLE 18

Teachers' years of experience, related to their perception of teacher power to influence policy

<u>Years of experience</u>	<u>School</u>		<u>County</u>		<u>Central Government</u>		N
	79/80 *	80/81	79/80	80/81 *	79/80	80/81	
Under 5	1.7	2.2	3.5	3.1	4.2	3.9	10
5 to 15	2.0	2.0	3.8	4.0	4.5	4.5	17
Over 15	1.4	1.6	3.4	3.0	4.7	3.6	14

* Difference significant at better than the 5% level

TABLE 19

Status positions and differences in teachers' perception of their power to influence events

	<u>School</u>		<u>County</u>		<u>Government</u>		N
	79/80	80/81	79/80	80/81	79/80	80/81	
Admin	1.3	1.6	2.9	3.0	4.4	3.6	8
Co-ords	1.8	1.8	3.8	3.7	4.7	4.2	11
Advisers	1.8	2.1	3.6	3.3	4.4	4.1	14
Cl teach	1.8	2.0	4.0	3.8	4.4	4.1	8

On the other hand, the most highly qualified, most disillusioned and most sceptical group, was the group with five to fifteen years experience. Trained at a time when the ideology of the Plowden Report was dominant, they found their ideas delegitimated, their promotion prospects blocked and their jobs threatened. Many of them had invested heavily in negotiative strategies to retain pupils' commitment to schooling. They had evolved courses, organised school visits and holidays, run extra-curricular activities, and, as one put it 'juggled' all the balls in the air. Regardless of status, they were most likely to feel alienated and threatened by events.

Asked specifically if they felt that teachers had some power through their unions, they responded with many comments which reflected this sense of impotence. I offer a few here which suggest the range of comments provided. The attributions merely indicate the status of the respondent so that confidentiality is assured.

Coordinator (from notes)

It's difficult to see what the unions are going to do really. I feel caught in a trap. If the public sector is repeatedly cut .. it puts more and more pressure on us. As far as money is concerned we're more and more in the hands of Central Government.

Administrator

If unions just tackled things the right way .. they would have considerable power ..

Administrator

Teachers just don't make use of the power they've got. They don't want to give the time .. find the time for the areas where they can affect decisions. They have the means .. They just don't make use of them ..

Administrator (from notes)

The teachers' Council was a union council .. No-one else could have a say. I can get some things done .. More can be done with the County by knowing someone ...

Adviser (from notes)

I think of myself as happy in my job. I'm not looking outside much .. I plan to leave eventually and have a family and I'm not asking the wider questions. They don't affect me and I'm content to leave the power to others. The power here is expressed through the Head .. He represents the school.

Adviser

... I mean the number of times that negotiations with teachers have got nowhere .. not because the government have said something but because the two union people have fallen out .. 'I'm not sitting at the table with him while he says so and so ..' Um I mean that .. If I was outside teaching I'd laugh at that .. I'd think it's diabolical ...

An Adviser

Now when it comes to pay, you'll see a full meeting when it comes to pay .. but you go to a union meeting usually and um it's very poor .. Terrible apathy usually I'm afraid .. to be quite honest about it. And unless you've got a really militant sort of back up .. nobody'll take any notice of you at all.

Class Teacher

Well personally I don't think a lot of unions .. er .. the NUT or the NAS .. It doesn't matter which one you're in .. I don't think much of the way er .. the way they seem to be going about things at all. As to how we can improve things .. I'm not sure .. but er to me both unions seem to be pretty ineffective ...

(Subsequent questions confirmed that the ineffectiveness was more of a problem than the policies of the unions).

Lack of 'muscle' unwillingness to do anything which might harm pupils, and above all a sense that the unions were divided and engaged in petty squabbles, merged with a sense of 'if only'. Teachers who disliked what was happening to them, tended to

perceive themselves as 'battling against people who don't really understand education ...' who 'don't understand schools', who 'don't care ...' If only 'the unions got together' 'the authority understood teachers' problems ...' 'If only they asked us ..' These were some of the sentiments expressed.

Set beside the quantitative data, these sentiments offer a picture of middle schools teachers, confused, lacking any sense of direction and fraught by irreconcilable dilemmas. It is a picture of developing contradictions which offered little hope or promise for the future, and little scope for negotiation.

(v) Summary and conclusions

Quantitative data can never do more than provide an indication of the situation it sets out to describe. Aggregated responses inevitably degrade the meanings that respondents give to events into no more than a symbol of their intent. Furthermore, it is necessary to concede that respondents may have reasons for providing only partial or even false indications of their views. Much depends upon the rapport between interviewee and interviewer and this is difficult to judge, even when interviews appear to be open and frank.

Bearing this in mind, all of the tables which indicate respondents' views must be considered in the broader context of the whole project, and of the transcriptions of interview data. My own impression was that, in general respondents were anxious to make their views known and wanted them broadcast, if only because they

felt that their voices were not being considered by the policy makers. In this sense, teachers believed that it was in their own interests to be heard and understood by people outside of their institutions.

If this is the case, we can conclude that the tables confirm that teachers, who once believed they had considerable autonomy within their schools, were increasingly aware of political and economic controls over the schooling process. They found these difficult to comprehend and increasingly hard to 'balance'. The technical-managerial demands of the policy makers did not help them to negotiate strategies which 'worked' with pupils because resources and rules no longer left space for that social economy built of surplus resources (money, time, staffing) which had left some space for negotiative strategies and allowed paternal or sometimes fraternal patterns of relationships to exist.

What the tables also show, however, is that the decline in resources was such, that teachers were being forced into the increasingly stressful situation of identifying pupil 'abilities', according to formal structures of text-based criteria, whilst working intersubjectively as generalist teachers for long periods with their own classes. If they followed the policy directions which encouraged them to distribute resources in favour of the technically most able, they would easily undermine both their own and their pupils' belief that they were good all working collectively for the common good.

Thus the contradictions between social production and private appropriation were increasingly difficult to resolve, even in the individual classroom. In the concluding chapter, I shall draw together the contradictory strands as they weave into theoretical and interactive accounts of change.

CHAPTER NINE

Summary and Conclusions

(i) The problems in theory

I began this thesis by arguing that the problems of linking macro and micro sociologies stemmed from the same source as problems of reconciling individual choice with structurally determined cycles of development in societies. Both sets of ideas rest on the classical basis of Enlightenment philosophy and work by analogy with the natural cycle of birth, development, death and transformation. This philosophy has been reified into an ideological description of western industrialised processes in ways which obscure the intersubjective relationships of power and interests. It manifests itself in metaphysical debates about conflict between freedom and necessity, mind and matter, subject and object, macro and micro sociology.

In order to escape the dichotomies, I claimed that it is necessary to focus on concrete relations and elucidate how the intersubjective relationships work in practice.

Drawing on Giddens (1979), I located a contradiction in the intersubjective relationships defined by the processes of industrial capitalism, between the socially cooperative relationships necessary for production of wealth and the legal-property order which legitimates the private appropriation of wealth and income. Giddens argued that this creates a secondary

contradiction between the investment-production-profit-investment cycles of transnational entrepreneurial behaviour, and the ordering of the nation state.

In order to develop this view, I reviewed critically a range of literature in which the activities of the state and of nation-state forms were considered (Apple, 1982a,b; Brucan, 1980; Corrigan, 1980; Giddens, 1979, 1980; Habermas, 1976, 1982; Urry, 1981).

In brief, I argued from this, that the institutions of the nation state react to the transnational movements of capital with a process of restructuring. This process follows economic shifts as a response which sustains the legal-property order of appropriation and ensures continuation of the transnational, investment cycles. Nonetheless, although the wealth which is socially produced is privately appropriated, unequally according to a socially ordered, property-based hierarchy of power and interests, the legitimation of the inequalities requires substantive concessions to the general welfare in order to support the rhetoric that the system operates in the 'general interest'. In this respect, problems of legitimation in terms of values and beliefs are ameliorated by the shift of human interests into individual consumer values, some of which are vested in the state administrative policies orientated towards social welfare.

In this sense, schooling as an aspect of social welfare policy, not only operates within rule-bound/resource limits which work to

maintain the hierarchies of opportunity and inequality, but also exists legitimately as part of a welfare state which offers education for consumption according to client choice.

This leaves the state administrative agencies of schooling to mediate contradictions between conflicting ideologies of individual choice, equality of opportunity and the 'general interest'.

In relating the consequent contradictions in schooling to the way in which economic, political and ideological changes reverberate into schools, I recorded some of the contingencies which combined to create the conditions in which middle schools emerged as means of solving some of the problems identified in the 1960s. These policy developments accompanied a belief in a technological future which presaged economic growth and a future of developing opportunities for individuals. Development of individual pupil potential, through a child-centred individualisation of work, appeared in the Plowden Report (1967), to offer a way of unifying individual motivation to consume through choice, with a general interest portrayed as one of opportunity (Kogan, 1971, p. 65).

The consequence, following the oil crisis of 1973, was defined by Taylor (1980) in terms of a crisis of expectations. The process of redefining and restructuring the system to avert the crisis, began officially with the Great Debate launched by James Callaghan in October, 1976. Its intention was defined as making education relevant 'to the needs of industry and commerce' (DES Green Paper,

1977, 7.1). The means whereby such relevance might be assured was seen both in the Callaghan speech and the 1977 DES Green Paper in terms of curricula, pupil 'standards' and teacher 'accountability'.

In considering patterns of change in institutionalised schooling practices since the mid 1970s, I have argued that it is important therefore to take into account the form that policy developments on curricula, standards and accountability have taken, in the context of declining resources.

I have focussed this thesis therefore on the way in which the technical-managerial structure of control which developed as a means of implementing changing policy, defined teachers objectives in terms of efficiently processing pupils through sequenced programmes of learning. The intention appeared to be that of matching the pupil's level of learning ability to progress, through the programme, in order to construct a meritocratic order of ability around national norms of achievement. The fieldwork demonstrated that this policy made little sense to teachers in the substantive conditions of their schools and in the intersubjective relationships of the classroom but produced further contradictions. Teachers were left to mediate the contradictions and rationalise the outcomes post hoc as they attempted to meet the demands for a technically justifiable system of ability ranking in an intersubjective context of growing uncertainty. I sum up this case below.

(ii) Contradictions in the opportunities

Any traditional beliefs in an ascribed 'natural' ordering of society, which survived into the latter nineteenth century and underpinned beliefs about a position of an elite class, have been steadily attacked by the changes accompanying twentieth century industrial capitalism, in spite of attempts to restore their credibility.

Attempts to legitimate the growing bureaucracies of control, by examination-based, meritocratic criteria in Victorian times, for example, were glossed with 'natural' characteristics by the developments in the twentieth century in intelligence testing which presupposed innate, generic, mental abilities. Yet this relatively flexible, if still contradictory, conception of grounds for a meritocratic order, proved insufficiently flexible to legitimate an order which could meet the perceived demands of the latter half of the twentieth century for technological 'growth'. The Plowden Report of 1967, for example, conceded that environmental influences affected pupils' progress and officially sanctioned progress towards a more egalitarian view of pupil potential. Comprehensive schooling promised a more egalitarian system of schooling provision, with meritocratic selection delayed into post school, and with university education available to all who qualified (Robbins, 1963). Middle Schools therefore came into being framed by a discourse which encouraged delayed selection, broad curricular experience and the full development of individual potential (DES, 1970a,b).

In this respect, the ideology appeared to encourage cooperation amongst teachers, and between teachers and pupils (Nias, 1980). The resources for more egalitarian provision, did not, however, materialise. Neither did the ordering of society become any less unequal. Rather the situation was fraught with ambiguity (Blyth and Derricot, 1977). Obscuring the hierarchical outcomes left teachers and pupils pursuing 'busyness' for its own sake, without any clear objectives as to what schooling was for, even though evidence showed that teachers 'labelled' or 'sponsored' the more middle class pupils, informally, in hidden processes, towards the most strategically useful work or options for success in the labour market (Ball, 1981; Berlak and Berlak, 1976; Nash, 1973; Sharp and Green, 1975; for example).

The 'cultural crisis' identified by Bantock (1973) was itself symptomatic of the fragmentation of the old order in the 'opportunity state' (Kogan, 1971). With the economic crisis of 1973 and the realisation that the nation-state could not meet the demands created by a consumer-orientated system of schooling, without radically affecting the structure of the legal-property order, something had to be done to restore some legitimate inequalities to the schooling process. The Great Debate was about restoring standards of differentiation, and accountability for them. It's subsequent translation into policy reverberated into schools fraught with contradictions.

Given this interpretation of the background to events, I argued in chapter four that any data collected from schools had no intrinsic

validity, but depended for its validity upon the context in which interpretation of collected data could be validly established. On this basis, I employed a range of methods for data collection which were intended to show how far developments in six middle schools of a single local authority, fitted into a context of changing policy and pressures playing upon teachers. Interviews with more than sixty teachers, undertaken twice with a consistent group of forty-nine of them, over a two year period, were intended as a means of highlighting teachers' changing definitions of the situation in the context of those pressures. Two sets of participant-observation in the schools, with a central concern for changing patterns of organisation and control, were intended to provide evidence of the manifestation of those pressures in institutional arrangements. Evidence of policy interventions provided a context in which this could be interpreted.

In the first part of the fieldwork in schools, presented in chapter five, I showed evidence of a shift away from mixed-ability work and towards early formal differentiation of pupils into setted groups. Teachers were using a range of test procedures to measure pupil progress and all but one school had adopted the Richmond Tests of Basic Skills, for use throughout the school, on encouragement from the county authority. There was, nonetheless, evidence of considerable reluctance by teachers to rank pupils in order of general ability on transfer to high school, and some objection to high school pressures to do so. Few teachers appreciated the connection between what they were doing in their schools and the policy measures being pursued at DES and LEA

levels. Most teachers rationalised what was happening in their schools post hoc as attempts to make their efforts with pupils 'work' better than they had previously.

In chapter six, I presented a range of evidence from documents which recorded the development of policies from DES, LEA and HMI documents. Although much of the evidence of DES policy on curricula, standards and accountability appeared as debates in different arenas, HMI attempts to establish subject-based sequences of programmed learning which would provide grade-related criteria of pupil ability, and national norms of achievement, are associated with the APU/NFER link-up.

The link between these measures and the 'rationing' of curricular experiences was apparent in LEA discussions for staffing a curriculum in the high schools which would limit most of the options available to pupils in the top or middle bands of ability.

In the event, however, although the technical-managerial model had a logic of its own, it matched neither the substantive conditions at local authority level, nor the substantive conditions in the schools. As resources declined at local authority level, cuts were made into staffing levels which negated the plans for staffing even a minimum curriculum. As the uncertain environment of market forces reverberated into schools, through local authority and government measures, heads and teachers were left unable to anticipate future events and hence forced to react to sudden and unpredictable changes. At every level decisions were

delayed until the last possible moment in order to take account of changing circumstances as fully as possible.

Back in the schools, the second part of the field research showed teachers caught between the demands for technically measurable certainties with regard to pupil abilities and the context of uncertainty as levels of staffing, capitation and pupils, changed. In this context teachers had less and less to bargain with in their intersubjective relationships with pupils and had to ensure that pupils would respond to changes of teachers, curricula and forms of organisation, as necessary. Teachers' coping strategies became more arbitrary and dominative. No-one could anticipate that any particular effort would have particular material outcomes yet outcomes were believed by teachers to be tied to the technical results of testing. Confused by the evidence that technical results on tests did not match their intersubjective judgements of pupils' ability, teachers resorted to rationalising post hoc why this should be the case. The problem was identified as a matter of teaching pupils to narrow down their thinking in order to focus on what the tests required of them. Teachers taught with the objectives of getting pupils to be more accurate in their responses, to give the correct answers, as defined by technically measurable criteria, to rote learn what was required.

Yet if we take into account the objectives of the policy makers in terms of getting teachers to devise sequential programmes of learning for pupils, it seems that the policy intention was for

teachers to maintain pupils' pace through a logical course of subject-based learning which would itself differentiate between individuals on the basis of their rate of progress. This shift away from teaching, towards the management of pre-defined curricular resources, corresponds with Apple's (1982b) analysis of changes which deskilled teachers in the American system, and reskilled them as managers of teaching programmes. Yet the closest teachers came to this process in the fieldstudy, was in the way they were pushing pupils through series of graded comprehension tests or through routine practices at answering questions on duplicated worksheets in mathematics and science. The resources for a resource-based pattern of working were otherwise hardly available.

Rather, in their struggle to respond to pressures for 'accountability' on the basis of measurable test results by pupils, teachers were teaching to the test. They were not, however, reconciled to this process. They found it increasingly difficult to justify what they were doing with pupils, other than on the grounds that they were responding to the 'formal', examination-orientated system which pupils needed to be able to cope with if they were to have any chance at all in an increasingly competitive environment, where opportunity was rationed to those who coped best. Pupil 'needs' had to match the system. Teachers had been charged with the task of legitimating the process.

Even so, the uncertainties of the economic environment and the unsettling effect that changes were having on pupils, as well as cutbacks in staffing and curricula, were driving teachers back to generalist, class-based teaching of mixed ability groups. They felt that no-one was listening to them and that no-one understood the problems they faced; even as they struggled to make sense of it all. The cultural crisis had worsened. Busyness now had its testable objectives but those objectives had not been intersubjectively negotiated in ways which made sense to either pupils or teachers. They were technically imposed objectives related to the competitive means whereby an unequal ordering of society could be legitimated. They were not even objectives which bore much relation to the process of defining which pupils actually received which kinds of opportunities. This process depended still on the hierarchical ranking which was decided intersubjectively between teachers who could make little sense of the rhetoric on standards.

This is not to argue that the technical process would have provided a better means of determining pupils' general level of ability, as, in spite of the proliferation of criterion-referenced tests, such technical measures do not exist. People are not readily ranked hierarchically in order of some generalised mental ability judged by arbitrarily-defined grade-related criteria. The attempt to do this simply represents the latest development in attempts to justify an unequal society where rewards are differentially distributed amongst those who work together to achieve them. The process reverberates into schools as a process

of legitimating the rationing of educational experiences according to an ideology which associates the concept of general ability with measurable techniques. Its effect is to destroy the cooperative processes of intersubjective negotiation, which are crucial for the renewal of the communicative structures of cultural understanding.

In defining pupil success in terms of pupil progress through a subject-based curriculum of techniques to be learnt by practice, proponents of the method attempt to reproduce in the next generation the answers to questions which relate to the past. The quest for grade-related criteria is a quest for certainty of order in a world of uncertainty and flux. With a rationality dependent upon the belief that pupils' minds can be objectively programmed and measured, such curricular developments are a symptom of cultural crisis, not a means of resolving it.

(iii) Some general conclusions

The central contention of this thesis is that there are structural contradictions between the cooperative, social relationships which are necessary in the production of wealth in the 'general interest' and the ordered structuring of relations of domination and subjection, which in turn, ensure that the products are differentially distributed according to a legal-property system which perpetuates the privileges of the dominant groups. A secondary contradiction exists, in consequence, between the restless, entrepreneurial, transnational search for profit, and the institutions of the nation-state which require an ideology of

order which can be accepted as unequal but also 'natural' and legitimate. Far from working in concert, each party to this secondary contradiction provides both the essential conditions, and the effective limitations of the other. Transnational activities in the economic arena, therefore, require a restructuring of institutions of the nation-state and a disruption of 'order' while these processes in turn provide the limiting conditions under which subsequent transnational activities can operate.

The post war period of relative economic stability allowed schools, as institutions, to operate within the constraints of these contradictions, protected by institutional boundaries from the vagaries of what was a relatively stable market environment. Policy was implemented in a rough consensus of partnership between government, local authorities and schools, and the processes within institutions were considered less important than the relationship at the boundaries.

Policy administration was left largely to those 'professionals' who mediated the tensions between contradictory demands, in terms of a 'balance' of interests.

This kind of picture is represented by the model presented at the end of chapter three. Periodic bouts of restructuring affected financial inputs and school organisation at each level, including arrangements made for teachers' salary structures and the formal differentiation of pupils by age and ability, but under this broad

consensus within the organisations, the ideologies shifted towards partnership and consensus through negotiated strategies. There was more mixed-ability teaching, some integration of subject matter in problem-centred curricula and provision for broader options in order to retain pupil cooperation across as broad a range as possible. Following the 1973 oil crisis and the Great Debate, these trends went sharply into reverse. Strong attacks were made on teachers who were developing progressive approaches; moves were made in some authorities to restore selective schools, and within schools, formal differentiation and test-based learning regained credibility. The evidence from the field research supports the contention that teachers were made responsible for achieving the objective of processing the legitimate differentiation of pupils, in a system which was rationing ever more restrictively the educational experiences on offer to pupils, in a situation of economic crisis.

In terms of the model posited, we might now expect a period of stability to follow such a restructuring process. However the contradictions are now acute. The newly demanded certainties of a technically-rational ordering of pupil abilities are strongly at variance with the uncertainties of changes which follow the instability of the anarchic forces in the transnational economy.

Economic shifts have now become so rapid that periods of stability no longer occur. Without stability, conditions under which a rule/resource order can gain any semblance of natural legitimacy have ceased to exist. It is not only pupils but also teachers and

administrators who are experiencing conditions which have unsettling effects. The tensions can no longer be mediated under any semblance of 'balance' or 'partnership'.

Even so, the contradictions in the substantive situation, both within schools and within and between the consequences of the economic measures taken at local and central government levels, leave teachers to cope with the tensions between the technical-managerial system which requires objectives to be achieved in measurable terms, and the qualitative negotiation required for teaching pupils some kind of understanding of events. Just as informal processes of differentiation continued during a period when formal selection was delayed and the processes of differentiation obscured, so some teachers struggled to retain negotiative relationships through informal processes in projects, visits and clubs, in a situation marked by heightened formality. However, the problem of legitimacy had been stood on its head. It is now teachers who are called upon to be accountable for achieving the objectives set for them in the state administrative machinery, regardless of the uncertainties of the economic environment. Those uncertainties have become part of the challenge teachers have to deal with directly in achieving the unquestionable objectives set for them.

Given this shift in ideology as well as in the structure of managerial control, the problems of dealing with the uncertainties of economic decline, and reacting to them, have become central to the management of schooling itself. A curricular policy which

does not take this into account in explicit form, cannot therefore provide a coherent plan for dealing with schooling issues. Heads and teachers are drawn contradictorily into the managerial perspective of considering viable options available to them, as well as into the position of labour set to achieve technical objectives which often cannot be attained successfully, in the circumstances.

This situation calls for far greater emphasis in research projects on whole school policies in relation to the efficient and cooperative use of available resources. The setting of technical objectives by managerial interests in central and local government, which ignore both the resource issues and qualitative criteria, currently prevent this. In the recent HMI report on middle schools (DES 1983, p. 139), for example, the Inspectorate noted the major effect of resourcing on the schools they visited, but had no authority to affect this area. Yet even on HMI's 'rule of thumb' estimates of 'standards', resourcing was a highly significant issue.

In effect, the setting of technical objectives, measurable by test criteria, merely encourages teachers to teach to the tests. As the results provide a crude form of legitimacy for the rationing of educational resources, they serve to maintain an elitist system of differentiation which provides for the successful at the expense of the failures. However, the system is impersonal and does nothing to encourage cooperative learning processes, flexible and creative thinking, mutual trust or even faith in a worthy

elite. Yet if new productive relationships are to emerge out of a de-industrialised economy, all of these are crucial. It may be that in settling for the competitive relationship as the basis for survival in an uncertain economic environment, the political directions now being followed are undermining the cooperative relationships out of which a new economic order could emerge. The contradictions remain unresolved; the tensions reverberate into schools, and the future has yet to be worked out. In current practice, the competition to achieve technical results on the basis of subject knowledge drawn from a past cultural age, represents a defence of an old order, not a vision of the future. That requires a new consensus. The cultural crisis remains in an era characterised by structural contradictions.

APPENDIX I

SECTION 1

Personal details

		<u>Column number</u>	<u>Code</u>
	Name of respondent		
1)	Identity number on tape	1 and 2	
2)	Name of school	3	
3)	Sex of respondent (tick) Male _____		
	Female _____	4	
	Missing _____		
4)	Age bracket (approx) (tick) Under 35 _____		
	35 - 55 _____	5	
	Over 55 _____		
	Missing _____		
5)	Years spent in this school (approx)		
	Under 5 _____		
	5 - 9 _____	6	
	(pre-transition) 10 or more _____		
	Missing _____		
6)	Position in school (tick) Head _____		
	Dep. Sen. T. _____		
	(Note year _____) Co-ordinator _____	7 and 8	
	(Note subject _____) Advisor _____		
	Cl. teacher _____		
	Missing _____		
7)	Years of school teaching experience (approx) (tick)		
	Under 5 _____		
	5 - 15 _____	9	
	15 - 30 _____		
	Over 30 _____		
	Missing _____		

SECTION 1/continued

Column
number

Code

- 8) Any other full-time experience out of
teaching lasting for a year or more (tick)

Industry or commerce _____

Armed forces _____

Child rearing _____

Other (specify) _____

None _____

Missing _____

10 and 11

- 9) Previous teaching experience (include practice)

Infant (5 - 7)

Junior (7 - 11)

First (5 - 9)

Middle (9 - 13)

High (13 - 18)

Secondary (11 - 16)

Sixth form/FE (16 - 18)

Nursery (3 - 5)

Other

None

Missing

12 and 13

- 10) Number of non-teaching periods per week (approx)
(tick)

5 or under _____

6 - 19 _____

20 - 30 _____

over 30 _____

missing _____

14

- 11) Qualifications
(tick)

Teacher trained _____

B Ed _____

Other degree _____

Other _____

Missing _____

15

- 12) In service training (or relevant course: eg O U)
(tick)

In last 12 months

1 - 4 years ago

5 or more years ago

Never

Missing

16

SECTION II

Column
number

Code

Organisation and Method

START TAPE: IDENTIFY INTERVIEWEE BY NUMBER

Introduction

Turning now to the context of the school

- 13) Has the size of your teaching groups changed over the time that you have been here?
(tick)

larger _____

smaller _____

no change _____

No set pattern _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

Probe for reasons (tick if relevant)
(a combination is possible)

Pupil-teacher ratio _____

Personal choice _____

Staff decision _____

Head's policy _____

Resource constraints _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

Year of change(if possible)

- 14) Have you had any change in the amount of ancillary help available to you?

Loss _____

Gain _____

Same _____

Never applicable _____

Missing _____

Year of change(if possible)

- 15) Have your groups changed with respect to streaming, setting or mixed ability policies?

<u>Year of</u> <u>change</u>	<u>Groups</u> <u>(yr/subj)</u>	<u>Type of change</u>
		streaming to mixed ability _____
		streaming to sets _____
		sets to mixed ability _____
		mixed ability to sets _____
		mixed ability to stream _____
		sets to streams _____
		no changes _____
		Other (specify) _____

		Missing _____

Probe for reasons (Tick all applicable)

Personal choice _____

Staff decision _____)

Head's policy _____) School policy _____

Resource constraints _____

Other (specify) _____

- 16) Have you ever taught in cooperation with other teachers in a shared space?
(tick)

In the past, not now _____

Yes, I do now _____

No, never _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

17

Probe for subject or activity _____

18

Probe for attitude to team teaching as above

Generally favourable _____

Neutral _____

Unfavourable _____

Missing _____

19

Probe for reasons

20

- 17) I want to use now some categories of classroom organisation. (*show card*) I would like you to rank these in order, in terms of what you consider to be the most effective way of achieving your teaching objectives. Suggest one to represent the most effective and six of the least.

Order of rank

_____ a) Using material from a good set of text books

_____ b) Allowing a child or group to direct its own learning.

_____ c) Taking the class out; for example on a visit

_____ d) Getting pupils to work with materials designed for individualised learning

_____ e) Overseeing some kind of work which you have set up for small groups

_____ f) Working orally with the class as a whole

Missing

21 to 26

- 18) Will you now rank the same set of categories but this time with regard to the proportion of time you actually give to each, in say, a month of 'normal' teaching. Give a one to the method that occupies the most time, and so on, down to six for the least.

Order of rank

- _____ a) Using material from a good set of text books
 _____ b) Allowing a child or group to direct its own learning
 _____ c) Taking the class out; for example on a visit
 _____ d) Getting pupils to work with materials designed for individualised learning
 _____ e) Overseeing some kind of work which you have set up for small groups
 _____ f) Working orally with the class as a whole
 _____ Missing

27 to 32

Probe for comments on categories and for reasons for differences (if any) between answers to 17) and 18):- (tick if relevant)

Resource constraints _____

Pupil behaviour _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

33

TAKE BACK CARD

- 19) What do you see as the major pressures which affect the way you teach in the classroom? (Tick if relevant)

Money and resources _____

Time _____

Pressures from High School _____

Pressures from parents _____

Pupil problems (specify) _____

Pupil/teacher ratio _____

General discipline _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

34 and 35

- 20) Do you administer any tests to pupils? If 'yes' What kinds? (Tick all relevant)

- a) Standardised (type) _____
- b) Internal exams _____
- c) Class tests _____
- d) Other (specify) _____
- e) None _____
- f) Missing _____

36

- 21) In what ways do the results of the tests affect policy decisions?

Probe for application to: (tick as applicable)

pil
assessment

- a) Categorising pupils for sets _____
- b) Diagnosing difficulties of individuals for individual remedy _____
- c) Informing parents _____
- d) Records for High _____
- e) Comparing results from year to year _____
- f) Evaluating teaching method _____
- g) Other (specify) _____
- h) No application _____
- i) Missing _____

37

- 22) In the time that you have been in this school do you think that standards, in general, have

Improved _____

Worsened _____

Stayed the same _____

38

Probe for evidence/reasons

TRANSCRIBE FOR ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

Introduction

I want to turn now to current issues concerned with the curriculum.

- 23) Do you think that this school has, in any way, tried to cover too wide a curriculum?

Yes _____

No _____

Don't know _____

Missing _____

39

If 'yes'

Probe for subject areas where excesses are perceived: (tick as applicable)

Maths _____

English _____

French _____

Latin _____

Sciences _____

Env. Studies _____ H _____ G _____

Art/Craft _____

PE/Games _____

Music _____

RE _____

Other (specify) _____

Missing _____

40 and 41

- 24) Have you been aware of particular problems in the teaching of modern languages in this school?

Yes _____

No _____

Don't know _____

42

Probe for categories of problems if 'yes' and tick following if applicable:

Staff qualifications _____

Pupil ability _____

Time _____

Resources _____

Other (Specify) _____

Missing _____

43

- 25) Are there any particular problems here, in the teaching of mathematics?

Yes
No
Don't know
Missing

44

- 26) If 'yes'
Probe for categories of problems and tick as applicable:

Staff qualifications _____

Pupil ability _____

Time _____

Resources _____

Other _____

Missing _____

45

- 27) Do you see any relationship between teaching a narrower range of courses and the attainment by pupils of higher basic standards?

Yes
No
Other

46

Probe for reasons

Transcribe for analysis of discourse

- 28) SHOW CARD

Will you now select one of the following as the form of treatment which you would consider would provide the best education for the 'gifted' child? I define 'gifted' as applying to a child with an I Q of 130+ or to one with outstanding ability in, for example, music, sport, art and so on.

- a) A separate school
- b) A separate class in a large comprehensive
- c) Some work in mixed ability classes but also some withdrawal for work in a special group somewhere, with other 'gifted' children.
- d) Work on an individualised programme of work in a mixed ability class.
- e) As for d) but with the addition of some extra-curricular 'enrichment' of some kind.
- f) No special treatment beyond normal setting policies in a comprehensive.
- g) No special treatment at all.

47

Probe for reasons

Introduction

I want to consider your position as a teacher.

- 29) Do you think that the job of teacher in the middle school is changing at all?

Yes
No
Don't know

48

Probe for respondent's view of his/her role in context:

TRANSCRIBE FOR ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

- 30) Are there any ways in which this school attempts to compensate for problems deriving from external changes? (Specify)

49

- 31) SHOW CARD

On this card, I have specified four different levels at which educational policies are made
SCHOOL, DISTRICT, COUNTY AND CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

Will you now decide which of the categories a) to e) below, best expresses the extent to which you feel that teachers can influence policy at each of the levels.

- a) Considerable power to affect decisions
 - b) Some power to affect decisions
 - c) There's a balance of power between different interests
 - d) Very little power
 - e) No power at all
- Missing

Apply any one to:

School
District
County
Central Government

50 to 53

Probe for attitude to Unions as power groups.

54

APPENDIX II: THE STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

(i) Introduction

Only three, simple statistical procedures have been used in the compilation of the tables. In computing these procedures, I made use of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), as programmed into the mainline computer at the University of Aston in Birmingham.

(ii) Summaries of the data categories into an analysis of the one-way frequency distribution of variables, by case, were compiled using SPSS codebook. This procedure produced Tables 6, 7, 8, 11, 13 and 15.

(iii) Contingency tables of nominal data were used for the analysis of the joint frequency distributions displayed in Tables 9 and 12. For Table 9, the procedure used was that of crosstabulating (SPSS CROSSTABS), teachers' years of experience as teachers grouped into three categories: under 5, 5-15, and over 15. The teachers' attribution of causal criteria, to changes in organisation and practice are listed in five nominal categories compiled from the interview responses. Missing observations were excluded from the analysis and the statistical significance of the relationship was analysed using the chi-square statistic. Although the result supported the hypothesis that there was a significant relationship between teacher experience and perceived rationales (better than the 5% figure), it is nonetheless possible that the result could have occurred by chance. However, the

relationship between teachers' years of experience and their post hoc rationalisations of events is also strongly associated with teachers' ages and with their historically-related periods of training. The area therefore may well offer a potentially significant source of data as yet largely unexamined.

For Table 12, an analysis of the joint frequency distribution of teachers' perceptions of 'standards' in their schools, was prepared, first in 1979/80 and again in 1980/81. The procedure used was again that of crosstabulating the two sets of data (SPSS CROSSTABS), and testing for significance using the chi-square statistic. There is no statistically significant relationship between the two sets of data, although scrutiny of the contingency table offers evidence of other relationships which have been discussed in the text in the context of events.

(iv) Analyses of variance were possible with data computed for Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19, on the assumption that the pre-coded categories which teachers selected in order to indicate their perception of their power to influence policy at school, county and government levels, could be treated as interval data spread across a five-point scale. Whilst this assumption goes beyond the strict meaning of an interval scale in the physical sciences, it is accepted practice in the human sciences to assume that scaled data collected for sociometric or psychometric purposes, offers scope for an analysis of means, standard deviations and variations from the means. It is recognised, however, that the practice is only valid insofar as we can assume in this case, that the

teachers' subjective choice of categories represented objective criteria in their relationship with policy makers which (consciously or unconsciously) affected the points they chose on the scale. Furthermore, the interval scale assumes that the intervals between (in this case discrete) points are equal, and that there is an absolute zero. The tables must therefore be read with caution, on the debateable assumption that the five-point scale corresponds to the normal curve of distribution. The mid-point represents the common cultural assumption that different interests are 'balanced' within the institutional structures of a democratic state and thus offers a measure of central tendency. On this basis, the tables indicate the extent to which teachers felt that their interests as represented in 1980/81, compared with their perception in 1979/80, through a comparison of the mean values. Table 15 sets out first the frequency distributions computed from the two sets of scaled data. Tables 16, 17, 18 and 19 then respectively set out the changing mean values in relation to variables of teachers' sex, qualifications, years of teaching experience and status position in schools. The procedure adopted was that programmed into the SPSS BREAKDOWN subprogram. F-tests of significance were computed to identify statistically significant differences within the scaling of each year's data. However, the most important feature of the tables derives from the way in which they indicate general trends within and between the sub-groups of teachers, over the two year period. The significance of these trends depends upon their interpretation in the light of the other data collected and presented in the text, rather than upon a statistical device. For example, the

modification of the county council's plan to cut the number of teachers employed, which occurred in January, 1981, was frequently cited as evidence of teacher and parental protest to influence events, and appeared to have had considerable influence upon the teacher responses collected in the spring of 1981. In this respect, the statistical data is not intended to be taken outside of its qualitative context.

Copies of the computer print-out of the analyses of variance, from which tables 16-19 were compiled, are enclosed, for reference, in this appendix.

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CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC
BROKEN DOWN BY POST2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
POST2	2.00		79.0000	1.7174	0.6684	0.4739	(46)
POST2	3.00		12.000	1.333	0.500	0.250	(9)
POST2	4.00		24.000	1.846	0.689	0.474	(13)
POST2	5.00		25.000	1.786	0.802	0.643	(14)
POST2			18.000	1.800	0.632	0.400	(10)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 3 OR 6.1 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
POST2	2.00		12.000	1.333	0.500	2.000	(9)
POST2	3.00		24.000	1.846	0.689	5.692	(13)
POST2	4.00		25.000	1.786	0.802	8.557	(14)
POST2	5.00		18.000	1.800	0.632	3.600	(10)
TOTAL			79.000	1.717	0.688	19.649	(46)

ANOVA				DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
SUM OF SQUARES					
BETWEEN GROUPS				(3)	0.5589
WITHIN GROUPS				(42)	0.4678
TOTAL				(45)	
F = 1.1946					

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7 FILE: AONAME (CRATIO: DATE = 17/09/81)

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CRITERION VARIABLE: PWRSO2
BROKEN DOWN BY: POST2

10	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12	FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
14	POST2	2.00		81.0000	1.8837	0.8786	0.7719	(43)
15	POST2	3.00		14.000	1.556	0.726	0.528	(9)
16	POST2	4.00		21.000	1.750	0.754	0.568	(12)
17	POST2	5.00		30.000	2.143	1.027	1.055	(14)
18	POST2			16.000	2.000	0.926	0.857	(8)

19 TOTAL CASES = 49
20 MISSING CASES = 6 OR 12.2 PCT.

24 CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSO2

28	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
30	POST2	2.00		14.000	1.556	0.726	4.222	(9)
31	POST2	3.00		21.000	1.750	0.754	6.250	(12)
32	POST2	4.00		30.000	2.143	1.027	15.714	(14)
33	POST2	5.00		16.000	2.000	0.926	6.000	(8)
34	TOTAL			81.000	1.884	0.879	30.187	(43)

38	ANOVA TABLE				39
40	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE		
42	2.2321	(3)	0.7440		
44	30.1865	(39)	0.7740		
46	32.4186	(42)			
48	TOTAL				
50	F = 0.9613				

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CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO

BROKEN DOWN BY POST2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
POST2	2.00		26.000	2.889	0.928	0.861	9
POST2	3.00		45.000	3.750	1.055	1.114	12
POST2	4.00		50.000	3.571	1.222	1.495	14
POST2	5.00		40.000	4.000	0.471	0.222	10

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 4 OR 8.2 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
POST2	2.00		26.000	2.889	0.928	6.889	9
POST2	3.00		45.000	3.750	1.055	12.250	12
POST2	4.00		50.000	3.571	1.222	19.429	14
POST2	5.00		40.000	4.000	0.471	2.000	10
TOTAL			161.000	3.578	1.033	40.567	45

ANOVA TABLE			
	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	6.4103	(3)	2.1368
WITHIN GROUPS	40.5675	(41)	0.9895
TOTAL	46.9778	(44)	
F = 2.1596			

2.1596

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4 DESCRIPTION OF SUBPOPULATIONS

6 CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO2
BROKEN DOWN BY POST2

10 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12 FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
14 POST2	2.00		24.000	3.000	1.069	1.143	8
POST2	3.00		41.000	3.727	1.191	1.418	11
POST2	4.00		46.000	3.286	1.204	1.451	14
POST2	5.00		30.000	3.750	1.165	1.357	8

18 TOTAL CASES = 49
20 MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.

24 CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO2

28 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26 ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
30 POST2	2.00		24.000	3.000	1.069	8.000	8
POST2	3.00		41.000	3.727	1.191	14.182	11
POST2	4.00		46.000	3.286	1.204	18.857	14
POST2	5.00		30.000	3.750	1.165	9.500	8
34 TOTAL			141.000	3.439	1.163	50.539	41

ANNOVA TABLE				DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS				(3)	1.1862
WITHIN GROUPS				(37)	1.3659
TOTAL				(40)	
SUM OF SQUARES					
3.5586					
50.5390					
54.0976					
F = 0.8684					

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FILE NAME (CR ATION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PMRGV
BROKEN DOWN BY POST2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
POST2	2.00		196.0000	4.4545	0.6271	0.3932	(44)
POST2	3.00		35.000	4.375	0.518	0.268	(8)
POST2	4.00		52.000	4.727	0.786	0.618	(11)
POST2	5.00		61.000	4.357	0.497	0.247	(14)
POST2	5.00		48.000	4.364	0.674	0.455	(11)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 5 OR 10.2 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PMRGV

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
POST2	2.00		35.000	4.375	0.518	1.875	(8)
POST2	3.00		52.000	4.727	0.786	6.182	(11)
POST2	4.00		61.000	4.357	0.497	3.214	(14)
POST2	5.00		48.000	4.364	0.674	4.545	(11)
TOTAL			196.000	4.455	0.627	15.817	(44)

ANOVA TABLE					MEAN SQUARE
SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM				
BETWEEN GROUPS	(3)				0.3642
WITHIN GROUPS	(40)				0.3954
TOTAL	(43)				
F = 0.9210					

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FILE NAME (CREATION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV2

BROKEN DOWN BY POST2

10	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12	FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			166.0000	4.0488	1.0476	1.0976	(41)
14	POST2	2.00		29.000	3.625	1.061	1.125	(8)
14	POST2	3.00		46.000	4.182	1.168	1.364	(11)
16	POST2	4.00		58.000	4.143	1.027	1.055	(14)
16	POST2	5.00		33.000	4.125	0.991	0.982	(8)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV2

28	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
30	POST2	2.00		29.000	3.625	1.061	7.875	(8)
30	POST2	3.00		46.000	4.182	1.168	13.636	(11)
32	POST2	4.00		58.000	4.143	1.027	13.714	(14)
32	POST2	5.00		33.000	4.125	0.991	6.875	(8)
34	TOTAL			166.000	4.049	1.048	42.101	(41)

38	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
40	1.8018	(3)	0.6006
42	42.1006	(37)	1.1379
44	43.9024	(40)	
46			
48			
50			
52			
54			
56			
58			

F = 0.5278

301

FILE NONAME (CRITERION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC
BROKEN DOWN BY SEX

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
SEX2	1.00		79.0000	1.7174	0.6884	0.4739	(46)
SEX2	2.00		42.000	1.750	0.737	0.543	(24)
			37.000	1.682	0.646	0.418	(22)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 3 OR 6.1 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
SEX2	1.00		42.000	1.750	0.737	12.500	(24)
SEX2	2.00		37.000	1.682	0.646	8.773	(22)
		TOTAL	79.000	1.717	0.688	21.273	(46)

ANOVA TABLE			
SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	
BETWEEN GROUPS	(1)	0.0534	
WITHIN GROUPS	(44)	0.4835	
TOTAL	(45)		
F = 0.1104 T = 0.3322			

CROSS

17/09/81

PAGE 13

FIL: NONAMEL (OPERATION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2
BROKEN DOWN BY SEX2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			81.0000	1.8837	0.8786	0.7719	(43)
SEX2	1.00		40.000	1.739	0.689	0.474	(23)
SEX2	2.00		41.000	2.050	1.050	1.103	(20)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 6 OR 12.2 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
SEX2	1.00		40.000	1.739	0.689	10.435	(23)
SEX2	2.00		41.000	2.050	1.050	20.950	(20)
TOTAL			81.000	1.884	0.879	31.385	(43)

ANOVA TABLE			
SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	
BETWEEN GROUPS	(1)	1.0338	
WITHIN GROUPS	(41)	0.7655	
TOTAL	(42)		
F = 1.3505	T = 1.1621		

303

6 CRITERION VARIABLE: PWRCO
BROKEN DOWN BY: SEX

10 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12 FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			161.0000	3.5778	1.0333	1.0677	(45)
14 SEX2	1.00		93.000	3.875	0.850	0.723	(24)
16 SEX2	2.00		68.000	3.238	1.136	1.290	(21)
18 TOTAL CASES =	49						
20 MISSING CASES =	4 OR 8.2 PCT.						

22 CRITERION VARIABLE: PWRCO

24 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26 SEX2	1.00		93.000	3.875	0.850	16.625	(24)
28 SEX2	2.00		68.000	3.238	1.136	25.810	(21)
30 TOTAL			161.000	3.578	1.033	42.435	(45)

ANOV A T A B L E

	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	4.5433	(1)	4.5433
WITHIN GROUPS	42.4345	(43)	0.9868
TOTAL	46.9778	(44)	
F =	4.6038	T = 2.1456	

304



CRITERION VARIABLE PWRC02
BROKEN DOWN BY SEX

10 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12 FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			141.0000	3.4390	1.1629	1.3524	(41)
14 SEX2	1.00		76.000	3.455	1.057	1.117	(22)
16 SEX2	2.00		65.000	3.421	1.305	1.702	(19)
18 TOTAL CASES =	49						
20 MISSING CASES =	8 OR 16.3 PCT.						

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRC02

24 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26 SEX2	1.00		76.000	3.455	1.057	23.455	(22)
28 SEX2	2.00		65.000	3.421	1.305	30.632	(19)
30 TOTAL			141.000	3.439	1.163	54.086	(41)

34	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
36 BETWEEN GROUPS	0.0114	(1)	
38 WITHIN GROUPS	54.0861	(39)	1.3868
40 TOTAL	54.0976	(40)	
42 F = 0.0082			
44 T = 0.0908			

CROSSB

17/09/81

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FILE NAME (CREATION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV
BROKEN DOWN BY SEX

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
SEX2	1.00		196.0000	4.4545	0.6271	0.3932	(44)
SEX2	2.00		97.0000	4.409	0.503	0.253	(22)
			99.0000	4.500	0.740	0.548	(22)
TOTAL CASES = 49							
MISSING CASES = 5 OR 10.2 PCT.							

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
SEX2	1.00		97.0000	4.409	0.503	5.318	(22)
SEX2	2.00		99.0000	4.500	0.740	11.500	(22)
TOTAL							
			196.0000	4.455	0.627	16.818	(44)

ANOVA TABLE			
SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	
BETWEEN GROUPS			
0.0909	(1)	0.0909	
WITHIN GROUPS			
16.8182	(42)	0.4004	
TOTAL			
16.9091	(43)		
F = 0.2270 T = 0.4765			

306

CROSS

FIL NAME (CRATIO) DATE = 17/09/81

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CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGVZ
BROKEN DOWN BY SEX2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
SEX2	1.00		166.0000	4.0488	1.0476	1.0976	(41)
SEX2	2.00		87.0000	3.955	1.174	1.379	(22)
			79.0000	4.158	0.898	0.807	(19)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGVZ

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
SEX2	1.00		87.0000	3.955	1.174	28.955	(22)
SEX2	2.00		79.0000	4.158	0.898	14.526	(19)
TOTAL			166.0000	4.049	1.048	43.481	(41)

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	(1)	0.4216
WITHIN GROUPS	(39)	1.1149
TOTAL	(40)	

F = 0.3781 T = 0.6149

2 FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 17/09/81)

4
6 CRITERION VARIABLE PWSC
BROKEN DOWN BY QUL

10 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12 FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			79.0000	1.7174	0.6884	0.4739	(46)
14 QUL	1.00		45.0000	1.667	0.679	0.462	(27)
16 QUL	3.00		34.0000	1.789	0.713	0.509	(19)
18 TOTAL CASES =	49						
20 MISSING CASES =	3 OR	6.1 PCT.					

22 CRITERION VARIABLE PWSC

24 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26 QUL	1.00		45.0000	1.667	0.679	12.000	(27)
28 QUL	3.00		34.0000	1.789	0.713	9.158	(19)
30 TOTAL			79.0000	1.717	0.688	21.158	(46)

34	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
36 BETWEEN GROUPS	0.1682	(1)	0.1682
38 WITHIN GROUPS	21.1579	(44)	0.4809
40 TOTAL	21.3261	(45)	
42 F =	0.3498		
44 T =	0.5914		

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2
BROKEN DOWN BY QUL

10	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12	FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			81.0000	1.8837	0.8786	0.7719	(43)
14	QUL	1.00		48.000	1.846	0.834	0.695	(26)
16	QUL	3.00		33.000	1.941	0.966	0.934	(17)
18	TOTAL CASES =	49						
20	MISSING CASES =	6 OR 12.2 PCT.						

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2

24	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26	QUL	1.00		48.000	1.846	0.834	17.385	(26)
28	QUL	3.00		33.000	1.941	0.966	14.941	(17)
30	TOTAL			81.000	1.884	0.879	32.326	(43)

34	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
36	BETWEEN GROUPS	(1)	0.0928
38	WITHIN GROUPS	(41)	0.7884
40	TOTAL	(42)	
42			
44			
46			
48	F = 0.1177	T = 0.3431	

CROSSH

FIL NAME (CR ATION DAT = 17/09/81)

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CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO
BROKEN DOWN BY GUL

10	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12	FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			161.0000	3.5778	1.0333	1.0677	453
14	GUL	1.00		88.000	3.385	1.023	1.046	26)
16	GUL	3.00		73.000	3.842	1.015	1.029	19)
18	TOTAL CASES =	49						
20	MISSING CASES =	4 OR 8.2 PCT.						

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO

26	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
28	GUL	1.00		88.000	3.385	1.023	26.154	26)
30	GUL	3.00		73.000	3.842	1.015	18.526	19)
32	TOTAL			161.000	3.578	1.033	44.680	45)

34	36	38	40	42	44	46	48	50	52	54	56	58	60	62
***** ANOVA TABLE *****														
		SUM OF SQUARES		DEGREES OF FREEDOM		MEAN SQUARE								
BETWEEN GROUPS		2.2976		(1)		2.2976								
WITHIN GROUPS		44.6802		(43)		1.0391								
TOTAL		46.9778		(44)										
F =		2.2112		T =		1.4870								

CROSS

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FIL= NORANS (CREATION DATE = 17/09/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO2
BROKEN DOWN BY QUL

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
QUL	1.00		141.0000	3.4390	1.1629	1.3524	(41)
QUL	3.00		76.0000	3.0400	1.2411	1.5400	(25)
			65.0000	4.0620	0.6800	0.4630	(16)
TOTAL CASES = 49							
MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.							

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRCO2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE							
QUL	1.00		76.0000	3.0400	1.2411	36.9600	(25)
QUL	3.00		65.0000	4.0620	0.6800	6.9370	(16)
TOTAL			141.0000	3.4390	1.1629	43.8980	(41)

ANOVA TABLE			
SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE	
BETWEEN GROUPS			
10.2001	(1)	10.2001	
WITHIN GROUPS			
43.8975	(39)	1.1256	
TOTAL			
54.0976	(40)		
F = 9.0621 T = 3.0103			

CROSSB

17/09/81 PAGE 56

2 FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 17/09/81)

4 ----- DESCRIPTION OF SUBPOPULATIONS -----

6 CRITERION VARIABLE PWGRV
BROKEN DOWN BY QUL

10 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12 FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			196.0000	4.4545	0.6271	0.3932	(44)
14 QUL	1.00		109.0000	4.5600	0.6380	0.4070	(25)
16 QUL	3.00		87.0000	4.5790	0.6070	0.3680	(19)

18 TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 5 OR 10.2 PCT.

22 CRITERION VARIABLE PWGRV

24 VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
26 QUL	1.00		109.0000	4.3600	0.6380	9.7600	(25)
28 QUL	3.00		87.0000	4.5790	0.6070	6.8320	(19)
30 TOTAL			196.0000	4.4550	0.6270	16.3920	(44)

34	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
36 BETWEEN GROUPS	0.5175	(1)	0.5175
38 WITHIN GROUPS	16.3916	(42)	0.3903
40 TOTAL	16.9091	(43)	
42 F = 1.3260			
44 T = 1.1515			

CROSST

17/09/81 FILE 63

FILE NAME CREATION DATE = 17/09/81

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV2
BROKEN DOWN BY QUL

10	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
12	FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			166.0000	4.0488	1.0476	1.0976	(41)
14	QUL	1.00		94.000	3.760	1.200	1.440	(25)
16	QUL	3.00		72.000	4.500	0.516	0.267	(16)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRGV2

24	VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
28	QUL	1.00		94.000	3.760	1.200	34.560	(25)
30	QUL	3.00		72.000	4.500	0.516	4.000	(16)
32	TOTAL			166.000	4.049	1.048	38.560	(41)

34	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
36	BETWEEN GROUPS	(1)	5.3424
38	WITHIN GROUPS	(39)	0.9887
40	TOTAL	(40)	
42			
44			
46	F = 5.4034	T = 2.3245	
48			
50			
52			
54			
56			
58			
60			

CROSSER

CRITERION VARIABLE YRSEXP

CRITERION VARIABLE	CODL	VALU	LABL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
YRSEXP	1-00			19.000	1.727	0.786	6.182	(11)
YRSEXP	2-00			36.000	2.000	0.856	8.000	(18)
YRSEXP	3-00			24.000	1.412	0.507	4.118	(17)
TOTAL				79.000	1.717	0.688	18.299	(46)

	SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	3.0266	(2)	1.5133
WITHIN GROUPS	18.2995	(43)	0.4256
TOTAL	21.3261	(45)	

F = 3.5560

FILE NO NAME (CREATION DATE = 30/11/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE YRSEXP
BROKEN DOWN BY YRSEXP

VARIABLE	CODL	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			161.0000	3.5773	1.0333	1.0677	(45)
YRSEXP	1-00		42.000	3.500	0.795	0.636	(12)
YRSEXP	2-00		65.000	3.824	1.076	1.154	(17)
YRSEXP	3-00		54.000	3.375	1.147	1.317	(16)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 4 OR 9.2 PCT.

CROSSP

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRD

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	N	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF TO	N
YRSEXP	1.00		42.000	3.500	0.798	7.000	(12)	
YRSEXP	2.00		65.000	3.624	0.074	18.471	(17)	
YRSEXP	3.00		54.000	3.375	1.147	19.750	(16)	
TOTAL			161.000	3.678	1.073	45.221	(45)	

SUM OF SQUARES	DF	MEAN SQUARE
1.7572	(2)	0.8786
45.2206	(42)	1.0767
46.9778	(44)	

F = 0.8161

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 30/10/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE	DESCRIPTION OF SUBPOPULATIONS
YRSEXP	YRSEXP

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
YRSEXP	1.00		196.0000	4.6545	0.6271	0.3932	(44)
YRSEXP	2.00		51.000	4.250	0.622	0.386	(12)
YRSEXP	3.00		72.000	4.500	0.516	0.267	(16)
TOTAL			73.000	4.567	0.727	0.529	(16)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 5 OR 10.2 PCT.

CROSS

CITIZENSHIP PWGRV

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	STD DEV	SUP OF SS	N
YRSEXP	1.00		51.000	0.625	4.250	(12)
YRSEXP	2.00		72.000	0.516	4.000	(16)
YRSEXP	3.00		73.000	0.727	7.937	(16)
TOTAL			196.000	.627	16.187	(44)

GROUP	SUM	STD DEV	SUP OF SS	N
OUT OF SQUADS	0.7216	(2)	0.3608	*
WITHIN GROUPS	16.1875	(41)	0.3948	*
TOTAL	16.9091	(43)		*

F = 0.913

FILE NAME (CREATION DATE = 30/10/81)

DESCRIPTION OF SUBPOPULATIONS

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION							
YRSEXP	1.00		81.0000	1.627	0.8786	0.7719	(43)
YRSEXP	2.00		22.000	2.200	1.135	1.289	(10)
YRSEXP	3.00		34.000	2.000	0.791	0.625	(17)
YRSEXP	4.00		25.000	1.562	0.727	0.529	(16)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 6 OR 12.2 PCT.

CROSSIN

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
YRSEXP	1.00		22.000	2.200	1.134	11.600	(10)
YRSEXP	2.00		34.000	2.800	0.791	10.000	(17)
YRSEXP	3.00		25.000	1.562	0.727	7.937	(16)
TOTAL			81.000	1.884	0.879	29.538	(43)

SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	(2)	1.2406
WITHIN GROUPS	(40)	0.7384
TOTAL	(42)	

F = 1.950

FILE NONAME (CREATION DATE = 30/11/81)

CRITERION VARIABLE PWRSC2
BROKEN DOWN BY YRSEXP

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE LABEL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	VARIANCE	N
FOR ENTIRE POPULATION			141.0000	3.4390	1.1629	1.3524	(41)
YRSEXP	1.00		31.000	3.100	1.449	2.100	(10)
YRSEXP	2.00		68.000	4.000	0.866	0.750	(17)
YRSEXP	3.00		42.000	3.000	1.038	1.077	(14)

TOTAL CASES = 49
MISSING CASES = 8 OR 16.3 PCT.

CROSSE

DATE / 3

41

CRITICISM VARIABLE PWRQV2

VARIABLE	CODE	VALUE	LAFL	SUM	MEAN	STD DEV	SUM OF SQ	N
YRSEXP	1.00			79.000	3.900	1.101	10.900	(10)
YRSEXP	2.00			76.000	4.471	0.800	10.235	(10)
YRSEXP	3.00			51.000	3.671	1.151	17.217	(14)
TOTAL				166.000	4.049	1.048	38.350	(41)

SUM OF SQUARES	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	MEAN SQUARE
BETWEEN GROUPS	(2)	2.7762
WITHIN GROUPS	(38)	1.7092
TOTAL	(40)	

F - 2.7511

READ INPUT DATA

***** GIVEN SPACE ALLOWS FOR 665 CELLS AND 1 DIMENSIONS FOR BREAKDOWN *****

TIME TAKEN : 6.3750 SECS.

FINISH

NORMAL END OF JOB.

50 CONTROL CARDS WERE PROCESSED.

0 ERRORS WERE DETECTED.

TOTAL CPU TIME FOR JOB : 53.1120 SECS.

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APPENDIX III

Some Original Documents

(i) Note

This appendix contains copies of items taken from local policy documents etc., which were available at the time the research project was taking place. Many of the items are copied from poorly typed and reproduced papers. This is particularly true of the items taken from the TCC's reports to teachers and, in some cases of the minuted records of NUT meetings. Nevertheless, the record provides evidence of changes in policy and of the way in which teachers were reacting to events. As such, it is intended to support the argument made in the text, with particular reference to chapter six. Names of people, places and schools have either been obscured or changed in order to safeguard anonymity.

(ii) List of Documented Material

The Plowden-Orientated Aims of Buttersley Middle School
The Notes on Disciplinary Standards Formulated at
Clackington Middle School, September, 1980
NUT County Division: Minuted Item 4th July, 1979
Item from the TCC Report to Teachers: 10th September, 1979
Item from the Report of the NUT County Division Executive
Committee: September, 1979
NUT News: Education Committee Budget 1980-81
Item from TCC Report to Teachers: 26th November, 1979
Item from TCC Report to Teachers: 25th February, 1980
NUT County Division: Minuted Item, 27th February, 1980
NUT County Division: Annotated Agenda Item: 25th June,
1980
Letter sent to Members of a Local Association: 5th
November, 1980
NUT County Division: Minuted Item, 29th October, 1980
Letter sent to all NUT members, 2nd December, 1980
Item from TCC Report to Teachers: 2nd February, 1981
Article from the Local Press: 10th April, 1981

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APU	Assessment of Performance Unit
AMMA	Assistant Mistresses' and Masters' Association
DES	Department of Education and Science
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate
LEA	Local Education Authority
NAEP	National Assessment of Education Progress
NAHT	National Association of Head Teachers
NAS/UWT	National Association of Schoolmasters/Union of Women Teachers
NFER	National Foundation for Educational Research
NUT	National Union of Teachers
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PRAF	Policy, Resources and Finance
TCC	Teachers' Consultative Committee