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'DIFFERENTIATION AND DIVISION IN A COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL:
AN ANALYSIS OF ORGANISATION, CURRICULUM, AND TEACHER AND
PUPIL INTERACTIONS AND PERCEPTIONS'

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FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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The University of Aston in Birmingham

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Malcolm Peter Blurton

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Summary

The research addressed the question: how has differentiation and division become manifest in a comprehensive school formed from the amalgamation of a grammar and secondary modern school? This was examined at three interrelated levels: organisational, perceptual and interactional. The research used a variety of qualitative methods arising from an ethnographic approach including participant observation. Interactionism and personal construct theory provided a theoretical framework whilst the research was set in the context of the reform of secondary schooling to comprehensivisation.

At the organisational level the research reveals how setting and banding are related to; teacher typifications and expectations of pupils; pupils' examination results; the option system and subject accessibility, stratified in relation to professional or manual occupations; and pupils' educational career and occupational expectations. Teachers are shown to differentiate between one another, with a division of labour being dependent upon teachers' previous school and the pupils they are considered qualified to teach.

At the perceptual level the school organisation is examined from the pupils' perspective. Setting and banding are influential on pupils' perceptions of their peers who acquire setting or banding identities. These are related to pupils' perceived attitude to work, intelligence, personality, their social and socio-economic status, sexual stereotyping and pupils' self concept. Pupils also differentiate between teachers, their status being dependent upon the type of pupils they teach.

The interactional level draws upon organisational and perceptual levels of analysis and shows how academic and less academic pupils utilise different working practices. These are related to teacher and pupil strategies which differ according to pupils' band allocation and examination results.

The major conclusion is that pro- and counter-school pupil cultures emerge from the first year onwards and are related to the dominant school values and the division of labour, with setting and banding and the selection process contributing to divisions in the school. The implication is that these divisions in the comprehensive school replicate divisions that occurred between grammar and secondary modern schools.

DIVISIONS TEACHER PUPIL INTERACTIONS PERCEPTIONS

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN TRANSCRIPTS AND TEXT

..... denotes pause in conversation or interruption

(...) denotes part of transcript or quotation omitted

INTRODUCTION

The research is a detailed study of a comprehensive school, Westward High which, five years prior to the commencement of the field work, was formed from the amalgamation of a grammar and secondary modern school. Much of the data collection and the analysis to be presented are concerned with the effects of comprehensivisation on these two schools after amalgamation. The initial concern of the research stemmed from an interest in the use of participant observation of classroom interaction. Influential in this area was the Ford Teaching Project (1972-1974, 1975; see Adams, 1980), which used a tape-slide technique to record classroom interaction. The Project utilised triangulation techniques to elicit teacher and pupil interpretations and set these alongside the researcher's own observations. Triangulation techniques were also used in the research at Westward High, with classroom interaction being recorded on videotape and viewed by teacher and pupils, rather like an 'action replay'. In this way they became audience to their own actions. This approach was used because it seemed to be more illuminating and revealed the fine grain of detail of what went on in the classroom, unlike the input-output model dominant in educational research prior to the 1970s, which considered neither the process nor sought the participants own commentaries on their action.

However, it was made apparent that to understand more fully classroom interaction it was necessary to look beyond the classroom to the school itself, and beyond the school to the wider influences of society. At Westward High teachers and pupils seemed to distinguish between pupils according to their band allocation, which had implications for a 'deviant' sub-culture. As Delamont (1978) argues, "classroom processes

can only be understood if their context is understood" and that "understanding what is going on in any specific classroom may be dependent about knowing about (...) these three levels - national, institutional and individual". Chapter 1, therefore, examines processes of differentiation and division at these three levels. The national context considers differentiation and division between schools with reference to the movement of secondary schooling to comprehensivisation. This is because many parallels between grammar and secondary modern schools were revealed in the course of field-work at Westward High. The term 'academic' is used frequently and this can be defined as someone whose study is concerned with the abstract and principles rather than practical applications. Differentiation is also analysed at the institutional and individual level which draws on the interpretive perspective and interactionist research. Interactionism can be defined as "the process through which men construct their actions" (Blumer, 1962). The final section of the chapter outlines a number of compatible perspectives which endeavour to explain differentiation, division and deviance in schools. Consequently, these different levels of analyses were incorporated into data collection which took as a central concept differentiation and division.

An outline of the ethnographic method, utilising symbolic interaction theory and personal construct theory, is given next. The chapter details how the research changed from the narrow focus on classroom interaction, broadening in the course of field-work to encompass data on teacher and pupil perceptions of each other. The results of the research are then outlined in three interrelated sections. Data are presented in the reverse order in which they were collected because although the researcher gained access to data which led to an awareness of the processes of differentiation and division, an understanding is best achieved by outlining how the school organisation

affects teacher and pupil perceptions and expectations, and how this is related to classroom interaction. Data collected at each stage demonstrate the existence of these processes. As Hargreaves points out:

"The difference between interactionism and other approaches is that the interactionist cannot get away with assuming or asserting the existence of social or structural integration. He has to demonstrate it.

(Hargreaves, A., 1980, p207)

In Chapter 3, the first part of the findings, data are offered on how differentiation and division between pupils are related to organisational devices which the school utilises to sort and segregate pupils. The chapter lays the basis of how divisions between teachers and pupils develop and continue from the first year onwards. In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, the second part of the findings, data are given on how pupils themselves perceive each other and teachers in relation to the school organisation. These data, drawn from first, fourth and fifth year pupils, consolidate and build upon the data already presented.

In Chapters 7 and 8 the focus of the research narrows to a comparative analysis of two classrooms. These pupils were selected because they represented, with reference to the school's organisation, and teacher and pupil perceptions, distinct and different types of pupils. Data on pupils' working practices and teacher and pupil strategies form the major part of the data and analysis presented and reveal how differentiation and division within the school operate at classroom level.

The concluding chapter draws together the findings from the organisational, perceptual and interactional levels and discusses how and why differentiation and division occur at the school. There is also discussion on the implications for change, not only within the school itself, but the whole notion of schooling is questioned, with consideration being given to some alternative approaches.

CHAPTER ONEPROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIATION

In considering the processes of differentiation, a distinction will be made between what can be called 'the national context' (Section 1) and the 'institutional and individual level' (Section 2). An outline of the various and sometimes opposing perspectives which seek to explain deviance and conformity will also be offered (Section 3). These three levels of analyses and explanations constitute what can be called "layers of meaning" (Meighan and Barton, 1979).

Section 1: The National Context

A critical examination of the function of aspects of differentiation and division with respect to four interrelated areas will be examined. These consist of the typology of pupils and schools; the option system and the stratification of knowledge; knowledge acquisition and preparation for life; teacher differentiation and cultures.

1.1 Typology of Pupils and Schools

Who gets what sort of knowledge and in what amount is a contentious issue in education and educating, as Morrish points out:

"There are ways of keeping people ignorant other than by simply ignoring their educational needs; they can be taught enough and in a selective manner to make them even more the instruments of political engineering."

(Morrish, 1970, p3)

Analysis of processes of differentiation and division between pupils suggest that as certain means of separating pupils lose favour, other types of divisions appear to flourish. For instance, we may now view as incredible and indefensible the 17th century notion of pupils' access to knowledge being in terms of divine stratification, that "God had created each man's estate and it was the individual's function to fulfill his station in life" (Morrish, 1970). We may be critical if education is used solely as a strategic device to combat vice, irreligion and more particularly the

"subversive tendencies among the poor" (Barnard, 1969). In other words, that education was used only to keep people in their place. Criticism can be made of those who made education available to the 'lower orders' in the 18th century in terms of the rudiments of arithmetic and English for the sole purpose of making them more efficient in their workplace so that the owners of the factories could reap better profits. The provisional term has been used because, it will be argued, differentiation and division between pupils continues.

Differentiation and division between pupils have long been synonymous with the key features of the institution pupils attended. This has taken a variety of forms. A long-standing one being private schools for the upper-classes and state schools for the masses (Curtis, 1967; Musgrave, 1968; Barnard, 1969). Another form of segregation is based on gender with one type of school for boys, another type for girls which, when combined into mixed schools tended to continue the differentiated and distinct curricula for boys and girls (Byrne, 1978). Pupils were segregated by age, with a division arising between infant, junior, middle and secondary schools to replace the all-age schools and classes. Of course, pupils have long since been segregated by their religion (Curtis, 1967; Barnard, 1969) with further divisions likely to centre around ethnicity (see Meighan, 1986). The Hadow Report (1926) developed another means of segregating pupils by clearly identifying particular types of pupils who should attend a grammar school whilst the majority were declared more suited to a secondary modern school. The differentiation by the Hadow Committee was to be translated by the Norwood Report (1938) into the formulation of "rough groupings" of pupils. The Report argued that "the evolution of education has in fact thrown up certain groups, each of which can and must be treated in a way appropriate to itself". It was to be a simple matter of fitting pupils to particular institutions, grammar schools becoming the most prestigious, followed by technical schools, with the majority going to secondary modern schools. Each child, then, was conferred quite clearly with a particular

and irrefutable educational identity which corresponded to the school he or she attended.

The grammar school pupils was depicted as being interested in learning for its own sake, he could grasp an argument and follow a piece of connected reasoning. Such a pupil, it seems, was interested in causes and wished to discover how things come to be; he was sensitive to language and had a mind which could lend itself to understanding principles. "He could take a long view", the Norwood Report asserted, "and hold his mind in suspense". The earlier narrow focus of the older grammar schools with their concentration of Latin and the languages was glossed over by the Report and it reasserted that the institution of the grammar school had "maintained an ideal of intellectual effort and a disinterested attitude to knowledge". Having attained a high status historically, the grammar school traditions were above question. Whereas the grammar school pupil was perceived to be suited to intellectual pursuits, the technical schools were not to be instigated to satisfy pupils' intellectual needs but to "prepare boys and girls for taking up particular crafts, engineering, agriculture and the like". The Norwood Report justified this division on the grounds that the technical pupil had, in fact, a different mind to the grammar school pupil. Whilst grammar school pupils were assumed to be intelligent, technical school pupils had, by definition, only "moderate" or "not great" intelligence.

Most pupils were classed by the Norwood Report as being secondary modern school pupil types. The Committee offered a long list of attributes that could be assigned to this type of pupil to justify their division from their grammar and technical school counterparts. Such a pupil, it was claimed, suffered (implying a defect in this type of pupil) from an intellectual, tunnel-like vision. He could see only along a single line of study and could not relate to other branches of knowledge, "his horizon is near and within only a limited area, his movement is generally slow, though it may be surprisingly rapid in seizing a particular point or taking a special line" (The Norwood Report, 1938). Of particular concern was the way in

the secondary modern school pupil was depicted as being more interested in, and able to deal more effectively with, "concrete things than with ideas". This aspect will be discussed more fully later. The Norwood Report substituted divine stratification for stratification based on a typology of pupils related to particular institutions. Not suprisingly, the Report had many critics. For instance, Curtis (1954) is scathing in his condemnation of the tripartite system: "the suggestion seems to be that the Almighty", he retorted, "had benevolently created three types of child in just these proportions which would gratify educational administrators" (cited by Rubinstein and Simon, 1973). More particularly, the system of selection and division of pupils at 11+ enabled pupils to be easily segregated for their future occupations. The system not only accentuated divisions within society between middle class and working class, it acted as a means of transmission of these different cultures. In fact, the tripartite system was never meant to bring about any changes in society through the educational process as was promulgated for comprehensivisation.

To understand how pupils were to be so easily conferred with particular and divergent "educational identities" (cf Keddie, 1971), it is necessary to trace some of the assumptions and claims that it was possible to differentiate between pupils by the age of eleven. The Norwood Committee had accepted without question the evidence presented to the Hadow Committee by Sir Cyril Burt. He reported that there existed a general factor of intelligence, an all-round intellectual ability which is inherited or innate. Burt argued that the crucial aspect of the theory was that every child was born with a given amount of 'intelligence' which remains constant throughout life, is fixed and unchangeable and is "a direct product of genetic endowment and not subject to educational influence". It seems that this "general factor of intelligence" begins to level off after a child is ten years old so that by twelve years of age, pupils needed to be "grouped according to their capacity, not merely in separate standards but in separate types of schools" (in a memorandum in the Appendix to the Hadow Report). Burt's undoubted influence

contributed to the whole notion of streaming prevalent in primary schools prior to the 1960's and unquestionably adopted in the organisation of secondary schools (Barker-Lunn, 1970; 1982). With the passing of Butler's 1944 Education Act the selection of pupils for particular schools hinged on the notion that the general factor of intelligence could be accurately measured and was fixed by the age of eleven years. There are, however, a number of inconsistencies and problematic elements which surround the whole notion of selection of pupils according to intelligence.

Firstly, after Burt's death, growing controversy over his hereditary theory of intelligence culminated in the allegations that a number of his experiments had been faked. Indeed, the two field workers attributed by Burt as having been responsible for the collection of data could not be traced and appeared to be fictitious inventions by Burt (see Hearnshaw, 1979). Secondly, the Norwood Report interpreted Burt's advocacy of "separate types of schools" as inferring separate types of minds. Burt himself argued against this notion of tripartite divisions and reaffirmed that the general factor of intelligence as being in no way related to the idea of qualitatively different aptitudes producing qualitatively different types of minds (Hearnshaw, 1979). Not only had Burt's major contentions of innate intelligence been seriously questioned, but his proposals for the selection of pupils had been manifestly misinterpreted as supporting arguments for tripartite divisions between pupils. Thirdly, more recently the whole notion of IQ tests have been questioned on philosophical, sociological and psychological grounds. Squibb (1973) argues that IQ test favour middle-class culture and have little meaning for immigrants whose culture is different from Western culture. Furthermore, the notions of intelligence are not objective but construct which may be socially constructed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967); different groups may have their own forms of intelligence, intelligent thief, intelligent rugby player and so on (Squibb, 1973). A multiple theory of intelligence has been advanced which

relates to different constellations of knowledge (Gardener, 1984):

The need to abolish tripartitism, however, was to rest on other notions, namely that separatism was socially unjust. The 1944 Education Act itself did not rule out a single type, multi-lateral or bi-lateral school since the wording was ambiguous; but whether all pupils were to be situated in one school or, through selective processes, were to go to one of three schools, they were still to be classified by distinct types. Of course, secondary schools after the implementation of the Act in 1947 were mostly polarised between grammar and secondary modern schools since few technical schools had come into fruition (the Crowther Report, 1959). Although the 1944 Education Act, published in time of war, had made an easy passage through parliament (Barnard, 1969), there was a growing political interest in education. The pressure from the Labour Party to end segregation of pupils across different schools had begun to gather momentum in 1950 with the passing of the resolution calling on the Government to implement the party's policies on comprehensive schools (Morris, 1970; Shaw, 1983). In 1953 the Labour Party's 'Challenge to Britain' document set the proposals to abolish the tripartite divisions which they believed simply mirrored the existing social class distinctions in Britain. The idea of the comprehensive school was embraced by the Labour Party and its followers as being more likely to eliminate the varying status which these different types of schools were said to possess and represent. The comprehensive school would develop a common social understanding between pupils since pupils would be housed in one building (Morrish, 1970). How this was to be achieved and how the emergent comprehensive schools were to be organised were problematic.

Reynolds and Sullivan (1981) suggest that the official policy of the Labour Party in the 1964 general election advocated a comprehensive school as offering an upward mobility for the working classes. Wilson's plea for "grammar schools for all", Reynolds and Sullivan argue, had substantial electoral gain since the grammar school had status, particularly with the

middle-classes and the aspiring working-classes. The statement quite clearly demarcated between forms of education and effectively gave a seal of approval for a grammar school type of education to be of a high status in the new comprehensive schools. Wilson's plea for increased access to grammar school education was made clear in the motion passed in the House of Commons on 21st January, 1965. The motion vowed that the comprehensive schools would "preserve all that is valuable in grammar school education for those children who now received it and make it available for more children" (DES Circular 10/65). The divisions between schools were of more concern than any possible divisions within schools. Consequently, Anthony Crosland, whilst advocating the value of comprehensive schools' mixing of "all sorts", considered it would be "against commonsense" to abolish streaming within the comprehensive school. More particularly, Crosland assumed that divisions between pupils were simply caused by the physical separation of pupils. Whereas in 1947 the New Secondary Education pamphlet had implied that parity of esteem between the different types of schools needed to be achieved by the schools themselves (representing schools of equal value), it was assumed that parity of esteem was to come about automatically in comprehensive schools whose pupils congregate under one roof (representing pupils of equal worth):

"The object of having comprehensive schools is not to abolish competition and envy, which rather might be a hopeless task, but to avoid extreme social divisions caused by physical separation into schools of widely divergent status, and extreme social resentment caused by failure to win a grammar (or, in future, public) school place, when this is thought the only advance to middle class occupation."

(Crosland, 1956 cited by Shaw, 1983)

For Crosland the middle-class occupation carried with it prestige. Furthermore, within this long sentence he had encompassed various assumptions about what constituted comprehensive education. These concerned theories of learning, with competition between pupils being favoured over, for instance, co-operation between pupils. Crosland portrayed the grammar school type of education as being of a high status compared with other forms

of education. His idea of a comprehensive school, like that of Wilson's, was to make this type of education available to more pupils.

The whole notion of how comprehensive schools were to be structured was not at all clear. For instance, the Government circular, DES 10/65 which outlined various types of comprehensive schools, gave no clear guidelines on how they should be organised. Ball (1981) suggests there are three distinct models on which comprehensive schools are organised. These are the meritocratic, the integrative and the egalitarian. The meritocratic would appear to be a replacement for the Norwood Report's three types of mind ideology of the tripartite system since it offers "an equality of opportunity based on the achievement of an 'efficient' educational system" (Ball, 1981). The integrative model placed emphasis on the importance of citizenship and the eradication of social differences which were to be achieved through the social mixing of all pupils in one type of school. However, like the meritocratic model, it failed to take account of the curriculum or class room as important areas to be considered as part of the process of reform. The egalitarian model, whilst not opposed to academic excellence or improved social relations, emphasises the need to change the ethos and structure of the teaching/learning process in schools as being an important and necessary step if schools are to be truly comprehensive. Most early comprehensive schools were of the meritocratic type, few were egalitarian whilst most drew on all three models (Ball, 1981; Burgess, 1983).

In any analysis of the process of differentiation and division between and within schools, it is necessary to outline how different forms of knowledge through particular types of curriculum were made available to different types of pupils. To understand more fully the implication of separatism across schools, and, indeed, within schools, it is necessary to explore the assumptions made by those who advocate the fit between pupils as types and their access to and acquisition of particular forms of knowledge.

1.2 The Option System and the Stratification of Knowledge

Bernstein (1971) sees knowledge, its transmission and accessibility, as part of the complex power structures in any society:

"How society selects, classifies, distributes and evaluates educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control."

(Bernstein, 1971, p47)

He suggests that different types of pupils experience different knowledge codes: collection code with strong subject boundaries, integrated code with weak subject boundaries. Knowledge is also differentiated according to whether it progresses from surface structure to deep structure (collection code) or from deep structure to surface structure (integrated code). For Bernstein the notion of framing of knowledge is important, that is, how knowledge is organised, transmitted and received in schools. In the discussion of differentiation and division between pupils, Bernstein's arguments have much relevance:

"The frames of collection code vary early in the child's life socialise him into frames which discourage connections with everyday realities, or there is a very highly selective screening of the connection (...) Such frames also makes educational knowledge something not ordinary or mundane but something esoteric for those who possess it."

(Bernstein, 1971, p58)

This analysis suggests that the weakening of the frame is a movement towards non-school everyday community knowledge which "occurs usually with the less 'able' children who we have given up educating" (Bernstein, 1971). It is not so much that these "less able" children do not receive any education, it is the type of education that they receive which is of particular concern.

Successive government reports had advocated the need for the so-called average and less able pupils (those pupils who were assumed to make up the majority) to be given a curriculum that was of a practical and realistic nature, based on these pupils' assumed interests and related to the direct experiences drawn from their everyday life. The Hadow Report (1926)

distinguished quite clearly between the curricula of grammar schools and the modern schools. Modern schools' curricula had a practical bias because these pupils, en bloc, were considered to possess an educational identity which related "towards things practical, (their) intellectual activities are most strongly stimulated when they are directed towards practical ends" (the Hadow Report, 1926). These sentiments were echoed by the Crowther Report (1959) and the Newsom Report (1963).

The emphasis on the practical bias for the modern school pupils was to be accentuated during pupils' last two years in school as part of their preparation for occupations. Along with the notion of practical activity was the emphasis on an education for these pupils that was realistic. This 'realism' in education was to take account of the pupils' "everyday environment" with knowledge acquisition being related to "the facts of their everyday life" (the Hadow Report, 1926). This is clearly what Bernstein refers to as non-school, everyday community-based knowledge. Access to knowledge was restricted for most pupils to the everyday and local environment, whilst the minority grammar school pupils were offered a curriculum of a scientific and literary nature which would lead to deep structured, educational knowledge. This was freed from "the particular, the local, through various languages of the sciences or forms of reflexivity of the arts which makes possible either the creation or the discovery of the new realities" (Bernstein, 1971). Advocating a curriculum based on pupils' local environment and interests rather than extending their education to cover wider concerns is problematic for at least two reasons.

Firstly, the Hadow Report and the Newsom Report, among other reports, assumed that it was not necessary to construct the curriculum of grammar school pupils from their interests; or that these pupils were assumed to have different interests from modern school pupils, which naturally necessitated that they be offered a diet of abstract, deep structured knowledge. Secondly, these reports assumed a direct link between types of curricula and theories of learning. Consequently, emphasis on practical activities

for modern school pupils were considered enough to "secure their interests and show them the bearing of the teaching on their everyday life" (the Hadow Report, 1926). This type of 'realistic' education, affiliated to the practical and belonging to the 'real' world, was to be a powerful means of dividing pupils. The assumption was that grammar school pupils had substantially different ways of learning to the 'ordinary', 'average' or 'less-able' modern school pupils.

These policies simply reaffirmed the modern school pupils' low level status compared with grammar school pupils in relation to knowledge acquisition because they were confined to the particular here and now of the local and the immediate. The Hadow Report, like the New Secondary Education pamphlet (1947) over twenty years later, and the Newsom Report over thirty-six years after the Hadow Committee, was recommending that education of other than grammar school pupils should "take colour" (the Hadow Report, 1926) from pupils' local environment. It was assumed that most of these pupils "will be prepared for a life in it" (New Secondary Education pamphlet, 1947). The curriculum of mathematics and science illustrates quite clearly the restrictions that were placed on the curriculum for many modern school pupils. Mathematics was limited to "household or garden accounts" (New Education, 1947) and "social arithmetic" was advocated by the Newsom Report to be related to the immediate and practical needs of pupils such as calculation of gas and electricity accounts, rates and taxes. The divisions between the different sciences were merged into what Bernstein refers to as a "relational idea". The Newsom Report pointed out that it was "doubtful whether these divisions have a natural relationship with the requirements of our pupils" and, by implication, assumed that such divisions were quite proper for grammar school pupils. The argument here is not whether such divisions between such subjects should or should not exist. Rather it is the case that the integration or blurring of boundaries between subjects for certain pupils, itself devalues the knowledge structure for those pupils since the prestigious grammar school pupils experience a radically different

curriculum from that offered to modern school pupils. Furthermore, modern school pupils were assumed not to want to break out of their environment, indeed it would seem they received little or no encouragement to do so. The school, then, transmitted cultural expectations to pupils through the curriculum they received in school. These predominantly working-class pupils were trapped in an environment in which, unlike their grammar school contemporaries, there was not much room for any sort of job mobility. Even if pupils had wanted to choose, choices were being closed off.

In view of these detailed rationales of differentiation and stratification of knowledge, it is surprising that until recently there had been little research carried out into how developments of 4th and 5th year subject option schemes operated in schools. The Crowther Report (1959) had argued that option schemes be developed in bi-lateral or comprehensive schools. For the Crowther Committee the notion of an option scheme was a strategic device to avoid pupil failure in school so that pupils could be matched to particular curricula suited to their needs. Curriculum options were assumed to be a unifying force, drawing pupils together. However, Woods' (1976; 1979) analysis of the option system in a secondary modern school prior to becoming a comprehensive school, revealed that pupils' ability to select option courses was a mere "contest" mask which gave only "an illusion of a range of choices". The option system not only ensured that differentiation between pupils remained as strong as twenty or thirty years earlier, but the new form of segregation consolidated these divisions, as Woods points out:

"Pupils have been 'channelled', that is to say selected (at 11+, and no doubt earlier) and selected again (in the school's streaming arrangements and possibly hidden streaming before) long before they come into the third year; different social origins lead to different educational experiences, the difference being reinforced by prevailing pedagogical paradigm; and these differences have repercussions for what is taught to different pupils."

(Woods, 1979, pp 60-61)

Hargreaves (1982) argues that curriculum and subject choices contain

hidden messages promoting as inferior particular subjects. These curriculum choices are an accumulation of pupils' educational career or routes through the school, as Woods suggests:

"Years of interaction, tests and examinations have taught them their place. By the time of the third year these processes have completed the sifting and groups have worked out their *modi-vivendi*, they may choose only within their pre-ordained route..."

(Woods, 1979, p36)

A similar process was observed in a comprehensive school by Ball (1981). He argued that the whole notion of "free choice" was misconceived and that there were important constraints as to whether pupils could study subjects at 'O' level or CSE. Not only were choices limited by option lines, but pupils' "banded educational identities" were related to the type of curriculum made available to pupils. Ball suggests there is a subtle process of "cooling out" (from Goffman, 1962) over-aspiring lower band pupils and "warming up" under-aspiring top band pupils. Whilst top band pupils were geared towards 'O' levels, the lower band pupils were geared towards taking CSE or non-examination subjects.

Woods and Ball offer no detailed content analysis of what forms of knowledge are made available to different pupils. Woods refers only to pupils who follow an instrumental curriculum geared towards examinations and occupational qualifications. Non-exam pupils follow an expressive curriculum deliberately geared towards "education for citizenship", covering such areas as social studies, environmental studies and community studies. This resembles the analysis outlined previously in relation to Bernstein's everyday, community-based knowledge. Other research by Grafton et al. (1983a) was concerned with differentiation of educational experience according to sex. Grafton et al. noted how pupils needed to have "prior discussion" with a tutor before boys could take the family and child option or girls who wanted to take woodwork or metalwork had to "show a sincere desire" to do so. Research by the Schools Council (1982) on option choices for fourth year pupils and the analysis by Eggleston (1977) in relation to what he

refers to as deep divisions between pupils through subject differentiation, indicates that option schemes are as divisive a system of segregating pupils as was the division of pupils across different types of schools.

Clearly, an analysis of the ways in which different kinds of subjects are marketed to pupils under the option system and how much this acts as a device for segregating pupils is of considerable interest. Bernstein argues that the knowledge structure in school carries with it a label of social significance. Thus pupils who experience one form of knowledge as opposed to another form (integrated code for the less able; collection code for the most able) acquire particular educational identities. Once these screening procedures (viz-a-viz option choices) have been operated, it is very difficult to change a pupil's educational identity. What is of most concern in this emerging form of segregation is that such procedures carry with it implications for pupils' future occupations. The Crowther Report (1959) emphasised the academic versus craft dichotomy between different pupils, whereas the Hadow Report (1926) clearly saw modern school pupils in terms of being "not learners but doers, in some small way creators". Somehow the notion of learning by doing, as part of the educative process, was considered suitable only for the 'less able'. More particularly, the Newsom Report (1963) the so-called champion of secondary modern school pupils, merely reaffirmed their particular status with respect to job stratification since Newsom pupils were expected to obtain practical jobs concerned with "making and doing". Clearly, in any consideration of segregationist policies and divisions between and within schools, there is a need to examine how curricula in schools are related to occupational expectations and notions of employment for pupils conferred with particular and distinct educational identities.

1.3 Knowledge Acquisition and Preparation for Life

It has already been noted how knowledge acquisition for the less able was of a practical nature and related to the needs of their immediate

and local environment (1.2). School, community, family and pupils' destined workplace were all connected by various government reports since 1926 to what pupils did at school. The Hadow Report remarked that school work was "obviously related to the world of work as they (pupils) see it in the lives of their parents, their older brothers and sisters and their friends". Emphasis on the raising of the school leaving age to 16 was seen as being useful in relation to pupils' vocational interests. In a similar way the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) in the eighties can be viewed as a muted form of raising to seventeen the age before which a person can start a full time occupation. These last two years, the Hadow Report argued, were to be utilised to prepare pupils for occupations. Segregationist policies were again aligned, as they had been in the schools of industry of the 18th century (Morrish, 1970), to "the broad divisions of the world of work" (the Newsom Report, 1963). The world of work, everyday community knowledge, pupils' interests, all merged with the notion of occupational expectations:

"Many of our boys are going to work with their hands (...) In not so many years time, as young married men, they will likely be busy with domestic power tools and do-it-yourself kits, with home decorating and the building of garden sheds and garages. It would seem wholly sensible to plan courses for some of these lads centring around the use, perhaps the making of tools; the handling and working of various types of materials, the operating and maintenance of machines. Such work could be realistic in relating its materials and examples to the dominant industries of the area."

(the Newsom Report, 1963, par. 111 p36)

Here was a blatant sex discrimination against girls since they were assumed not to want nor be capable of engaging in practical activities or using tools. The Report simply reinforced the practical area of the curriculum as being male dominated. Furthermore, the Report specifically assumed either that academic pupils will have no recourse to use tools in their job or at home, or they were assumed to know how to use them without the need for further instruction in school. School was to prepare pupils for the world of work so that "sometimes there will be a direct relationship

between what is done at school (...) and the work that is taken up" by pupils when they leave school. The Newsom Report argued that if this was the case, "so much the better" because this would be an "education that makes sense" for these pupils.

Differentiation was not only between different pupils as types, but the Report made explicit a sex discrimination between Newsom pupils. If jobs for the less able boys were related to the practical and industrial, semi-skilled or un-skilled working class jobs, the expectation was that girls would take jobs in offices, shops or clothing manufacturing industries. The Newsom Report promoted what it said were girls' tendencies and preoccupation with personal appearance and interests in boyfriends, and built these elements into the fabric of the curriculum. The Report remarked that since "many girls were ready to respond to work relating to the wider aspects of homemaking, a family life and care and upbringing of children", these aspects should be incorporated into the curriculum. More recent observations by Woods (1979) suggest that non-examination girls who are usually dissonant in most lessons, conform in lessons which are directly related to child care or lessons about family life.

There is growing evidence that curriculum options demarcate between academic, job orientated pupils and less academic pupils who follow an expressive curriculum. Girls of lower academic ability, it seems, are more likely to be offered and to choose subject options concerned with child care or education related to home life (Grafton, et al. 1983a; 1983b). Such options may have little or no bearing on pupils' future occupations. However, what is clear is that where choice is offered, the academic and aspiring pupils choose subjects which lead to qualifications relevant to occupations (Woods, 1979). Furthermore, Woods notes that whether pupils like or dislike subjects was of little concern when related to their potential access to particular occupations. Thus, as Hargreaves (1982) and Woods (1983) point out, the seeds of division between pupils were now

growing within an option system which contained certain subjects classed as being of inferior status.

The development of particular types of curriculum for the so-called less able can be a valuable aid to promote pupils' interest in school and to stave off pupils' disaffection. As long ago as 1926, the Hadow Report had seen the value of this approach with pupils who were uncommitted to school work. In fact, the examination suggested by the Below Report (1960) which became the CSE, was to have a "tonic effect" and was to act as a goal to stimulate the less academic pupils into working in school for a purpose. However, whilst such aims may have been laudable in their own right, in practice these examinations differentiated further between pupils. They were, and have been ever since, considered a much lower status than GCE subjects, which were originally only taken by the grammar school pupils (although some secondary schools did offer the examinations to the top streams - see Hargreaves, 1967), and recently the more able pupils in comprehensive schools. Subjects taken at CSE level confirmed pupils' educational identity; as Pedley (1978) points out, "it (refined) further the educational ranking order". What can be suggested is that the CSE examinations may have been of greater benefit to the teachers in terms of making classroom teaching more easy for them because more pupils were more willing to be taught. Woods (1980) puts it bluntly when he suggests that the CSE has been the biggest aid to teacher survival since the war.

1.4 Teacher Differentiation and Cultures

The division between schools and the differentiated option system across these schools, and indeed, within comprehensive schools, has implications not only for what is taught to particular pupils but also for teachers who taught them. Particular types of teachers were to be matched to particular types of pupils. Built into the fabric of teaching and formalised in types of teacher training, was the notion of teacher differentiation.

Hargreaves (1980) suggests three related themes in teacher differentiation status, skills versus knowledge and hierarchy. In the 1840s there was a

distinction made between teacher status since teachers in the public schools were typically Oxbridge clergymen. The elementary schools, in contrast, were staffed by pupil teachers and college trained teachers; the latter being "recruited from the offspring of domestic servants, small tradesmen and skilled manual workers" (Hargreaves, 1980). A hundred years later this form of differentiation was to be found, though in an attenuated form, in the tripartite system. Indeed, the Hadow Report (1926) argued that the recruitment of teachers needed to teach the average or so-called less able pupils was to come from teachers who were from similar backgrounds to the pupils they were to teach. By promoting the concept of everyday knowledge and the practical, realistic orientations of the curriculum, the Hadow Report had forged a link between secondary modern pupils' educational identities and teachers' dispositions to teach particular pupils:

"We are of the opinion that in selecting head teachers of Modern Schools, local education authorities should aim at choosing men and women who are interested in the social and industrial conditions of their pupils' parents, whose outlook on life is not predominantly academic or professional, and who are not predisposed to base their curricula on some conventional examination system."

(The Hadow Report, 1926, pp 124-125)

Such teachers were employed to help in the transmission of separate cultures so that these teachers were required to take account of "the dignity of occupations which are not exclusively professional and academic". They were also to have an attitude that was "broad-minded, liberal (with a) practical outlook". It was to ensure that pupils from certain backgrounds were prepared for jobs in the same occupational and geographical area as their parents. Teachers who were sympathetic to the needs of these pupils were to make sure that such pupils' passage through school was to be achieved with minimal fuss and upheaval to the school system.

It was clear that within this division of labour teachers were recruited because it was assumed that teaching the "less able" pupils required a radically different approach than was necessary for the predominantly middle class grammar school pupils. The New Secondary Education pamphlet (1947)

made explicit this division between teachers: "they (modern school teachers) are going to teach pupils rather than subjects and (must be) prepared to learn a new technique and new approach". The Crowther Report crystallised this division of labour by extolling the virtues of teachers of the less academic, the "less able" or "backward" pupils:

They (teachers) have found that it is here their skill is most needed; and besides skill, devotion. They have found it a most satisfying form of work and have been more than content to leave the teaching of brighter boys and girls to other hands."

(The Crowther Report, 1959, p92)

It is interesting to note how the Report lumps together the so-called less able pupils with backward pupils to draw a distinction between these pupils and the "brighter pupils". It would seem that all but "brighter" pupils are backward or less able. More pay was advocated for these teachers to help increase their status. The higher the educational standing of the pupils, it seems, the higher the status bestowed on those who teach them.

The public and grammar schools had placed great emphasis on esoteric knowledge and subject-centred teaching. Thus public schools employed university graduates, the degree status being accepted as a qualification to teach the brighter pupils. Knowledge was given precedence over skills since it was assumed that skills, which would be quickly developed in situ, were of secondary importance. The grammar schools simply copied this tradition. For a college trained teacher with a Certificate in Education (Cert. Ed.) qualification, his credentials lay in his teaching skill and his theoretical knowledge of teaching. He was considered to be more suited as a teacher for secondary modern or primary schools. Thus, this differentiation reaffirmed the notion that whereas the public or grammar school pupils needed teachers with knowledge, it was assumed that secondary modern school pupils would not require or need such esoteric knowledge and, consequently, would only require teachers with particular skills.

The uprating of teacher training to the status of the B.Ed degree, with

colleges of education overseen by local universities and the Council of National Academic Awards (CNAA), has failed to raise the status of a skills-centred approach to teaching as a valuable theoretical area of study.

Hargreaves suggests that this is partly because the B.Ed teacher is considered unable to claim, with any great certainty, to understand more about young people than his colleagues with a more conventional degree. Such teachers may be viewed as being 'second class teachers'. Indeed, graduates undergoing one year PGCE training may be socialised into the view that educational studies, which include philosophy, history and the social sciences, are "background information" which must be studied only to obtain the qualification (Hargreaves, 1980). This discrepancy can be explained by reference to Bernstein's theory of knowledge codes: collection code versus integrated code. The specialised university degree course is a form of collection code with distinct boundaries between subjects (English degree, maths degree, etc) whereas the B.Ed is a specialised degree course using an integrated code and drawing on a number of areas under the relational idea of 'education'. Distinct boundaries are drawn between different universes of knowledge so that to stray over the boundary constitutes an impure variety and is therefore considered to be either unacceptable or at best of a lower status. Bernstein suggests that until recently it was the pure variety at the university level which received the higher status of an honours degree. In contrast, the impure variety tended to lead to what was considered to be the lower status of a general degree.

The expectation in the grammar school was that a teacher with a first class honours degree would, in time, become a head of department. The development of the comprehensive system, however, disturbed this "status distribution" (Hargreaves, 1980). Although the grammar school teachers may have dreaded reorganisation since it threatened to dissolve their status as elite teachers, the comprehensive school in many cases ensured that for most grammar school teachers there was a continued opportunity to teach their academic subject to academic pupils. In contrast, most of

the former heads of departments from the secondary modern schools were to lose their posts in the amalgamated and newly formed comprehensive schools (Hargreaves, 1980).

The academic subjects (collection code) from the grammar school continued to exert a dominant influence and have greater prestige in the comprehensive schools compared with the practically orientated subjects (integrated code) prominent in many secondary modern schools. Here we see the relationship between subject status and teacher status, with the high status (academic) subjects being taught by the high status graduate (and ex-grammar) teachers. It was necessary, therefore, to provide ex-secondary teachers with an alternative career structure because, as Sikes (1984) notes, "with comprehensivisation many teachers found that they were in jobs that they had not originally applied for". As noted previously, whereas the grammar school teachers were almost wholly concerned with preparing pupils for public examinations, leading to a university place and geared towards professional occupations, secondary teachers tended to be concerned with social control problems of 'difficult' working class pupils. Their task was to prepare such pupils for semi-skilled or unskilled occupations. Of course, these broad poles were tempered with variations between the extremes since not all pupils would fit neatly into these categories. However, to alleviate the expected problems that might develop with these so-called difficult ex-secondary modern pupils, ex-secondary modern teachers were offered promotional prospects in the newly developed pastoral care and discipline structures as heads of year, heads of house and counsellors (Hargreaves, 1980; Burgess, 1983; Sikes, 1984). The outward reason offered was that this guarded against the "potential negative effects of a large impersonal school on the individual child" (Hargreaves, 1980). There was, as Hargreaves points out, another equally important reason. The development of the pastoral care system was to provide a career structure for the ex-secondary teacher "who would be at a disadvantage in competing against the better qualified grammar school

teachers for senior academic posts".

Although ex-secondary teachers were given a new career structure with the associated rewards of extra pay, it was questionable whether this career structure did carry with it equal status compared with the academic career structure. Monetary rewards are only part of a teachers satisfaction, as Lortie (1975) has suggested. He classifies rewards into three types: extrinsic, ancillary and psychic or intrinsic. Whilst the former refers to payment, ancillary rewards can be perceived as being derived from the task which is reward in itself, whilst psychic rewards consist of subjective evaluations a person gives to the job he has to do. Lortie emphasises that "the culture and surrounding structure of an occupation are likely to influence the emphasis on some kinds of rewards than others" and the values of the occupational work together with the core tasks "produce a characteristic reward structure among the membership". How the alternative career structure is viewed by teachers, therefore, plays an important part in the perception of the role of teachers who hold these posts. For instance, Burgess (1983) argued that teachers who held pastoral and remedial posts were considered by others teachers in the school he studied to be of a lower status compared with subject heads of department. He noted that teachers in the comprehensive school who taught the 'less able' pupils, labelled as "Newsom Pupils" were also labelled as "Newsom Teachers" by other members of staff. The direct reference to the Newsom Report's concern for the less academic pupils in the secondary school still survived in this comprehensive school. Sikes makes a similar point when she refers to the two roles of the different types of teachers:

"Thus, differentiated as 'academic' (grammar) or pastoral/disciplinarian (secondary modern), teachers have different commitments and motivations, different aims and values, look for different satisfactions and experience teaching in terms of different teacher cultures."

(Sikes, 1984 p249)

Differentiation between teachers can also centre on what Ball and Lacey (1980) refer to as "subject sub-cultures". There can be a tendency for teachers to hold friendships within their subjects and to remain loyal to subject departments (Lacey, 1977). The status of a teacher can also relate to the subject he teaches. Thus, in a comprehensive school, as we have already noted, there is a differentiation between academic and lower status, practically orientated subjects. But more particularly, the recent shifts in emphasis by the government away from the arts with greater importance being placed on maths, science and technology in a climate of limited resources (Ball, 1984), affords a higher value and status to those subjects. Furthermore, gender difference is also an important factor in teacher differentiation since few women teachers, it seems, rise to senior posts or heads of department in academic subjects (see Acker and Piper, 1984). Where women do hold heads of department posts, these are more likely to be in the arts rather than sciences or in subjects such as home economics: the latter also tending to be absorbed into a larger faculty of craft, design and technology and are likely to come under the jurisdiction of a male head of faculty. These factors can further confirm certain teachers as being of a higher status and exacerbate a division of labour between teachers.

Values, status differentiation and problems associated with the reorganisation of a secondary modern school into a comprehensive school, are outlined by Riseborough (1981). He shows how the "old staff" in the school he studied, which included the head of the secondary modern school, who were not reappointed to the positions in the new school, developed a counter-culture. All these seventeen teachers, except one, were two-year or emergency trained, non-graduates. Riseborough suggests that in relation to the school's new "pressurised academic environment" (Lacey, 1974), the "old staff" considered that they had been demoted. They believed that they had been "written off" and "streamed" by being allocated to the position of teaching only the lower stream pupils. Thus the old staff, like Hargreaves (1967), Lacey's (1970) and Ball's (1981) analysis of sub-cultures, became

isolated and alienated. Hargreaves (1967) suggests that 'when a teacher is allocated to low streams, this is perceived as a recognition of his limitations as a teacher' and this in turn 'reinforces the teacher's sense of his own incompetence'. The argument used at Lumley by the headteacher was that since the academic pupils were taking public examinations, they must be taught by the "better teachers". Riseborough shows how this line of reasoning affected the old teachers in the comprehensive school he studied:

"They developed inverted norms and values which the head perceived even deviant than before. The head reacted further, resulting in his assumptions becoming 'actualities' and a deviant orientation to work being established amongst the 'old' staff. In short, the 'old' staff took on a stigmatised, spoilt, professional identity and now deny any legitimacy to the promulgations of the head and new staff in hierarchical positions."

(Riseborough, 1981, p251)

Riseborough offers no comparable analysis of the 'new' teachers' role and perceptions to balance those of the 'old' teachers. However, his analysis is valuable since it offers a link between teacher cultures and pupil cultures in terms of their mutual access to achieving valued states in relation to rewards, success and achievement. What the analysis of teacher differentiation and cultures shows is that schools have a dominant value system; but alongside this there may be subterranean or subsidiary values operating simultaneously, if uneasily, together. Research related to teachers should, therefore, take this into account and not assume that all teachers share and are representative of one dominant value system.

Section 2: Institution and Individual Level

At this level a closer examination will be made of the processes of differentiation, drawing on studies that derive their data from what actually happens in schools and classrooms. Many of these studies can be classed as interactionist since they treat as valid data, experiences and reported experiences of the participants in the interaction: pupils and teachers.

1.5 Pupil Perceptions of Teachers and Teaching

Next to the previous analysis of teacher differentiation, in a national

context, a critical outline is offered of research concerned with pupils' perceptions and evaluations of teachers and teaching. The basis for much research in this area can be located in a number of distinct but inter-related areas which includes the ideal-matching model, the characteristic model and the dynamic interactionist model (Hargreaves, 1978); as well as research using triangulation techniques.

1.5.1 Ideal-Matching Model

Influential in this area is the work of Becker (1952). He argued that in an institution, or service organisation, there is an image of an 'ideal' client against which actual clients are matched and evaluated as 'good' or 'bad'. This basic model suggests that typification is a matter of ideal-matching. (Hargreaves, 1977).

Hargreaves (1972) summarises the earlier research in this area by Bush (1942), Tiedeman (1942), Michael (1951), Allen (1961) and Taylor (1962) by outlining two broad areas of pupils' evaluations of teachers. These consist of pupils who "like a teacher who..." and pupils who "dislike a teacher who..." The opposing poles of the analysis being divided into three areas: discipline, instruction and personality. The conclusions reached by these researchers is that pupils like a teacher who can keep order and give moderate punishment where necessary. Such a teacher is friendly, cheerful, has a sense of humour and takes an interest in individuals. A major criticism of this type of research is that they invite pupils to give stereotypical views of teachers. In contrast, the study by Blishen (1969) gives a broad picture of the views pupils have of school. He showed that there was a high degree of consensus about what qualities they wished to see in their teachers. Teachers, it seems, should be "understanding" and "patient", give pupils chance to speak, they should accept criticisms, be "humble", "kind", "pleasant", "warm and personal" and "punctual". In contrast, research by Dale (1967) showed that the bad teacher was one who uses fear to dominate pupils, he can be extremely moody, indifferent or lazy.

By eliciting pupils' perceptions of teachers in ideal (or least ideal) terms, the data that the researchers have gathered tells us little about the way pupils perceive specific teachers. However, these studies do give an insight into how teachers need to present themselves to pupils, as well as indicating how pupils view the better and best, or worst teachers.

1.5.2 Characteristic Model

This type of research posits that pupils perceive teachers in terms of a set of characteristics. Actual teachers are typified as having unique configurations of such characteristics with these typifications being in the form of an identi-kit (Hargreaves, 1977). Research using this approach includes the work of Weston, Taylor and Humán (1978), Nash (1976), Furlong (1976), Turner (1983), Rosser and Harré (1976) and Woods (1976; 1979).

Weston et al. used a questionnaire to elicit from pupils what they considered to be the major goals of teachers (eg "trying to give all pupils a chance to do well"). Pupils were asked to score such items using a five point rating scale. The high scoring items on the questionnaire matched closely those characteristics pupils considered resembled ideal teachers. What is problematic about set questionnaires is that they may force pupils to channel what they consider to be worthy teacher characteristics into pre-defined categories. With the impact of symbolic interaction theory and personal construct theory, however, researchers sought to elicit how pupils themselves construed teachers. This approach was central to the interactionist's research methodology. Thus, Nash used Kelly's (1963) repertory grid technique and asserted that pupils typify teachers in terms of six major bi-polar constructs: fair-unfair; friendly-unfriendly; explains-doesn't explain; interesting-boring; keeps order-unable to keep order; teaches you-doesn't teach you. Whilst Nash's work adds to the content of our knowledge it is "confirmatory rather than innovative" (Hargreaves, 1977). Furthermore, Nash only uses observation to confirm the repertory test rather than to extend it. Similarly, Furlong argues that pupils typify teachers in terms of a combination of two bi-polar dimensions of "strict-soft" and "effective-

ineffective", noting that teachers can be strict and effective or ineffective, soft and effective or ineffective. Pupils judged teachers primarily on the amount of work that went on in the classroom. Other researchers such as Turner, Rosser and Harré offer no analytical insights into pupils' perceptions of teachers. Whilst Turner shows how pupils see teachers as a valuable resource and evaluate them in terms of items already noted, Rosser and Harré suggest that pupils can see teachers as a "load of rubbish" or "useless", with bad teachers being those who "treat school as a nine-to-five job". These are, though, little more than descriptive accounts.

Woods also presents data in the form of dichotomies. He discussed with pupils the qualities they liked and disliked in teachers, comparing like with dislike (thus encapsulating aspects of the ideal-type). These were then compressed into four categories: teaching technique, teacher disposition, teacher control, and teacher fairness. The sub-categories in each heading were placed under the appropriate 'like' or 'dislike' poles. Woods' analysis does, in fact, overlap with the next category. (the dynamic interactionist model).

A criticism of these approaches is that they are not truly interactionist since they fail to take into consideration situational variables. Many studies (such as Nash and Furlong) confirm previous research findings rather than explore new avenues of investigations.

1.5.3 Dynamic Interactionist Model

Research of this type takes account of situations and contexts. For instance, Hargreaves (1967) and Ball (1981) place pupils' perceptions of teachers in the context of different pupil cultures. Similarly, Woods (1976; 1979) compared perceptions of teachers by examination and non-examination pupils.

Hargreaves elicited pupils' responses to the sentence completion questionnaire "teachers are..." The full questionnaire was open-ended and it was not intended as a means to elicit pupils' perceptions of an

ideal teacher. He concluded that there was a tendency for top stream boys to perceive teachers more favourably than bottom stream boys. Ball noted that Band 2 pupils, compared with top Band 1 pupils, had a more negative view of teachers, describing them as "wankers", "rotten" and "stupid bastards". Ball offers no detailed analysis of pupils' perceptions of other than these descriptions. A similar conclusion was given by Thompson (1977). She reported that "pupils who their teachers designate as deviant have less favourable opinions of school and teachers than those designated well adjusted". Measor and Woods (1983) noted how pupils in their first year at a comprehensive school compared their new teachers to the teachers in the middle school they had just left. This is an interesting departure from other types of research since it begins to compare different types of teachers and does not assume all teachers as being the same.

Other researchers have shown the dynamic nature of pupils' perceptions of teachers. These studies draw on theories of person perception and attribution theory (Heider, 1954), can be associated with Kelly's (1963) personal construct theory as well as Goffman's (1959) analysis of the presentation of self. Thus, Delamont (1976) shows how girls make inferences about teachers with respect to the significant aspect of a teacher's personal front: "gowns and overalls, physical appearance, clothing, age, sex, race, speech and paralinguistic features of posture, gesture and the like". Delamont notes how a teacher's age and marital status is inferred from the school context to the home context: "the unsympathetic master (...) is perceived as unmarried, or unhappily married". In contrast, the sympathetic master is considered to have "a happy marriage or an exciting girlfriend". Similarly, Fuller (1980) notes how black girls can identify with a female teacher not because of her colour but because of her sex. She cites one girl as saying that its "because she is a career woman. She has succeeded in life at a time in her days when women were expected to sit around..." What these studies illustrate is that pupils formulate hypothesis, with data drawn from observations in the institutional setting to fill in what a

teacher may be like in other contexts, such as at home. One context is believed to ~~impose on and influence the other.~~

Gannaway's (1976) analysis shows how pupils subject teachers to systematic tests in a given sequence to discover to what extent the teacher can keep order, whether pupils are allowed to have a laugh or whether the teacher understands pupils. The model, though dynamic, is sketched very tentatively by Gannaway but can be readily developed to take account of the situational contexts and the longer term career of pupil typifications (Hargreaves, 1978). Whilst Hargreaves suggests that this is the first British study to use the dynamic model of pupil typifications since Werthman's (1963) pioneering study, this is to ignore the earliest work by Meighan (1974). Meighan explored the possibility of using pupil feedback to inform on student teacher performance. Student teachers asked pupils to respond on a questionnaire to areas of their teaching performance such as preparation, techniques of presentation, attitude to pupils, class management and discipline. Although the research overlaps with the characteristic model by endeavouring to elicit responses from a set of predefined teacher characteristics, pupils were given the opportunity to add their own comments. It is dynamic in that it compares pupils' responses with those of the student teacher and tutor. In certain respects it emulates the use of feedback and involvement of teachers in research developed by the Ford Teaching Project but, unlike the Project it seeks to measure the validity of pupils' perceptions by comparing them to others.. This aspect of the triangulation approach is problematic, as Meighan (1979) admits, since the validity of the student teacher and tutor's perceptions could equally be gauged by comparing them with those of the pupils.

In a different way, Ball (1980) and Beynon's (1984) analysis of pupils' perceptions of teachers is dynamic since they take into account the processes involved and the context of the interaction between teacher and pupil. Ball emphasises the importance of initial encounters as a

basis of information gathering and testing out the teacher. This process may be used by both conformist and non-conformist pupils. Conformist pupils might be "concerned to know the teacher's conception of the lesson in the sense of being able to perform more competently within it" rather than to challenge the teacher which the non-conformist pupil might do. Similarly, Beynon notes how pupils act as data gatherers, intent on "sussing out" teachers using a number of strategies: group formation and communication, joking, challenging actions (both verbally and non verbally), using intervention and play. As with Hargreaves, Woods; Ball and Beynon distinguish between different groups of pupils who are shown to act differently. Once a pupil has established what a teacher is like, the interaction between teacher and pupil may settle into a routine. However, this may be disturbed if pupils have a new teacher, a supply teacher or a student teacher who takes over the class. The "testing out" phase may begin again with pupils attempting to make "take overs" (Measor and Woods, 1983).

What can be suggested is that these studies into pupils' perceptions of teachers highlights their taken for granted use of the techniques of ethnomethodology. They become actively engaged in an intimate and participant form of sociological study of their own classrooms. Pupils utilise the engineering model of ethnomethodology, suggested by Garfinkle (1967), to disrupt a classroom situation and thereby discover how that situation works. In this way many (but by all means not all) pupils are frequently testing out and discovering teachers' reactions. As a consequence of this they have reliable data on which to formulate present and future actions.

Davies (1979; 1980) in her study of deviance and sex roles in school, shows how the girls she studied interacted differently with different teachers. Extending the use of Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model but preferring the notion of television, she shows how pupils can use action replays and edit their 'scripts'. She defines scripts as "the articulation of a putative identity and of a definition of the situation". Whilst type

scripts operate at a more macro level and are "background expectations attached to various statuses and membership", individual scripts are being constantly re-written to accommodate "both institutional type-scripts and individual teacher scripts". Consequently, pupils' perceptions and evaluations of teachers are used to signal the use of an appropriate script. For example, the 'mother script', the 'withdrawal script' and the 'male' or 'confrontation scripts'.

Davies argues that scripts are more flexible than roles, which she suggests are static. However, in symbolic interaction theory, roles are not static; Mead (1934) argues that we play many roles and these vary depending with whom we interact and the particular context of the interaction (Rose, 1962). Scripts do stress, however, the active process of pupils' perceptions and relates directly to the analysis by Ball and Benynon. The concept of scripts have much in common with typifications, expectations and roles and may, therefore, be not so much a new concept as a substitution of a new label for an older label. However, the importance of this analysis using the notion of scripts is that it may allow a discrimination to be achieved between the finely tuned details of pupils' perceptions, actions and strategies. As we shall see later (1.8), pupil practices may also be a useful concept which bridges perception, action and strategies.

A major criticism of the varying approaches to the study of pupil perceptions of teachers is that, whilst some research examines how different groups of pupils perceive teachers, the scope of the research outlined here assumes a unified body of teachers. No attempt is made to delineate between teachers. It cannot be assumed that teachers represent an undifferentiated group of individuals occupying the same status and sharing the same values. The analysis in Section 1 (1.4) questions the validity of these assumptions.

1.5.4 Triangulation Techniques

The use of triangulation techniques in the classroom, utilising symbolic interaction theory and personal construct theory, emphasises that all accounts are equally valid and negotiable. As Harré and Secord (1972) note, "the standard form of negotiation can be defined round a three-person interaction, the primary participants and the 'third man'". In this type of research the participant observer is "an engaged observer but not a primary participant" in the interaction and so "he must negotiate his accounts with the accounts of the actors". The notable research using this approach was the Ford Teaching Project (1972-1974, 1975, see Adams, 1980) directed by John Elliott. It endeavoured to map out similarities and differences in teacher-pupil perceptions and expectations. This procedure cannot only be used to discover how pupils perceive teachers and the teaching-learning situation, but can be used to discover how teachers perceive pupils and their perceptions of what has occurred in the teaching-learning situation. In this approach, then, teachers and pupils are brought together in a co-operative enterprise, as Elliott notes:

"The students are in the best position to explain how the teacher's actions influence the way they respond to the situation. The participant observer is in the best position to collect data about observable features of the interaction between teacher and students. By comparing his own accounts from two other standpoints, a person at one end of the triangle has an opportunity to test and perhaps revise it on the basis of more (...) data."

(Elliott, 1976)

The Project developed from the Schools Council Humanities Curriculum Project (HCP) directed by Lawrence Steinhilber (Adams, 1980). Among the conclusions of the evaluation of the HCP was that teachers were often unaware of the sorts of influence they exerted in the classroom (see Aston, 1980). The Ford Teaching Project did not seek to locate a number of variables in relation to how pupils perceived teachers, as other models have shown. Instead, the triangulation technique endeavoured to help teachers become more aware of their actions by monitoring, systematically,

the pupils' account of them. In this sense the approach that was used methodological rather than theoretical since it produced few generalisable teacher characteristics as perceived by pupils but was more concerned with specific classroom situations.

Elliott and Adelman (1973) suggest that a teacher needs to be in a position not only to discover if what he intended was perceived and understood by his pupils, but he must become aware of those things he brings about unintentionally. However, there is a problem of cause and effect. To understand the cause of the effect it is necessary to search for the "causal mechanism". One obvious way to do this, that is to discover how pupils interpret actions, is to ask the pupils themselves.

"In a human situation, consequences of actions are identified as such, not so much in terms of the agent's intentions, as by the way other people interpret them. It is other people's interpretation of action's meaning which in the final analysis explains the relationship between act and consequence, and provide criteria for identifying an event as a consequent of someone's action."

(Elliott and Adelman, 1973)

The method used by the Project was a tape-slide technique developed by Adelman (Adelman and Walker, 1975). Earlier research of classroom interaction, such as Flanders (1970) interactional analysis was of little use in informal classrooms. Also, the intention of classroom talk, if it had to be assigned to a category, would be hidden from the observer. There was a need for visual and sound recording so that talk could be related to the social context. The tape-slide technique enabled teachers and pupils to "reconstruct classroom events and means (they had) more than memory to go on" (Elliott, 1976). In this respect teachers and pupils became observers and audience to their own actions.

However, the definition of an event (or episode) may be problematic. Where and when, in the spatio-temporal setting, does an event begin and end? Researchers asked the teacher if there were any events that he considered contained misunderstandings or miscommunication. The pupils involved cited in the event were asked for their interpretation. The pupils' accounts

were played back to the teacher for his account of the pupils' interpretation as well as being offered an opportunity to compare these accounts with those of his own. (Adelman and Walker, 1975).

The Project revealed a number of situations in which there had occurred, as Adams (1980) suggests, a "breakdown (...) between what the teacher intended and what transpired". It was noted that teachers were often unaware of the extent to which their intentions were unrealised because their pupils had mis-read them. Pupils tried to respond to the teacher's questions by trying to guess the 'answer' they thought the teacher had in mind (Elliott and Adelman, 1973b). A teacher discovered that his questions led the pupil to respond in a certain way: "how well I'd fallen into the trap of revealing by my tone of voice what I thought were the 'right' answers" (Bowen, Green and Pols, 1975). Other teachers pointed out that when a teacher asks a pupil "do you agree?" they may expect pupils to respond by expressing an opinion. What transpired was that the pupils regarded this statement as an "invitation to consensus" and so remained quiet. Thus, among other things, the Project revealed discrepancies between a teacher's intention and the pupils' expectations.

Triangulation as a research methodology can be used in a variety of classrooms and situations where the primary aim is to discover teachers' and pupils' perceptions and interpretations of events that transpire. Unlike Meighan's approach, it does not seek to measure the validity of pupils' responses against those of others (be they teachers or researchers). Instead, where differences in perception emerge, these are themselves considered as valid and interesting data.

1.6 Teacher Perception of Pupils - a Process of Classification

Research into pupils' perceptions of teaching and teachers is complemented by an outline of certain processes involved in teacher perceptions of pupils. There are two broad elements which can be called the national context and the school context. Although these are treated here as conceptually distinct, they do in fact overlap and

are interrelated.

1.6.1 A National Context

The analysis of processes of differentiation at a national level (Section 1) revealed the extent of differentiation and division portrayed in government reports and political rhetoric with the assumptions about, and inherent in, the classification of pupils. This continues unabated in spite of the aims of egalitarianism professed by many educationalists. Although teachers may not have any detailed knowledge of specific government reports, the assumptions and recommendations within these reports are passed down from government and local authority advisers to schools and, through these schools, to individual teachers. These assumptions may, in turn, be promulgated by training institutions. Thus, it can be argued that the Norwood myth of three types of pupil representing three types of mind and divisions between grammar and secondary modern schools, has been absorbed into the mainstream of comprehensive education and reappeared in schools in the form of streaming (Ford, 1969; Keddie, 1971) or banding (Ball, 1981; see also Bern and Simon, 1972). Educational success or failure can be rationalised by teachers in terms of social class so that pupils' inability to succeed is attributed to their working class background (Hargreaves, 1967) or is rationalised in relation to "deficiency in terms of primary socialisation" (Reynolds and Sullivan, 1979). Assumptions about pupils and perceptions of pupils are inferred or derived from their background (Sharp and Green, 1975). Hargreaves (1967) noted how these older sociological ideas were used by teachers as a basis for perceiving pupils and rationalising pupil failure. The problem with this process of classifying pupils and those inherent in the compensatory theories of education (re: the Plowden Report, 1967; see Karabel and Halsey, 1977) is that they detract attention away from an examination of the influence of the school on pupil success or failure. The remainder of the analysis, therefore, will confine itself to the role played by the school in teachers' perceptions and classification of pupils.

1.6.2 The School Context

The analysis of how teachers perceive pupils their process of classifying pupils can be seen to utilise the key concept of 'matching'. This concerns or is related to at least four areas: teachers' prior knowledge of pupils, the influence of the school organisation, staffroom interaction and interaction in the classroom.

i) Teacher's Prior Knowledge

This area clearly overlaps with the national context. Teachers do not come into teaching as naive individuals but bring with them a "stock of pre-constituted knowledge which includes a network of typifications of human individuals in general, of typical human motivations, goals and action patterns" (Schutz, 1964). Schutz uses the notion of biography to argue that a person's past is what forms part of his present life and experiences. Thus a person may know his past, but it is not present before him in a "vivid and direct experience". A teacher's own school days, his university or college training and his past and present colleagues and friends, are influential in the way he perceives and interacts with pupils. Perceptions, however, are not fixed but may be in a state of flux and are malleable (Kelly, 1963). Whilst the perceptions of pupils that new teachers acquire have, to some extent taken shape before they begin teaching, it is the institution itself which acts as a powerful force of socialisation of teachers into the profession (Lacey, 1977) which contributes to the development of teachers' perceptual processes.

ii) Staffroom Interaction

The staffroom provides an area for the discussion of educational matters and policy making (A. Hargreaves, 1981) as well as providing a place for teachers to unwind. It is "a haven in stormy seas" of classroom life, with staffroom laughter providing a valuable mechanism of release and relaxation (Woods, 1979). The staffroom provides the backdrop (back region) to the main performance in the front region as well as providing

an area for staff to discuss 'in mates' (Goffman, 1959; 1961). It constitutes an important place for generating assumptions about pupils' identities. For instance, Ball (1981) cites a teacher's conversation in the staffroom about a pupil: "the band 1 child, who is intelligent, loves doing projects but the lower band child will just copy chunks out of a book". A new teacher can be warned by well-meaning colleagues about particular classes and pupils before he meets them in the classroom (Hargreaves, 1972). Thus, the prior knowledge and experiences of new teachers are overlaid by and can be influenced by these warnings. For a new teacher coming into a school, the conversations provide a basis on which he may judge specific or named pupils, as Hargreaves notes:

"Whenever teachers discuss pupils, they import into the discussion their own interpretations and preconceptions, which provide the 'naive' teacher, that is one who has no direct contact with the child, with information which categorise the child in advance of actual interaction and defines the situation in terms of behaviour the teachers should expect."

(Hargreaves, 1967, p106)

Of course other teachers who know the pupil may qualify such remarks or may disagree, but to a new teacher the opinions of colleagues can have the effect of "acting as a provisional agent of the categorisation process", with staffroom gossip about pupils adding to the "preconceptions and expectations by which pupils are assessed" (Hargreaves, 1967).

Hammersley (1984) suggests that staffroom talk or "shop talk" is a major activity, with a premium being placed on the gathering, trading and pooling of news. This is presented and selected in terms of its "relevance to common problems and crises". Whilst pupil behaviour is not treated as static, the descriptions teachers use when describing pupils are almost always changes for the worst. Teachers, it seems, are concerned with specific events such as the behaviour and troublesome nature of pupils and rates of attendance or absence of pupils. This process of pupil typifications can be frequently used in a more rhetorical fashion rather than merely as a basis of "comparing notes" or "stocktaking". There is

concentration on describing particular pupils rather than their actions, with no attempt to offer reasoned explanations and to trace the causation of these features of pupils. It seems ironic that whilst for some time now researchers have collected data about school and classrooms from staffroom talk (see Hargreaves, 1967; Hargreaves et al, 1975; Keddie, 1971), they failed to grasp the connection between the data they collected as researchers and data teachers also collect on pupils. Only recently have researchers undertaken detailed analyses of staffroom life (re: A. Hargreaves, 1981; Hammersley, 1984). As Hargreaves (1972) observed: "pupils and classes have their reputations made quite as much within the staffroom as within the classroom itself".

iii) Organisation of the School - the Mechanisms of Segregation

Teachers may not see pupils as individuals but they are likely to match the perceptions they have of pupils to their stream or band allocation. Much of teachers staffroom typifications of pupils has its roots in, and stems from, how the school segregates pupils. Hargreaves (1967) noted how teachers' perception of pupils was dependent upon which stream they were in because "the teacher has learned to expect certain kinds of behaviour from members of different streams". Lacey (1970) reports similarly that the least academically successful, bottom stream class in the second year was also regarded by teachers as the worst behaved. Furthermore, there was a distinction between the pupils rated by the teacher as badly behaved and those they rated as well behaved since "no boy with a 'bad' behaviour grade scored in the 'good' performance range". Although these researchers studied secondary modern and grammar schools respectively, similar findings have been reported in comprehensive schools.

Ball (1981) coined the phrase "banding identities" to indicate how teachers' perceptions of pupils varied according to pupils' band allocation. He discovered that teachers broadly delineated between two types of pupils. The Band 1 child "has academic potential", "will stay on in the sixth

form", 'wants to get on' and, interestingly, this bright and enthusiastic type of pupil is depicted by teachers as "grammar school material". In contrast, Band 2 pupils are perceived negatively as being "rowdy and lazy", "moody", "low standards", whilst Band 3 pupils are 'maladjusted', "anti-school", 'mentally retarded' and "emotionally unstable". Keddie (1972) noted how teachers characterise 'C' Stream pupils as "that type of child" and "these children" and consider such pupils to be unlike themselves. 'C' Stream pupils, she argues, "disrupt teachers' expectations and violate their norms of appropriate social, moral and intellectual pupil behaviour". She draws on Becker's (1952) notion of an ideal pupil to refer to those expectations which constitute a taken-for-granted notion of appropriate pupil behaviour. The ideal-matching model when applied to teachers' perceptions of pupils would suggest, among other things, that the ideal pupil is white, middle class and male (Meighan, 1986).

Keddie argues that a teacher's action is based on his perceptions of pupils. That is, teachers base what they do on what they know of pupils. She draws a distinction between the educational context and the teacher context. It is a disjunction between words and deeds, as well as a disjunction between theory and practice. In an educational context teachers may argue in favour of an egalitarian principle of comprehensive schools with equality of educational opportunity. However, in the teacher context and in the practical day to day dealings with pupils, the 'normal' characteristics (from Sudnow, 1968) of pupils are imputed to his band or stream allocation. Thus, pupils who are considered as atypical are perceived in relation to the norm for the stream: "she's bright for a 'B' " or, of pupils in another stream "they're as good as 'Bs' ".

iv) Interaction in the Classroom

The organisational practices of streaming and banding influence the interaction between teacher and pupils in the classroom. As Ball points out, "teachers make sense of the classroom in terms of these pre-conceived

notions. They act as a filter upon the perceptions of teachers". What is taught to pupils and how it is taught can depend upon how teachers' perceive pupils. There is an arbitrary line of demarcation about what can be taught to whom, with different teaching materials and different methods of teaching being applicable to particular pupils according to their stream allocation. For instance, Keddie revealed how dichotomies exist in the mind of teachers with respect to classroom knowledge between "intellectual" versus "real", and "abstractions" versus "stories". Teachers made assumptions about what was the most appropriate materials for particular pupils. This notion of differentiated knowledge relates directly, of course, to Bernstein's (1971) analysis of collection code and integrated code for particular pupils which in turn can be related to the so-called Norwood myth of three types of mind. Ball also shows how teachers' perceptions of pupils according to their band allocation influence the way they evaluate pupils' responses concerning the method of teaching and what is to be taught. Whereas teachers of Band 1 pupils were concerned with a whole host of items such as work tests, organisation of material, coverage of syllabus and preparation of tests and examinations; the main concern of teachers of Band 2 pupils were the problems of order and control.

How a teacher perceives pupils influences what he does in the classroom. This in turn, of course, can bring about specific responses from pupils (Rutter et al., 1979). Hargreaves, Hestor and Mellor (1975) distinguished between the deviance-provocative teacher and the deviance-insulative teacher (terms derived and adopted from Jordan, 1974). The deviance-provocative teacher believed his pupils to be deviant and saw his interaction with these pupils as a contest or battle in which he must win. The deviance-insulative teacher, however, believed that these pupils wanted to work and that if they did not work it was because the conditions in the classroom needed to be changed and it was his responsibility to initiate this change. Whereas the deviance-provocative teachers sees

pupils in negative terms and expects pupils to behave badly, the deviance-insulative teacher has a more positive perception of pupils and has a clear set of classroom rules. Whilst these teachers may be said to represent two extremes, teachers also have a tendency to perceive pupils in broad categories within the classroom. Pupils in a 'C' or 'D' streamed class can be divided by the teacher into those who are good and conforming, and those who are bad and are deviant, with the remainder being considered to be middle of the road (Hargreaves, 1967).

What can be suggested is that because the school organisation and the classroom are interrelated, it is feasible that "what a teacher knows about pupils derive from the organisational device of banding or streaming" (Keddie, 1971). This, in turn as Keddie notes, "derives from the dominant organising category of what counts as ability". How teachers perceive pupils in the classroom, therefore, can also be influenced by staffroom interaction, as well as a teacher's prior knowledge derived from the wider societal influence which seep into, and become part of, their common sense knowledge (Schutz, 1964).

1.7 Pupil Perceptions of Pupils

Attention has been drawn to pupils' perceptions of teachers and teachers' perceptions of and evaluations of pupils. In any analysis of the processes of differentiation it is important to consider how pupils perceive and evaluate their peers. It is suggested that this concerns two specific but related areas: peer groups and peer group labelling.

1.7.1 Peer Groups

In an endeavour to understand how pupils perceive and interact with one another, researchers have sought to discover pupils' friendship groups. Hargreaves (1967) showed how fourth year pupils actual friendship choices were "stream specific". Most boys chose friendships within their own stream, with other friendships being made within an adjacent stream.

Lacey's (1970) study revealed similar findings, although he analysed friendship choices as the school as the school changed to streaming in the second year. Lacey noted that at the end of the first year, the most academic pupils received the largest number of friendship choices. However, this changed when pupils were streamed. At the end of the second year pupils in the bottom set, the less academic pupils, had attracted a large number of friendship choices. Lacey's study of third year pupils confirmed the findings of Hargreaves that pupils do tend to choose friends within their own stream. Ball's (1981) study in a comprehensive school replicated the study by Lacey and reported that the majority of friendship choices were made within pupils' own band.

It seems likely, of course, that pupils make friends with those they most frequently meet, whether it be in streams or bands. Bushwell (1984) noted in her study of a sixth form that friendships were made amongst students on the same course and that friendships did not cut across the course divide. It seems likely that pupils' friendship choices have some relation to how pupils perceive pupils. Hargreaves (1967) showed how fourth year pupils tended to perceive pupils differently according to their allocation to streams. This took account of the way pupils presented themselves, the manipulation of the school uniform, the wearing or not wearing of a tie, the fastened or unfastened shirt button and whether they were smart or of a slovenly appearance. Hargreaves found that these aspects varied progressively from the 'A' Stream boys (smart, correctly dressed) to the 'C' Stream boys (not smart or incorrectly dressed). There were also differences in their perceived behaviour, their rate of work and their perceived intelligence. Whereas pupils in 4A saw themselves in positive terms, they viewed pupils in 4D in more negative terms, with pupils in 4D inverting these values as well as the perceptions they had of their peers. Hargreaves noted that such responses "exemplify not only the hostility that exists between the extremes of the streaming system, but also the basis on which these boys make value judgements of one another". A similar

process has been shown to occur in a comprehensive school. Ball (1981) revealed how pupils perceived themselves and each other in relation to their band identity. For instance, Band 2 pupils explained how the work in Band 1 was harder: "I'm not bright enough, the work is just right for me in Band 2, you know, not too easy or hard". Band 1 pupils were perceived as "a lot brainier and quicker at work". Ball notes that every pupil interviewed in the lower bands were able to account for their relative inferior status in these terms.

Willis (1977) argues that pupils perceive one another according to whether or not they work in school, they are either pro- or anti-school. The anti-school pupils castigate academic pupils and those who work, and call them "pratts" for doing school work and "sweating their bollocks off", while they frequently engage in having a laugh. Willis, like Ball, offers only a sketchy outline of pupils' perceptions of their peers. Willis offers no details on how pro-school pupils perceive themselves and their peers or anti-school pupils. The implication of these studies is that informal groups are generated by the school structure which influences and imposes constraints on the range and general nature of contacts between pupils and their perceptions of one another. For the majority of time in school, pupils only meet one another in their stream or banded classrooms. Turner (1983) argues that in a school that is not streamed or banded with only setting in certain subjects, there are different implications for pupil friendship patterns. He suggests that in such a school the range of pupil friendships are increased, friendship patterns are more likely to change over time, and the nature of friendships between pupils can be variable.

However, friendship patterns may not necessarily be directly related to the school structure. Fuller (1980) observed that the black girls she studied were inclined to be friendly with non-academically orientated girls as well as white academic girls. Fuller argues that it was because they saw being black and female as two marks of lesser status and were, therefore,

doubly subordinate. Consequently, they were intent to do well and succeed academically. Their friendship choices recognised their allegiance to other black girls as well as to the academic norm of others in their group. A similar pattern was observed by Lambert (1976) among the white girls (the 'Sisterhood') in a girls' grammar school. Whilst they accepted that they were above the average in attainment, their friendships cut across the school's form structure. The girls seemed united in their adaptation to the problem of being academically achieving females in a male-dominated society.

A further problem of Hargreaves', Ball and Lacey's friendship cliques is that they are not dynamic and adaptable to changing friendships (Woods, 1983). Furlong (1976), Meyam (1980) and Pollard (1984) stress that pupils can form distinct friendship groups in the classroom, which influence and are a product of their perceptions of other pupils. Furlong argues against the implication of culture which she defines as an "external reality" to which pupils are said to respond to as a "reified group". Instead she suggests that pupils are continually interpreting and reinterpreting each other's behaviour. In a similar way, Meyam examined different friendship patterns in groups such as the 'science lab girls' and the 'net-ball group'. Pollard noted distinct groups in the twelve-year olds he studied during their final year in a middle school. These consisted of the 'good groups' who normally conformed to the teacher's wishes, the 'joker groups' who would have a laugh with the teacher and commit acts of routine deviance, and the 'gang groups' who acted more in regard to peer group expectation than to the wishes of the teacher. Pupils in these different groups, whilst regarding their own group members in a positive light, perceived pupils in the other groups more negatively or at least with puzzled indifference. For instance, 'gang groups' condemned the 'good groups' as "soft" and "goodie-goodies"; the 'joker group' as "show offs" and "big heads", whilst regarding their own group as "great".

However, these analyses of friendship patterns are also problematic. A criticism of Furlong's "interaction sets" and Pollard's analysis of peer groups is that they both fail to offer any details of the school structure in which to place these group formations. Pollard fails to provide details of the classes to which his groups belong. It is difficult to compare across schools in that the structure and ethos of a secondary school is likely to be different to that of a middle school. If these researchers argue that friendship groups are dynamic and not bound to streams or bands, they need to outline the school structure and, paradoxically, then show no relationship between this and pupils' friendship groups.

1.7.2 Peer Group Labelling

The concept of labelling and the appropriation of particular labels to pupils, has been more usually associated with how teachers label pupils, and the reaction of pupils to these labels, in the context of deviance (see labelling theory in Section 3). However, the labelling of pupils by their peers is also of particular concern because, as Woods (1983) points out, "teachers' stereotypical view (of pupils) are matched by pupils own stereotypical views".

Ball (1981) observed the interaction between a group of anti-school boys and anti-school girls and noted that the girls approved of these boys and considered them to be "nice", "funny" and "modern". In contrast, pro-school pupils were considered to be not "modern" but were derided and referred to as "weeds" because they refrained from having a laugh. Anti-school pupils may also label their peers as "ear 'oles" if they are pro-school and listen to the teacher too much. These same pupils refer to themselves as "the lads" because they are part of the counter-school culture (Willis, 1977). It seems that pupils can be variously labelled as "creeps" (Rosser and Harré, 1976; Woods, 1979) or "dibboes" (Woods, 1979) "swots" (Rosser and Harré, 1976; Turner, 1983) or "dossers" (Turner, 1983)

depending upon how they go about their work in school. A pupil who considers himself to be intelligent and is boastful is not well perceived by other pupils and can be derided and called a "swell head" (Pollard, 1984).

Peer group labelling not only gives an insight into how different pupils perceive each other but draws attention to those areas that pupils believe are important. Of course, the labels that pupils attach to each other will vary from one school to another and will be context specific. However, they do give an insight into the different values pupils may attach to school and to each other. For instance, Hargreaves (1967) showed how the less academic pupils used labelling as a device to make explicit the values of the group. Pupils who would not let other pupils copy from their work were referred to as "tight". Labelling can also have implications for masculinity. Woods (1978) notes that certain aspects of work pupils engage in can be viewed negatively as being "pouffee" with the obvious allusion (though not necessarily explicitly stated) that pupils who engage in such work run the risk of being called pouffs. Certainly, Willis's lads' sense of masculinity derived from them having a laugh in school, refraining from school work as well as their boastful accounts of their sexual prowess with girls. Unfortunately, we never hear from the girls to substantiate these accounts, nor are we given any insight into how pro-school pupils view masculinity. Turner suggests that the label "dosser" might carry with it implications for masculinity because whilst the label was readily applied to boys, it was never used when describing girls. But did Turner ask pupils themselves about these labels? Turner suggests that girls tended to be called "creeps" or "snobs". However, Davies (1979) noted that girls, in what she called the girls' counter-school culture, derided the academic girls as "pouffee". Attributing motives to labelling must be viewed with some caution since the label "pouffee" may simply be a derogatory term with little or no connotation to masculinity (as Davies noted), this link may simply reflect the researcher's own constructs and not those of the pupils he is studying.

The labelling process is not only on an individual basis, that is, pupils referring to specific pupils, but it can also be on a group basis. Willis's "lads" and "ear 'oles" are evidence of this, as is Pollard's analysis of peer groups. These labels not only act as a way of differentiating between pupils but also provide a powerful means of determining the amount of work pupils are legitimately expected to do. They may be used to encourage pupils to join particular groups such as the "dossers' camp" and eventually may influence examination results, as Turner suggests. However, it is difficult to attribute cause and effect since he provides little evidence of how other pupils besides those in the dossers' camp fared in the 'O' level examinations. To understand peer group labelling and to discover why pupils label each other in the way they do, it is necessary to place such labels in the context of particular schools both in terms of the historical development of the school and the organisational arrangements.

1.8 Pupil Practices and Work Restrictions

One of the most important areas in pupils' perceptions of pupils concerns, as we have seen, the evaluation pupils make of their peers in relation to the amount of work they do in school. Many researchers using an interactionist perspective have drawn attention to the ways in which pupils work in school. However, their analysis has been somewhat impaired by a failure to conceptualise these processes. Consequently, the term 'practices' will be used to bring together a schematic outline, drawn from the literature in this area, on how pupils go about their work or refrain from working in school. Practices may be said to consist of individual or group responses to specific situations confronting them with respect to the work they are obliged to engage in at school. These practices, for the most part, can be said to be routine and habitual responses and, unlike strategies (see 1.9) there is no specific intention to manipulate, control or change the relationship between teacher and taught. Five general categories

of pupil practices are outlined, though it must be recognised that the process is ever-changing and varied, and is probably more complex than this. The practices range from co-operative working at one end of the scale, to work restrictions and work avoidance at the opposite end.

1.8.1 Co-operative Enterprise and Team Work

With more emphasis at secondary schools on testing, grading, sorting and segregating pupils than in the primary school (Barker-Lunn, 1984), certain pupils in the higher streams in secondary schools may collaborate and engage in team work to endeavour to ensure good grades and results (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970). Academic pupils can engage in practices of "checking" and "helping" each other which is considered by them to be "self help". In contrast, "copying", can be considered illegitimate and more likely to be the practice of low stream pupils (Hargreaves, 1972). Delamont (1976) noted how the academic examination-orientated girls she studied organised "remedial" classes at the back of the science laboratory where the pupils who understood what the teacher was teaching could give assistance to other girls. This was considered to be a legitimate, if not publicly recognised practice, of pooling knowledge and resources (Woods, 1983).

1.8.2 Negotiation

The term 'negotiation' will be used in relation to pupil practices, whilst recognising that it can also be part of a set of strategies (see Woods, 1979; Turner, 1983). The concept was developed from the work of Strauss et al. (1963) who observed this process between the staff and patients in a mental hospital. When applied to pupil practices, it can be seen that work to be done or 'rate for the job' is part of a negotiation between teacher and pupils. Both parties seek to formulate an agreement and a working consensus (Goffman, 1959; Hargreaves, 1972). Woods (1983) suggests that negotiation can be "open" or "closed". Open Negotiation "is based on a certain amount of good-will toward each other, recognition of the value of co-operation, and belief in the possibility of consensus". Whilst these

terms are used, Woods' definitions are reinterpreted. It can be argued that a teacher needs to use this technique with less motivated or 'troublesome' pupils. Woods' notion of closed negotiation is redefined and can be said to be related to pupils who share common goals with those of the teacher. A teacher facing a class of highly motivated and eager pupils, intent on examination success, closes off the means of negotiation. He presents himself as the sole arbitrator as to what is to be taught and learned. Meighan's (1979) experiences as a probationary teacher endeavouring to teach so-called unteachable pupils is an example of the use of open negotiation. As Meighan explains, "faced with (...) a difficult fifth year group labelled 'unteachable' (...) I decided to elicit the pupils' opinions about how they would like to be taught".

Pupils may endeavour to negotiate with the teacher the 'rate for the job'. Since school work is not, in any sense, real work, "they are not paid for it" (Woods, 1983) and there is no production rates for the work produced, rewards can only be given symbolically through grades. Thus, Delamont (1976) shows how the examination-orientated girls negotiated for an extra half mark on their grades. Werthman's (1963) study of an American school is particularly illuminating in this respect. He showed the extent to which the less academic students do not a priori accept the authority of a teacher. They sought to analyse how grades were given to other students by a careful sampling of the sub-groups of students. If a gang member believes he has received a lower grade than expected, he will seek out the teacher for an account of his grade. If the explanation given by the teacher is not acceptable to the student, he will endeavour to negotiate with the teacher to improve his result.

1.8.3 Counterfeit Work

Whilst the first two categories of pupil practices show some semblance to school work and payments, albeit symbolic; counterfeit work (Woods, 1983) or masquerade (Jackson, 1968) can be viewed as a bridge

between actual work achieved and work restriction and avoidance. As the name implies, it amounts to promoting the impression of work done whilst, in fact, little work has been achieved or produced. For instance, hand-raising gives the impression to a teacher that the pupil knows the answer, but appearances can be deceptive. If a pupil does not know the answer, to be the only one with his hand not raised may invite a response from the teacher. A pupil may find it expedient to raise his hand, even waving it energetically as if, like the other pupils, she is "in the know" (Hargreaves, 1972; Lacey, 1970; Holt, 1964). As Holt points out, the pupil "therefore feels safe by raising her hand in the air". Afterwards, when another pupil has answered the question correctly, she may nod her head in emphatic agreement, thus "giving off" the impression (Goffman, 1959) that she knew the answer as well.

The practice of mumbling would seem to logically follow on from hand-raising as a form of counterfeit work. Here the pupil is directly called upon to answer and speaks softly or mumbles, hoping the response she makes will be accepted by the teacher. Holt explains that this technique may work since the teacher is eager to hear a correct answer which will tell him that his teaching is good. Consequently, he may assume that anything which sounds close to the correct answer is, in fact, the right one. An extension of this practice relates to getting a teacher to answer his own question. A pupil may only need to garble an answer, the teacher will then correct the pupil's answer and the pupil needs only then to repeat the teacher's corrected answer. Yet a third variation would seem to be the "guess and look" or "hedging one's bets" (Holt, 1964). Here the pupil starts an answer, scrutinises the teacher's face for cues, and either changes the answer or proceeds with the answer, depending upon the pupil's interpretation of the teacher's facial expression.

Getting the teacher to give you the answer is a practice utilised by pupils which is designed to make the teacher do the work for them. As Holt remarks, recounting his own experiences as a teacher: "I wouldn't

tell her the answer, so she would just let me question her right up to them". In other words, the pupil 'plays dumb' so that the teacher will eventually give easier and easier questions until the question points to the obvious answer. Other types of counterfeit work concern what Goffman (1959) has referred to as 'make work'. Pupils save the work produced during one lesson and offer it up as evidence of work produced on a subsequent day.

"In one school I know pupils would write the date in pencil in their mathematics books. If the teacher did not mark the work in that particular lesson, then on the next occasion the pupil could rub out the old date, substitute the new one, and spend the rest of the lesson on matters more important than mathematics, secure in the knowledge that if called to account by the teacher, he could produce incontrovertible evidence of having worked that day."

(Hargreaves, 1972 p181)

Hargreaves also draws attention to the practice used by pupils of looking ahead. Pupils have observed and learned the teacher's technique of assigning specific questions from a set number of questions to particular pupils. Thus, the pupil "counts up the pupils who will have to respond before him, calculates which question - all being well - will be his, and prepares his answer in advance.

Counterfeit work, then, can be related to games theories in which pupils endeavour to maximise their chance of winning and minimise their chance of losing - a minmax situation (Holt, 1964). Thus, teaching and learning is viewed in terms of winning and losing.

1.8.4 Work Restriction

Whilst this practice overlaps with the previous one, the ultimate concern of particular pupils who utilise this practice is to avoid certain aspects of work and is, consequently, designed to restrict output. These practices relate directly to work norms which can vary depending upon a pupil's allocation to particular streams (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey, 1970)..

Whereas the 'A' Stream norms can be related to doing a lot of work, the 'B' Stream and lower stream norms can be "not working hard" (Hargreaves, 1967). Rates of homework have been shown to be related to stream allocation. Lacey's analysis of self-reported hours spent on homework varied between streams, with bottom stream pupils reporting less hours spent on homework compared with the top Express stream pupils. Ball (1981) makes a similar observation of differential homework rates between Band 1 and Band 2 pupils. However, self-reported time spent on homework is problematic. Whilst Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball conclude that the lower streams or Band 2 pupils restrict the amount of work they do compared with academic pupils, other hypotheses can be made. For instance, it could be argued that pupils in the lower streams or bands work more quickly than other pupils. If we consider this hypothesis to be unlikely because they are in the lower streams or bands, we fall into the trap of accepting the school's definition of pupils, a situation of taking problems instead of making problems (Young, 1971). A more fruitful line of investigation, not discussed by these researchers, is that teachers themselves may purposely restrict the work of the less academic pupils. Certainly, this was what Partridge (1966) found with 'C' and 'D' Stream pupils in the secondary modern school in which he taught. It may also be the case, of course, that teachers may give more work to the pupils in the higher streams or bands and expect them, therefore, to do more work (Keddie, 1971).

At the classroom level, work restrictions can operate through the practice of reducing the amount of questions answered, as this boy from a 'B' stream explains:

"We don't like boys who answer a lot of questions. If you answer all the questions the lesson goes all the quicker, doesn't it? I mean, say you have two periods and you start having all these questions, right, then it would take a period to do and then you have another period and then you'd have to do some work. If they start asking questions and we don't answer them, they have to start explaining it all to us and it takes two periods. So we don't have to use the pen."

(cited by Hargreaves, 1967, p27)

Hargreaves notes that if pupils in the bottom streams did not like working in a lesson for a particular teacher, they would purposefully "tut, tut, tut" ~~as the teacher gave out the text books. They knew that the teacher would~~ then spend the rest of the lesson talking to them and so, in effect, they restricted the amount of work they did in that lesson (Hargreaves, 1967, p99).

Restrictions on work are not the sole province of the less academic pupils. Ball (1981) noted how academic pupils did not do compulsory tasks suggested by the teacher, with some pupils asking him if he could get homework abolished. Bushwell's (1984) study of a sixth form revealed the contradictory choices these students felt they had to face between enjoying a social life and going out in the evenings, or engaging in school work. A number of students, consequently, restricted their work output but worked harder just before their examination. In school, these sixth formers placed restrictions on work in the form of missing lessons in their least favourite subject. Turner (1983) argues that "the work restriction norm" which academic pupils operate, can also be a product of peer group pressure. Pupils who do more than the minimal prescribed work, or pupils who do work of no instrumental value (ie towards grades or an examination), are labelled "swots" (as noted previously, 1.7.2) and are singled out for ridicule in the classroom. Thus, to avoid the label, pupils may need to put on a front, engage in "protective practices" and endeavour to manage the impression they give off to their peers (cf Goffman, 1959). Turner outlines four such practices: "following the crowd" which entails not working when others are not working; "information control" which can give rise to concealment and the need to work at home, and relies on "audience segregation" (Goffman, 1959). This practice has inherent problems since the pupil runs the risk of the teacher exposing the practice in front of other pupils and thereby giving the game away. Another practice is "displays" in which occasional displays of deviance are procured to give the impression of being a dosser. Lastly, "scape-goating" can be used as

a form of rationalisation by pupils who justify the work done by arguing that it is less than the work that has been produced by other pupils. A problem of Turner's study of pupil practices is that it lacks comparable analysis with the practices of the less academic pupils. It is not only restrictions as a concept that is of interest, we need to know the range and scope of restrictions by different groups of pupils, if we are to have a much clearer idea of the nature of work restrictions in school.

1.8.5 Work Avoidance

This constitutes the opposite end of the pole of pupil practices and revolves around the deliberate attempt by pupils to avoid work which can, of course, entail absence from school. Hargreaves and Lacey report that there was a predominance of 'skivving' in the lower streams compared with the top streams. These findings were confirmed by the study by Rutter et al. (1979) who concluded that pupils of average ability, or pupils from families of low occupational status, "were most likely to have poor attendance records". In the classroom, work avoidance can simply mean "doing nothing" (Corrigan, 1979) or it can entail a passive resistance of "being away" from the lesson by day-dreaming (Stebbins, 1980; Hargreaves et al. 1975). A predominance of work avoidance can occur in the bottom streams where "doing no work" were part of the group's norms of behaviour (Hargreaves, 1967). Work avoidance in the sense of work that is productive and useful can also be fostered by teachers. Partridge (1966) noted how pupils in the lower streams complained of doing "the same old stuff". A 'C' Stream pupil explained how a particular teacher repeatedly gave them the same work to do which was "just adding up, what we've always done". Pupils may not reject school work *per se*, but they may reject the specific work that is on offer because it is viewed as being valueless and a waste of time.

Pupil practices and work restrictions can be seen as an interrelation of teacher perceptions of pupils and their expectations for pupils, as well as of pupils' perceptions of pupils. Teachers can, unwittingly, aid

pupils' work restrictions and help regulate pupils' work output.

1.9 Classroom Strategies

Whilst pupil practices lay the framework of how pupils engage in or desist from working in school, as part of the examination of processes of differentiation it is necessary to consider the type and range of strategies that take place in classrooms. A large proportion of the strategies teachers use are, of course, operated to try to ensure pupils do prescribed amounts of work. Delamont (1976) suggests that a fundamental teacher strategy is to make her expectations explicit and thereby attempt to control both the content of what is taught and the behaviour of pupils. The pupils' first strategy, she suggests, is to find out what the teacher wants and give it to her. Classroom strategies are, however, far more complex than this. The range and scope of classroom strategies will be examined, having first located them within a theoretical framework.

1.9.1 Theoretical Framework

Woods suggests that strategies are ways of achieving goals which can be described as "specific patterns of repeatable acts chosen and maintained in logical relationships with one another to serve the larger and long-term rather than small short-term objectives" (Paisey, 1975, cited by Woods, 1980a p18). He argues that strategies are "identifiable packages of action linked to broad general aims" and that more immediate objectives can be subsumed under them "together with associated planned action, as tactics within strategies". It can be suggested that in the case of pupils, the concept of 'practices' is a better integration with strategies than "tactics" since it incorporates ways in which pupils go about their school work or engage in work restrictions.

The theoretical framework draws on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model as well as his games analysis outlined in his book 'Strategic Interaction' (Goffman, 1969). Both these related analyses are compatible

with Mead's (1934) symbolic interaction theory. The first two important elements in Woods' theoretical consideration of strategies related to the individual and to cultures. Drawing on the work of W.I. Thomas and Mead, he emphasises how individuals interpret and size up others and decide on their own goals. This act is a succession of phases and relates to the 'I' reflecting the various 'MEs' in the form of particular, significant and generalised others. These are the product of much past interaction. Goffman's games analysis draws attention to "expression games". He suggests that individuals must deal with and through other individuals or parties "who appear to help and individuals who appear to hinder" them in their pursuit of particular interests or goals. Goffman suggests that perceptions and contexts play an important part since individuals "must orientate to the capacities which these individuals are seen to have and to the conditions which bear upon their exercise". There are assumptions made "about the fundamental nature of the sorts of persons dealt with". Woods suggests, similarly, that "actors need a basis on which to orientate their interpretation of others". An individual, whilst being able to make choices, is also influenced by significant others, and this can have its roots in, and be influenced by, culture.

Goffman (1969) suggests that individuals "exude expressions" and that the source of expressions and the context in which they transpire give rise to the meaning. Thus, there can be a distinction made between expressions "given" and expressions purposefully "given off" by individuals for strategic purposes (Goffman, 1959). These expressions are used as a basis of communication and are designed intentionally to transmit specific items of information. These need not be verbal in terms of actual words spoken or intonation of voice, but can simply be facial or bodily gestures, that is, paralinguistic. The expression game can therefore, be dramaturgical, being concerned with both impression management and the management of information. Under such conditions, game-like considerations develop and "information becomes strategic and expression games occur"

(Goffman, 1969). There are four basic moves in the games analysis: the unwitting move, the naive move, the control move and the uncovering move. The general term 'subjects' will be used to refer to the recipients of the strategies, whilst the term 'strategist' will be used to refer to the instigator of the strategy.

The unwitting move occurs when the subject's observable behaviour is not orientated to the assessment a strategist might be making of it, a misunderstanding of other's behaviour affording a wrong move. The naive move is one in which the strategist believes that the subject can be taken as he appears to be, although in fact he purposefully fosters a false impression. This can also be part of an unwitting move. The control move is a self conscious and calculated move. The strategist appreciates that the environment (or context) will create an impression on the subject, "and so attempts to set the stage before-hand" (Goffman, 1969). Such a move can also be brought about spontaneously by habit. Consequently, the strategist, as Goffman points out, needs to view the move as the other would see it and, in Mead's dictum, take the attitude of the other. The strategist can also 'take' the viewpoint of the subject but does not identify his interests with it. It can be suggested, extending Goffman's analysis, that the strategist can make a control move and manage his impression, or the subject, in response to the strategists' perceived strategy, can make the control move and thus manage his impression by employing counter strategies (Denscombe, 1985).

Finally, the uncovering move relates to covert operations in which the strategist attempts to elicit information or a particular form of behaviour but hopes the subject remains unaware that information gathering is going on. Such a move also entraps the subject in an unwitting move on his part. For instance, we have already noted how pupils develop strategies for testing out teachers as a means of gathering information on teachers to aid their perceptions and evaluations of them (1.5.3). Goffman suggests that there are also counter-uncovering moves where the subject is aware of the

move by the strategist and offers faked information which he knows the strategist is looking for, and so reverses the roles. These moves are part of a dynamic process and may need constant development and refinement since the techniques, in time, "become familiar and thereby less effective" (Goffman, 1969).

1.9.2 Strategic Interaction in the Classroom

Strategies can be enacted against a background of pupil misbehaviour in the classroom and can be said, therefore, to be problem-orientated. They are both personal and generalisable because they are "the product of shared pressures from the social and organisational environment" (Denscombe, 1985). Teachers are part of a school system and are required to abide by the school values and to work towards predefined goals, although alternative structures, values and teacher cultures can develop (Riseborough, 1981; Sikes, 1984). The strategies and approaches used by teachers in the classroom can, and indeed do, influence the academic success rate of a school (Rutter, et al. 1979). The research by Reynolds and Sullivan (1979) in eight secondary modern schools distinguished between schools which used coercive strategies which stressed power and authority in seeking to control pupils, and schools using incorporative strategies which stressed the interpersonal nature of education. Schools using incorporative strategies had a higher academic success rate, whilst the delinquency rate was half that of the other schools. Attendance rates were also better than other schools using coercive strategies. Since all schools were in the same LEA and pupils were all from similar working class areas, the researchers attributed the cause of this difference between schools to the organisation of the schools and the strategies employed by the teachers. Strategies, therefore, constitute an important area in the relationship of process to outcome.

Denscombe (1985) suggests there are three broad types of classroom

strategies: domination, co-optation and classroom management strategies. We shall review these, as well as outlining pupils' responses to them in the form of counter strategies.

i) Domination

This is one of the eight survival strategies employed by teachers outlined by Woods (1979). Pupils are subjected to rigorous controls by the teacher and, although corporal punishment has been abolished in many schools, male teachers can still use physical coercion with pupils ("the secret is to hit them where they don't bruise" cited by Woods, p151). A teacher's anger can be real or simulated. To sustain his dignity, a teacher may need to assert himself, which will defeat any attacks made by others on his dignity (Waller, 1932). Domination strategies are a product from the early school days of large classrooms and payment by results (Barnard, 1969; Curtis, 1967) and is still prevalent today (Woods, 1979; Denscombe, 1985). Other methods of domination include the "policing" strategy which involves "rigorous and systematic control over pupil talk and bodily movement" (A. Hargreaves, 1979). The perceived value of such strategies is that they can be said to impose a structure on school life which pupils and teachers alike may come to accept. Consequently, structure, ritual and routine, and rigid forms of discipline form an important part of the controls used by teachers when they apply this form of strategy. Classroom life is seen as a battle-ground between teachers and pupils, which teachers need to survive. In this respect, "showing them up" (Woods, 1979) is a survival strategy of attack in which the teacher uses the public arena of the classroom, picks on a pupil who is sensitive to such treatment, who then becomes the victim. The use of humour through ridicule and sarcasm is liberally employed by such teachers. The strategy represents a control move which is calculated to have maximum effect.

Domination as a strategy may well provide a firm and predictable environment for pupils and, as we have already noted previously (1.5.1), pupils like teachers who can keep order. However, domination can take the

form of resocialisation and is used by certain educational psychologists as part of behaviour modification programmes. In this context, education is viewed in terms of rewards and punishment with a stimulus-response mechanism to learning (O'Leary and O'Leary, 1977; Rutter, 1975). This is an enforced co-operation. Other forms of domination sees the teacher as the sole purveyor of knowledge, as evidenced in chalk and talk strategies (Denscombe, 1985). The teacher governs the interaction and Flanders' (1970) rule of most talk being teacher talk applied. Question and answer techniques guide pupils to particular outcomes, with routes to correct answers (Barnes, et al. 1969).

Pupils, of course, may react to these strategies if they feel that the teacher is operating controls over areas which they consider not to be legitimate (Werthman, 1963). They may utilise counter moves or counter strategies. They may use sullen resistance or seek to challenge the teacher in elaborate moves of testing out (see 1.5.3) or directly challenge the teacher's authority (Willis, 1977). The paradox is that such strategies may reinforce the image of antagonism between teachers and pupils and can exacerbate the situation (Denscombe, 1985). It also puts at a disadvantage male teachers of small stature, or weak or elderly teachers, and, of course, women teachers who cannot utilise physical control over pupils. For these teachers and other teachers who object to coercive forms of controlling pupils, other strategies need to be developed.

ii) Co-optation Strategies

Whereas domination strategies relate to more formal ways of teaching, co-optation strategies can be viewed as more informal, progressive and democratic strategies. Such approaches not only endeavour to deal with and neutralise pupils' opposition to school, they also seek to encourage pupil participation. These techniques might well be "illusory and (are) geared primarily to securing a certain commitment on the part of the pupils to the existing social system" (Denscombe, 1985). Thus, pupils in response

to this strategy and the teacher's presentation of self (as a front) may, in Goffman's game analysis, engage in a naive move by assuming the teacher's approach to be genuine. Teachers can engage in activities such as reasoning and explaining, with Woods (1979) survival strategies of "negotiation" and "fraternisation" being but two examples. The principle of negotiative strategy is exchange with commonly used techniques being appeals, apologies, cajolery, as well as flattery, promises, bribes, exchanges and threats. Turner (1983) discovered a number of negotiative strategies which he grouped into four areas: persistence, threats and promises, rhetorical statements, and mobilisation of support from another authority. These strategies, however, are not new since over fifty years ago Waller (1932) reported teachers' use of appeals to fair play, honesty, chivalry or self-esteem. Such a strategy, with its various techniques, unlike domination strategies, necessitate that the teacher build up a relationship with the pupils and not stand apart or be distant from them.

Fraternisation or friendliness are strategies or techniques which seek to minimise conflicts between teacher and pupils and is what Woods (1979) calls "cultural identification" or, as Waller suggests, the teacher enters the world of children. Teachers' presentation of self, his style of clothes, interests, mannerisms and speech, can frequently identify strongly with those of the pupils. Humour, too, plays a vital part in fraternisation which is used to generate an atmosphere of "fun and conviviality" (Walker, et al. 1973). Woods observed how teachers' style of speech were quite distinctive so much so that one teacher he observed used a "local, chatty, pubby style of speech" in his teaching which he indulged in to good effect from the point of view of classroom control. The use of humour, talk about sport, and television are also used to obtain classroom control with the teacher using a front to give the impression to pupils of a shared cultural influence (an uncovering move entrapping the subject - pupils - in an unwitting move). Teachers using co-optive strategies allow pupils greater liberty and freedom in lessons which

Woods describes as "indulgence". Interestingly, another related technique used by male teachers with girls is "flirting". Since boyfriends and sex are perceived by teachers to be predominant interests of the more rebellious girls, flirting with them can be used to secure their goodwill and co-operation. If stage-managed well by the teacher, firm and good natured relationships can develop between teacher and pupils.

However, pupils can use counter-moves and strategies against the teacher. Denscombe reports how pupils can turn the tables on teachers, and can also use the technique of friendliness or fraternisation to avert a threatening situation and divert the teacher's focus of attention:

Teacher: Robin, you owe me some work. You still haven't handed in the last unit
 Pupil: Well, I had to go out last night...
 Teacher: That's no excuse...
 Pupil: No, well ... it was football ... City, you know.
 Teacher: That's hardly the point...
 Pupil: Have you seen them recently? They're coming on quite good now. You know... they've got a lot of young lads in the side...
 Teacher: Yes, I hear the average age of the team is twenty or so.
 Pupil: Makes you too old, doesn't it...
 Teacher: Cheek. I've got a few years left in me yet.
 Pupil: Why, where do you play? Must be goalkeeper at your age.
 Teacher: Well, actually, if you must know

(cited by Denscombe, 1985 pp119-120)

The pupil has manoeuvred the teacher into what Goffman refers to as an unwitting move.

Since fraternisation gives pupils more freedom to talk and discuss with the teacher than do domination strategies, it allows pupils to use this to their advantage as a counter move, for instance, to play off one teacher against another (Woods, 1979). Clearly, there are problems with this approach, with strategic consequences for the teacher, since the pupil can "turn the strategy for control back on the teacher and use it, ironically, as a means of controlling the teacher" (Denscombe, 1985).

iii) Classroom Management Strategies

We have already noted how the Beloe Report (1960) advocated the introduction of the CSE to stave off pupils' disaffection and alienation

from school (Section 1). Similarly, teachers' control of the content and schedule of work can be "translated to a greater or lesser extent into a broad control over the conduct and discipline of pupils"

(Denscombe, 1985). Woods shows how teachers bargain for good order and work, and offer exchanges in the form of showing pupils films, taking them out on visits and trips, or by giving them an easy time since these activities are not considered to be work from the pupils' point of view.

Teachers can utilise the strategy of "keeping 'em busy". Denscombe points out that this is not simply a reflection of the protestant work ethic that "laziness is the enemy of the soul" but teachers are intent on keeping pupils occupied as a strategy for survival. This is because keeping pupils busy reduces the chance of pupils becoming mischievous. Clearly, we can insert here another religious slogan: the devil makes use of idle hands. These strategies relate to and are directly concerned with pupil practices and work restrictions since a teacher bases his strategies on his perceptions of pupils (what he knows of pupils) and his analysis of pupil practices (what he knows they will do). These processes may be so obvious as to be taken-for-granted by teachers. Denscombe argues that teachers' demands for obedience from pupils and pupils' acceptance of their control is justified by the work to be done in relation to syllabus requirements. This strategy, of course, depends for its control on the amount and level of school work that pupils are willing to do and relates directly to pupil practices and work restrictions (see 1.8).

The rationale for this type of strategy "shifts from the personal edict to organisation imperative" (Denscombe, 1985). Whilst teachers can externalise the need for pupils to work, it may also require a considerable amount of their personality and skills of negotiation to convince pupils of the necessity of work, particularly in the present climate of high unemployment. There is, however, a paradox (or contradiction) in the use of negotiation and classroom management strategies. Since strategies are

not divorced from perceptual processes and directly relate to pupil perceptions of their peers, pupils can view teachers who use such an approach as being weak disciplinarians. They can take advantage of such teachers and become unruly or rebellious, thus forcing teachers to use a form of domination strategy. This, in turn, may create antagonism and by testing out the teacher in this way, pupils may assume that the teacher really is strict after all and the front he is now presenting to pupils to be his real self. A catch 22 situation.

Pressure from other staff as to what constitutes acceptable levels of noise can also influence classroom management strategies. Denscombe (1980;1985) draws attention to the significance of noise and teachers' strategies of "keeping 'em quiet". He suggests several reasons are offered for the legitimacy of this strategy which range from quietness being less fatiguing for the teacher, to factors in relation to pupil learning. However, a noisy classroom can cast doubt on a teacher's ability to control pupils which, in turn, reveals assumptions inherent in the process of teaching itself and a teacher's competence to teach. This can give rise to a staffroom joke:

Teacher: What are you doing, Nigel?

Nigel: I'm - beating up Eric

I'm - cheating

I'm - making explosives

I'm - going to sleep

Teacher: Well, quietly, quietly boy, do it quietly.

(Denscombe, 1985, p156)

Pupils, in turn, are aware of the teacher's strategy of "keeping 'em quiet" and can utilise a counter move. Noise can therefore be used by pupils to challenge the teacher's control and assert their will on the progress of the lesson. Other challenges can be more subtle such as pupils not paying attention to the lesson or "being away" (Stebbins, 1980; Hargreaves, et al. 1975). Paradoxically, Dumont and Wax (1969) who observed Cherokee indians on a reservation, noted how "quiet resistance" can go unnoticed by the teacher because they were culture-bound and had not

interpreted pupils' quietness as a resistance. A similar point is made by Werthman (1963) who observed black student's use of "looking cool" as a means of rejecting the teacher's authority. Keeping 'em quiet, then, may be a naive move on the part of the teacher since he may misread the pupils' action by assuming that pupils are obedient when they are, in fact, resisting his authority.

Clearly, teacher and pupil strategies cannot be separated but are part of concerted strategic actions. These need to be placed in relation to pupil practices set in the context of teacher and pupil perceptions, with their utilisation of fronts and impression management. Whilst strategies may be personal they cannot be divorced from school structure and societal pressures.

Section 3: Explanations of Deviance: Towards an Understanding of the Processes of Differentiation

A critical examination of certain explanations of deviance and conformity will now be outlined. Much of the analysis presented thus far concerning the processes of differentiation can be related to and underpinned by these explanations. Opposing approaches and assumptions concerning the study of behaviour and deviance will be suggested with an outline given of the sub-cultural model, the adaptational model and labelling theory. It will be suggested that these three approaches or theories have much in common, although they examine processes of differentiation and deviance at different levels of explanation. A fourth and complementary alternative is also suggested which draws attention to the role played by the institution.

1.10 Opposing Perspectives and the Assumptions Made

There are different and distinct approaches to the study of behaviour and no agreement as to how many discrete perspectives exist. One approach is the normative whilst another is the interpretive (Cohen and Manion, 1981). The normative approach is concerned with society and the social system and assumes that impersonal and anonymous forces regulate behaviour. Consequently,

it is concerned with trying to explain but not question this taken-for-granted behaviour by using macro concepts such as society, institutions, norms, positions, roles, expectations. The normative and functionalist view of society is concerned with the maintenance of the social order "the general need for the social organism" (Durkheim, 1938). It assumes that there is a consensus and recognised norms in society, so that deviation from these norms constitute a dysfunction. There is a need to correct such behaviour with such correctional procedures being the only process of social transformation (Tyler, 1977). The role of the school in this functionalist frame of reference is to fit pupils into this 'given' society.

In contrast, the interpretive approach to the study of behaviour is concerned to discover how individuals view their own actions and how such actions affect others. This approach, therefore, places great emphasis on the understanding of these actions. In this way an investigation is undertaken of the taken-for-granted with a concentration on micro concepts: the perspective of the individual, personal constructs, negotiated meanings, definitions of the situation. It has its basis in phenomenology (see Husserl, 1934; Heidegger, 1962; Schutz, 1964), ethnomethodology (see Garfinkel, 1967) and symbolic interaction theory (see Mead, 1934; Rose, 1962). It opposes a priori assumptions concerned with meanings of events. Research can draw on these extreme and disparate approaches to the study of behaviour (Cohen and Manion, 1981).

1.10.1 Definitions Given

Whilst deviance relates to rule-breaking behaviour and delinquency relates to law-breaking behaviour, both terms are used interchangeably though recognising that delinquency is a form of deviance and not vice-versa. How deviant behaviour is defined is influenced by the perspective used by the sociologist and lay person alike. Deviance can be seen as a

dysfunction, in which the deviant person has not fully internalised the 'shared' or held values of society and is in need of correction (Durkheim, 1938); or "conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of social agencies" (Erikson, 1964); or "the failure of human conduct to meet the standards and rules by which human beings judge their conduct" (cited by Cohen, 1976). Definitions of deviance or delinquency place the emphasis on the unquestioned assumptions of the arresting or prosecuting agencies. Thus, Rutter et al. (1979) define such a delinquent as someone who has been "officially cautioned or found guilty of an offence in a juvenile court on at least one occasion". These definitions emphasise the individual and his inability to meet certain and specific standards, and the need to control and to correct the deviant behaviour. A criticism of these definitions is that they assume that there are commonly held and shared values and norms, and thus as Becker (1963) suggests, "by ignoring the political aspect (of conflict) of the phenomena, limits our understanding".

Other definitions do not treat deviance as 'given'. Thus, Werthman and Piliavin (1967) suggest that a person said to be a deviant may be defined as someone whose moral character has been negatively assessed by the police, the courts or anyone in authority. Becker offers an interactionist definition. He suggests that "deviance is created by society (...) social groups make deviance by making rules whose infraction constitutes deviance". This definition clearly avoids the value judgements inherent in such terms as "correction", "control", and "failure".

1.10.2 Questions Posed

If the definitions of deviance vary in response to the assumptions made about deviance depending upon the perspectives used, then it follows, of course, that questions posed concerning deviant behaviour may also vary. One set of questions can be said to treat deviance as being objectively given whilst a second set of questions treats deviance as subjectively problematic (Figure 1.1).

FIGURE 1.1 Two distinct sets of questions posed concerning the study of deviance

<u>OBJECTIVELY GIVEN</u> (normative-functionalist)	<u>SUBJECTIVELY PROBLEMATIC</u> (phenomenological, interpretive, interactionist)
Who is deviant?	- What are the circumstances under which someone gets set apart and is considered deviant?
Why does he continue in deviance despite controls being brought to bear on him?	- How is a person cast in that role?
What socio-cultural conditions are most likely to produce deviants?	- What actions do other people take concerning how they define such a person?
How are deviants to be predicted, controlled and then cured?	- What value, positive or negative, do people place on deviance? How does a person judged deviant react to this designation (label)? How does he adopt the deviant role that is set for him? What changes in group membership result? To what extent does he realign his self-concept to accord with the deviant role assigned to him?

(Derived from Cohen, 1966; Rubington and Weinberg, 1978; Hargreaves, et al, 1975; Townley and Middleton, 1978)

1.10.3 Objectively Given Approach to the Study of Deviance

Research that treats deviance as objectively given places emphasis on the actor or the situation in which deviance is said to occur whilst, for instance, conjunctive theories emphasise a combination these. A summary of Cohen's (1966) outline of types of research in this area is outlined here, with examples of certain types of research on delinquency which uses a normative-functionalist approach.

The aim of much research that treats deviance as objectively given is to predict and hence control deviance. Differences in people's behaviour are considered to be the result of a deficit in the control mechanism, either in the situation or within the person himself. The conception of human behaviour, then, has two variables. One is the impulsive side in which individuals are considered to be naturally hostile and aggressive, they have destructive tendencies or acquisitive or otherwise anti-social impulses. The second variable concerns control, that is, something within the actor or situation of action that denies the expression of the anti-social impulse. The outcome is said to depend on the relative strength of these two variables.

Where the impulse is strong, deviance occurs or, alternatively, where the control element is strong, there is an inhibition of deviance. Cohen cites the bio-anthropological theories such as Lombrosian Positivism, from the positive school of criminology which assumes individuals to be rational, endowed with free will, and therefore calculating the gains or losses of different courses of action, choosing one course of action to outweigh the cost of others. The implication for social policy, then, was the need to instigate swift punishment which needed to be severe and effective enough to counter balance the expected gratification from crime. The recent experiments using the so-called "short, sharp, shock" treatment for young offenders, is an example of this approach.

Individuals prone to criminality or deviance are seen as particular types, the central task of research being to identify these individuals or groups. The fault is said to lie within the individual and not society or the conditions in which they live. For instance, Hootin's criminal anthropology views criminals as morally, intellectually, morphologically and genetically degenerate compared to non-criminals. In this respect constitutional typologies stressed anatomical traits. Thus the solution to this problem of social control was said to be selective breeding "to weed out", as Cohen remarks, "socially harmful constitutional types".

Other theories stressed that deviance was caused by a deficit in an individual's psyche. Psychodynamic control theories asserted that "deviant behaviour is largely irrational, obscure energies, relatively inaccessible to observation and conscious control of the actor" (Cohen, 1966). Psycho-analytical theories make assumptions that certain individuals are endowed with aggressive and destructive, or otherwise anti-social drives or instincts. This is a "kinds of people" theory in which deviance is said to be a factor in the nature and strength of an individual's internalised controls. The task of explaining (but not necessarily understanding) the phenomena is to identify the defect in the individual's control structure

and to account for it in terms of a person's biography, such as childhood or home background. It must be stressed, however, that in the more recent developments in psychoanalysis, Kelly (1963), Laing (1965; 1976) and Rogers (1961), working in a constructivist frame of reference, endeavour to understand how an individual construes events, situations and people. They seek to offer non-prescriptive analyses, and stress understanding the individual and his situation in an atmosphere of "unconditional, positive regard" (Rogers, 1961).

Research on delinquency and deviance in young people and children places great emphasis on individuals and their situation. For instance, Rutter (1975) in his study of problem children suggests that one important cause of delinquency to be a deficit in certain family characteristics. He advocates the use of behaviour modification programmes in which acceptable behaviour is rewarded whilst deviant behaviour is punished. Notions of 'correct' or 'incorrect' behaviour are not questioned, nor is an understanding of the root cause of behaviour sought. Rutter and Madge (1976) in their review of research concerning cycles of disadvantage suggest that crime does run in families but that delinquency is 'more strongly linked with brothers than fathers', the suggestion being that the male population is more likely to deviate than women or girls. This notion has recently been challenged in a plethora of studies (Lomax, 1978; Davies, 1979, 1980; Fuller, 1980, Lambart, 1976). Other interpretations of Rutter and Madge's findings using the same or similar data can be suggested. For instance, one may question the variables concerning delinquency within families. Research by Robins et al. (1975; cited by Rutter and Madge) examined offences in a sample of the offspring of 235 black men and found that delinquency in children was associated with delinquency in parents when they were juveniles, and parental arrest in adulthood. When this is related to the research findings by Thornberry (1973), a different interpretation emerges, since black people with low

status were more harshly treated compared with white people and those of high status. Delinquency may not necessary be a 'deficit' in the family but can be related to the arresting and prosecuting agencies who may negatively assess a person's character (Werthman, and Piliavin, 1967). Thus, as Werthman and Piliavin point out, "a boy with a father and two brothers in jail is considered a different sort of person than a boy whose immediate family is not known to the police". Clearly, interactional factors needs to be taken into account in the consideration of deviance (see 1.13).

A more recent study of delinquency in schools by Rutter *et al.* (1979) begins to cross the broad approaches from the normative functionalist and the interpretive approach. They were particularly concerned to locate variables associated with delinquency, and hence predict delinquency. One aspect of the study related pupils' school grades to parental occupation which was "likely to constitute the best prediction of delinquency". They suggest, like Douglas (1964), that parental occupation is associated with low attainment. However, when analysing processes within the school, they offered evidence that factors in the school such as teacher expectation can also be a contributing factor to delinquency, just as teachers' use of praise rather than punishment were associated with better pupil behaviour and lower rates of delinquency. Interestingly, the study makes a tentative suggestion (which is tucked away in the conclusion) that one important factor could be that "peer group influences of some kind were serving to shape children's behaviour". However, their research makes no attempt to examine such influences.

A critical outline of certain theories related to deviance which treat the phenomena as subjectively problematic can now be examined, as well considering their application to school. These approaches take account of pupil cultures, pupil adaptations and the processes involved in expectations and labelling, as well as considering the institution as a focal concern in the study of deviance.

1.11 The Sub-Cultural Model

Whilst the sub-cultural model treats deviance as subjectively problematic, it does relate this to societal norms and the class structure at a more macro level, but also examines this from a group or sub-cultural perspective. Cohen's (1955, 1966, 1976) analysis assumes that society's norms and values are those represented by the middle classes and he is concerned to examine how sub-cultures develop in opposition to these norms and values. In many ways Cohen can be considered to use a normative-functionalist approach since he only recognises one set of norms and values. In contrast, Miller (1958) assumes society to be dichotomised between the middle classes and the working classes. Groups of individuals are said to form a culture which may have norms and values different and distinct from those of the middle classes.

For Cohen, a young person's self concept and feelings in relation to school are largely influenced by middle class people whose dominant value system can be said to pervade the mass media and society as a whole. Such values and standards relate to verbal fluency, academic intelligence, a capacity for sustained effort in endeavouring to reach long term goals, a drive for achievement and the ability to delay gratification. Neatness, cleanliness and polished manners make up the personal fronts (Goffman, 1959) of such individuals (Cohen, 1966). Inability to succeed or to live up to such standards and values can lead individuals to "repudiate or withdraw from the game" (Lofland, 1969). Lofland refers to this as a "power game" in which individuals may be fearful and feel threatened by other groups. It is a game of suspicion and distrust in which individuals may refuse to recognise the rules in operation as having any application to them. Cohen argues that individuals set up "new games with their own rules and criteria of status". Here is a fundamental problem for individuals, for although they may withdraw and reject the dominant value system, Cohen's main thesis is that it is still their value system. In this sense it is a

general culture into which all individuals, to a greater or lesser extent, are socialised. However, rejection of the rules in operation causes a problem of adjustment for individuals and a way out of this dilemma is achieved by resorting to "reaction formation". They invert the values and stand it on its head, exalt its opposition and revert to spiteful or negativistic, malicious and rebellious behaviour (Cohen, 1955; 1966).

In contrast, Miller (1958) argues that the focal concerns of the lower class culture of the gang relate to eight areas: Trouble, Toughness, Smartness, Excitement, Fate, Autonomy with the perceived alternatives of State, Quality and Condition. Thus Trouble may lead to either law-abiding or law-violating behaviour. For Miller the lower class culture is a long established and a distinctively patterned tradition with its own integrity "rather than a so-called delinquent sub-culture which has arisen through conflict with middle class culture and is orientated to the deliberate violation of middle class norms" (Miller, 1958, pp 5-6). This is diametrically opposed to Cohen's analysis and Miller is, in fact, scathing of Cohen's reference to delinquent's "negativistic, malicious or rebellious behaviour". He argues that gang members are conforming to immediate reference group norms and accuses Cohen of accepting the dominance of middle class values as given. He says that "such characteristics are obviously the result of taking the middle class community and its institutions as an implicit point of reference" (p19).

Miller argues that the lower class gang has its own values with a number of key features which act to deep the group together. Members must have the "capacity" and "motivation" to conform to perceived cultural norms. They must have and feel a sense of "belonging" and achieve "status". The latter can be achieved through Toughness, Trouble, etc, so that to remain a member of the gang necessitates conforming to these valued areas. However, this may or may not necessitate members violating middle class norms. This is a crucial point in Miller's analysis since members may

be seen to be conforming to middle class values but this only occurs if and when this does not conflict with their own cultural values. Similarly, valued states of Toughness and Trouble may be achieved without violating laws. What Miller stresses is that the failure to conform to the group norms may risk powerful sanctions resulting in exclusion from the group.

How, then, are sub-cultures formed? Cohen suggests that these are formed by an interaction between individuals with similar problems of adjustment. A process of innovation, with individuals gravitating towards other like-minded individuals. Furlong (1976) is critical of the sub-cultural model and suggests that culture is viewed as an "external reality" with members responding to a "reified group". He argues that individuals in such a culture are "controlled by something outside him: the group". Cohen, on the contrary, suggests that the formation of the culture is itself a dynamic process since individuals solve the problem encounters by testing out what other individuals are like. This is achieved through a series of exploratory gestures with small movements, thus allowing an individual to retreat if the signals are unfavourable. These develop over time in a series of stages with movements in a particular direction, although individuals may not necessarily have deviance in mind. Cohen sees the group as growing and developing, with each individual actor contributing to the formation by encouraging others to either advance, retreat, or by suggesting new avenues of exploration. This process leads to the formation of "group standards" within this shared frame of reference and it is this which gives rise to the emergence of the sub-culture. The formation of sub-cultures as described by Cohen can hardly constitute an "external Reality" as Furlong has argued. However, Cohen offers no empirical evidence on which to base his analysis of how cultures are formed.

There are a number of major problems and criticisms of the sub-cultural

model's analysis of deviance. Social class is an ambiguous and subjective term, although when used in research it has been more commonly related to socio-economic status (Meighan, 1986). Both Cohen and Miller ignore the possible range of meanings and values between upper and lower middle classes, and contrasts between the middle and upper classes. American society does not have, of course, the historical tradition of class structure that is prevalent in Britain. Any application of the sub-cultural model in Britain needs to take this into account since values may vary widely between these classes. Similarly, Miller can be criticised since there are different strata of working (or lower) classes: the aspiring working class who seek to be part of the middle class value system and the lower working classes (Miller's distinctive culture). Interestingly, Miller refers to these aspects in note form only and it is not part of his analysis in the main text. He admits that the term lower class culture "as used here refers most specifically to the way of life of a 'hard core' group". He adds that "systematic research in this area would probably reveal at least four to six major sub-types of lower class culture". His next point is most illuminating, for he admits that his "concerns presented here would be differently weighted for the sub-types for which law-abiding behaviour is a high overt evaluation". What must be stressed is that Miller's analysis, even by his own definition, is only applicable to a small section of the lower end of the working classes and cannot, therefore, be generalised to working class people as a whole. If we accept that there are distinctive cultures labelled upper class, middle class and working class, though each may be divided into a number of strata with associated values, then this throws into question Cohen's assumptions of a dominant value system. If we reject Cohen's analysis in favour of Miller's analysis, then we still have to face the criticism of values related to different strata of lower class culture. Miller clearly has not answered this criticism and, therefore, much of his analysis of sub-cultural values is questionable if not flawed.

1.11.1 Application of the Sub-Cultural Model to Schools

The sub-cultural model has been applied to the study of British schools by a number of researchers. Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981), whose studies encompassed secondary modern, grammar and comprehensive schools respectively, used Cohen's analysis. Willis's (1977) study of a boys secondary modern school used Miller's analysis as well as incorporating a neo-Marxist perspective on class reproduction. In Section 2 the contribution these researchers have made to our understanding of the processes of differentiation in schools have already been outlined, what will be given here is a brief but critical resumé of their relationship to the sub-cultural model and the explanations they offer concerning deviance and conformity in schools.

Hargreaves argues that the 'A' Stream and 'D' Stream are poles or extremes of the "normative differentiation", the two polarised sub-cultures being "academic" and "delinquent". The former conform to and orientate towards the values of the school and the teachers, whilst the latter are orientated negatively towards the school. There is a graduation between these poles so that the 'B' Stream contain more pupils who are less academically orientated to school than the 'A' Stream: Similarly, the 'C' Stream contain more boys who are orientated to the delinquent values with the 'D' Stream containing almost all pupils who are anti-school (Figure 1.2). Although Hargreaves does not make this explicit in his diagram, the values of the academic streams represent the middle class values. Cohen argues there are nine key areas in relation to middle class values. These are ambition, which is regarded as a virtue, individual responsibility and resourcefulness, cultivation and possession of skills, delayed gratification, rationality and planning, cultivation of manners, control of physical aggression, wholesome recreation and respect for property. These values are said to be inverted by pupils in the lower streams by the time pupils reach their third and fourth years in school

because they cannot succeed in them.

Lacey's study and Ball's replication in a comprehensive school, had similar conclusions (Figure 1.2). Lacey suggests, however, that deviant behaviour is less evident in the grammar school he studied, because pupils could be reallocated in a secondary modern school (thus confirming these schools as lower status, noted in Section 1). He argued that pupils experience "differentiation" which produces "polarisation". Differentiation was "the process of separation and ranking of pupils according to the normative value of the grammar school". Ball showed how the comprehensive school he studied had a deviant sub-culture which was confined to the lower Band 2 and Band 3 pupils. He noted also how the socio-economic status of pupils' parents varied when he compared these to pupils' band allocation, as did pupils' occupational expectations. The differentiated option system meant that pupils in different bands studied for a different examination - GCE or CSE - which had implications for future occupations and life chances.

Willis (1976; 1977), working in a boy's secondary modern school, suggested that there was a class significance to what he called the counter school culture. Willis related the oppositional culture of the working class boys he studied, represented by "the lads", to the wider working class shop floor culture. He argued that these boys were not so much reacting against middle class school values, but rather they were seeking to uphold their own distinctive working class values. The argument Willis advances, which concurs with certain aspects of the analysis on segregationist policies presented in part of this chapter (Section 1), is that the school system helps reproduce the existing social class structure. Indeed, the important contribution of Willis's work is the bridge he makes between the counter school culture and the shop floor culture. He shows how the values of the lads in the school are carried over into the shop floor to which Willis's lads were destined.

FIGURE 1.2 Sub-Cultural Models: Explanations of Deviance in Schools

Representation of the Two Subcultures



Source: Hargreaves, D.H. (1967)

Class Differentiation and the Pro- and Anti-School Sub-cultures



Source: Lacey, C. (1970)

Source: Ball, S (1981)

There has been a growing criticism of the sub-cultural model in its application to schools (Werthman, 1963; Furlong, 1976; Meighan, 1978a; Hammersley and Turner, 1980). Turner, 1983 argues that pupils' internalisation or rejection of official school values are problematic since "values of individual teachers are likely to differ or even be in conflict". Whilst we may accept certain aspects of Turner's argument, what is of concern is the dominant values inherent in the school's hierarchy from the headteacher down to the newest and youngest probationary teacher. The dominant value system of the school, as we have already noted (1.4), rests with those who have control over the school organisation and structure, notably the headteacher and deputy heads, and the departmental heads who allocate teachers to particular classes and pupils. The amalgamation of secondary modern and grammar schools illustrates this in its division of labour within the school. For instance, it has been argued that the ex-secondary teachers, who are likely to be in control of the knowledge structure (option system) in the school, dominate the school so that aspiring ex-secondary teachers may well need to take on these values or give lip service to them. Moreover, opposition from teachers to the dominant values only serve to illustrate that these values are, indeed, present. More particularly, if a school or teachers' value system differs radically from the wider middle class values dominant in society, then such schools or teachers would be quickly and surely be brought under control. This was evident in the closure of Risinghill Comprehensive School in London (see Berg, 1966) and the sacking of the teachers from the William Tyndale Junior School (see Ellis et al. 1976) after a public enquiry (The Auld Report, 1975). Any radical changes in the school system needs to have the full support of the local authority as witnessed by Countersthorpe College in Leicestershire. The substantive part of Turner's criticism cannot be upheld and it can be argued that there is a dominant value system in schools perpetuated through its teaching force.

Turner is also critical of Hargreaves for seeming to quote evidence

which seems to contradict his assertion of a pro-school, academic culture. Hargreaves argues that certain 'A' Stream pupils were impatient with non-examination subjects and that such pupils were sometimes critical of teachers if the lesson was evaluated by them as being inadequate (Hargreaves, 1967, pp13-14). Turner suggests that it is difficult to see that "if pupils are not committed to the same values of the teachers, the argument that they are committed to school values seems undermined". But the evidences does suggest, as Hargreaves pointed out, that these pupils did in fact value the dominant, examination orientated instrumental curriculum of the school and were only critical when their desire to accomplish these ends was frustrated or curtailed. Of course, a problem with the sub-cultural analysis as presented by Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball is that they do not make explicit that a school can have a dominant value system as well as subsidiary or subterranean values (see 1.4).

A justified criticism of Hargreaves and Lacey made by Furlong is that they rarely ventured into the classroom. Thus, their analysis of pupil questionnaires, for instance, offers no detailed knowledge of classroom interactions and processes. Furlong suggests that such shortfall had been rectified by his research on interaction sets. He argues that pupils' friendships and groupings are ever-changing. However, Furlong can also be criticised since he offers no details of the school's organisation in which to locate his "interaction sets". Whilst he starts with actions and detects variability where other approaches assume consistency, no adequate reasons are provided and the explanations remain at the level of descriptions (Hammersley and Turner, 1980).

Another criticism made by Furlong concerns the consistency of norms and values. He argues that even the most delinquent group will behave or conform to school values in certain circumstances. It depends, of course, on which analysis of the sub-cultural model Furlong is referring to: Cohen's or Miller. Miller does argue, as we have already noted, that lower class boys do not necessary oppose the values and norms of the

middle classes and will 'conform' to middle class norms if these are not inconsistent with the values of the culture. When applied to schools, Cohen's model is problematic. For instance, Lacey's account of Short in 5C noted that he was badly behaved and truant, "membership of the anti-group did not entail defiance in every gesture, with total dedication to upsetting the system every moment of the day". In Cohen's terms, these values are those of the sub-culture although the members have chosen to reject them. The process of innovation in relation to problems of adjustment would suggest that if a new status problem arose, the criteria would be shared within the group and a new, but group solution found. Lacey does not suggest that this is a group solution but an individual solution which conflicts with Cohen's emphasis on group decisions rather than individual decision-making. He also argues that a boy in 5B can misbehave on occasions, often when the teacher is not present, thereby not being excluded from the group and yet giving the impression to the teacher of full co-operation. Lacey endeavours to explain this by suggesting that pupils can operate both sets of sub-cultural values whilst at the same time (it must be assumed, but not explicitly stated by Lacey) giving greater allegiance to one set of values over another. However, this seemingly contradiction can be explained with reference to Goffman's (1959) analysis of impression management and techniques of audience segregation (see 1.14). Whilst an individual may put on one performance in front of a particular audience, he may change his performance in front of another audience. In this way the individual is able to separate his audience "so that the individual who witnesses one of his roles will not be the individual who witnesses him in another". Thus, using Goffman's dramaturgical model (whilst noting its relationship to the analysis of roles in symbolic interaction theory), the explanation can still be consistent with sub-cultural theory, although the Model falls short of offering a more complete account.

Cohen's argument that an individual has little choice in his actions when he becomes part of a sub-culture is certainly questionable. Indeed, Lacey's own account presented here would indicate that his data does, indeed, allow some individual choices. Similarly, Ball recognises sub-divisions with the pro- and anti-groups. He argues that pro-school pupils can be either "supportive" or "manipulative", whereas anti-school pupils can be either "passive" or "rejecting" and view school as calculative. Hargreaves (1979) has also suggested that there may be four basic types of pupils. These are "the committed", broadly conformist pupils who share the values and ideals of the school (miniature versions of teachers); "the instrumentalist" who are content to play the teacher's game. The others are "the indifferent" who are bored with school and drift and "the opposition". Such dimensions, as suggested by Ball and Hargreaves, suggest a decision-making approach (Turner, 1983) which is, of course, the antithesis of Cohen's and Miller's analyses. However, an individual can still be part of a sub-culture and be free to make decisions, as Mead's analysis of culture indicates (see 1.13). There are, clearly, a number of grey areas not explored by the sub-cultural model in its application to schools which do not take into account the variation in the interaction between teacher and pupils which may promote deviance (Werthman, 1963).

Werthman is critical of the sub-cultural model's view of the school "as a monolith of middle class personnel" against which certain individuals fare badly. Although noting (as with Hargreaves, Lacey, Ball and Willis) that in the early years in a high school there is no relation between academic performance and trouble, he suggests that when trouble does erupt, it is only in particular classes and with certain teachers. These factors constitute an important aspect of the interactionist perspective which will be discussed later (see 1.13). However, whilst the analysis of sub-cultures by Hargreaves and Lacey have short comings in that they may not offer an adequate explanation, the analysis Willis presents is

problematic in terms of both its theoretical application as well as on methodological grounds.

Meighan (1978a) is critical of Willis's application of the counter school culture represented by "the lads" to the wider working class culture. Here we see the problem already outlined in relation to Miller's analysis. There may well be (and probably are) a number of strata of values within the working class culture. Meighan is also critical of Willis's use of the term opposition to authority in the context of school with the suggestion that this is synonymous with opposition to authority by the working classes in the wider context of society. It is questionable whether this can be used to refer to the same thing in both contexts. However, major problems of Willis's analysis concerns his methodology and presentation of data.

The rigid dichotomy of "the lads" and "the ear 'oles" portrayed throughout much of Willis's analysis is called into question by Willis's own reference to Joey's remarks about "semi-ear 'oles" who form a separate, almost twilight group, who would seem to be mid-way between the ear 'oles and the lads. There are, then, at least three groups of pupils in the school, yet the semi-ear 'oles, like the conformist pupils, are not given any space in the analysis. The world of the conformist pupils is not explored although, when necessary, comments are used from them to confirm Willis's thesis that the lads represent the counter school culture.

(In a group discussion with conformists at Hammertown Boys)

Barry: ...he (one of the teachers) goes on about 'Everybody...', you know. I don't like things like that, when they say, 'Everybody's... none of you like this, none of you like that. You're all in trouble' They should say, 'A few of yer...' Like Mr Peters, he does that, he don't say, 'Everybody', just the odd few. That's better, 'cos some of us are interested (...)

Nigel: The trouble is when they start getting, you know, playing the teachers up (...) it means that you're losing time, valuable time, teaching time, and that, so its spoiling it for your, you know, sometimes, I wish they'd just pack up and leave (...)

- Barry: It's better the way the've done it now(...) they've put them all together (CSE groups were not mixed ability groups). It don't really matter whether they do any work or not ... You just get on, get on well now (in the CSE groups), 'cos if anybody's talking he tells you to shut up, you know, get on with the work.
- PW: (...) Have you ever felt that you should try and stop them? (...)
- Barry: I've just never bothered with them (...) now, in the fifth, they should ... you know, you don't just go around shouting at people in the classroom, you know, you just talk sensibly. (The teachers) should be more stricter.

(Willis, 1977, ppl6-17)

Similarly, the one voice of the lads is broken only when Willis, on rare occasions, records the comments of teachers. Their views are only included to support his main thesis of class reproduction and counter school culture, and teachers' comments on pupils are almost exclusively about the lads. An example is given below:

- Deputy Head: Joey is the outstanding one as far as following my leader is concerned (...) Spike being the barrack room lawyer would support him, and those two did the stirring (...) and Will is easily led."

(Willis, 1977, p61)

Willis goes on to argue that "written school-leaving and other reports demonstrate notions of pathology in relation to a basic social model of leaders and the led". It can be noted that such reports are only of the lads, Willis does not set alongside these reports those of the conformists for comparison:

"(Joey) proved himself to be a young man of intelligence and ability who could have done well at most subjects, but decided that he did not want to work to develop this talent to the full and allowed not only his standard of work to deteriorate, except for English, but also attendance and behaviour (...) too often his qualities of leadership were misplaced and not used on behalf of the school.

(Spanksy) in the first three years was a most co-operative and active member of school. He took part in the school council, school play and school choir in this period and represented the school at cricket, football and cross-country events. Unfortunately, this good start did not last and his whole manner changed. He did not try to develop his ability in either academic

practical skills (...) his early pleasant and cheerful manner deteriorated and he became a most unco-operative member of the school (...) hindered by negative attitudes.

(Eddie's) conduct and behaviour was very inconsistent and on occasions totally unacceptable to the school. A lack of self-discipline was apparent and a tendency to be swayed by group behaviour revealed itself."

(Willis, 1977, p62)

The relationship between the way the lads go about school work and working practices in the workplace, the shop floor, is the most illuminating aspect of Willis's study, but it tells us little about the way the earl's settle into their workplace after leaving school, nor does it offer data on how they actually worked in school. Pupil practices and work restrictions, as we have already noted (see 1.8), is an important area of differentiation in school. It cannot be assumed that pro-school pupils when they settle into their workplace, will not operate restrictions on work and try to gain control over the rates of work, as do the shop floor culture. Willis offers few details of the school as a 'workplace' in terms of organisation and structure, except for brief extracts in note form at the end of a chapter which is inadequate to allow the reader to judge the influence of the school on pupils.

Yet another problem in Willis's analysis is that he makes reference to other schools, a secondary modern school and a grammar school in the area, but little or no data are given on these schools. Again, the all too familiar technique is made of bringing in data from other sources to support the main thesis. Thus, comments by Larry, a pupil from the grammar school, are used to support the notion that the lads were concerned with practical work rather than theory, which limits their choice in the job market, and therefore is further evidence of class reproduction (see p57).

Willis argues that the non-conformist working class pupils in the grammar school differ from the lads because they "lack the collective school based and generated form of class culture" even though they may

come from similar backgrounds and have an inclination to oppositional values. Thus, Willis emphasises the nature of the school for generating a class culture and counter culture whilst acknowledging different forms of working class culture. Yet his analysis makes neither explicit. A main overriding criticism, then, of his study is that he fails to present adequate data from the different participants - the lads and the ear 'oles, and by so doing, flaws his own analysis.

1.12 The Adaptational Model

The analysis of deviance by Merton (1938, 1968) and Goffman (1961) concerns how individuals adapt to the social structures which exert pressure on them. Merton's later analysis is similar, in some respects, with certain aspects of Cohen's sub-cultural model. Unlike the sub-cultural model's emphasis solely on norms and values, Merton identifies a number of adaptations in relation to cultural goals and the means of achieving them. It does, however, include in the analysis reference to norms and values. Goffman is concerned to show how the constraints that individuals face in what he calls "closed institutions". Although the adaptational model was developed before the sub-cultural model, it has been modified and used in schools as an alternative to Cohen and Miller's analysis of deviance. Wakeford (1969) and Woods (1979) draw on and modify Merton and Goffman's analyses to depict pupil adaptations in school.

Merton developed his analysis from Durkheim's (1964) notion of anomie. A state of anomie is said to exist when a body of common rules for which the principle mechanism for the regulation of the relationship among the elements of the social system, has broken down. This state of normlessness or deregulation occurs when desires are insufficiently restrained. Like Cohen and Miller, Merton believes that these desires set not so much by biology but by social rules which define what men are entitled to. Rules are incorporated into an individual's conscience which

regulate and discipline man's aspiration and create a sense of satisfaction and fulfilment. An abrupt growth of power and wealth, for instance, may upset an individual's customary definition of what is a fitting distribution of rewards. Merton, unlike Durkheim, applied the concept of anomie to deviant behaviour. He argued that a state of anomie exists when there is a breakdown of societal goals and means. Culturally defined goals are purposes and interests held out as legitimate objectives for all members of society which are ordered in some hierarchy of values. The second element of the cultural structure "defines, regulates and controls the acceptable modes of reaching out for these goals" (Merton, 1968). Merton argues that in American society, greater stress is placed on the value of specific goals than on culturally defined means of achieving them so that individuals may endeavour to achieve goals through illicit means. These goals, in a capitalist society, are concerned with financial success, although alternative goals can be in the realms of intellectual and artistic achievement. The latter, of course, being applicable to schools and educational institutions..

Parents serve as a "transmission belt" for the values and goals of the group to which they belong. Like Cohen and Miller, Merton argues that the values of the social class in which individuals are socialised, has some relationship to the attainment goals.. Furthermore, although the lower classes are motivated towards the goal of financial success, they may lack the education and economic resources to achieve it and are more likely to adopt illegitimate means to achieve these goals. The institution of the school is stressed as the main agency for passing on prevailing values, since text books imply or state specifically that "education leads to intelligence and consequently job and money success".

Five types of adaptations related to cultural goals and institutional means are outlined by Merton (Figure 1.3). He sees 'conformity' as part of a stable society, unlike the sub-cultural model which sees conformity as

FIGURE 1.3 A Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation



(From R. K. Merton, 'Social Theory and Social Structure',

being a concept which is relative to different groups. Merton takes a functionalist view of conformity which, he says, is "typically orientated to basic values of society". In this sense, of course, he concurs with Cohen's view of a society whose dominant values have a pervasive influence. Merton's other four modes of adaptation concern various forms of deviance. Individuals who utilise "innovation" as a mode of adaptation are said to have assimilated the cultural emphasis on goals without a corresponding emphasis on the institutional norms governing the means of its attainment. This form of adaptation is said to be used by the lower strata in society who may not be capable of reaching such goals without cause to use illegitimate means. His argument is that whilst goals are held to transcend class lines and are not bounded by them, "the actual social organisation is such that there exists class differentials in accessibility of the goals". This is very similar to Cohen's notion of "status frustration" leading to "reaction formation" because individuals have been denied access to routes leading to achievement. Cohen suggests, of course, that this forces individuals to invert these values and exalt their opposition, whereas Merton argues that, whilst some individuals will become alienated and rebel, the majority will attribute blame for their difficulties to fortune, chance and luck, thereby preserving their esteem in the face of failure.

"Retreatism" as a mode of adaptation is, again, similar to Cohen's "status frustration" since both the goals and means are imbued with high value "but accessible institutional avenues are not productive of success" (Merton, 1968 p207). Individuals, therefore, can use "escape mechanisms" such as defeatism, quietness and resignation which are subtle and not outwardly aggressive like Cohen's "reaction formation". "Rebellion", unlike "retreatism" has all the hall-marks of Cohen's analysis since it "involves a genuine transvaluation, where direct or vicarious experience of frustration lead to full denunciation of previously prized values" (Merton, 1968 p210). Merton suggests that not only does an individual withdraw his allegiance from the "prevailing social structure" but transfers these to a new group. Again, the similarity to Cohen's analysis with respect to the formation of sub-cultures is striking.

"Ritualism" is a scaling down of lofty goals although individuals abide by institutional means. In societies in which individuals are dependent for achievement on competition, this struggle to succeed can produce acute status anxiety. To alleviate this, individuals may lower their level of aspiration. These constitute "private escapes" from frustrations and whereas "Innovation" is said to be a province of the lower classes, "Ritualism" is the province of the lower middle class because parents exert pressure on child to "abide by the moral mandates of society". However, since individuals are not using illicit means but cling to recognised institutional norms, this mode of adaptation could be said to constitute a form of conformity.

A criticism of Merton's analysis is that it fails to focus on the characteristics of individuals but concentrates only on the positions that individuals are said to occupy in the social system. An objection to Merton's (1938) earlier formulation was that it depicted an individual as someone who chose his adaptation to the institution in isolation from

others who served as his reference group. Merton has now allowed for this and, as we have seen, his analysis is similar to that of the sub-cultural model in a number of areas. A further criticism of Merton is that his typology of adaptations refers to conformity and several varieties of deviance in terms of a simple "parsimonious conceptual scheme: (either or) choices on each of two variables (cultural goals; institutional means)" (Cohen, 1966). This is a false distinction since it can be argued that they are both linked in social reality (Wakeford, 1968). The ambiguity of the schematic outline of attributing the same symbol for two or more different ideas and two different symbols for the same idea, leads to difficulties in interpretation and in using the typology in practice (Harary, 1966).

In contrast, Goffman's (1961) modes of adaptations would appear not to distinguish between means and ends. He argues that an individual's "engrossment in the activity of an organisation tends to be taken as a symbol both of commitment and one's attachment". The survival of the institution necessitates that an individual "call forth" usable contributions of activity from its members so that "stipulated means must be employed, stipulated ends must be achieved". Goffman argues that individuals make primary or secondary adjustments to institutions. Primary adjustments occur when an individual "co-operatively contributes required activity to an organisation and under required conditions". In contrast, secondary adjustment occurs when an "individual stands apart from the role and self that were taken for granted for him by the institution". Secondary adjustment can be of two types: disruptive ones "where the realistic intentions of the participants are to abandon the organisation or radically alter its structure" which leads to a "rupture" in the smooth operation of the institution. The others are contained ones in which individuals fit into the existing institutional structure without introducing pressure for change.

Goffman suggests four modes of adaptation. "Situational withdrawal" is when the inmate withdraws apparent attention from everything except the events immediately around his body. The "intransigent line" is more than mere withdrawal since challenges are made to the institution by flagrant refusal to co-operate with staff. Other forms of adaptation see the inmate appear to share the values of the institution. Thus, "colonization" sees the inmate as having a stable and relatively contented existence so much so that other inmates may accuse him of "having found a home" or "never had it so good". "Conversion" is a form of adaptation in which the inmate takes over the official or staff view of himself and tries to act out the role of the perfect inmate. Goffman suggests that inmates may use a combination of these and thereby maximise their chance of getting out "physically and psychologically undamaged".

1.12.1 Application of the Adaptational Model to Schools

Wakeford's (1969) typology of modes of adaptation derives from Harary's (1966) Revised (Stage 2) Typology. Wakeford, working in a boy's public boarding school, places his modes of adaptation, unlike Merton, within an interactional process which he argues are influenced by societal responses (reactions) as well as by forms of social control. Wakeford takes "conformity", "retreatism" and "rebellion" from Merton's typology and "intransigence" and "colonisation" from Goffman's analysis (Figure 1.4). Unlike Merton and Harary, Wakeford's Model is dynamic in that it indicates both major movements in the boys' career in school and indicates modes of adaptation for the early, middle and later years.

Woods (1979) developed Wakeford's typology as part of a study of a secondary school (Figure 1.5). Although a state school could not be defined as a "total institution" (Goffman, 1961), Woods argues that they have been developing "totalising tendencies" because the way pupils are treated outside school may differ from the way they are treated in

FIGURE 1.4

Revised typology of modes of individual adaptation showing principal modes of adaptation by boys to the public boarding school.



Source: J Wakeford, 'The Cloistered Elite', 1969, pages 133–134.

school in today's more liberal and democratic climate. While Wakeford only provides one space for conformity, there are a number of possible forms of conformity in Woods' analysis. Indeed, Woods argues that conformity should be considered as an umbrella term. "Ingratiation", "optimistic compliance", "ritualism" and "opportunism" provide a variety of conforming



SOURCE: Woods, 1979 'The Divided School'

styles. For instance, ingratiators seek to maximise benefits by being favourably disposed to those in power and are not concerned with the unpopularity this may create with their peers. They may, as Goffman (1961) notes, embrace an institution too warmly. "Ritualism", derived from Merton, is a mode of adaptation in which pupils accept that they have to be at school but do not consider school to be important, although they abide by the norms of behaviour within school. The modes of adaptation of "optimistic" and "instrumental compliance" and "ritualism" can be said to consist of primary adjustments and lead to conformity. Pupils can also make secondary adjustments producing "colonization" which also leads to conformity. "Retreatism", "intransigence" or "rebellion" as modes of adaptation can lead to dissonance.

Woods extended his typology to include six possible standpoints that can be addressed towards goals and means. Thus "retreatism" is characterised by indifference to or rejection (without replacement) of both goals and means. School is considered to be boring by pupils because they have no replacement (such as Willis's lads who have a laugh). Woods suggests that "rebellion" involves rejection of both goals and means and that this mode of adaptation is more common in later years. Such a typology would appear to be both dynamic as well as having, like Wakeford's typology, a temporal sequence incorporated into it. Woods suggests that first year pupils and pupils up to their third year in school experience "optimistic compliance" and "opportunism". Wakeford also suggests that first year pupils conform. These analyses are in accord with researchers using a sub-cultural model since they argue that the anti-school or counter school culture does not begin until after the second year in school and then hardens when pupils reach the fourth and fifth years. Woods, and indeed Merton, like those using a sub-cultural model, draw a relationship between pupils' acceptance or rejection of school and their social class. For instance, Merton suggests that there is a need to investigate "occupational goal

formation in several social strata".

Woods' typology of adaptations and his illustration of the dominant modes of adaptations leading to either conformity or dissonance would seem to be, to a large extent, speculative. For instance, whilst Woods' concentrated on 4A and 4L (an examination and non-examination class respectively) and presents data from all third year pupils on their options choices, it is difficult to see how he could obtain adequate data from first, second, third year, as well as fourth and fifth year pupils to fully justify the assertions he makes. Indeed, he does not offer such information, and examples of pupils' individual modes of adaptations are not related to pupils' school class or year, with little indication of whether they are examination or non-examination pupils. A more general criticism of the adaptational model from Merton, through Harary and from Wakeford to Woods, becomes progressively too complex. Indeed, leaving aside the complexity of adequately showing different pupils' adaptations in all lessons thus adding a further dimension of "contextual features" (Turner, 1983), there are more adaptations in Woods' typology that have not been assigned a label. The complexity partly arises out of the use of labels as descriptions of actions. These can be called second order constructs, being the researchers own labels which may be too far removed from the actual practices in which pupils actually engage.

Researchers using both the sub-cultural model and the adaptational model treat the school structure, in many respects, as "given" and unproblematic. References to the school structure is treated discursively in a short chapter (see Hargreaves, 1967, Chapter 2) or treated as background information (see the introduction by Woods, 1979) or omitted from the text and relegated to a series of notes at the end of a chapter (see Willis, 1977). Yet the sub-cultural model and the adaptational model have much in common, as noted previously. For instance, the sub-cultural model has difficulty in accounting for deviance in

terms of the simple concept of polarisation. They import into their analysis various forms of differing pupils' responses to school with reference to pupils who are "the committed", "the indifferent", or pupils who are "semi-ear 'oles" (1.11.1). These could well be called 'adaptations', although Hargreaves, Lacey, Ball and Willis avoid making specific reference to pupil adaptations. It seems likely, as noted previously, that these two approaches to the study of deviance in school have much in common. An understanding of the processes of differentiation can best be understood by analysing how pupils form sub-cultures and then adapt to school. Can pupil adaptations take place in sub-cultures?

1.13 Labelling Theory and the Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

A problem of both the sub-cultural model and the typologies of pupil adaptations is that they do not take into full consideration the interactions between teacher and pupil in their consideration of differentiation and deviance in school. Labelling theory stresses the importance of the interaction between individuals and, consequently, has been referred to as the 'interactionist perspective' (Becker, 1963) or 'transactional theory' (see Meighan, 1986). Although labelling theory, like the sub-cultural model, developed from criminology and deviance (Rubington and Weinberg, 1978), labels can be either positive or negative. There is, therefore, a need to consider the notion of self-fulfilling prophecy, and its relationship to labelling theory (see Rist, 1977), with respect to how labels to particular pupils or groups of pupils can contribute to their success (leading to conformity) or failure (leading to deviance).

1.13.1 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy

The notion of the self-fulfilling prophecy has been particularly concerned with schools in relation to teacher expectation. The central proposition being that "pupils tend to perform as well or as badly as their teachers expect" (Meighan, 1986) and that the prophecy

is fulfilled because it was made (Merton, 1968). At the core of the proposition is W.I. Thomas's dictum that "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Pist, 1977).

Central to Kelly's (1963) personal construct theory are the key elements of anticipation, replication, prediction and expectation enshrined in his fundamental postulate that "A person's processes are psychologically channelled by the way he anticipates events". Kelly's notion of man-the-scientist suggests that individuals have theories and are constantly making hypotheses and testing these out against 'reality' and noting the accuracy of their predictions. The bi-polar constructs aid individuals in predicting the course of events are constantly being tested to ascertain the efficiency of their predictiveness. Those constructs that predict events accurately are retained, whilst others are revised or changed. However, there are problems. Whilst an individual may seek to improve his construct system, damage may result from the alteration of what Kelly calls the sub-ordinate constructs. A person may feel personally dependent upon them and so refrain from adopting a more precise construct in the sub-structure since this would alter his whole construct system. Other factors governing expectations are the notion of the primacy of first impressions (Luchins, 1957; Asch, 1946), that is, impressions gained from a first meeting may influence subsequent perceptions, with the cosequential implication for expectations.

It was the pioneering work of Rosenthal (1966), and later Rosenthal and Jackobson (1968) which influenced a whole plethora of research studies on teacher expectation. Rosenthal and Jackobson, by randomly assigning a number of pupils as high scorers on tests ('spurters') and informing the teachers of these pupils' scores, purported to show that pupils improved because the teachers expected them to do well. However, as Brophy and Goode (1974) point out, these researchers have been much criticised on methological grounds (Snow, 1969; Finn, 1972; Thorndike, 1968) and attempts to replicate the study have not been

successful (Clairborn, 1969; Fleming and Antonon, 1971; cited by Brophy and Goode). A major criticism of their study is that they did not elicit the teachers' own perceptions and expectations of pupils and then relate these to pre-test and post-test scores over a period. Even this would not take into account teacher-pupil interactions in the classroom.

Brophy and Goode's extensive review of research in this area placed them into two broad categories: induced expectation studies (such as the one by Rosenthal and Jacobson) and naturalistic studies. The research methodology of this latter approach consisted of obtaining the teachers' own perceptions and expectations of pupils. Whilst some studies did show expectation effects, other studies failed to provide evidence of an expectation effect being evident in neither the outcome (test scores) nor in the process (classroom interaction). The study by Nash (1973) in Britain using personal construct theory, compared junior school teachers' perceptions of pupils with senior school teachers' perceptions of the same pupils when they transferred to secondary school, and showed that they had similar perceptions of these pupils.

Forming impressions of individuals is a complex matter in which people endeavour to encode in coming information in an economical form (Heider, 1954; Bruner, 1958; 1975). These impressions can be from the most slender information which, in turn, may give rise to inaccurate and false expectations (Bruner, 1975). Thus, as Meighan notes, teachers can form impressions of pupils they have not met on the basis of their first names (Garwood and McDavid, 1975; Garwood, 1976), their sex (Parlardy, 1969) their appearance (Harvey and Slatin, 1976) as well as their perceived ability. The sequence of teacher expectation can be suggested as follows:

- "1 Predictions based on teachers' interpretive scheme before meeting pupils for the first time.
- 2 The initial meeting.
- 3 Subsequent pattern of interaction.
- 4 Retrospective assessment and reflection leading to reinforcement or modification of the interpretive schemes."

(Meighan, 1986, p132)

The notion of self-fulfilling prophecy is vague and the contributing variables, beyond the schematic outline noted above, are difficult to isolate and relate to specific outcomes. Brophy and Goode conclude that "expectation effects are likely to be greater when the student accurately perceives the teacher's behaviour and understands the implication regarding teacher expectation for him". This simplistic truism, however, has not been substantiated to any great extent, although Pidgeon's (1970) earlier review of the expectation effect concluded with the suggestion that "the levels of performance between the most able and the least able pupils (...) are due in no small part to the expectations of their teachers". Rist (1977) suggests that the inconclusive nature of the expectation effect and the "log jam" building up in the self-fulfilling prophecy can be broken by integrating this notion with those inherent in labelling theory.

1.13.2 Labelling Theory

Hargreaves et al. show how self-fulfilling prophecy and labelling theory are similar in many respects (Figure 1.6).

FIGURE 1.6 Self-Fulfilling Prophecy and Labelling Theory:
Schematic Outline



(Hargreaves et al. 1975, p141)

The analysis of labelling theory outlined by Meighan reveals the processes involved in the labelling of pupils by teachers and provides a further critical framework for the explanation of deviance in school.

This framework will be utilised and elaborated where necessary.

i) Deviance Involves a Social Process

A basic proposition of labelling theory is that "deviant behaviour has the characteristics of a transaction between the deviant person and another or others". (Meighan, 1986). Like the sub-cultural and adaptational models, labelling theory counters biological theories of deviance. Labelling theory, therefore, "allows for an examination of what, in fact, is happening within schools" (Rist, 1977). It is concerned to understand and then to offer explanations for deviance by taking account of the process of interaction between the person who has been labelled and the person who is doing the labelling. It also examines the assumptions behind the labels and the social significance of the labelling process.

The social process of deviance revolves around a series of interactions between rule-makers, rule enforcers and rule-breakers (Meighan, 1986) and has at least three distinct elements. The first is the commission of an act by the first party; the second is the interpretation of that act as rule-breaking by the second party which leads to the first party being defined as deviant. The third element constitutes a reaction of the first party to the second element (Hargreaves, 1976). In this way, labelling theory differs from the sub-cultural and adaptational models' emphasis on specific groups or particular individuals, since it concentrates on the interaction between the two parties and the reaction of the labelled person to the labelling process.

ii) Process of Social Typing of Deviance: Successful Application of the Label

The theory of typing developed by Hargreaves et al. suggests three distinct but related stages. The first is "speculation" in which the teacher first comes to know about or meet pupils (see Section 2; 1.6.2). As noted previously, this can be related to notions of the primacy of first impressions. The second stage is "elaboration" in which the teacher goes

beyond these first impressions and seeks to find out more about the pupil. The third stage is "stabilisation" in which the teacher considers he has "a relatively clear and stable conception of the identity of the pupils". This schematic analysis presented by Hargreaves et al. obscures the complexity of the deviants' reaction to the label, which can now be considered.

iii) How the Labelling Process of Typing Affects the Person Who is Labelled

The process of labelling and typing of pupils by the teacher needs to be placed alongside the reaction of those who are labelled. In the 'labelled person' there is a process of negotiating, rejection or acceptance, reinterpretation or modification of their behaviour (Meighan, 1986). There are a number of elements in this process which does not mean that the label given by someone to another person will automatically 'stick'. Firstly, it depends on whether the so-called deviant accepts the label and comes to think of himself as deviant. This is dependent upon the frequency in which the label is applied by the teacher to the pupil and its reinforcing effect on the pupil's self concept (Burns, 1982). The person may simply not accept the label or reject the label. Secondly, the acceptance of the label is dependent upon whether the person doing the labelling is viewed as a significant other by the person who has been labelled (Hargreaves, 1976). The status of the typer is important because "effective social typing usually flow down rather than up the social structure" (Rubington and Weinberg, 1978). A third element is the extent to which others support the label since this will affect the labelling and a person's self concept (Burns, 1982). There is a distinction, as Hargreaves notes, between "idiosyncratic" and "consensual" deviants. In the former case it is a particular teacher who may have a specific problem with one pupil, in the latter case it is an agreement between teachers as to which pupils are deviant. As already noted, the staffroom serves as the back region (Goffman, 1959) for

staff gossip and the generating of identities (Section 2; 1.6.4) in the promulgation and reinforcement of the labelling process. Whether parents support or dissociate themselves from such labels attributed to pupils may affect the labelled person in his ultimate acceptance or rejection of that label. In this context, then, labelling theory does not underplay the importance of home background or indeed social class variables.

Lastly, and extending these elements, is the public nature of labelling. These can consist of deliberate degradation ceremonies (Garfinkel, 1967) such as "showing them up" (Woods, 1979) which are designed to confirm pupil status and reinforce the negative label. This, as noted previously (1.8), acts as a form of social control, and is deliberately engineered in front of an audience so that others will support and join in the condemnation and help hold the deviant in check. However, this is problematic since it may confirm the pupil in a deviant career (Goffman, 1961); yet there is no certainty that this will occur. According to Lemert (1951), there are at least eight stages to the "ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and efforts at adjustment on the basis of the associated role". Thus, while labelling may have a social control effect and deter an individual from committing further deviance, individuals can justify or disavow the act of deviance by normalisation or neutralisation (giving excuses for an untypical incident). Lemert's analysis makes a distinction between what he calls "primary deviation" in which an individual breaks a rule or rules but may not be regarded as a deviant, per se, and "secondary deviation"

"Which becomes a means of defense, attack or adaptation to the overt and covert problems created by societal reaction to primary deviation. In effect the original 'causes' of deviation recede and give way to the central importance of the disapproving, degradation and isolating reactions of society."

(Lemert, 1951)

The adjustments and adaptations pupils make may, of course, be those that have been outlined by Wakeford (1968) and Woods (1979). What labelling

theory emphasises is how these adaptations arise from the interactions between teacher and pupils. The process can be related to a school context.

The deviant pupil's self concept may be altered. He is placed in a new 'status' and is said to be a different kind of person "from the one he is supposed to be" (Becker, 1963). He is no longer considered by others and himself as 'normal' or 'ordinary'. He thus undergoes a process of stigmatisation (Goffman, 1968) which change the meaning of, rather than cause, deviance (Hargreaves, 1976). It is, as Matza (1969) suggests, a movement of stigmatisation from having committed a deviant act to becoming a deviant. Once defined as deviant, the pupil is treated differently by the teacher. He is regarded with "suspicion", "kept under surveillance", subjected to "rigorous controls" and subjected to "exclusion or isolation" from various school activities. (Hargreaves, 1967; 1976). Exclusion may well testify to his deviance so that "to be cast a deviant, is to further compound and hasten the process of becoming that very thing" (Matza, 1969).

The pupil can become what the deviant label labels him; as Mead has shown, the 'I', the response of the pupil to the attitudes of the others, and the 'ME' become inseparable. As Matza notes, "he is unable not to see or glimpse himself as he appears in the eyes of another". The whole process can encourage expectations of deviance and so self-fulfilling prophecies may emerge. Labelling theory asserts that for an individual to endeavour to break away from the deviant image, he has to follow a code which requires less deviation than that of a 'normal' individual. He has to appear "super-normals" (Hargreaves, 1976) otherwise trivial or "normal crimes" (Sudnow, 1965) may help to reaffirm the deviant label. Thus, as Lemert's analysis points out, it may be easier for the pupil to accept the label and engage in further acts of deviance and so confirm his status. Meighan suggests that aggressive social policy of "tightening up" and "establishing

firmer law and order" may create a vicious circle effect in which the whole process itself leads to more deviance.

The point being made, of course, is that it may well be the institution itself that helps create deviance. Reynolds and Sullivan (1979) found that schools with a zealous social control policy had, in fact, the most deviants, whereas schools with a softer control policy had fewer deviants. Rutter et al. (1979) similarly noted that overt use of reprimands and punishment as a style of teacher response "may well tend to aggravate rather than ameliorate the situation".in the school or the classroom, with the likelihood of social aggression. Other studies have indicated differences in delinquency rates between schools. Farrington (1972) found that 38% of boys entering the secondary schools he studied had previously been rated as troublesome when in the primary school, compared with 8% in low delinquency schools (cited by Rutter and Madge, 1976). However, the selective intake could not account for delinquency in all schools. Wadsworth (1979) in a longitudinal study which aimed at trying to locate variables of delinquency suggests that teachers' assessments may have "contributed significantly to the discrimination of delinquents from non-delinquents" but how far these assessments became instrumental in the production of delinquency was not known.

iv) The Role of Support Groups and Group Affiliation

The role of audiences in labelling theory has been viewed predominantly from the perspective of the labeller. However, the audience can refer to individuals who seek support of similar individuals in similar situations who may or may not have solved problems of adjustment (re: Cohen, 1966). Meighan (1986) suggests that such groups (such as women's liberation movements) to be at a macro level. However, it can be suggested that support groups can operate at a more micro level and be organised into sub-cultures. A distinction can be made between the two sub-cultural

approaches advanced by Cohen and Miller and Mead's (1934) notion of "cultural determinism". Whilst individuals may gravitate towards like-minded people, Mead argues (unlike Miller) that individuals can and do make decisions and are not governed by, or enslaved in, a culture rooted in social class. Individuals are "born into an on-going society and are socialised to some significant degree into behaviour which meet the expectations of its culture" (Rose, 1962). They are socialised into a general culture as well as into various sub-cultures. Mead and Cohen can be seen to be in agreement about society consisting of a dominant or general culture. However, unlike Cohen, Mead stresses the reflexive nature of individuals in as much as group affiliations can change with the individual, not the group, contributing to the innovation. Importantly, symbolic interaction theory stresses that whilst the personal meanings and values of one group affiliation may be dropped, they are not lost or forgotten. In other words, the newly acquired meanings and values are integrated with old ones.

The implication from labelling theory is that the school itself (as was noted previously) can help in the formation of such groups. Although it may be possible for the school to change pupils' group affiliations, for instance in relation to an anti-group, meanings and values may change but will not be dropped completely. Clearly, the notion of cultural determinism offers an alternative and complimentary explanation for the sub-cultural analysis of differentiation and division in schools, and in so doing answers certain criticisms by Turner (1983), Furlong (1976) and others.

There has, however, been a number of criticism of labelling theory. Firstly, as noted previously in relation to pupils' perceptions of pupils (Section 2; 1.7), the significant audience of peer group members (who may be pro- or counter school culture pupils) can be a formidable

pressure group labelling pupils who are considered to be conformist or anti-school. This would seem to be an important omission from the theory which has tended to concentrate on the interaction between teacher and pupils.

Other criticisms levelled against labelling theory are tackled by Goode (1978). He suggests that scientists or positivists who seek concrete and universal laws of deviance are critical of the shifting definitions of deviance. This is because, of course, labelling theory itself is about the explanation of such labels. Moralists seek absolutism in the definition of deviance and want studies of deviant behaviour to join in the condemnation and stigmatisation of deviance. But the interactionist perspective, as applied here, takes non-conformity to be a relative matter and that boundaries between deviance and non-deviance can and do shift (Erikson, 1962). Finally, the traditional orthodox psychiatrists make declarations that certain forms of behaviour "are always and everywhere manifestations of psychic pathology" (Goode, 1978) and that there is an objection to interactionists' approach because they do not automatically apportion blame to the deviants themselves, to their childhood trauma or family circumstances.

Other confusions concerning labelling theory which surface as criticisms stem from the inappropriate application of the general axiom by so-called labellists and summed up in the notion of the generalised other: "you see yourself, and become, the way others see you as being". This reduces a person's self and his identity to being the "simple product of thought and actions of others" (Goode, 1978). This is clearly a crass oversimplification (Hargreaves, 1976; Goode, 1978). Labelling theory does not hold the self to be an unambiguous product of external forces but rather that the image that significant others have of you can exert a powerful effect on what you do and think. Unlike the sub-cultural model's view of the individual as being governed by the

group, labelling theory asserts that the individual has a choice, although powerful forces can be influential in the formation of an individual's self concept. This is one of the many forces that act on individuals. This is not to say that how we see ourselves, and what we do, is wholly and absolutely determined by how others see us. Labelling theory can be said to be relevant and applicable to some issues concerning deviance and irrelevant to other issues; although labelling theory was never intended to be, nor can it be, an explanation of causality (Goode, 1978). What is argued here is that labelling theory is distinct from other approaches to the study of deviance, but can be useful in providing explanations about deviance in relation to the crucial issues revolving around the process of interaction between two or more parties.

1.14 Institutionalised Typifications and the Dramaturgical Model

In this concluding analysis of the processes of differentiation and deviance it will be argued that there is a need to consider the institution as a major factor in the socialisation of, and differentiation between, individuals. The discussions of institutions provided the back ground to the analysis in Section 1, which was then examined from a mostly interactionist perspective in Section 2. A theoretical outline of the processes involved in institutionalisation will be outlined here, drawing on the social-phenomenological work of Berger (1966), Berger and Luckmann (1967), Goffman (1961; 1959) and Schutz (1964).

1.14.1 Institutionalisation

Institutions and the process of institutionalisation play a major role in shaping a person's perceptions which, in turn, give rise to actions. Man, unlike animals, can be said to have "no species-specific environment" and is characterised by "world openness" as opposed to "world closedness" of animals whose environment can be said to be biologically

fixed (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). This "world openness" means that man interrelates not only with a natural environment but also with a "specific cultural and social order which is mediated to him by specific others who have charge of him". Consequently, man can be both a creator of an environment but, paradoxically, he can also be enslaved by it:

"The reality of everyday life is taken for granted as reality. It does not require additional verification over and beyond its simple presence. It is simply there, as self evident and compelling facticity. I know that it is real."

(Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p37)

The authenticity of the institution is not doubted. This reality of everyday life and common sense knowledge is shared by others and seems not to require further verification. It is, as Plessner (1948) has suggested, that our sense perception makes things seem obvious, something is obvious because it is familiar. It is familiar because it is taken for granted; it is taken for granted because it is obvious, and so on. Individuals, then, can become habituated to the institutional bureaucracy (Berger, 1966). Aspects of the institutional arrangements appear as being natural as if things could be no different and, as Plessner notes, "individuals go along familiar paths without much regard". In this way all human activity can be said to be subject to habituation and action that is frequently repeated becomes cast in a pattern. This set pattern is reproduced and so affords economy of effort. Such actions can be performed again in the future in the same manner with equal economy of effort. Thus, habituation can be said to free an individual from much decision-making and can, therefore, provide a direction for which little further consideration is necessary.

Institutionalisation can be said to begin when such habitual responses are replicated by other actors. Actors and actions work together since "the institution posits that action of a type X will be performed by actors

of type X' (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Another facet of institutionalisation is that, for the most part, the institution is not created afresh by individuals. Institutions are endowed with histories, but these may be inaccessible to an individual's direct or previous experience. Although not being part of a person's biography, the associated values and goals of institutions can be passed down to individuals. They were not of their making and so can appear as given, unalterable and self evident. The institution confronts individuals as undeniable facts. Large sections of the social world may be experienced as incomprehensible but real. There is a sense in which the institutional world takes on an objective reality in as much as individuals 'forget' that it is a humanly produced and constructed objectivity. Just as man created it, so he can modify or radically change it if he has the presence of mind and takes on a different attitude by suspending his "natural attitude" (Husserl, 1931).

1.14.2 Primary and Secondary Socialisation

Institutions can be viewed as places into which individuals are socialised. Drawing on Berger and Luckman, a distinction can be made between primary and secondary socialisation. Primary socialisation can be said to be the first socialisation that the individual undergoes in childhood in which he relates to significant others as well as reflecting the attitude of others. Here Berger and Luckman use Mead's notion of the 'I' and the 'ME'. It is a sharing of situations with reciprocating definitions and mutual identifications. For Berger and Luckman, like Cohen, Miller and, indeed, Merton, an individual is considered to bring to an institution these aspects of his "base world". Secondary socialisation is a development of this process and is "any subsequent process that inducts an already socialised individual into new sections of the already objective world of his society" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967).

These two forms of socialisation, however, are not separate entities. Whilst primary socialisation can be said to be the most important,

secondary socialisation draws on this "basic structure". The individual internalises the institutional or institutionally based "sub-worlds", so that "role-specific vocabularies" are acquired which necessitates him having an awareness of institutional rules and procedures which he then puts into practice in terms of acceptable conduct. Since secondary socialisation is a sub-world and not a base world, an individual, as Goffman has suggested, can make primary or secondary adjustments (as noted previously in relation to the discussion concerning the adaptational model). He can, of course, reject the institutionalised world as having no meaning for him. But just as in primary socialisation an individual can be said to view himself through significant others in his base world, so institutions and institutionalisation has implications for the self.

1.14.3 The Self and the Allocation System

Goffman (1961) asserts that the self is "bolted down in the social establishment". Typifications individuals formulate of each other are facilitated by the institution in which individuals find themselves. There is a reciprocity of typifications since "the institution itself typifies individual actors as well as individual actions" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). This is a typification in a double sense since individuals are apprehended as a type in a typical situation. The analysis of institutions in Goffman's study shows how the ward system in mental hospitals accentuated this double typification. It can be argued that Goffman's analysis is also applicable to schools since they have, as Woods (1979) has suggested, "totalising tendencies". Goffman's term 'ward system' will be substituted for the more general term 'allocation system'.

An individual who enters an institution is allocated to a position and his status as a person is measured by this placement. The allocation system is graded from the top (or best) to the bottom (or worst) in

relation to individuals', and the institution's, specific but varied goals. This has implications for the self which

"in turn affirms that the self arises not merely out of its possessors interactions with significant others, but also out of the arrangements that are evolved in an organisation for its members."

(Goffman, 1961, p138)

It can be noted here, of course, that this analysis relates directly to the emphasis in labelling theory on the interactions between individuals, as well as extending that analysis by considering the additional constraints of the institutional arrangements on individuals.

Individuals tend to see and judge each other and themselves in terms of this allocation and their position is viewed by other members of the institution (such as the warders, nurses or teachers) as "an expression of the state that his self has fallen to" or risen to, depending upon their position in the hierarchy. This represents "his general level of social functioning, his status as a person" (Goffman, 1961). Individuals who enter an institution are classed as a certain type of person and allocated to an appropriate position. They then tend to be stereotyped in that classification, although their actions may not necessarily be typical of their allocated position. Rosenhan's (1973) study illustrates this point. A group of researchers entered mental hospitals as pseudopatients with the co-operation of the administration. They faked the symptoms of mental illnesses but all other details of themselves were genuine. Once in hospital and on the ward they proceeded to act as 'normal' people. They were never detected by the staff, even when they were informed that a number of pseudopatients had been admitted to some wards. The patients, however, soon detected their 'normality'. Rosenhan suggests that the power of labelling is so strong that individuals may accept the diagnosis and behave accordingly.

The allocation system, within the institution, can be seen as an

agency of secondary socialisation to the extent that the members of the institution (whether they be patients, prisoners or pupils) on the lower part of the hierarchy can be considered by those who have charge of them (such as nurses, warders, or teachers) and other members of the institution, as being "incapable of socialised conduct". Those at the top of the hierarchy are viewed as being "ready and willing to play the social game". Socialisation is said to take place as the individual moves up the hierarchy. There is a vested interest in the system by those who have control over it (such as warders or teachers) in as much as a member's movement down the hierarchy in no way reflects on the integrity of the institution but rather it is a fault within the member himself. His movement upwards may reflect favourably on both the individual and the institution. Those who control institutions may thus take pride in playing some part in the member's elevation. Thus the use of terms such as 'promotions' and 'demotions' are heavily laden towards positive or negative movements within this hierarchy.

"These demotions may be officially interpreted as psychiatric relapses or moral back-sliding, thus protecting the resocialisation view of the (institution); these interpretations, by implication, translate a mere infraction of rules and consequent demotion into a fundamental expression of the status of the culprit's self."

(Goffman, 1961, p150)

Although Goffman does not suggest that there is a hierarchical arrangement within the staff in his study of asylums (being concerned to examine the patient's role), it has already been argued (Section 1; 1.4) that there are hierarchical arrangements and divisions between teachers in schools. The allocation system affecting pupils with respect to placement within streams or bands, has implications for those who teach them. These 'promotions' and 'demotions' are part of the staff world also.

1.14.4 Fronts, Impression Management and Typifications

Whilst the analysis outlined so far shows how an institution can

impose a framework on individual interactions and perceptions, attention can now be drawn to the complexity of sustaining fronts, impression management and typifications. In schools, these affect both teacher and pupils alike.

Goffman (1959) delineates between the expression a person "gives" which he uses purposefully to convey information, and the expression a person "gives off". This may be unintentionally (or intentionally) inferred by the individual and treated as symptomatic of that individual. The latter, of course, may be influenced by the person's position in the hierarchy. Goffman uses the term "performance" to refer to the individual's activity in the presence of observers with "front" referring to that individual's performance which "regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance". The personal front consists of a multitude of personal characteristics, whereas the institutionalised front consists of "abstract stereotyped expectations to which it gives rise". The front becomes "a 'collective representation' and a fact in its own right" (Goffman, 1959). What is argued here is that the personal front that a person "gives off" can be associated with the institutional front that is expected of such a person (be they pupils or teachers). The personal characteristics of individuals may be matched to their position within the hierarchy in a process of justification and rationalisation (eg 'what can you expect of that sort of person in that class'). A person's position in the hierarchy may influence the interpretation of fronts.

How an individual presents himself may differ according to what Goffman calls "regions" giving rise to "regional behaviour". A region may be said to be "any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception" (Goffman, 1959). The front region is where the performance is given, In a school setting this can be the classroom with respect to the relationship between teacher and pupils. Thus, the back region may be said to be a place for generating assumptions about identity through, for instance, it can be argued, staffroom talk as noted previously (Section 2;

1.6.4). These 'second-hand' typifications constitute a Thou-relation in terms of the analysis by Schutz. In this orientation the person is present in the here and now but he is experienced in a general form. Thus, teachers may be attending to particular named pupils with whom they may have little or no dealings. What is crucial with respect to typifications is the directness or indirectness of experience, that is, whether they are merely recollections or concrete experiences. As Berger and Luckman note, drawing on the analysis by Schutz of the We-relation:

"The social reality of everyday life is thus apprehended in a continuum of typifications, which are progressively anonymous as they are removed from the 'here and now' of the face-to-face situation."

(Berger and Luckmann, 1967, pp47-48)

It can be noted here how this relates directly to Goffman's analysis of regional behaviour. For instance, 'second-hand' typifications derived from the staffroom can be said to be anonymous by being removed from the immediacy of the here and now and face-to-face situation. The further removed from the typification from the actual here and now face-to-face We-relation (and regions and regional behaviour compound this), the greater the scope for untested stereotypes to be developed.

Even in the face-to-face situation a person will still bring before him "a stock of pre-constituted knowledge which includes a network of goals and action patterns" (Schutz, 1964). As noted previously, a teacher meeting pupils for the first time will bring to the meeting a stock of prior knowledge derived from his own school days, college experience and staffroom interactions (1.6.3). Of course, pupils will also bring to these initial meetings their own stock of prior knowledge about teachers. Such a situation constitutes "an act of thought", Schutz argues, "that holds invariant some typical attribute of fellow human beings and disregards the modifications and variations of that attribute in 'real life' ". Such a complex situation can arise when an individual attempts to describe someone else:

"He proceeds to characterise X, that is, he constructs an ideal type of X by keeping invariant his direct experiences of X, thereby transforming them into typifications. (His) typifications depend, of course, upon his stock of knowledge, his biographic situation, his interests when meeting X, his interests when meeting X, his interests when telling me about X, etc."

(Schutz, 1964)

Schutz suggest that people orientate themselves to one another through such typifications, we noted previously in the discussion of teacher-pupil perceptions and typifications (Section 2; 1.5, 1.6). According to Schutz, if both parties' schemes of typifications and expectations of each other match, then congruity in the relationship is achieved. However, this 'matching' may have only occurred through what Schutz calls "subjective chance" and it may be through a series of "testing out" that, for instance, pupils can get a measure of what teachers are really like (Section 2; 1.5.3; 1.9).

Whilst a particular performance can be identified with a specific region, Goffman argues that there are a number of regions which can function at one time and in one sense as a front region, whilst at another time and in another sense as a back region. In this way the back region can become the front region or the main stage of the performance. For instance, teachers may use staffroom gossip to show how they got the 'better of' pupils. In so doing they "give off" the impression they wish to foster of teacher competence to other teachers as well as maligning particular (deviant) pupils. This is a stage within a stage, a performance within a performance, by using different audiences for the maintenance of particular fronts.

1.14.5 Deviance and Levels of Legitimation

How, then, can deviance be explained using this approach to the study of institutions? There is likely to be deviation when the institution's realities are divorced from those aspects which had original relevance for the members. In this sense, the more an

individual's behaviour or conduct is institutionalised, in the sense that his actions are compatible with the institution's modes of acceptable behaviour and he fits into the defined roles laid down for him, the more predictable and controllable he becomes. There is less emphasis on coercive measures of control. For this to occur, institutional meanings need to be impressed "powerfully and unforgettably upon the consciousness of the individual" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). This can be called "legitimation" which is a term derived from Weber but is used in a broader framework rather than in a political sense (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The objectives in making institutions appear both plausible and meaningful for the participants necessitates informing individuals why they should do one thing and not another, and it also tells them why things are what they are. As Berger and Luckman note, " 'knowledge' precedes 'values' in the legitimation of institutions". They suggest a number of levels of legitimation.

There are "the fundamental legitimating 'explanations' (which) are, so to speak, built into the vocabulary". The adage that 'this is how things are done' is applicable. In this sense the institution, as noted previously, is taken as given, unalterable and fixed. Another form of legitimation is couched in terms of a differentiated body of knowledge. This provides a comprehensible frame of reference for respective sections of institutionalised conduct. Since the institution is considered highly complex and differentiated, various aspects of it are "frequently entrusted to specialised personnel who transmit them (legitimations) through formalised initiation procedures" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p112). In relating this to schools, it can be noted here the details already offered with respect to Bernstein's (1971) knowledge codes and the division of labour between teachers.

Encompassing these levels of legitimation is Berger and Luckman's

reference to symbolic universes which can be said to be "a theoretical tradition that integrate different provinces of meaning and encompass the institutional order in symbolic reality". These are realities other than those of everyday experience. Alternative symbolic universes can be produced when the taken for granted nature of the institution is questioned by particular members. This poses a threat to the institution because "its very existence demonstrates empirically that one's own universe is less than inevitable" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p126). Individuals can form groups so that "the group that has objectivated this deviant reality becomes the carrier of an alternative definition of reality" (p124). This may give rise to "emigration" from the traditional universe or the changing of the older order into the image of the new one. This confrontation of alternative symbolic universes implies a problem of power and conflicting definitions of reality. As noted previously in relation to schools, this can be in terms of challenges to the teacher (Denscombe, 1985) or the refusal to accept the teacher's authority (Werthman, 1963) or even the development of a counter culture in relation to the teachers themselves (Riseborough, 1981).

These alternative symbolic universes also give rise, of course, to institutional procedures to maintain the universe. These may be achieved through "therapy" and "nihilation" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Therapy, as noted previously in relation to the objective approach to the study of deviance, attributes the cause of the problem to faults within the individual and seeks to eradicate them, thus ensuring that the individual stays within the recognised symbolic universe. Behaviour modification programmes are examples of the methods which can be used as a form of therapy. In contrast, nihilation can be of two kinds. The first type gives the deviant "a negative, ontological status" so that "the threat to the social definition of reality is neutralised by assigning an inferior ontological status to all definitions existing

outside the symbolic universe". This process of legitimisation endeavours to reduce the threat by considering individuals as less than human, who are then imbued with labels such as "unstable", "maladjusted" or "mentally retarded" (see Ball, 1981).

A more ambitious form of nihilation not only assigns to alternative symbolic universes a negative, ontological status, but the final goal is to "incorporate the deviant's conceptions within one's own universe and thereby liquidate them ultimately" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The institution, as Goffman (1961) suggests, can therefore be said to make, or to have made, secondary adjustments to the individual. In a school context, the introduction of the CSE and the emphasis on everyday life and community-based knowledge, with the practical orientation of the curriculum for certain pupils (see Section 1), can be examples of this. Further examples are schools that use incorporative or co-optive strategies in seeking to neutralise alternative symbolic universes and bring these pupils into the mainstream of school life.

Questions which can be posed in relation to this analysis of institutions are: To what extent does an institution prevent or keep at bay alternative and deviant symbolic universes? How do they neutralise or incorporate them into the existing symbolic universe? To what extent can the institution be said to create deviance by assigning negative labels to individuals who set up alternative symbolic universes?

Conclusion

These different theories and perspectives in relation to the study of the processes of differentiation have shown that whilst some appear to offer feasible explanations for certain aspects, they break down and become stretched and lose credibility when they attempt to explain other aspects. This, of course, is partly due to the multifaceted nature of human behaviour, but may also be attributed to the weakness of the

theory or perspective being used. Behaviour cannot be easily located and pigeon-holed. For instance, Lacey's attempts to 'fit' his observations of a pro-school pupil's routine deviance into a sub-cultural analysis is problematic and provides an uneasy explanation. Where there appears to be contradictions (the pro-school and deviance dichotomy, for instance) another perspective such as Goffman's dramaturgical model can be utilised. The explanation can now be viewed as being more flexible and acceptable and, arguably, can be incorporated into a sub-cultural analysis, although in an extended or revised form. The power of one theory to offer explanations or reasons is limited and there is a need to be critical of its short-comings but a need, also, to consider its integration with other compatible perspectives.

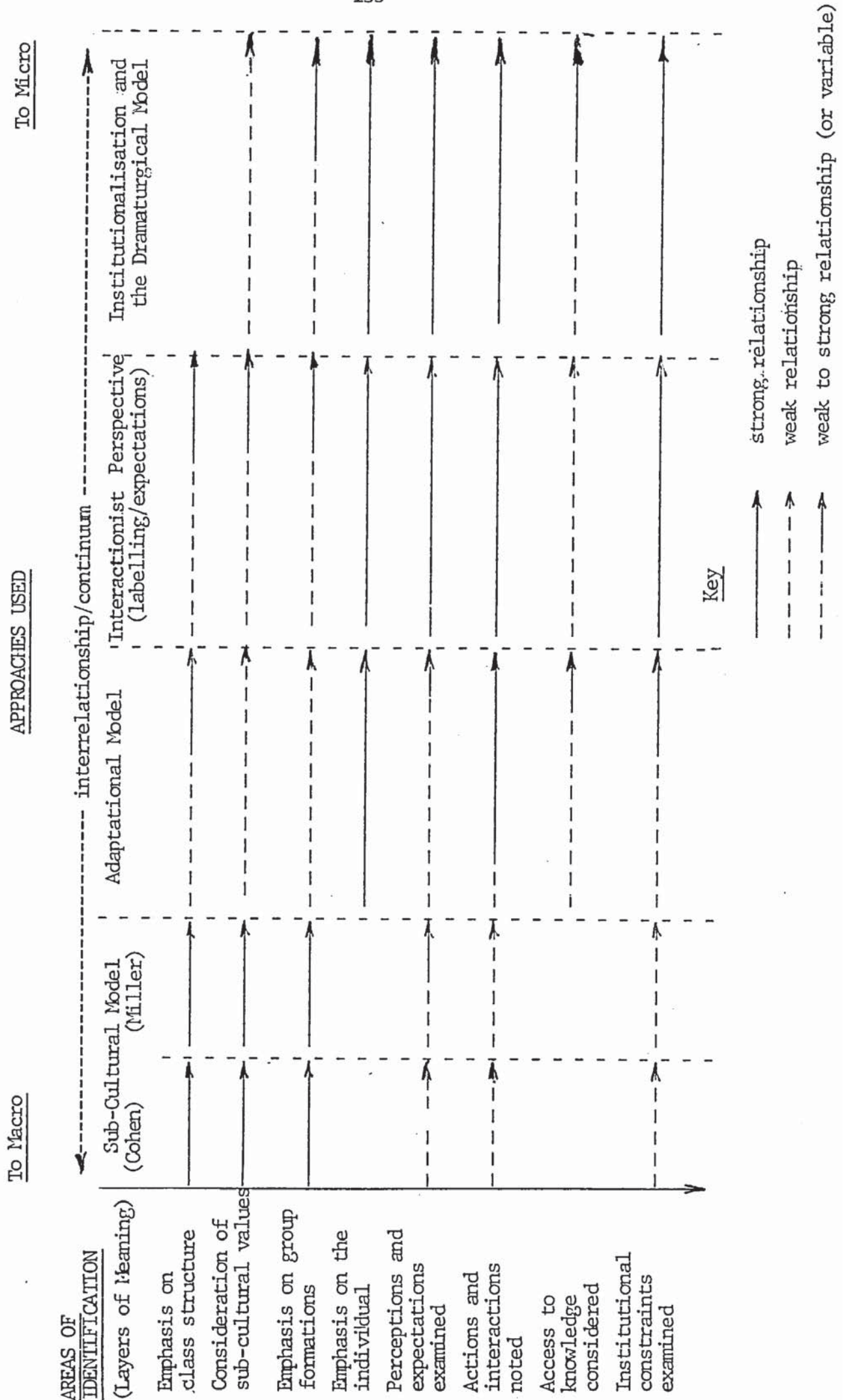
A schematic outline can be suggested which identifies a number of areas that has been considered in the analysis of the processes of differentiation (Figure 1.7). These may be said to be the basis of what can be called "layers of meaning", as Meighan and Barton point out:

"In schools many of the layers of meanings of teachers differ from that of pupils, from that of parents, and from that of the local authority administrators. One individual may only sample one layer of meaning: in schools, teachers are unlikely to obtain a view of schools from the point of view of the pupils unless they make special effort to gain it, and vice versa."

(Meighan and Barton, 1979, p10)

It can be argued, of course, that these different layers of meaning can permeate into the researcher's perspectives and close off avenues of investigations because they do not fit into the paradigm being used. Thus, it can be seen that different perspectives can yield different layers of meaning in relation to the areas of identification. Whilst the sub-cultural model is strong in its relationship to social class and cultures, one of its weaknesses lies in its lack of emphasis on individuals, their actions and interactions. Here, labelling theory comes to the fore. What is suggested is that these perspectives, when considered in terms

FIGURE 1.7 Explanations of differentiation and deviance: Areas of identification and layers of meaning



of their interrelatedness, can offer greater understanding of the processes of differentiation and can uncover more layers of meaning. Of course, as noted throughout this discussion of explanations of deviance, these different perspectives can and do have certain areas of identification in common.

The detailed analyses of the processes of differentiation and the studies of differentiation and deviance in secondary schools suggest a number of areas for further study. School organisation and access to knowledge, teacher-pupil perceptions and expectations, pupil practices and classroom strategies. Certain questions can be posed: Are pupils still segregated and given a different diet of knowledge as they were under the tripartite system? How do pupils' expectations relate to their position in the school's hierarchy or allocation system? Are pupils in the first year as truly optimistic and compliant as Woods (1979) and many other researchers would have us believe? Do all teachers have similar status and share the same values and, more particularly, how do pupils see them? How do pupils perceive each other and what effect has peer-group labelling on pupils? These areas and questions were incorporated into an ethnographic research of a case study of a comprehensive school. The fundamental question to which the research addressed itself was: How has differentiation and division between and within schools manifested itself in a comprehensive school amalgamated from a grammar school and secondary modern school?

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS AND SETTING

Research aims and theoretical framework will be outlined, followed by the research methods utilised. These will be related to the particular setting in which the research took place. An ethnographic method was used since perceptions obtained from teacher and pupils determined the subsequent stages of data collection.

2.1 Research Aims and Theoretical Framework

In research using ethnographic methods, research aims may change in the course of data collection in response to what is found in the setting. Questions to which the research addresses itself can be generated in situ and in response to aspects found to be of interest. For instance, research by Lacey (1970) changed from an examination of the history of the school to an examination of the streaming and social relations between pupils he observed taking place in the school. Burgess (1983) examined a number of critical events that occurred in the school as part of his analysis of the headteacher's definition of the situation. The initial aim of the present case study was to locate and plot similarities and differences in teacher/pupil perceptions of events in a number of different teaching/learning situations. This narrow focus broadened in the course of data collection to encompass an enquiry into how differentiation and divisions were manifest in the comprehensive school being studied.

The ethnographer begins his analysis "by trying to describe the perspectives and actions of the actors involved in the scenes he is studying" (O.U., 1979). In ethnographic research it can be noted that

firstly, emphasis must be given to how teachers' and pupils' perceive, construe and interpret events and people. However, the researcher does not accept uncritically insights derived from pupils' or teachers' perceptions. Secondly, consideration should be given to how individuals group themselves and how they interpret these groups. Thirdly, whilst individuals' commentaries upon their own actions and how they interpret their reality are important, these must not be taken uncritically as representing an objective reality. Other individuals need to be consulted as to their possibly conflicting viewpoints. Where different groups naturally co-exist in the setting, these can form the basis of similarity and contrast. Wherever possible, action and interpretation of actions as data can be collected through participant observation. Although much of what goes on in school cannot be observed, data on such phenomena can be reliably inferred and obtained from a variety of primary and secondary sources. Actions can sometimes be said to speak for themselves. An ethnographer can reliably infer meanings from actions observed in the classroom because he has become familiar with the setting through a period of participant observation. For instance, Woods (1979) argues that in observation of teacher strategies, motives can be inferred from action. Woods suggests that teachers are unable to give detailed reasons for their actions. Hargreaves (1978), similarly, argues that "we cannot expect the teacher to provide what is of the essence of such decision-making, namely its subconscious components". However, symbolic interaction theory and personal construct theory, theories which form the basis of the present case study, stress the reflexive nature of individuals, that they can explain their actions if given the opportunity, for instance through an observation of their own teaching and a talking-through of

events that transpired in the lesson.

Symbolic interaction theory developed by Mead (1934) and personal construct theory developed by Kelly (1955; 1963) are compatible with an ethnographic enquiry since they both stress the necessity to take account of how individuals construe and interpret situations or events, people and actions. Rose (1962) points out that symbolic interaction theory (interactionism) stresses that individuals communicate with one another through the use of shared symbols which relate to the physical environment. These symbols evoke similar meanings and shared values with others which thus allow communication to take place. More particularly, role taking can take place in which an individual can endeavour to take the role of the other (empathy) and by so doing, to understand the other's point of view. Kelly sees this as an essential element in communication as he makes apparent in his sociality corollary: "to the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another, he may play a role in a social process involving the other person". Kelly argues that to understand other people it is necessary to accept the other person's ways of 'seeing'.

An important aspect of interactionism is its stress on culture, defined as an elaborate set of meanings and values shared by members of a society. Culture is said to guide an individual's behaviour. However, much is dependent upon individuals being able to predict the likely actions of others and relate their own behaviour to the behaviour that they predict (and expect) of others. This type of interaction is a necessary aspect of society, it creates a kind of stability since individuals are not constantly engaged in seeing people and events anew. People or events are conveniently typified, thus avoiding the necessity

to constantly examine and re-examine phenomena. Kelly argues that "a person anticipates events by construing their replications" (construction corollary); when particular events or phenomena occur, then re-occur, an expectation is built up so that such events or phenomena become typical and thus, are expected. However, interactionism and personal construct theory stress that individuals are not passive, they do not merely respond to stimuli but actively engage in a process of identifying and interpreting social phenomena – they can reflect upon their actions. Kelly points out that individuals, whilst differing from one another, and being from different backgrounds, may construe events or people in a similar manner (commonality corollary).

Hargreaves (1976) and others utilising labelling theory, derived from work by Becker, 1963; et al., argue that although an individual can take on different roles in different settings, he has parts of himself which are reflections of others. As Hargreaves points out, if a pupil treats a teacher as a "significant other" he is more likely to accept the teacher's definition of him, whether it is a 'conformist' or a 'deviant' label. However, individuals do not simply respond to a stimulus in any mechanical way, but rather think through courses of action which are assessed for their relative advantages, with one of them chosen for action. Such thinking allows actions to be considered without the need for trial and error. There is a careful (symbolic) weighing up and assessment of past and possibly future actions for their possible effects before action is considered. Kelly argues similarly that individuals evolve for their convenience in anticipating events, "a construct system embracing ordinal relationship between constructs".

Genetic assumptions of interactionism emphasise the importance of socialising processes. Individuals are not only socialised into a general culture but into various cultures. Whilst society expects individuals to learn the culture, distinctive groups form their own sub-culture. Importantly, the values learned from these sub-cultures are not forgotten, since individuals cannot 'unlearn', but they are retained and integrated with newly acquired meanings and values from other groups or sub-cultures. The methods employed in the present research were selected to probe teacher and pupil perceptions, interactions and cultures and to obtain data on events, situations, and people from the different participants.

2.2. The Research Methods

Data were collected in three distinct but interrelated areas. These concerned classroom interaction; pupils' perceptions of pupils, teachers and school; and aspects of the school organisation. The focus of the study moved from one region of the school to the investigation of other regions. Goffman (1959) has drawn attention to what he calls "region behaviour". In this respect, individuals may act differently in different places. Thus, the front region is where the performance is usually given, whereas the back region is where "the performer can relax; he can drop his front, forgo speaking his lines, and step out of character" (Goffman, 1959). Using Goffman's dramaturgical model, region behaviour can be seen to be connected because the performer, out in front, can "receive backstage assistance" in the course of his performance. The approach used in the present research takes account of these discrete yet connected regions. In school, the front region for both teacher and pupils is the classroom.

For teachers, the staffroom provides the main back region where staff-room conversation, notices to staff, staff meetings and plans of action all provide the backdrop to performances in the front region. For pupils, the back region can be the playground, toilets, form rooms, the dinner hall and corridors; in fact, any and all places where pupils congregate, including the official and the unofficial areas. These regions constitute an important area of concern in educational research; so that account is taken both of what is supposed to take place in school and what actually occurs (Woods, 1983).

The data were collected during a twelve month period, from February, 1982 until March, 1983, with subsequent data on examination results being obtained in September, 1983. This included two terms spent on observing and recording classroom interaction. Supplementary data were collected in tandem with classroom observation, contact with the school varying between three and four days a week. Towards the end of data collection, brief and infrequent visits were made to the school to collect discrete and particular data which specifically related to the substantive data already collected.

Staying in the school for such a long period was necessary for two reasons. Firstly, it enabled the researcher role to be more acceptable for teachers and pupils. This role was ostensibly that of participant observer, no attempt was made to do any teaching. Secondly, the period was necessary for acclimatisation, it enabled the researcher to become familiar with, and to get to know the school.

From the outset it was decided to utilise participant observation and to collect data through unstructured interviews. Where certain aspects of the school were of particular concern, elucidation of teacher/

pupil perceptions was achieved by focussed discussion, open-ended questionnaires, pupil drawings questionnaires in which pupils' perceptions of pupils were elicited by means of asking pupils to describe pupils depicted on special drawings. Details of teachers' perceptions of pupils were gathered from a variety of documents and secondary sources.

2.2.1. Phase 1: Interactional Level

The focus of the research was, initially, to be entirely at the classroom, interactional level. One group of pupils were to be observed in three or four different classroom settings, with analysis of similarities and differences in teacher/pupil perceptions to events that transpired formulating the major aim of the research. However, this proved not feasible since pupils were in a mixture of sets for subjects. The focus of the research shifted to the study of fourth year pupils in different classrooms. Access to the classroom was facilitated by Mrs Timpson, head of fourth year, who made inquiries amongst teachers concerning their willingness to take part in the research. The reluctance of many teachers to volunteer was probably due to the proposed use of video to record classroom interaction.

Four teachers were willing to co-operate: Miss Willis teaching environmental science Mode III CSE to less academic Band B pupils; Mr Connors (head of English) and Mrs Simms (second in the English Department), both teaching 'O' level English to academic Band A pupils; Mrs Summers (head of Art) who taught 'O' level/CSE art to Band A pupils. Details of what the research entailed, and what was expected of the teacher were outlined in a document given to each teacher (Appendix 1), although not all types of data listed were eventually

analysed. The pupils from these four classrooms (totalling 100) were asked for their co-operation and permission to observe and record classroom interaction. This process of negotiating access to classroom took half a term (mid-February until end of term), which was longer than anticipated. However, detailed observations began in the environmental science Band B classroom for much of this first half term which proved to be a valuable and useful 'settling in' period. Detailed observation and data collection from these pupils continued during pupils' first term in the fifth year.

i. Selection of Classrooms for Intensive Analysis

Two of the four classrooms, Band A English and Band B Environmental Science were selected for intensive analysis. Data gathered in subsequent areas of the school revealed that these two classrooms, experiencing different kinds of knowledge and teaching, with different types of pupils in different settings, were useful comparative areas in the analysis of differentiation and division within the school. These classrooms utilised different "props" (Goffman, 1959), and used different forms of organisation, dichotomised below (Figure 2.1):

* Figure 2.1 Differing Characteristics of Classrooms

	BAND A: ENGLISH (classroom)	BAND B: LIFE SCIENCE (science laboratory)
<u>Observed</u>	seats double desks desks in four rows	stools benches benches in rows
<u>Observed/ Inferred</u>	pupils remain seated pupils face teacher teacher faces pupils	pupils can move around pupils face each other teacher faces pupils

ii. Recording, Triangulation and Participant Observer Role

Recourse to recording classroom interaction was necessary if details of what transpired were to be accurately noted, thus avoiding total reliance on scribbled notes and memory. Video was used since access was readily available to a black and white portable camera and the researcher was conversant with its use from a previous study (Blurton, 1980). Five half-hour recordings were made of the Band A classroom; eight half-hour recordings of the Band B classroom. In both classrooms, the camera was set up in a corner facing the pupils, with recordings being made on a random basis so that teachers and pupils were not aware of which lessons were to be recorded. In other lessons, observation notes were supplemented by tape-recordings and slide photographs. Both classrooms were usually observed for two double periods a week over the two full terms.

Insights into teacher/pupil perceptions and interpretations of events that transpired in the lesson were sought utilising triangulation techniques. Harré and Secord argue that this is a viable form of data collection:

"In order to be able to treat people as if they were human beings it must be possible to accept their commentaries upon their actions as authentic, though revisable, reports of phenomena, subject to empirical investigation."

(Harré and Secord, 1972 p 101)

Teacher and pupils, separately, viewed parts of recorded lessons and were asked to comment upon their actions. In this way, triangulation enabled the authenticity of an account to be checked so that the role of the researcher was an engaged observer, but not a primary participant in the interaction, whose account had to be compared with the accounts

of the other primary participants – the teacher and pupils.

The technique of triangulation at classroom level was developed by Elliott and Adelman in the Ford Teaching Project (1972–1974, 1975; see Adams, 1980). The Project was interested in analysing the effects of teaching by enquiry/discovery methods and produced a plethora of papers (Elliott and Adelman, 1973a; 1973b; Elliott, 1976; Bowen et al., 1975). Triangulation as a research technique has not been widely used in educational research, for instance the only reference Cohen and Manion (1981) make to this technique is to cite the Ford Teaching Project. Although a certain amount of data was collected using this method in the present research, the technique proved problematic for a number of reasons. It was difficult to arrange for teachers and pupils to view and comment on the recorded lessons. When teachers set aside their 'free' periods to view their lesson, they were assigned to fill in a teaching period for an absent colleague. Teachers were also concerned that pupils viewing recorded lessons during their lesson time meant that pupils were losing valuable teaching time. However, up to three lessons were viewed by both groups which included lunch time viewing for a voluntary group of Band A English pupils. On two occasions, small groups of Band B pupils viewed video extracts of a lesson outside the laboratory. These proved far from ideal data collection methods but must be viewed as problematic elements in research conducted in the natural setting. End of lesson comments by Miss Willis proved invaluable in revealing insights into her teaching approach and perceptions of events.

A particular problem with triangulation was that Band B pupils were unwilling for their comments to be made available to the teacher,

thus restricting the feedback element in triangulation. Pupils' reasons for not co-operating, however, provided data on their perceptions of teacher's staffroom practices. Triangulation, recording and infinite feedback of data is, as Delamont (1978) suggests, "an ideal data collection technique" but its demands in terms of technical skill, money and equipment makes the approach difficult. More importantly, its main difficulty is gaining sufficient time and co-operation from teachers and pupils to facilitate a large enough number of triangulations to take place. Essential in the whole procedure is the mutual trust between teacher, pupils and researcher.

The role of researcher differed in each classroom, primarily because of the different type of teaching. It was rarely possible to talk to Band A pupils during the lesson. However, much data was collected through 'conversation' in the Band B classroom which formed an invaluable part of the ethnographic method (Spadley, 1979). Whilst the ethnographer seeks to avoid being a central determinant in the interaction, his role necessitates that he, nevertheless, becomes a social participant (Harré and Secord, 1972), in which the actors react to him as a fellow human being. Thus the character and personality of the researcher entered into all transactions with the pupils. Consequently, pupils' specific reactions to me as a researcher and comments directed to me, sometimes of a very derogatory nature, were all used as sources of data. Indeed, for much of the time many of these pupils were hostile towards me and considered my interest in their classroom as an invasion of privacy. Similarly, my questions about what went on in the classroom were sometimes treated with contempt as being obvious and, as such, unworthy of further consideration. It was necessary in these circumstances to avoid reacting to pupils. Instead

a stance of "unconditional positive regard" (Rogers, 1967) was taken, being derived from work in psychotherapy and applicable to classroom research.

Of particular interest were unsolicited comments from Band B pupils concerning their perceptions of pupils in Band A, which led to the widening of the research focus. Attention was directed towards pupils' perceptions of pupils not only in a classroom context but in a more general context and in relation to the school organisation.

2.2.2. Phase II: Perceptual Level

The enquiry at this level was concerned to discover further instances of differentiation and division within the school. Data were collected from a number of different sources.

i. 4th/5th Year Pupils (Cohort 1) Perceptions of Pupils (Classroom Context)

A growing concern of the research was to discover how pupils perceived their peers in the same class. Pupils from the four classrooms noted in 2.2.1. (Cohort 1) were given drawings of an imaginary class (Appendix 2). These drawings depicted various types of pupils. Using Kelly's theory, pupils were asked to write one or more bi-polar construct on each drawing. In this way, a detailed analysis could be obtained of how pupils' perceived pupils. After an initial analysis of these constructs, several lunch time meetings were arranged, with mostly Band A English pupils attending, when pupils were asked to elaborate on the meanings of the bi-polar constructs. These discussions revealed much about classroom interaction and overlapped with Phase 1 data collection. Data were also obtained on

pupils' perceptions of pupils other than in a classroom context.

ii. 4th/5th Year Pupils (Cohort 1) Perceptions of Pupils
(Wider Context)

Hargreaves (1978) argues that pupils' perception of pupils is dependent upon the particular context in which constructs of pupils are elicited. It was evident from Band B pupils' unsolicited comments on pupil banding that pupils perceived one another in relation to their band allocation. Individually and in groups, pupils were asked to explain what the differences were between Band A and Band B. The technique used with pupils was that of a naive observer; pupils were reminded that I knew little of the school and were asked to explain as fully as they could. The analysis of this data prompted the question whether lower school pupils, years 1 to 3 who were setted for different subjects, perceived pupils in relation to sets

iii. 1st Year Pupils' Perceptions of Pupils

Modified pupil drawings (Appendix 3) were distributed separately to two first year groups: a top set (1FX) and a lower set (1F3). They were asked: "Imagine pupils from different sets were placed in one class. Look at these drawings then write down the set you think each pupil would belong to and then describe them". This was followed with a focussed discussion with each group; the naive observer technique was again used. Pupils were asked initially to "tell me what school is like". Focussed discussion centred on their perceptions of pupils according to their set allocation. Access to these pupils was made easy with the help of Mrs Summers, who, at this stage in the research, had become a co-federate and confidante, helping greatly to facilitate ease of access to pupils and school documents.

At this stage in the data collection, it was apparent that pupils perceived one another as distinct types according to aspects of the school organisation. However, to be sure that this was not confined to one particular year, data were collected on pupils perceptions of pupils from another cohort of pupils.

iv. 4th Year Pupils' (Cohort 2) Perceptions of Pupils

Mrs Summers again assisted in providing access to a group of Band A and Band B 4th year pupils (the year prior to Cohort 1 pupils). A further variation of the initial pupil drawings (Appendix 4) were distributed to these pupils in their separate groups. They were asked to "Imagine pupils from different bands were placed in one class. Look at these drawings and say which band each of them would belong to and then describe them". Using their own descriptions, pupils were asked to write down which pupils were most like and least like themselves, and then write down which pupils they would most like to be like. The aim was to discover if pupils perceived pupils differently according to pupils' band allocation and the effect this had on their self concept. Group interviews were also carried out using the same naive observer approach, with pupils being invited to "tell me what school is like". Focussed discussion related to the differences between bands and why the school was on two sites. Clarification was also sought on pupils construing of pupils as "stiffs" and "dossers", terms which had become apparent during previous stages in data collection.

v. Pupils' Educational Career

This aspect of the data collection from the same group of Band A and Band B (Cohort 2) pupils developed from an initial analysis of the

data on pupils' perceptions and sought to discover whether particular pupils (labelled by pupils as "stiffs" or "dossers") were perceived to be associated with particular sets or bands. Also, utilising Turner's (1983) analysis, a questionnaire was designed to discover whether pupils engaged in extra work which they kept secret from other pupils. Follow up individual interviews were convened with a small number of pupils from an initial analysis of data derived from the questionnaire (Appendix 5).

vi. Pupils' Perceptions of Teachers

An investigation was also carried out into how pupils' perceived teachers. The assumption was that if pupils perceived pupils differently according to set or band allocation, then teachers may also be perceived differently according to the pupils they taught. Consequently, a questionnaire (Appendix 6) was given to the same group of Band A and Band B (Cohort 2) pupils, with follow-up focussed interviews with each group. Pupils were asked to explain the term "stiff" when associated with teachers and to "tell me about teachers in the school", particularly teachers of Band A or Band B pupils.

2.2.3. Phase III: Organisational Level

In the closing stages of data collection the focus of the research moved to the examination of aspects of the school organisation itself, as a further consideration of differentiation and division within the school. Data were collected on a number of related areas concerned with the school organisation and teacher/pupil interactions.

i. The Staffroom

Woods (1979; 1983) has noted the importance of the staffroom

as a back region from which to gather data on the functioning of the school. Field notes of staff conversations, notices and observation were recorded of what occurred in the staffroom. This data was collected on a random basis with the aim of obtaining background information on the school.

ii. Banding Allocation, Expectations and Examination Results

An analysis of 4th/5th year pupils (Cohort 1) was undertaken after these pupils had completed their fifth year in school. Analysis was of teachers' predictions for these pupils' examination success rates whilst they were in the third year. Teachers' perceptions of these pupils were also examined. Examination results (August, 1983) were analysed in relation to pupils' band allocation. The continuing educational career of pupils into the Sixth Form were examined. The aim was to discover whether pupils were conferred with an educational identity and how far band allocation was related to examination success. A further question arose as to whether pupils in different bands experienced different curricula.

iii. The Option System

The 4th/5th year option system, which was experienced by the two groups of pupils, Cohorts 1 and 2, and explained through an option booklet, is given to parents and pupils during pupils' third year. This document was examined in some detail utilising Bernstein's (1971) analysis of the classification and framing of educational knowledge codes. The aim was to discover whether pupils' access to different forms of knowledge was related to their band allocation. Occupational orientations of subjects were also considered.

iv. Pupils' Set and Band Allocation and their Expectations

Analysis of the option system raised questions concerning whether there was a relationship between the school's organisation (setting and banding and knowledge acquisition) and pupils' expectations for a continuing educational career and future occupation expectation. Consequently, a questionnaire (Appendix 7) was given to all pupils in the 4th year (Cohort 2), which was designed to discover how their lower school setting related to upper school banding and their expectations.

v. The Timetable

A detailed analysis of the time-table (academic year 1982-1983) and staffing organisation in the school was undertaken to determine which teachers, from the grammar school and secondary modern school, were responsible for the implementation of the curriculum (Department Heads) and the control of pupils' behaviour (Year Heads). More particularly, the analysis of the timetable was undertaken to discover which teachers taught the academic pupils (Sixth Form, Band A or high sets) and which teachers taught the less academic pupils (Band B or low sets); thus ascertaining if the school operated a division of labour between teachers.

These methods encompassed three levels of analysis, each overlapping and relating to the next level of investigation. The phase of data collection were not discrete. Whilst data in Phase I were collected first and continued throughout much of the data collection period, data in Phase II were collected in tandem with Phase I, whilst data in Phase III were specifically collected to make more sense of other data collected previously and to provide a detailed and generalisable context.

2.3. The Setting

Westward High, is a large comprehensive of 1200 pupils and is situated in a small holiday town and port in the north-west of England, some eight miles from a popular northern holiday resort. The school was selected because the research team at the Department of Educational Enquiry at the University of Aston, with whom I had been awarded a linked SSRC studentship, were already working there. The team were engaged in a DES sponsored project to examine Preparation for Parenthood in the Secondary School Curriculum, mostly concentrating on the upper school pupils. Some months prior to my study I had already become familiar with the school in the course of interview work for the research team. Continued access to the school was granted by the headteacher in February, 1982. Because of its distance from the University I lived in the area, staying up to three nights a week.

Westward itself has a mixture of housing. At an extreme example houses in Princes Way, some quarter of a mile from the school and at the end of the promenade, were in the £60,000+ price range. At the other extreme, there was a small council housing estate immediately adjacent to the school.

Westward has a large number of bed and breakfast establishments and two large hotels. The area seems to attract older holiday makers, usually pensioners, and the port itself, once thriving, now only accommodates a few fishing trawlers, trade having dwindled considerably in recent years. The headteacher, in an interview with the research team, remarked on what he considered to be the insular nature of the area: "I think it's partly because of its geographical position, out on the end of a peninsula". The character of the area was expressed by the headteacher as being "a place you go to without any intention

of going anywhere else".

The school itself is situated a mile or so from the town centre, a quarter of a mile from the sea front and promenade. Near to the school is a Catholic senior school and a public school. For the most part, pupils at Westward High come from Westward itself, although a number of pupils come from Pooltown, Cleavsea and Thornlee, all within three miles of the school. These brief accounts of the school and the environment are important because pupils draw upon their knowledge of the area in formulating their perceptions of their peers, teachers and the school.

Westward High was an amalgamation from Westward Grammar School and Burston Secondary Modern School in 1977. The secondary modern school was itself an amalgamation in 1972, in preparation for comprehensivisation, of a boys' and a girls' school; with each school originally sharing the two storey building but being kept separate both physically and in terms of organisation. Upon amalgamation to a split site comprehensive school (separated by only a few hundred yards), problems emerged between the former grammar and secondary modern school staff since many teachers did not get the teaching posts they expected in the new comprehensive school. As a result, the school has at present many protected salary posts. The old grammar school building, built in 1922, houses the lower school pupils, aged 11 to 13+; the main school building, built in 1932, houses the upper school, 4th, 5th years and Sixth Form pupils.

Although amalgamation took place in 1977, pupils who were originally from the grammar school and secondary modern school, were kept separate and continued their courses through the school. In

1982, when the research began, the lower sixth form pupils were the last remaining pupils in the school to have sat for the 11+ and, consequently, were the last of the former grammar school pupils.

The present headteacher, Mr Howell, came to the school in January, 1980. After taking a three year degree in geography at Cambridge University, he became a teacher, working in two grammar schools before moving to a grammar school in a Northumberland mining town which he referred to as a "working class grammar school". Prior to taking up his post at Westward High, Mr Howell had taught in a grammar school which was reorganised into a comprehensive school. At Westward High he re-organised the lower school into a mixture of streaming and setting by including an express set, characteristic of grammar school organisation (see Lacey, 1970). It had been hoped that these pupils would be able to take 'O' levels a year earlier and thus spend more time in preparation in the Sixth Form for university entrance. However, this seems to have not proved possible. The upper school was organised around what the headteacher referred to as a "banded option arrangement" with the formulation of two distinctive bands; Band A for academic pupils, Band B for less academic pupils. He also produced a Staff Handbook, outlining the staff structure and hierarchy; school aims, rules, practices and procedures.

Having detailed the ethnographic method in its setting, the results of the research can now be outlined. Data on pupils' perceptions and interpretations of school, pupils and teachers are given in three related chapters, followed by detailed study of Band A and Band B pupils in two different classroom settings. Data and analysis of school organisation, the option system, and teacher/pupil expectations, are

outlined first, setting the scene for pupils' subsequent interpretive accounts and analysis of classroom interaction.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL

Section 1

ORGANISATIONAL LEVEL

CHAPTER THREESCHOOL ORGANISATION, CURRICULUM AND EXPECTATIONS

Divisions between grammar and secondary modern schools, outlined in Chapter 1, showed clearly that pupils experienced different types of curriculum and were given access to different forms of knowledge. Such knowledge was stratified inasmuch as it was deemed suitable for pupils only in accordance with their allocation to particular types of schools at age of 11+. Differentiation and division between pupils are also evident in comprehensive schools (Keddie, 1971; Ball, 1981; Burgess, 1983). Data to be presented in this Chapter are mostly derived from the back region of the school and will reveal aspects of differentiation and division between pupils manifest in the organisation of the school at Westward High. Data on the organisational device of setting and banding will be related to teachers' typifications and expectations of pupils; a detailed analysis of the option system; an examination of pupils' examination success related to banding; pupils' expectations of taking examinations will be examined in relation to their expectations for continuing education and future occupations. The Chapter concludes with an analysis of the division of labour between teachers.

3.1. Setting and Banding

Benn and Simon (1972) argue that methods of grouping pupils are related to the type of curriculum pupils receive. Thus, if a differentiated curriculum is provided for pupils, then the form of grouping of pupils must be related to this division so that the differentiation of pupils is built into the academic structure of the school. Conversely, if a common curriculum is provided for pupils, Benn and Simon point

out that in schools where this is operated, the type of grouping of pupils remains an open question since it is not as important to segregate pupils.

A predominant method of segregating pupils in grammar and secondary modern schools was streaming which, as outlined in Chapter 1, was developed in the 1920's and reflected the notion that a child's intellectual capacity is largely inherited, fixed and unchanging. The survey by Monks (1968) showed that whilst a large number of comprehensive schools used streaming in the first to third years (up to 50%), fewer schools used streaming in the fourth year. Many schools in Monk's survey used setting which increased during pupils' third and fourth years in school. More particularly, divisions occurred between pupils in these comprehensive schools with respect to vocational aspirations, subjects pupils studied, and whether or not pupils were intent on leaving school at the earliest possible opportunity at the age of fifteen. Benn and Simon's survey noted a reduction in streaming in comprehensive schools in comparison with their earlier survey. Pupils were setted for different subjects, usually the so-called more difficult ones such as English, maths and science. However, Benn and Simon argue that "the system of setting is a refinement of streaming, having the same objective, but attempting a more precise classification of pupils across different subjects". The system of banding with pupils being grouped in "broad ability bands" was shown to be a popular and widely used method in comprehensive schools. Benn and Simon suggest that banding is a "coarse, or modified, form of streaming" though alternatively, it can be used as a transitional stage towards non-streaming.

At Westward High a process of differentiation of pupils begins before pupils enter the school. Teachers from the feeder primary schools assess pupils general ability on subjective scales A to E. These assessments combined with pupils' test scores on English and Maths NFER tests are used as the basis of sorting pupils into sets. Research by Nash (1973) showed clear evidence that as pupils move from primary school to secondary school, teachers from both schools had similar perceptions of pupils.

When pupils enter Westward High they are divided into two broad groups with approximately 120 pupils in each group. These groups differ only in that one group of pupils take French (F) whilst the other group of pupils take German (G). The thirty pupils with the highest scores on the test in each group, termed the high fliers (the 'top' 25%), are designated the Express (X) sets: 1FX and 1GX. The other three sets in each group are designated 1F1 and 1G1; 1F2 and 1G2; 1F3 and 1G3 (the numbered prefix refers to the school year). Thirty of the so-called least able pupils with the lowest test scores are said to have "learning difficulties" and are designated Remedials (R set). Officially, sets other than Express and Remedial sets are mixed ability, although there is some confusion about this because some teachers assumed the sets were streamed whilst others assumed they were mixed ability. The Express sets and the Remedial sets in each year are taught separately and do not have any contact with other pupils during lesson time, although there is some flexibility in movement within the middle sets.

Pupils in the lower school (years one to three) do not experience the same type of curriculum, which is organised through what the head-

teacher described as "suitable groupings" :

"Even in years one to three, it is my belief – challenged I am aware by theory and practice elsewhere – that an entirely common curriculum (for pupils) is inappropriate."

(Staff Handbook)

A clear statement on differentiation and division between pupils is made in a further declaration by the headteacher :

"The school must be organised in such a way that the academic high fliers can spread their wings and those with learning difficulties can receive the specialist help they need. Within this broad spectrum, we must not lose sight of the vast majority between these extremes."

(Staff Handbook)

When pupils move to the upper school they are segregated into either Band A for the more academically able pupils, or into Band B for the less academic pupils. Selection for banding is based on teachers' assessments of pupils during their third year. Clearly, as Burgess (1983) points out, the headteacher's definition of the situation is apparent in schools by the way the school is organised. At Westward High, the headteacher had specific views on what he considered was the fundamental aim of a comprehensive school :

"What's wrong with private education in my book, its an elitist education for children from a privileged background. They've been educated for a very, very limited view of the world. They may be given a very good academic education, but socially their education is extraordinarily narrow because they may be mixing with pupils only from their own social background; whereas in a school like this, we have children who have parents who are public school teachers, solicitors, doctors, fishermen, unemployed people, criminals and so on. I don't accept that parents need fear for their children coming into contact with a wide range of social background in schools."

(Headteacher interview)

The mix of all types of pupils in one building was the main aim of the

headteacher. Within this aim there was scope for the headteacher to ensure that pupils defined as the "most able" would receive a different type of education from other pupils.

Data to be presented now ^{is} derived from teachers' perceptions of pupils during their lower school years in relation to lower school setting. Teachers' perceptions of pupils will be related to pupils' subsequent band allocation.

3.2. Typifications and Expectations

Data on teachers' typifications and expectations for pupils were drawn from a number of sources: an interview with the Deputy Head of lower school; confidential documents on Cohort 1 pupils during their third year and first term in the fourth year (1981-1982), obtained from the 4th year Year Head, Mrs Timpson. These documents contained two other teachers opinions of pupils and were detailed under a number of headings in relation to reports on pupils. Staff room observations will be outlined and data will be given on Cohort 1 pupils' examination success.

3.2.1. Pupils' Setting Identities

Teacher's perceptions and typifications of pupils are derived from pupils' set allocation. This was made apparent by the Deputy Head of lower school who indicated that pupils' intelligence, ability, behaviour and attitude to work were related to setting. The context of the conversation with the Deputy Head concerned her belief that Year Heads who have worked with pupils from the first year, should be responsible for pupils when they move into the fourth year :

Deputy Head: I personally feel that the person (teacher) should go up because they (pupils) are really starting anew and very often the baddies (...) they're given freedom that they don't always know how to use and the person who's taking over doesn't suss them out fast enough, sometimes.

R : You mean the what, less able children ?

Deputy Head: Not necessarily the less able ones (...) very often the Remedials aren't the worst, its the ones above who are a bit brighter and are naughty and who will ~~truant~~ or steal or bully or tell lies or... and will not work properly when they can do the work, don't do it; won't do the homework and they are let fall through the net a little while the new person is getting to know them.

A large number of pupils in Set 3 (3F3 or 3G3) are collectively referred to as "the baddies". Subsumed under this typification are other characteristics. They are "a bit brighter" than Remedials but are "naughty", will "~~truant~~", "steal", "bully", "tell lies" and "won't work properly". The teacher utilises these typifications formulated through the school's setting arrangements when she refers to pupils as being "the ones above remedial" to justify her negative typifications and expectations for lower set pupils.

Teachers have increased expectations for pupils in the Express sets. These pupils are given access to deep structured knowledge of (Bernstein, 1971) compared with other pupils, as the Deputy Head explained with reference to the curriculum for 3F3 :

"... it will certainly be a much watered down course from the X set because I know my subject, science, they cannot cope with the maths of science so they wouldn't have all the formula and the equations and things that you'd expect the X set to do. So they will do most things at a lower level or not in depth, they'll just do surface - er, I'm sure that applies to other subjects as well."

Bernstein argues that pacing of knowledge may be a crucial factor in the educational success, or other wise, of pupils. At Westward

High this is a factor in the selection of pupils for Band A, outlined later (see 3.3). Pupils who are in the Express sets are encouraged by teachers to work at a faster rate than other pupils, as the Deputy Head remarked :

Deputy Head: So the X set obviously being the highest fliers are worked at a greater rate and they go faster.

R: Hence 'Express' (...) is that the sort of term known to pupils?

Deputy Head: Oh yes, they know that they're the top set and I mean people say to them this work isn't suitable for an X, you've got to pull your socks up or else you won't stay in this set. That's definitely thrust at them. A threat that they will go down if they don't work hard.

The inference to be drawn from this statement is that the Remedial and other sets are not required to work as fast as the X set and are, therefore, not encouraged to work hard by teachers. This acts effectively as a discrimination against pupils who are typified as being of lower ability.

3.2.2. Pupils' Banding Identities

A teacher's perception of pupils according to their set allocation has implications for pupils' selection for Band A or Band B. Descriptions and opinions of third year pupils obtained from the Year Head, Mr Waites, are polarised according to whether pupils are to be placed in Band A or Band B. These descriptions of pupils are analysed in relation to a number of pupil characteristics.

Character

Pupils who were later selected for Band A were mostly typified by the Year Head as being "a super girl" or a "nice lad" or "a

good kid". They are seen as being "dependable", "determined" and "superb". The few negative typifications of pupils refer to them as being "a likeable rogue" or more serious a "bad lad, truant". In contrast, pupils who were later selected for Band B were typified as being "daft, silly", a "twit, lazy", is "on probation" and is a "s moker, problem, truant". Very few positive comments refer to these pupils as being "a good kid", "potential" or of a "good character".

Personality

The Year Head's perception of pupils' personality are factors in the selection of pupils for either Band A or Band B. Pupils who were selected for Band A are described by him as being "chatty" or "quiet"; "serious" or "balanced"; or they "have a sense of humour". The few less positive comments refer to pupils as being "precocious" or pupils who have "a big opinion of themselves" and are "pushy". In sharp contrast, pupils who were later selected for Band B are typified as being "maladjusted", "fiery" or "shady" and "bolshie". Even more extreme comments refer to one pupil who is described as "problem, psycho, alcoholic, suicide".

Attitude to Work

Very few opinions in relation to pupils' attitude to work were made related to pupils later selected for Band A. Although one pupil is typified as being "lazy" this is somewhat ameliorated because this pupil is also described as being an "underachiever". However, pupils who were later selected for Band B are typified as being "unreliable"; "lazy"; "could be trouble". These pupils are typified as "nasty" or as being "lost, idle" or simply "typical". Although the use

of the description "typical" would not seem to denote any particular attribute, what can be suggested is that it signifies those negative sets of typifications of pupils which can be attributed to the 'typical' pupil who disrupts teacher's expectations concerning what constitutes an ideal pupil (Keddie, 1971).

Intelligence

Intelligence is another important attribute in relation to selection of pupils for the appropriate band. Pupils to be selected for Band A were typified as being "bright", "very bright" or "smart"; whereas only one pupil who was later selected for Band B was described as being smart. These assumptions as to what constitutes intelligence are socially constructed and expressed through the organisation of the school and the knowledge structure. Thus, a common typification for pupils later selected for Band B revolved around variations on the notion of pupils who are remedial. Some pupils were typified as being simply "remedial"; others as being "twit, remedial"; "remedial, no problems" (implying that some remedials do have problems); "remedial, immature" and "pleasant, remedial" or simply "not remedial". The latter typification is a curious one since it signifies a norm to which a particular pupil does not fit. A norm for Band A pupils might be bright, with any deviation from that norm referring to variations upon it such as "not as bright".

School Work

Pupils who conformed to teachers' expectations and did not disrupt their notions of an ideal pupil were more likely to be selected for Band A than for Band B. These pupils are typified by the Year

Head as being a "good essayist", are "hard workers"; "good, conscientious". One pupil was described as being a "mathematician". Other pupils are typified as being a "trier" or "supportive", presumably supportive of the school and its values. One pupil, obviously regarded as among the elite of Band A pupils, is described as being "superb, maths, university".

In contrast, pupils who were later selected for Band B were typified in more negative terms and seen as being a "lost cause"; "needs support"; they are pupils who "struggle with work"; are a "problem" because they are "slow learner(s)." The type of subjects which they may select as options was also noted for one pupil who was described as taking "2-3 craft subjects". More positive comments for pupils selected for Band B are tinged with negative overtones. A pupil is described as a "success story", implying that at some time he may have been a failure.

Physical Appearance

The impressions pupils make on teachers in relation to their physical appearance were also determinant in relation to pupils' selection for Band A or Band B. Although certain neutral comments on pupils' appearance such as "little" or "tiny" are used to typify pupils who were later selected to either band, positive comments such as "lovely girl"; "good looking"; "pretty" or simply "lovely" refer to pupils who were later selected for Band A. In contrast, negative comments such as "overweight" (which is aligned to this pupil being "twit, lazy") and "smelly" refer to pupils who were later selected for Band B. Whilst physical appearance alone may not determine a pupil's selection for Band A, it is the impressions these

pupils 'give off' (cf Goffman, 1959) that are an important element in the formulation of distinct identities associated with pupils assigned to particular bands.

Family and Social Background

Pupils' background, particularly details of their family, is another important aspect in the selection of pupils for Band A or Band B. There are more positive typifications of pupils' backgrounds amongst pupils who were later selected for Band A than those pupils who were later selected for Band B. These related to pupils said to have "good parents" or to belong to a "good family"; have "involved parents" and "co-operative parents". The latter signifies that parental co-operation with the school is an important attribute in pupils' selection for Band A. Less positive comments refer to pupils who come from one parent families or pupils whose parents are divorced. Pupils who were later selected for Band B are typified as coming from a "poor family" indicating that there is a certain set of attributes (some of which have been detailed above) which constitutes the 'normal' family.

3.2.3. Banding and The High Fliers

Typifications of another teacher (female) obtained from confidential documents show quite clearly how pupils described as "high fliers" have particular characteristics. A summary of the female teacher's typifications of the high fliers destined for Band A is given below (Table 3.1.).

Table 3.1. Female Teacher's typification of pupils designated 'high fliers' who were selected for Band A.

CHARACTER	-	sense of humour; witty; amusing; pleasant; lovely boy/girl
PERSONALITY	-	likeable; good kid; quiet; introvert; withdrawn; bubbly
ATTITUDE TO WORK	-	hard working; responsible; respectful; bored needs challenge; can be lazy but is articulate; works at what he likes, lazy; arrogant; snob, likes horses
INTELLIGENCE	-	very gifted; bright; clever; intense; fantastic
SCHOOL WORK	-	musical; sheer hard worker; tendency to over-work; good reader; underachiever
FAMILY AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND	-	good parents; split family; divorced; old parents; Tom Smith's daughter

Source: Year Head's Confidential Documents

Teacher typifications of pupils and pupils' banding identities show the extent of the social implications of pupils' selection for a particular band. Band A pupils are described in completely different terms to Band B pupils. Pupils' band allocation is determined by teachers' subjective opinions of pupils, so that pupils selected for Band A are more favourably perceived compared with pupils selected for Band B.

3.2.4. The Monitoring of Pupils' Progress

Analysis of documents and reports obtained from the 4th year Year Head, Mrs Timpson, after these pupils (Cohort 1) had spent their first term in the fourth year (January, 1982), showed clearly that pupils' allocation to Band A to be dependent upon pupils having the 'correct' attitude to school and school work. Pupils who lacked effort

were threatened with demotion to Band B, as noted in this extract from the Year Head's documents :

" Poor Reports

Tracey W.	query Band A
Helen K.	query Band A ? Very rude, arrogant
John L.	lacks effort
Alison M.	Own fault, will not ask for help
Carl D.	one of life's failures
Paul L.	lack of effort
Paul I.	poor memory "

(Extract from the 4th year
Year Head's documents)

Helen K's allocation to Band A is in question because she is perceived to be "very rude, arrogant". There is a clear inference that pupils' continuation in Band A is dependent upon them holding a particular attitude to school. One may question whether the demotion of Helen K. to Band B would confirm teachers' typifications and expectations for Band B pupils in as much as these pupils were considered substantially different to Band A pupils.

Another heading in the documents : "Problem Children or Children with Problems" relates entirely to Band B pupils. One girl is reported as being "very unhappy", two boys are cited as being "disruptive"; whilst two girls are described as "naughty" and from "undisciplined backgrounds". John is reported as appearing "not to know right from wrong already a reject from at least one other school". Comments on yet another pupil are :

"No uniform, truant, dirty, no parental support. This is a tragedy because this boy is intelligent, likeable, articulate - what can be done ? (all other members of the family have convictions of one kind or another)"

(Extract from 4th year Year Head's
documents)

This pupil's saving grace would appear to be that he is "intelligent, likeable and articulate"; if it were not so, it is probable that requests for colleagues to help this pupil would not be so forthcoming. The extract from the documents below reveal some of the reported problems associated with Band B pupils:

- | | | | |
|---|--------|---|---|
| " | Carl I | - | Mother makes excuses - a 'soft' over-protected boy |
| | Neil M | - | possibly a court case pending, but this family is very unsupportive, on social security therefore a fine is of no punitive value. |
| | Mark J | - | truancy - parents have been into school and no problem, seems better |
| | Nina L | - | school refusal, court case pending |
| | John P | - | truancy, parents have been into school. No progress, in hands of EWO (Educational Welfare Officer) |
| | Alison | - | has been ill and is playing on it " |

(Extract from 4th year Year Head's documents)

Whilst Alison (above) is criticised for "playing on" her illness, elsewhere in the documents a boy from Band A who had a long absence was praised because he "has made excellent use of his time at home". One can conjecture that if Alison had been in Band A, the teacher would have been more sympathetic to her illness and absence from school. Truancy is a major factor in teachers' typifications of pupils which is ostensibly related to Band B pupils. Low attendance details of ten pupils in the documents showed that nine pupils were from Band B.

Checks by the Year Head on pupils' progress at school ensures that pupils who are selected for Band A are more likely to have a positive and favourable attitude to school and school work, that they do not truant, are not disruptive and are from the 'right' type of home background. There is a real sense in which Band B pupils are some-

how 'rejects' from Band A. Whilst pupils can be excluded from Band A and placed in Band B, they cannot be excluded from Band B. The only recourse for disruptive pupils in Band B is exclusion from school itself.

3.2.5. Staffroom Notices and Incidents

Staffroom notices are used to communicate information about pupils to teachers who may otherwise not be familiar with particular pupils. Some notices elaborate on the details of the pupil's 'offence' as illustrated by the headteacher's notice to staff noted below :



(Staff Notice, dated 20.3.82)



A teacher of the same name on more than one occasion bemoaned the fact that such a pupil, who had a reputation for disruptive behaviour, was even remotely associated with her. A follow-up notice about this pupil on the same day from the headteacher explained a little more of the surrounding details of the suspension, noted below :



(Staff notice, dated 15.10.82)

The reference to "one of our less distinguished former pupils" encapsulates a whole host of meanings about these pupils that are assumed to be well known to the staff.



The brevity of the notices assumed that teachers reading them were acquainted with these pupils and knew something of their history. Discreet enquiries about the pupils cited here revealed that they were all from Band B. Staff room notices play their part in perpetuating typifications of pupils and consequent expectations of pupils. Although data collected from such a source was somewhat random, data on pupils from staff notices collected daily over a period would reveal much about how teachers become aware of pupils with whom they have little contact at classroom (front region) level.

Staff room incidents also play their part in ensuring that the antics of pupils and their behaviour are made known to teachers. My field notes revealed how one teacher was obviously enjoying re-telling the tale of how a (named) pupil had been reprimanded for not wearing a tie to school, only to arrive at the school the next day with the obligatory tie but minus a shirt. This was greeted with howls of laughter from the teachers who were listening. Woods (1979) notes how staffroom

laughter helps relieve tensions among teachers who can engage in the telling and re-telling of an amusing incident, sometimes at the expense of the pupils involved.

Another incident, which was amusing in itself but was treated seriously by Mrs Timpson, concerned one or two boys who were travelling from the school to the sports centre. She rushed into the staff-room to use the telephone to contact the teacher who had taken the pupils to the Centre. There had been a telephone call from two elderly ladies who had complained that pupils had been 'bumming it' (that is, baring their bottoms to the window at the back of the coach).

Mrs Timpson's strategy was to explain what had happened to the teacher at the Centre and to request that pupils sit in the same seats on the return journey to school, thereby locating the guilty pupils. There is no doubt that this story would have been the source of much staff room talk, with the guilty pupils' names getting a wide airing.

These accounts of teacher typifications of pupils reveal how pupils acquire an educational identity, particularly in relation to their set or band allocation. Consideration can now be given to teachers' examination predictions for pupils related to pupils' band allocation and actual GCE/CSE examination results at the end of their fifth year.

3.2.6. Examination Predictions and Results

The whole issue surrounding the so-called expectation effect of pupil performance and examination success is a contentious issue in educational research. Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) adage that pupils' did well in school because teachers expected them to, is problematic. Brophy and Good (1974) point out that the research was fraught

with methodological problems. For instance, Rosenthal and Jacobson gave teachers favourable descriptions randomly assigned to pupils with whom the teachers otherwise knew little about. More naturalistic studies relied on eliciting teachers' perceptions of pupils and relating these to pupils' examination results. The review by Brophy and Good of these studies showed the finding of an expectation effect to be inconclusive. Whilst some studies showed a positive relation between teachers' perceptions of pupils and examination results, other studies found no positive relationship. Pidgeon's (1970) review of the research in this area concluded that there was no real proof of teacher expectation affecting pupil performance. However, he noted that "investigations reported here offer a very strong support for the hypothesis that relatively large differences in the levels of performance between the most able and the least able pupils (...) are due in no small part to the expectations of their teachers". Data will now be presented on teachers' expectations for pupils (Cohort 1).

Explicit predictions of examination success of pupils were made by the Heads of Departments on a scale A to D prior to pupils' selection to Band A or Band B. From this grading process and in conjunction with teachers' typifications of pupils during the latter part of the third year, pupils were allocated to the 'appropriate' band. When these predictions were related to pupils' subsequent band allocation, it was clear that pupils who were not expected to do well in their examinations or who were not expected to take examinations, were assigned to Band B (Table 3.2). This expectation was made very apparent by the head teacher who stated that :

"By the time we're talking about Band B we're fairly sure, with very, very rare exceptions, they are not going to do particularly well at CSE in terms of grades and in fact, I think quite a lot of them may not be entered for an exam."

(Headteacher interview)

Table 3.2. Department Head's examination and grade predictions for pupils related to their subsequent band allocation.

EXAMINATION	SCHOOL GRADE	BAND A PUPILS' EXAMINATION PREDICTIONS		BAND B PUPILS' EXAMINATION PREDICTIONS	
		No.	%	No.	%
GCE	A	536	38%	110	2%
GCE/CSE 1	A/B	187	13%	5	
CSE grade 1	B	382	27%	75	9%
Grade 1 / low CSE	B/C	64	5%	55	7%
Low CSE	C	181	13%	293	36%
Low CSE / non exam.	C/D	19	1%	76	9%
Non Exam.	D	47	3%	304	37%
TOTALS		1416	100%	818	100%

Source: Confidential documents from 4th year, Year Head on third year pupils (1980-1981) N = 240 pupils

There is a polarisation of expectation for pupils in relation to their band allocation. 78% of subjects taken by Band A pupils compared with 11% of subjects taken by Band B pupils are expected to gain these pupils GCE or CSE grade 1 passes. In contrast, there is a low expectation for Band B pupils since subjects taken by these pupils are

expected to gain them low CSE passes or no examinations. Furthermore, the explicit grading A, B, C, and D, is comparable to the streaming arrangements in grammar and secondary schools outlined by Lacey (1970), and Hargreaves (1967). The analysis of the examination results is given below (Table 3.3.).

Table 3.3. Pupils' examination results across all subjects analysed in relation to pupils' band allocation (Cohort 1, 1981-1983)

EXAMINATION	EXAMINATION GRADE	BAND A PUPILS' EXAMINATION GRADES		BAND B PUPILS' EXAMINATION GRADES	
		No.	%	No.	%
GCE	A	81	10%		
	B	149	18%		
	C	217	26%		
	D	114	14%		
	E	95	11%		
	U	188	22%		
	TOTALS	844	101%		
CSE	1	33	9%	17	7%
	2	77	20%	17	7%
	3	109	28%	46	20%
	4	109	28%	74	32%
	5	39	10%	40	17%
	U	17	4%	37	16%
	TOTALS	383	99%	232	99%

Source GCE/CSE examination results, August, 1983

N = 250 pupils

Two-thirds of the examinations obtained by Band A pupils were 'O' levels, with over half of these (54%) being high grade passes (grades A, B or C). In contrast, no Band B pupils obtained 'O' levels since they were not entered for them. Most of Band B pupils' grades, 86% were low 3, 4 or 5 grade CSE passes (as noted in Table 3.3). Few of Band A pupils' grades at CSE were grade 1 passes, whereas most of these pupils' grades were middle 2, 3 or 4 grade passes. Band B pupils who obtained grade 1 in CSE were mostly in the more practically orientated subjects, one boy received grade 1 CSE's in metalwork, technical drawing and applied science (called industrial science at Westward High); another boy obtained grade 1 CSE in metalwork. Ten girls obtained grade 1 in child care (called family science at Westward High). Only two boys received one grade 1 each in the more academic English or maths subjects.

Band A pupils were more successful in their examinations than Band B pupils, with examination results being similar to the predictions made by the Heads of Departments. However, the actual grade 1 CSE passes obtained by Band A pupils were lower than expected and there was a larger number of failed 'O' level examinations by these pupils, compared with teachers' predictions.

3.3. The Options System

To understand more fully the processes involved in band allocation, it is necessary to examine the options system and differentiation of subjects, their availability and access for pupils. The analysis of differentiation and division between pupils according to whether they attended a grammar or a secondary modern school, outlined in Chapter 1, revealed that pupils were given access to, or were expected to

acquire, different forms of knowledge. A similar process operates at Westward High. An analysis of the options system including compulsory and optional subjects will be related to differentiation of knowledge according to examination (GCE or CSE) and pupils' band allocation; how different subjects prepare pupils for particular occupations and how the school's system of rewards for pupils and pupils' entry into the Sixth Form is dependent upon banding and pupils' access to particular forms of knowledge.

3.3.1. Optional and Compulsory Subjects

The option lines (Figure 3.1) show that Band A and Band B pupils (Cohorts 1 and 2) were allowed access to different types of subjects. Band A pupils choose four subjects, one from each line.

Figure 3.1. Curriculum Options According to Banding

BAND A OPTIONS

Line 1 : Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology

Line 2 : Physics, History, Art, Typing

Line 3 : Biology, French, Home Economics, Art, Technical Drawing
Typing

Line 4 : Chemistry, German, Latin, Geography, Religious Studies

Line 5 : French, Geography, Religious Studies, Music, Metalwork,
Woodwork

BAND B OPTIONS

Line 1 : Science, Physics, Life Science, Industrial Science, Family
Science

Line 2 : Woodwork, Metalwork, Technical Drawing, Home Economics,
Typing, Office Practice, English Literature

Line 3 : Geography, Communications, Art, Home Economics, Family
Science, Typing, Office Practice

Line 4 : Woodwork, Metalwork, Technical Drawing, History, Art,
Handicraft

In addition to optional subjects, English, maths and a science subject are compulsory for all pupils. Whereas Band A pupils can choose up to three science subjects, Band B pupils can choose only one science subject (line 1), although to some extent the reduction in choice for some pupils was related to the reduction in numbers of staff due to recent cut-backs in education, as made clear by the head teacher (interview comments). Pupils may not be able to choose certain subjects because these are restricted through the layout of the option lines.

A more detailed analysis of optional and compulsory subjects related to their associated examinations (GCE or CSE), makes more explicit those subjects which were mutually exclusive to either Band A or Band B pupils. These subjects are arranged in blocks (Figure 3.2). Blocks 1, 2 and 3 are subjects exclusive to Band A pupils; Blocks 6, 7 and 8 are subjects exclusive to Band B pupils. Block 5 contain subjects which are available to both bands, with subjects at GCE level in Block 4 available only to Band A pupils. Access to subjects at GCE level was restricted to Band A pupils. The choices made by Cohort 1 pupils are analysed below (Tables 3.4; 3.5). Subjects available only to Band B pupils in Block 6 are called by different names than the actual examination title, environmental science being referred to as life science; applied science as industrial science and child care as family science. The names given by the school to these subjects will be used throughout the analysis of options.

The analysis of choices showed that Band A and Band B pupils take different types of subjects. Nearly half (47%) of choices made by Band A pupils were from those subjects to which Band B pupils have no access. Similarly, over half (59%) of choices made by Band

FIGURE 3.2.

Compulsory and optional subjects analysed in boxes depending upon examination and related to pupils' band allocation

BAND A				BAND B			
Block 1	Block 2	Block 3	Block 4	Block 5	Block 6	Block 7	Block 8
GCE	GCE/CSE	RSA*	GCE/CSE	CSE	CSE / Mode III	Elementary Exam	Non-exam
Latin German Economics Engineering Drawing	French Biology Chemistry Geology Music	Typing	Art Home Economics English Literature English Language Geography History Religious Education Physics Woodwork ** Metalwork ** Technical Drawing Maths	Art Home Economics English Literature English Language Geography History Religious Education Physics Woodwork Metalwork Technical Drawing Maths	Art & Craft Handicraft Life Science Industrial Science Family Science Spanish Studies	Typing Office Practice	Communication Basic Maths Science Woodwork Metalwork

* Equivalent to GCE 'O' level

** CSE only

← Mutually exclusive
access →

'Special elementary
examination taken

TABLE 3.4. Analysis of actual subject options chosen by Band A pupils during their third year (1980 - 1981)

Block 1			Block 2			Block 3			Block 4		
Latin	10	1%	French	59	8%	Typing	35	5%	Art	37	5%
German	34	5%	Biology	93	13%			Home			
			Chemistry	85	12%			Economics	31	4%	
			Geology	21	3%			Geography	106	15%	
								History	56	8%	
									RE	35	5%
									Physics	71	10%
									Woodwork	3	1%
									Metalwork	11	5%
									Technical		
									Drawing	24	
N = 44 6%			N = 258 36%			N = 35 5%			N = 374 53%		

To nearest whole percent

Total number of choices by pupils
for subject: 111

TABLE 3.5. Analysis of actual subject options chosen by Band B pupils during their third year (1980 - 1981)

Block 5			Block 6		Block 7			Block 8	
Art	26	7%	Life	7%	Typing			Communi-	
Home			Science		Office	34	9%	cations	32 9%
Economics	23	6%	Industrial		Practice	21	6%	Science	32 9%
Geography	12	3%	Science	21 6%					
Woodwork	30	8%	Family						
Metalwork	35	10%	Science	31 8%					
Technical			Spanish	19 5%					
Drawing	36	7%							
N = 152 41%			N = 97 26%		N = 55 15%			N = 64 18%	

To nearest whole percent

Total number of choices by pupils
for subjects: 368

Source: Analysis derived from Year Head's Confidential Documents
(Cohort 1 pupils)

B pupils were those which are restricted to those pupils. Although there were a large percentage of subjects chosen by both bands in the mutually accessible Blocks 4 and 5 (but in the latter at CSE level only), Band B pupils did not choose the more academic subjects such as history, RE and physics. In contrast, whereas 25% of choices made by Band B pupils were for practical subjects such as woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing; only a small proportion (less than 6%) of

Band A pupils' choices were for these subjects. Similarly, whereas 15% of all subject choices in Band B were for typing and office practice, only 5% of choices for these subjects were made by Band A pupils.

Pupils are channelled into acquiring particular forms of knowledge through various compulsory and optional subjects, as the headteacher made clear in a letter to the staff: "It can be argued that Band B pupils are channelled into a particular course. This is to some extent a conscious decision in an attempt to offer them a course of study, (or package), with limited choice". In an interview the headteacher explained that he thought too many pupils choose subjects for the wrong reason "so by reducing the choice you're putting more constraints on certain pupils to choose subjects that we feel educationally they will benefit from rather than suffer from" :

"Similarly with family science on the timetable, again I think if you're not careful you'll get youngsters taking that subject who probably ought to be doing one of the harder sciences, like biology or physics. So I think an awful lot of guidance is needed. A lot of guidance is given to them..."

(Headteacher interview)

Requests by pupils to change subject options may be denied and pupils advised to continue their option, as noted in an extract from the 4th year Year Head's documents :

"Some pupils, low Band B, do not understand what they are opting for and therefore make confused choices. Most of these requests for change have been persuaded to 'stay put'."

Analysis of the option booklet distributed to parents and pupils during pupils' third year in school when they have been selected for the appropriate band, revealed how subject options are marketed by the

headteacher and heads of departments.

3.3.2. Subject Options and Compulsory Subjects: Marketing Strategies

Subjects are described and presented to parents and pupils in particular ways to make subjects appear more attractive and suitable for certain pupils according to their band allocation. The headteacher 'warms up' pupils who were selected for Band A and their parents by creating expectations for these pupils. The headteacher's letter fronting the booklet states that "Band A will have as its target either GCE 'O' level in all subjects or a mixture of 'O' level and CSE". The expectation that such pupils will receive grade 1 CSE is made explicit by the reminder to parents and pupils that they should "please remember that a grade 1 is regarded as the equivalent of an 'O' level grade A, B or C result". No such reminder is given to parents of Band B pupils. In contrast, these parents are "cooled out" (cf Goffman, 1962) since they are told that "Band B will have as its target either CSE in all subjects or a mixture of CSE and other subject in which an internal leaving certificate will be awarded".

Heads of Departments utilise marketing strategies to encourage particular types of pupils to choose 'appropriate' subjects. The assumption is that certain pupils, differentiated by band allocation, are expected to require different forms of knowledge. The head of secretarial studies made the overt statement in the booklet that the elementary examination is "more easily attained by pupils in Band B because (...) this examination is suitable for their needs". Pupils' access to different forms of subject knowledge will be examined using Bernstein's (1971) classification of educational knowledge codes. The

option system and marketing strategies by the heads of department will be examined in three interrelated areas: deep structured and surface structured knowledge; educational knowledge and community knowledge; and preparation for further education and occupations.

Deep Structured and Surface Structured Knowledge

The subjects available only to Band A, for instance Latin and economics (at GCE level, Block 1) allow pupils access to deep structured knowledge. The study of Latin is marketed by the head of department as being "interesting for its own sake" but "it also improves one's own knowledge of English and enriches the study of other foreign languages since Latin is the basis of most Western European languages". Clearly, the subject is marketed as making accessible other forms of knowledge and understanding of other languages. It is also marketed as a "demanding subject" and is said to "prove a student's intellectual capacity and potential". Thus, acquisition of particular forms of knowledge at a more deeply structured level is correlated with intelligence.

Economics is divided into economic theory and applied economics and the differentiation between subject knowledge structuring is best seen if this subject is compared with home economics. The knowledge made available through this subject is outside the immediate experience of pupils. It includes a study of consumer goods and demands for goods, how prices are determined, the structure of industry, the role of government in managing the economy, prices and incomes control, and so on. Careers for pupils taking this subject are in banking, accountancy, insurance and the civil service; making more readily available to Band A pupils, occupations in social economic groups 1 or 2. In

contrast, home economics (Blocks 4, 5) at CSE level only and available to both bands, is designed as a broad course with its knowledge structure being related to the home and home-life as opposed to a study of the economics of the Country. This subject is marketed by the head of department as being a valuable subject because it includes a study of home buying, mortgages, house insurance, rates. Since pupils in Band A can take economics without having to take CSE home economics, it can be inferred that the pupils of Band A are either assumed to possess already the more surface structured knowledge inherent in home economics or will acquire it in the course of their life after school.

In sharp contrast to economics, industrial science (Block 6, CSE), exclusive to Band B pupils, is marketed as being concerned with "the influence of technology in their way of living" (my emphasis) and "an understanding of up to date industrial processes, methods of working..". Consequently, whilst economics for Band A pupils is concerned with the structure of industry from the standpoint of a professional or white collar worker, Band B pupils are taught about the process of industry, from the standpoint of employed manual worker which will give such pupils knowledge suitable for craft apprentices. The option system at Westward High, through the differentiated organisation of banding, is a device which can readily be utilised as a mechanism for channelling certain types of pupils into particular occupations.

Educational Knowledge (Pure) and Community Knowledge (Applied)

Subjects are marketed in relation to what Bernstein refers to as educational knowledge, the theoretical and esoteric knowledge which is removed from teachers' and pupils' immediate everyday life situations; and community knowledge, which relates more

directly to everyday situations. Economics and home economics discussed above depict this type of differentiation. Maths is also a highly differentiating subject. Thus, whilst maths at GCE level is marketed as covering the same topics as CSE, the examples are "much harder and much longer". Of particular importance is the way GCE is marketed as being "the basis from which one progresses to advanced work in mathematics, sciences, economics and several other subjects". No such emphasis is made in relation to pupils taking CSE (who will, of course include Band B pupils). In contrast, the knowledge base for basic maths for Band B pupils (Block 8, non exam) is marketed as being "useful throughout everyday life for us all". The reference to "us all" applies to low Band B, grade D pupils who are not expected to take any examination. Similarly, English literature at GCE level is marketed as assessing pupils' "knowledge of the characters, ideas and languages of the books" whereas the same subject at CSE assesses pupils' "personal responses to the book and ability to create from imagination based on them". By directing pupils' acquisition of knowledge from characters and books to a personalising of pupils' own everyday knowledge, this in effect reduces these pupils' acquisition of more detailed knowledge and understanding of English literature.

Science subjects are marketed differently to pupils depending upon their band allocation, as noted in Table 3.6. Band A science relates to pupils' access to deep structured knowledge, access being given to the restricted languages of the sciences, Bernstein's educational knowledge. Band B pupils' access to knowledge is more limited to the less esoteric and more personalised forms of knowledge which are deemed to be relevant to this type of pupil.

TABLE 3.6

Analysis of how different forms of knowledge in science subjects are marketed to Band A and Band B pupils.

MARKETING FOR BAND A PUPILS : GCE/CSE	
<u>Biology:</u>	relates "structure to the functioning (of the body) and to develop knowledge and understanding" using a variety of approaches.
<u>Chemistry:</u>	marketed as being important to man, emphasises the use of raw materials, "drugs ... plastics, paints, metallurgy, agriculture and food science".
<u>Geology:</u>	the subject involves practical work and includes map-work, sketching, identification and handling of fossil, mineral and rock specimens. "The syllabus includes work on (...) landforms, folds, faults and products of economic importance". Pupils are advised to ensure that they have acquired sufficient knowledge of physics and chemistry in the lower school before contemplating this subject.
<u>Physics:</u>	aims to "familiarise students with scientific language and conventions as well as establishing facts and methods of working". Students are given an opportunity to check that theories are consistent with information available from experiments.
MARKETING FOR BAND B PUPILS: CSE/NON EXAMINATION	
<u>Life Science:</u>	designed "to help pupils acquire a basic understanding about science involved in their everyday life"; "deals with scientific problems relevant to them".
<u>Industrial Science:</u>	aims to provide a course in relation to an overall theme of 'Man's Use of Materials and Resources'. Topics include the uses of raw materials made into useful products; manufacturing processes and sources of energy; the effects of industry on the environment....
<u>Science:</u>	this course for non-examination pupils consists of topics such as pollution, domestic electricity, forensic science, earth science, building science. Emphasis being placed on practical work.

Source: Subject options booklet NB Physics is included under Band A since no pupils (Cohort 1) chose this subject and some pupils (Cohort 2) had complained of being dissuaded from taking it.

These subject divisions as we shall now see, have importance for pupils with respect to further education and occupations.

Preparation for Further Education and Occupations

Bernstein argues that educational knowledge is "drawn from a common universe of knowledge" whilst community knowledge is "drawn from different universes of knowledge". Science subjects outlined previously available to Band B pupils utilise what Bernstein refers to as integrated code. Life Science is marketed to pupils as covering topics such as pollution; resources (ie. chemistry); energy (ie. physics), and public health (ie. biology). Industrial science covers topics related to physics and chemistry (as noted in Table 3.6). Another subject, family science (child development), covers a range of diverse knowledge areas which include "the human body and its functions" (ie. biology); nutrition (ie. chemistry); "the family and its budget" (sociology or maths); "behaviour, development and modification" (ie. psychology), and "pre-school child and its early learning" (ie. developmental psychology). The exclusion of this subject from Band A options raises a host of questions, notably as to whether the more academic pupils are assumed to know how to raise children by the time they have a family or whether such pupils will somehow 'naturally' acquire such knowledge in the course of their life after school.

Science option subjects for Band A pupils are more related to what Bernstein refers to as collection code. Such subjects are well insulated from one another and do not overlap into their subject areas. These subjects are marketed by the head of science as being useful for certain occupations, as noted in Table 3.7, extracted from the option

booklet.

TABLE 3.7, Consequences of the choice of Fourth Form Sciences on courses at Advanced Level and in Further Education

Fourth Form Choice	Possible Advanced Level	Possibilities in Further Education
One Science Only	Mixed Arts/ Science	Very difficult to take up a science course
Physics Chemistry	Mathematics Physics Chemistry	This combination leads to the maximum number of job opportunities and courses in science, engineering and technology
Biology Chemistry	Mathematics Biology, Chemistry	Most courses in Biological Sciences, Pharmacy, Dentistry
Biology Chemistry Physics	Three from Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics	Medicine and Veterinary Science. If Maths is taken any Science Course
Biology Physics	Biology Physics	Very limited but useful for radiography, physiotherapy
Geology and another Science	Geology and another science	Geology

Source: Subject Option Booklet (reproduced table)

The table makes explicit how Band A pupils' subject choices in science affect entrance to continuing education at 'A' level, further education and their career prospects. Subject options during pupils'

fourth and fifth years in school have implications for their continuing education and occupations. For instance, options at 'A' level made apparent in the Sixth Form option booklet (see subject choice sheet, Appendix 8), show that unless Band B pupils obtained grade 1 CSE in the few subjects made available to them under the option system which could be taken to advanced level, they would be excluded from entry to the Sixth Form for 'A' level work except in subjects such as sociology, which is not available in the 'O' level options. Only certain subjects in Block 5 can be taken at advanced level. The option system at Westward High effectively excludes Band B pupils from 'A' level courses, though of course they can re-sit subjects or take 'O' level subjects in the Lower Sixth Form.

3.3.3. The Sixth Form Entry

Traditionally the Sixth Form was utilised by the grammar schools for preparing pupils for professional careers and university entrance. At Westward High the Lower Sixth pupils can take up 'A' level courses or re-sit or take extra 'O' levels. Table 3.8 shows quite clearly that at Westward High, few Cohort 1 pupils (1981 to 1983 fourth/fifth years) from Band B went into the Sixth Form.

TABLE 3.8. Analysis of Cohort 1 pupils (1981-1983) formerly in Band A or Band B who went into the Sixth Form (1983-1984)

FORMER BAND ALLOCATION	TOTAL NUMBERS	% OF TOTAL
Band A	63	93%
Band B	5	7%
TOTALS	68	100%

Source: School documents, Sixth Form allocation

Of these pupils, only two former Band B girls obtained 1 CSE grade 1 each in family science (child care); whilst most of these pupils' CSE grades were between 3 and 5. Consequently, it is more likely that such pupils would have been staying on to continue their studies at CSE or 'O' level, particularly since child care as a subject was not available at 'A' level.

Not only are Band A pupils given access to different types of subjects which allows easier access to the Sixth Form, and to further education and particular occupations, but the organisation of the school rewards particular pupils through the instigation of prizes.

3.3.4. The Rewards System

The 4th/5th year option system utilises, to some extent, a system of rewards. These are acquired through the pupils' access to subject knowledge as made apparent in the analysis of subject blocking and the occupations pupils may expect to acquire when leaving school. These may be termed external awards. However, at Westward High under the direction of the headteacher, there is a system of internal rewards listed in the Staff Handbook. Lower school pupils can receive badges and certificates for "excellent progress or excellent achievement". In the fifth year there are twenty-two prizes awarded for pupils with the "highest number of 'O' level passes at grade A"; with a further twenty prizes awarded to pupils achieving grade 1 CSE. There are four prizes in the Upper Sixth Form for pupils "with the best overall 'A' level performance" although "only those sitting 4 'A' levels (are) eligible", with further subject prizes for pupils achieving grade 'A' in advanced level subjects.

The analysis given thus far concerning teacher typifications and expectations for pupils; pupils examination results, the differentiated option system and pupils entrance to the Sixth Form, show that the rewards system at Westward High to clearly discriminate against pupils in Band B in favour of pupils in Band A. All prizes and awards are given to the highest achieving pupils who are doubly rewarded since they obtain both internal prizes and examination success rewards. Such a system effectively denies encouragement for pupils in Band B, deemed the low achievers.

The concentration of data so far has been related to pupils' setting, banding and option choices and the implication of these factors on pupils' educational career. The consideration of differentiation and divisions at Westward High will now draw on data related to pupils' lower school setting and upper school banding arrangements. Data were collected from fourth year pupils in 1982-1983 (Cohort 2). These pupils, being a year younger than Cohort 1 pupils, were the first to experience the setting arrangements in the lower school (described previously, 3.1).

3.4. Pupils' Expectations

Data outlined in 3.3. detailed how differentiation of subjects according to pupils' band allocation meant that pupils were prepared for different occupations. An analysis of Band A and Band B (Cohort 2) pupils' expectations for examinations, continuing education and future occupations will be outlined and related to pupils' lower school setting and upper school banding.

3.4.1. Pupils' Routes Through the School

In an interview the Deputy Head of lower school remarked that the middle sets in the lower school denoted "1, 2, 3 are just random numbers" yet later in the same interview she remarked that "set 3... is the one just above remedial", indicating a hierarchical arrangement in these middle sets. Data has already been presented (3.2) which indicate that pupils at Westward High acquire a setting identity. The data in Table 3.9 show how pupils' band allocation in the fourth year is related to their lower school setting arrangements. Although movement between sets is not fixed, the Deputy Head remarked that in relation to the Express sets "we sometimes move them up or sometimes move them down". In practice, according to data on Cohort 2 pupils, movement to or from the Express sets was restricted to F G 1. Similarly, movement to or from the Remedial set was restricted to F G 3.

TABLE 3.9 A Fourth Year cohort of pupils' routes through the lower school related to banding

Set/ Band	X	X/ FG1	FG1	FG1/ FG2	FG2	FG 1-2-3	FG2/ FG3	FG3	R/ FG3	R	Totals
'A'	45	16	34	8	3	6	2	-	-	-	N=114
'B'	-	-	5	9	10	8	15	11	6	9	N= 73

Represents 88% sample of Band A pupils; 69% sample of Band B pupils of a fourth year Cohort 2 (1982-1983)

Of this Cohort, 82% of Band A pupils took the Express, Express/FG1 or FG 1 route, with a further 10% taking the FG 1/FG 2 route through the lower school. In contrast, only 7% of pupils in Band B took the FG 1 route, with 70% taking the FG 2, FG 3 and Remedial

routes (or a combination of these sets) through the lower school. The analysis indicates that an unofficial or hidden streamed organisation was operating within the middle sets. A consequence of this is that FG 2 is the differentiating set between those pupils who are destined for Band A and those pupils destined for Band B. However, of particular concern was how this may affect pupils' expectations for examinations they hoped to take in the fifth year.

3.4.2. Pupils' Examination Expectations

A criticism of the sub-cultural models in relation to the divisions between pro- and anti-school pupils (Hargreaves, 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis, 1977 and to a lesser extent Ball, 1981) is that they have failed to explore fully the differentiation between pupils within streams, sets or bands. The analysis of pupils' expectations (Table 3.10), shows that just under half (47%) of pupils in Band A expected to take purely GCE or a combination of GCE/16+ examinations, with a further 39% who expected to take a combination of examinations. Only two pupils (under 2%) expected to take only CSE examinations. However, when pupils routes through the lower school are taken into account, considerably more pupils (73%) who had been in the Express sets and just over half (56%) of pupils who had been in the Express/FG 1 sets, expected to take GCE or GCE/16+ examinations. Pupils who were in the higher sets, the so-called high fliers, had greater expectations compared with pupils in lower sets.

TABLE 3. 10 Fourth year cohort of pupils' routes through school related to banding and examination expectations.

		X	X/ FG1	FG1	FG1/ FG2	FG2	FG/ 1-2-3	FG/ FG3	FG3	R/ FG3	R	Totals
BAND A	GCE	13	2	4								19
	16+/GCE	20	7	5			1					33
	CSE/16+/GCE	12	6	17	6	1	2	1				45
	16+			6	1		1					8
	CSE / 16+			2	1	1	2	1				7
	CSE		1			1						2
	Non Exam/CSE											
	Non Exam											
	TOTALS	45	16	34	8	3	6	2				114
BAND B	GCE											
	16+/GCE											
	CSE/16+/GCE											
	16+											
	CSE/16+			4	2	3	2	3	2	1		17
	CSE			1	6	7	6	10	5	5	5	45
	Non Exam/CSE							1			4	5
	Non Exam				1			1	4			6
	TOTALS			5	9	10	8	15	11	6	9	73

In contrast, 62% of pupils in Band B expected to take purely CSE examinations, with a further 23% of pupils who expected to take CSE/ 16+ examinations. This, of course, is a direct result of the curriculum organisation which restricts access to subjects for certain pupils and hence, examination qualifications. Only 11 (15%) of pupils in Band B expected to take a combination of CSE/non examinations or non-examinations, eight of these pupils (73%), had formerly been in the lower sets ~~FG~~ 3, Remedial/FG 3 or Remedial.

Pupils' expectations also differed in relation to continuing educational career and future occupations.

3.4.3. Pupils' Continuing Educational Career Expectations

The organisation of the option system, outlined previously, discriminates in favour of those pupils who have won the right to be selected for Band A and thus have access to deep structured knowledge. The expectations of Chort 2 pupils are shown in Table 3.11. 32% of

TABLE 3.11

Fourth year cohort of pupils' routes through school related to banding and further education expectations

			X	X/ FG1	FG1	FG1/ FG2	FG2	FG/ 1-2-3	FG/ FG3	FG3	R/ FG3	R	Total
BAND A	Sixth Form	Yes	26	4	3	1	1	1	1				37
		Unsure	16	7	18	7	2	3	1				54
		No	3	5	13			2					23
	University / College	Yes	18	4	3		1	1	1				28
		Unsure	20	8	10	5	2	2	1				48
		No	7	4	21	3		3					38
	TOTAL PUPILS		45	16	34	8	3	6	2				N=114
BAND B	Sixth Form	Yes						1	1				2
		Unsure			2	3	5	3	6		1	4	24
		No			3	6	5	4	8	11	5	5	47
	University / College	Yes			1	1	3	1	3			3	12
		Unsure			1	3	5	4	5	4	3	1	26
		No			3	5	2	3	7	7	3	5	35
	TOTAL PUPILS				5	9	10	8	15	11	6	9	N=73

pupils in Band A expected to stay on in the Sixth Form, although just under half (47%) were undecided. 25% of pupils expected to go on to college or university, whilst a third had no expectations in this area. However, when pupils' routes through the lower school were taken into account, over half (58%) of pupils who were in the Express sets and 50% of pupils who were in the Express/FG 1 sets expected to go into the Sixth Form. Only three pupils (7%) from all the pupils in the Express sets, and only 8 (13%) of all pupils who were in the Express and Express/FG 1 sets indicated that they would NOT be going into the Sixth Form. The expectation concerning Sixth Form entry markedly reduces for pupils in Band A who were in sets FG 1 or lower. Only 7 (13%) of all these pupils expected to go into the Sixth Form.

A similar pattern emerged with Band A pupils concerning their expectations for further education in relation to lower school setting. A large number of pupils, 40% who were in the Express sets and 36% of pupils who were in the Express / FG 1 sets expected to go to college or university. However, such expectations considerably reduced for pupils who were formerly in set FG 1 or lower. Only 11% of such pupils expected to go on to further education.

The analysis for Band B pupils reveals a polarisation of expectations when compared with Band A pupils generally and pupils who were formerly in Express and Express / FG 1 sets particularly. Pupils in Band B had negative expectations concerning their continuing educational career. Only 2 (3%) of these pupils expected to enter the Sixth Form, with the majority (64%) having no such expectations. A small number of Band B pupils, 16%, had aspirations concerning further education but nearly half were decidedly against it. Since very few pupils in Band B had continuing educational career expectations, what is suggested is that once pupils become typified as 'Band B', expectations that these pupils have concerning their educational career correspond with what is expected of them according to the institutionalised setting (Goffman, 1961). In this context what is surprising is that three out of nine pupils who were in the Remedial sets expected to go onto further education. However, in view of their occupational expectations (discussed next), these pupils were thinking of a technical college to do some kind of apprenticeship.

Clearly, data presented here show that not only is there a differentiation of expectation between pupils according to their band allocation, but also within Band A according to pupils' lower school setting. Teacher expectations were matched by pupil expectations not only in terms of a differentiated curriculum but also, in relation to pupils examination and continuing educational career expectations. The final aspect of the analysis of Cohort 2 pupils' expectations concerns their future occupations.

3.4.4. Pupils' Occupational Expectations

Pupils' expectations for future occupations were related to their band allocation and their lower school set allocation, as noted in Table 3.12. Over three-quarters (77%) of pupils' choices in Band A were for non-manual jobs. Of these pupils, just under half (45%) of their choices were for jobs in the professional occupations in socio-economic groups I or II. In contrast, only 12% of Band A pupils' expected job choices were for manual jobs. When pupils' routes through the lower school are taken into account, 88% of pupils' job choices from pupils who took the Express or Express/FG 1 route through the lower school related to non-manual occupations, with 62%

TABLE 3.12

Fourth year cohort of pupils' routes through school
related to banding and job expectation according to SEG

SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS		X	X/FG1	FG1	FG1/FG2	FG2	FG/1-2-3	FG2/FG3	FG3	R/FG3	R	Totals
BAND A	I	16	6	4		1	1	1				29
	II	21	10	2	3		1	3				40
	III N	19	3	17	3	1	5	1				49
	III M	2	5	9	1		2					19
	IV											
	V											
	FORCES	6	3	6		1	1					17
	TOTALS	64	27	38	7	3	10	5				154
BAND B	I					2	1	1				4
	II			2	1	1	1					5
	III N				2	2	2	6			1	13
	III M			1	10	7	4	4	5	5	9	45
	IV					2		1	1			4
	V											
	FORCES			2	2	1	1	5	3			14
	TOTALS			5	15	15	9	17	9	5	10	85

Figures represent number of job choices made by pupils.
Some pupils offered more than one choice.

of these pupils' choices for professional occupations in socio-economic groups I or II. The professions in which these pupils hoped to be employed included lawyer, doctor, banker, biologist, teacher. What is particularly interesting are the choices made by Band A pupils in relation to their lower school set allocation. Only 12% of choices from pupils who were in sets lower than FG 1 were for the more professional occupations in socio-economic groups I or II.

Occupational expectations of Band B pupils are polarised in relation to Band A pupils' expectations. Unlike pupils in Band A, only a few of these pupils' choices for occupations (26%) were for non-manual jobs, whereas over twice as many choices (56%) were for manual jobs. When pupils' routes through the lower school are accounted for, few pupils in Band B who were in the higher sets in the lower school had job choices in the professional occupations in socio-economic groups I or II. Most choices from Band B pupils who were in the lower FG 3, Remedial/FG 3 or Remedial sets were for manual jobs in socio-economic groups III or IV. These occupations included painter and decorator, car mechanic, fitter, docker. One Band B pupil who was formerly in FG 3 noted, somewhat cynically, that he expected to be "an artist, I'll draw the dole." A full analysis of job expectations according to pupils lower school setting and band allocation is given in Appendix 9.

Pupils' expectations for examinations, continuing education and occupations have been shown to relate to the organisational device of setting and banding. In relation to the option system, it was clear that to a large extent, pupil expectations match teacher expectation in relation to pupils' set or band allocation. The question arises as to whether teachers' expectations for pupils are, indeed, self fulfilling. Clearly, once pupils have been conferred with a setting or banding identity by being allocated to certain sets or a certain band, then it is likely that teachers will have definite expectations for pupils. Pupils may then find it difficult not to see themselves in terms of their setting or banding identity.

3.5. The Division of Labour

The focus of the analysis differentiation and division within the school has been on pupils. However, in an amalgamated comprehensive school, account needs to be taken of the ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers' role in the school. Since divisions are evident between pupils in relation to their set or band allocation, their access to knowledge and expectations, the question arises as to whether divisions exist between teachers. Data on the division of labour between ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers will be outlined in relation to teacher responsibilities and career structures; teachers' perceptions of colleagues and the differentiation of teachers according to the pupils they teach.

3.5.1. Teacher Responsibilities and Career Structures

There was a division of labour between teachers at Westward High which can be related to what Hargreaves (1980) refers to as

alternative career structures. The ex-grammar Heads of Department took over the control of almost all the departments at Westward High, with ex-secondary teachers being responsible only for technical studies, home economics and the remedial department in the lower school. Most of the posts of the ex-grammar school were scale 4 or senior staff scale whilst the ex-secondary teachers held scale 3 posts (Appendix 10). In contrast, four out of the five year head posts were given to ex-secondary teachers. The Staff Handbook made explicit the role for these teachers and their different responsibilities. The Heads of Department job description outlined in the booklet by the head teacher is concerned with the organisation, execution and implementation of the syllabus, the responsibility of the examination policy for their subject and the evaluation of teachers. In other words they are responsible for the educational standing of pupils. The Year Heads are responsible for pupils' discipline, the maintenance of records on pupils' progress and liaison with the home and other bodies. Although the amalgamation took place in 1977, there was still a lingering sense of animosity from some ex-secondary teachers concerning the ex-grammar teachers control over subject knowledge areas.

3.5.2. Teachers' Perceptions of Teachers

It was clear that divisions between teachers at Westward related specifically to the amalgamation of the grammar and secondary modern school. Comments about a staff room notice by a teacher revealed much about this teacher's perception of his role in the comprehensive school. The notice concerned fifth year non-examination pupils who were about to leave the school and explained to staff that the Deputy Head would be "patrolling around the school constantly

during the day in an attempt to forestall trouble". Comments on the notice by Mr Barlow, an ex-grammar school teacher, were recorded in my field notes :

Mr Barlow, a teacher renowned for discipline, said he thought teachers should be like Gestapo patrolling the corridors and knocking pupils in line. He believed that this should have been done when the pupils entered the school in the first year and related the need for this as being the result of the change to comprehensive.

(Field Notes)

Staff conversations showed how teachers expected these divisions between different teachers to exist in the comprehensive school since different types of teachers had different skills and were used to teaching particular types of pupils. As noted in my field notes :

An ex-secondary modern teacher, who referred himself to me as the policeman of the school, noted that a problem of the school's amalgamation to comprehensive was that some ex-grammar teachers could not get down to the level of CSE and non-examination pupils.

(Field Notes)

"Policeman" is a direct reference to the disciplining of pupils who are perceived to have behaviour problems. Such pupils, as noted previously (3.2), are typified as being predominantly in Band B. Consequently, the experience ex-secondary modern teachers had of teaching the so-called less able pupils in the secondary modern school made them ideal for the role of disciplinarians.

Conflicts can arise between teachers who were seen to teach mostly the academic Band A or Sixth Form pupils. Such teachers can become the centre of staffroom gossip: .



(Field Notes)

The 'good' school is one which has only academic pupils.

Divisions between teachers relate to the differentiation and division between pupils according to their set or band allocation. A conversation reported to me by Mrs Summers highlighted this aspect of division between teachers:



(Field Notes)

On another occasion in the staff room, Mrs Simms was heard to exclaim to the Head of English "Oh you good man" when he offered her the opportunity to continue teaching Sixth Form 'A' level pupils.

3.5.3. Differentiation of Teachers

An analysis of the timetable confirmed this division of labour between ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers. The analysis of the distribution of teaching period to particular pupils across different types of teachers is given in Table 3.13.

TABLE 3.13 Total distribution of periods taught to academic pupils

TEACHERS	EX-GRAMMARS TEACHER			NEW			EX-SECONDARY MODERN		
	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent
Head/Dept. Heads, Heads of Department	448	360	80%	92	75	82%	113	54	48%
Others	321	218	68%	646	265	41%	810	260	32%
Totals	769	578	75%	738	340	46%	923	314	34%
	N = 27 TEACHERS			N = 25 TEACHERS			N = 35 TEACHERS		

To nearest whole percent

The ex-grammar teachers as a whole spent three-quarters of their teaching periods with the academic pupils, whilst the heads of departments devoted 80% of their teaching to these pupils. In contrast, only a third of ex-secondary modern teachers teaching periods were spent with the academic pupils. When these teachers teaching periods were analysed across individual groups of pupils (Table 3.14), it was clear that the ex-grammar teachers increased their share of teaching the more academic pupils in the upper school (with Band A and the Sixth Form). They had little responsibility for the teaching of non-academic pupils in Band B and lower school remedial pupils. In contrast, the ex-secondary modern teachers taught a smaller proportion of the Sixth Form periods than the ex-grammar teachers, whilst most of the Band B pupils' periods (55%) were taught by ex-secondary modern teachers, with only 18% of their periods being taught by the ex-grammar teachers.

TABLE 3.14 Distribution of periods taught to academic pupils by different types of teachers.

		EX-GRAMMAR	NEW	EX-SECONDARY, MODERN	
Academic	X Sets	25%	45%	30%	100%
	A Bands	39%	27%	35%	100%
	6th Form	64%	21%	15%	100%
Non Academic	B Bands	18%	27%	55%	100%
	Remedials	4%	11%	85%	100%

Source: School Timetable (1982-1983)

To nearest whole percent

The ex-grammar and to a lesser extent the new teachers were mostly responsible for teaching the academic pupils. There was also a division of labour in relation to teaching qualifications. Whereas 81% of ex-grammar teachers had degrees, this compared with 21% of ex-secondary teachers, who mostly had non-degree qualifications (Appendix 11).

Differentiation and division between pupils according to their set or band allocation has been shown to be related to the division of labour between teachers. Not only do pupils have access to different subjects, the more academic pupils were taught by the most academically qualified teachers. Teachers were assumed to have different skills which needed to be matched to particular pupil types, thus teachers rationalised a need for the division of labour between teachers.

Summary

The analysis of the organisation at Westward High's banded option arrangement has shown that it is used to segregate pupils who are given access to different types of subjects and different forms of knowledge. This is related to the differentiation between CSE and GCE examinations. The expectations teachers have for pupils match closely pupils' examination results with respect to pupils' band allocation. Furthermore, pupils' expectations for continuing education and future occupations has been shown to be related to their allocation to lower school sets as well as Band A or Band B. Pupils who were originally in Express or Set 1 who went into Band A expected to obtain professional jobs whereas pupils who were in Set 3 or Remedial sets who went into Band B, expected to obtain manual jobs. The examination of teacher

differentiation showed that there is also a division of labour in relation to teacher role and responsibility and with respect to the type of pupils teachers taught. The academic pupils being mostly taught by the ex-grammar or 'new' teachers.

In Section 2 data on pupils' perceptions of pupils, teachers and schooling will be presented. Lower school pupils' perceptions of pupils according to their set allocation will be outlined (Chapter 4) followed by 4th and 5th year (Cohorts 1 and 2) pupils' perceptions of pupils (Chapter 5). Data on how pupils' perceive teachers will also be given (Chapter 6). Consequently, Section 2 provides a detailed analysis of aspects of differentiation and division prevalent in the school's organisation from the pupils perspective.

Section 2

PERCEPTUAL LEVEL

CHAPTER FOUR

SETTING AND PUPIL TYPIFICATIONS

There has been little research undertaken on first year pupils' perceptions of pupils, their attitude to school work, and the effects of setting on the social relations between pupils. Hargreaves (1967) restricted his research to mostly fourth year pupils who, he argued, represented "a crystallisation of values inculcated by a school and an end product of the educative process". Lacey (1970) suggested that differentiation and polarisation between pupils "starts to emerge in the second year and it develops markedly in the third and fourth years". He also noted that the first year pupils constituted a "relatively homogenous, undifferentiated group" and that it was "somewhat rare for the anti-group to develop in the first year". Research by Willis (1977) in a secondary modern school was also confined to older pupils. He suggested that the emergence of pupils' opposition to the school system (Lacey's anti-group) did not reveal itself until pupils were in the second year. Willis explained that "even if there is some form of division in the junior school, in the first year of secondary school everyone, it seems, is an 'ear 'ole", that is, they conform to what is expected of them by teachers. Similarly, Woods (1979) noted that pupils in years 1 to 3 experienced "optimistic compliance", divisions appeared in the school during pupils' fourth and fifth year as part of the option system. The recent work by Ball (1981) in a comprehensive school, replicated Lacey's work and showed how pupils' acquired a banding identity in the eyes of the teachers. However, he makes little reference to lower school and first year pupils' perceptions of pupils.

It cannot be assumed that most pupils, during their first year in

a secondary school, will conform to dominant school values. Data in Chapter 3 on teachers' typifications of pupils according to their allocations to sets showed that teachers typified pupils in two broad groups. Pupils described by teachers in positive and favourable terms were assigned to Band A, pupils described negatively and less favourably by teachers, were assigned to Band B. A teacher's typifications of lower school pupils was dependent, to some extent, upon their set allocation. Furthermore, pupils' expectations of examination success, continuing education and future occupations (Chapter 3; 3.4) differed according to pupils allocation to sets and bands.

Data on first year pupils' perceptions of pupils derived from their descriptions of pupils elicited through pupil-drawing 'questionnaires' and follow-up group interviews, will be presented in three interrelated areas. These concern pupils' typifications of pupils in the classroom context and in relation to pupils allocation to sets; pupils' acquisition of a setting identity amongst their peers and the perceived social and socio-economic significance of setting.

4.1. The Classroom Context

Descriptions 1FX and 1F3 pupils offered of pupils according to their set allocation were analysed in terms of teachers' typifications of favourable (positive) and less favourable (negative) pupil descriptions (Chapter 3; 3.2). Pupil descriptions of pupils were condensed into a number of derived dichotomised constructs. The pole of the bi-polar construct most like the teachers' favourable pupil descriptions is depicted + , whilst the pole of the bi-polar construct which would be similar to teachers' less favourable pupil descriptions is depicted - . In this way, a comparative analysis between teacher and pupil descript-

ions of pupils can be later outlined. Pupils' perceptions of pupils in the classroom context concerned pupils' attitude to school work, intelligence and thinking capacity, and pupils' personality.

4.1.1. Attitutude to Work

There is a differentiation of pupils across sets according to pupils' perceived attitude to work (Tables 4.1; 4.2). Pupils in Express and Remedial sets are typified as being polarised in this respect. Express pupils are typified by 1FX and 1F3 as : "studying hard"; "concentrates"; "asks teacher - creeps"; "works quickly"; "answers questions", can be "spiff". In contrast, Remedial pupils are typified by 1FX and 1F3 as "doesn't work"; "distracted"; "copies". Such pupils are said to "struggle with work"; are "not bothered" and can be "dossers". 1FX see Express sets and Set 1 most like teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (79% and 56% of descriptions for each set respectively). Most descriptions of Express sets from 1F3 pupils (95%) were also in terms of teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils compared with their descriptions of Remedial pupils (94%) depicting these pupils as being least like teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils. The sets are perceived as being hierarchical so that there is a gradual change in pupils' perceptions of pupils from Express sets to Remedial sets. What is clear is that Set 2 is perceived to be the dividing point between those pupils who are most like the teachers' favourable or least favourable descriptions of pupils.

TABLE 4.1. Bi-polar attitude to work constructs derived from a group of 1FX pupils' descriptions of first year pupils, related to teachers' favourable (+) and less favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

ATTITUDE TO WORK CONSTRUCTS	Express		Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Studying hard/ Doesn't work, stuck	56	5	9	9	2	14	0	16	3	8
Concentrates, tries/ Distracted	6	2	2	4	0	4	0	10	0	13
Own work, finds out /Copies	0	1	4	2	0	8	0	5	0	9
Creeps, asks teacher/ Not bothered to ask	4	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
Interested / Bored	2	5	1	2	0	11	0	1	0	0
Bothered, tries with work /Not bothered	3	2	5	1	1	4	6	8	2	9
Works easily / Struggles	1	3	1	0	0	0	0	4	2	13
Finishes work quickly /Slow with work	5	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Organised in work / Messy or muddled	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	6	0	0
Answers questions/ Can't answer quest.	7	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spiff / Dossier.	3	1	1	1	0	1	0	5	0	3
TOTALS	87	23	27	21	7	44	9	55	7	55
	110		48		51		64		63	
% OF TOTALS	79%	21%	56%	44%	14%	86%	14%	86%	11%	89%

TABLE 4.2. Bi-polar attitude to work constructs derived from a group of 1F3 pupils' descriptions of first year pupils, related to teachers' favourable (+) and less favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

ATTITUDE TO WORK CONSTRUCTS	Express		Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Studying hard/ Doesn't work, stuck	29	1	11	2	5	2	3	10	1	1
Concentrates, tries/ Distracted	4	0	3	2	0	1	0	2	0	4
Own work, finds out/ Copies	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	7
Creeps, asks teacher/ Not bothered to ask	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Interested / Bored	0	1	2	0	2	3	0	4	0	0
Bothered, tries with work / Not bothered	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Works easily / Struggles	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	13
Finishes work quickly / Slow with work	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Organised in work / Messy or muddled	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Answers questions/ Can't answer quest.	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	0
Spiff / Dosser	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4
TOTALS	42	2	19	5	8	12	5	26	2	32
	44		24		20		31		34	
% OF TOTALS	95%	5%	79%	21%	40%	60%	16%	84%	6%	94%

4.1.2. Intelligence and Thinking Capacity

There is a differentiation between pupils across sets in relation to pupils' perceived intelligence (Appendix 12).

Pupils expect intelligent pupils to be in the higher sets so that whilst Express pupils are typified as being "brainy", "clever", "intelligent" or "very bright"; pupils in Sets 1 and 2, who are considered to be intelligent, are predominantly described as being only "pretty brainy" or "quite brainy" or "so-so brainy", and hence, not seen as intelligent as Express pupils. There is a polarisation between Express and Remedial pupils concerning their perceived intelligence. Both 1FX and 1F 3 pupils typify Remedials as being "thick", "dumb", "stupid", or a "dunce". Whilst 1FX and 1F 3 pupils typify Express pupils as "thinking deeply" about work, Remedial pupils are typified as "doesn't think" or "doesn't understand". (Appendix 12).

4.1.3. Personality

Pupils perceive differences between pupils according to their set allocation in terms of their personality (Appendix 13). 1FX and 1F3 pupils typify pupils similarly. Whilst Express pupils are seen as being "sensible", they are also "stuck up, goody-goody two shoes" (1FX), a "snob" and "snooty" or "teacher's pet" (1F3). In marked contrast, Set 3 and Remedial pupils are typified as being "daft", "idiot", "day dreams"; they are a "dope", "sleepy" or "dozy".

4.2. Setting Identities

Pupils describe Express and Set 1 pupils in a similar way to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils; whereas pupils in the lower sets, Set 3 and Remedials, are described in a similar terms to teachers' less favourable descriptions of pupils. Typifications of pupils are hierarchical in the sense that pupils' identities are related to their set allocation.

Setting identities concern pupils' perceived intelligence; they are related to the curriculum and pupils' expectations and are associated with pupils' working practices, ie. the way pupils go about doing their work in school. It is likely that pupils' setting identities are formulated in the primary school, as these pupils explain :

Pauline: If you were good in your junior school you did well in your exam (ie. NFER tests in the fourth year juniors) (....)

(1FX)

Donna: They said, if you do well in your exams you get, like, put in the top set (ie. in the comprehensive school). But if you don't do well, you'll get put in a lower set.

(1FX)

4.2.1. Intelligence, and Pupil Status

When pupils have been assigned to a particular set, their identities are affirmed:

Norma: The brainiest set is X set, then next to the brainiest set is Set 1, then next to that is Set 2 and after that is Set 3 and then the ones that are not so good, they're Remedials.

(1F3)

The setting arrangement is interpreted by pupils as a form of streaming so that pupils typify Express pupils as "X material" or the "X stream" (1FX). 1FX pupils see themselves in terms of their allocation to their set which is "the top group, the brainiest, the brainies !" (pupils commenting together). Setting allocation allows pupils to differentiate between one another on a continuum "from the brainy to Remedial" (1FX) or "it depends how brainy you are" (1F3) "as in if you are thick or not" (1F3).

The segregation of pupils by setting helps determine how pupils typify and interact with one another. Because Express pupils have a reputation for doing work, predominantly depicted as "studying hard", (Tables 4.1; 4.2), there is a deep sense of animosity between pupils in the lower sets directed towards and against Express sets who are at the top of the hierarchy and are perceived to have a higher status :

Jamie: The Expresses, they're all good at work and that but they look down on us as if we're little...

pupil: ...weeds...

Jamie: ...Little weeds (...) because they're the big people and they're the big ones.

Peter: Yeah, they're the brainies, you know.

Andrew: And they think they're it. They think they're the brainiest in the school, like (...)

Jamie: Just 'cos like, they're the Express and that, they think they're the best (...) and they can rule the school, that's how they think, they can rule us because we're a lot of dunces or summat.

(1F3)

Express pupils are labelled by pupils at the bottom of the hierarchy as the dominant group: "the big ones" the ones who "rule the school". 1F3 pupils expect Express pupils to label them as "dunces", pupils who they "look down on". Whilst pupils may not accept the labels at their face value and may rebel against them, as a pupil remarked: "If I found they (Express pupils) were calling me a dunce or something, I'd rip them to pieces" (1F3), they indicate those pupils of potential strength, power and status, the Express "big people"; and pupils of weakness, the 1F3 "little weeds".

Setting identities can change within the hierarchy as pupils move from one set to another:

Donna: You get moved up as you get clever. Say you're in the R and you're too clever for that, you get moved up to 3. Say you're in 1 and you're not good enough for it, you get moved down to 2.

(1FX)

Cleverness and being clever is perceived not as a matter of individual difference, one pupil compared with another, but is a status or an identity, that is perceived by pupils as being conferred upon them according to their position (set allocation) within the hierarchy. Movement between sets is expected only within the tight hierarchy of setting between adjacent sets: 1FX and Set 1, Remedial and 1F3. In practice this is what happens at Westward High. Because setting is perceived in this way by pupils, they talk of other pupils in relation to

their relative position in the hierarchy. If pupils do not conform to setting expectations, then their set allocation is called into question :

Mark: Some of them are put in the wrong set, like ...

Peter: Andrew -

Mark: Well, I don't think he was any brainier at Milton (ie. primary school)

Pupil: He used to copy of me

Mark: Well, some of them, like, I've heard some people say that they're going down but I don't reckon

(1F3)

Pupils judge their peers in relation to their position in the hierarchy. The hierarchy is perceived as allowing pupils to move from one set to another, usually only to an adjacent set, Express to Set 1; Set 3 to Remedial or Set 2, and so on. Set allocation not only signifies what pupils are like, their ability, but also their attitude to work and what constitutes accepted working practices for different sets:

Carl: If they work hard they get moved up but if they don't bother they'll get moved down to the Remedial set. If they're probably doing o.k. not absolutely top of the class, they just stay in their set.

(1FX)

Karen: The people in the lower set, they can probably get to the top but they don't use their brain or listen to the teacher.

(1FX)

Movement within the hierarchy is viewed in terms of the hierarchy so that pupils who work hard are depicted as being eligible for, or are moved up into, the higher sets. In contrast, if pupils are moved into lower sets they are typified by their peers as pupils who "don't bother" or "don't use their brains" (1FX). Pupils' perception of their peers is derived from their location within the hierarchy, justification of

their perceptions are couched in terms of the organisation of the school.

4.2.2. The Curriculum

Pupils' perceptions of the curriculum are a further factor in pupils' setting identities. For instance, a 1FX pupil explained that 1F3 pupils were "not as well educated" as Express pupils. Pupils expect their peers to have access to different forms of knowledge depending upon their set allocation and perceived intelligence;

Donna: 'Cos if some are clever than the others in the class and the teacher is only teaching what the clever ones should know, the thick ones won't understand.

R: Who are the thick ones?

Donna: The Remedials.

(1FX)

Knowledge is seen as being differentiated according to pupils' set allocation. Clever or thick pupils are perceived to have different needs and require access to different forms of knowledge. The curriculum at Westward High is organised in terms of allowing different types of pupils access to different forms of knowledge (Chapter 3; 3.3). 1FX pupils expect pupils in the lower sets to acquire knowledge which is more easily assimilated to these pupils' needs. One pupil explained that "the Remedials, they have a garden (...) and outside they've got a garden and a greenhouse and everything, and they pick grapes and everything. It's part of their work" (1FX). IFX pupils expect Remedials to be taught these things because "they're not as clever as us" or because "we know all about that and they don't".

Pupils have no direct knowledge of what pupils in the lower sets do in the classroom, front region, and utilise their perceptions of pupils acquired in the back region of school, the form rooms, playground

or the dining hall :

Karen: This girl in our class (registration form), she's in Remedials and she got this maths homework and its a Beta Book and we did that in our junior schools (...) Well I think its junior school work they do. Like easier, primary school.

(1FX)

Donna: My friend's in 1F3 for maths. When she showed me her maths book it had things like $57 + 36$, things like that. (pupils laugh)

(1FX)

Tracey: I have a friend in 1F1 and she has Mrs Cernes and the work they do its like $100 \text{ take } 56$, but we're doing $X + 7 + 3X$ (...)

Pupils: Algebra.

(1FX)

Pupils perceive pupils in relation to the curriculum so that certain forms of knowledge are considered a higher status or privilege, as an Express pupil explained: "We get privileges. They (Remedials) do games more than us and they get their gardening but they don't do cookery and woodwork (...) and they don't do home economics". Games are perceived by 1FX pupils to be more suited to Remedials and pupils in lower sets "because they're not good at work but we concentrate more on our work".

4.2.3. Expectations

Pupils' expectations of pupils are also dependent upon pupils' set allocation. Whilst Express pupils are expected to be fast at their work: "'Cos we're like express trains, we're so fast" (1FX) and do their work at a fast speed (1F3), pupils in the lower sets are expected to work at a slower rate, as these pupils explained: "What we know about 1F3 is that they are a bit slower at working" (1FX). Remedial pupils are depicted as being "a bit slow and can't do the work as fast as anyone else" (1F3) or they are "the slow people (who) can't think

and can't cope" (4th year Band A).

Pupils' perceptions of teacher expectations are an important factor in the formation of pupils' setting identities. 1FX pupils are aware that teachers expect them to work harder and faster and produce a higher standard of work. For instance, one pupil took exception to my requests for them to work as quickly as possible when filling in the pupil drawings and exclaimed: "See, you're expecting us to work fast because we're X":

- Donna: Our English teacher (...) she expects perfect standards from me and she knows I can't do it.
- R: That's interesting. What do you think the teachers think of 1F3 about their work?
- Donna: Right, well, they think 'Oh well, this is 1FX so we'll give them dead hard work' and they give us too hard work. But with 1F3 they think 'Oh well, this isn't a clever set so we'll give them easy work'.

(1FX)

Pupils expectations are related to teacher expectation so that pupils' knowledge of what pupils are like is related to what pupils should know and also related to how pupils are taught :

- Tracey: They (teachers) must think we're going to be Xcellently perfect and they're (1F3) going to be a bit below.
- Pupil: Yeah, but they expect us to be perfect.
- R: And what do they think of 1F3, for instance ?
- Tracey: At least they're not as good as us.
- Pupil: I think they're not so harsh on them, so they're not ... so they're coming away and laughing and we're coming away nearly screaming.

(1FX)

The intentional emphasis on the X was very evident in Tracey's comments. The difference between sets according to pressure and pace of work is made apparent by the remarks "we're coming away

nearly screaming" whilst 1F3 pupils are typified as "coming away laughing".

Different demands are perceived to be made on pupils. Teaching is differentiated according to teachers' expectations of pupils in relation to their set allocation, as these two Band A pupils explained when recounting their experience in the lower school:

- Andrew: I think they expect a bigger standard of you.
(ie. Express sets)
- R: Why is that? What did they say? What gives you that idea?
- Andrew: They just gave us more and more work (...) but in Set 1 the teachers used to go over it more to make sure you understood and then gave you the work to do. These (Express teachers) just gave you the work to do and said 'Get on with it'.
- R: Ah, why was that? I mean, they didn't talk about the work then?
- Andrew: Obviously, they expected you to know it already, well, not know it, they went over the basic stuff and then said here's some work and essays and that.

(4th Yr Band A, formerly Express/Set 1)

Because Andrew was in both Express and Set 1, he is able to justify his perceptions by direct experience. In contrast, Denise a fourth year pupil, who was formerly in Set 2, differentiates between the lower sets and Set 1 and Express sets, and explained that the Express sets were "pushed a bit harder" by the teachers:

- Denise: Because they're fast workers and they're supposed to be very brainy and that sort of thing. They get pushed to keep up.
- R: What about your set that you were in, Set 2, were you pushed?
- Denise: Well, sometimes it depended on the teacher. Usually we were left to drift along and hopefully understand it and if you didn't you just were, you know, you weren't pushed as hard.

Whilst Express pupils are perceived to be pushed harder by teachers to encourage them to do well in school, pupils in the lower sets are expected to be left to "drift along". Consequently, middle or lower set pupils have to work harder and prove themselves to teachers if they are to 'succeed' and acquire a different setting identity:

- R: What do you think the teachers thought about you as a pupil ?
- Denise: I suppose they thought I was a creep or something, trying to make them think I was better than I was (...)
- R: For instance, when they wrote a report about you, did you get good reports ?
- Denise: I got 'polite', 'pleasant', 'always works hard', that sort of thing.

(Fourth year Band A, formerly Set 2)

It was clear that this pupil had worked out quite clearly the significance of her setting identity and the relationship between lower school setting and banding:

- Denise: 'Cos I wanted to get into Band A 'cos you get better chances, really, in Band A. Like you do more 'O' levels (...)
- R: But I thought you were in the second set (ie. Set 2), so why do you think if you remained in that set you ... ?
- Denise: ... 'Cos most of them usually used to mess around.
- R: What about Set 1, if you were in Set 1 would that be alright ? Would they have messed about in Set 1 ?
- Denise: I don't know, really, but most of them managed to get into Band A (...)
- R: What about Set 2, what happened to them ?
- Denise: A lot of them got into Band B.

(4th year Band A, formerly Set 2)

4.2.4. Working Practices

Pupils in different sets are perceived by pupils to approach school work in different ways and to utilise different practices. The official school policy differentiates between pupils in the lower school with respect to the amount of homework expected from different pupils :

"With a complete cross-section of ability, it is unrealistic to expect all pupils to do the same amount of homework (...)
The Remedial sets or non-exam pupils may well not be set homework."

(Headteacher : Staff Handbook)

This policy may well bring about different expectations for pupils.

Homework is seen as a legitimate working practice by pupils in 1FX who can talk freely in front of other pupils about doing homework:

Tracey: When we've finished our work at school, then they say 'Right, tonight's homework is ...' and you have to do that and bring it back the next day.

(1FX)

Jane: Once I was up till 11 o'clock at night doing my homework and I got into trouble from my mum.

(1FX)

1FX pupils admit to having thirteen lots of homework a week and contrast themselves with 1F3 who only have five lots or "sometimes they don't get any" (1FX). 1F3 expect pupils in Express sets to do homework which is seen as being a legitimate practice for the intelligent pupils only:

Mark: Express (...) most of the time they spend all night studying. Like I know someone in the third year. I don't think he's allowed out at night. He's got to study all night and do his homework.

Jamie: Just 'cos he's brainy an' all that, he just has to study all his homework. I wouldn't do that.

Me, if I went through that I'd just run out of the house and go out.

Andrew: Well, the ones who revise every night, like every night, we call them spiffs.

(1F3)

The working practice of homework is synonymous with having "brains", is associated with the pupils in higher sets, and is not a legitimate practice for pupils in the lower sets. Such pupils could not talk freely of doing homework without utilising a front:

Mark: Well, I do my homework everynight, sometimes I revise (...) but I'm not a spiff.

Peter: I do mine, er ...

Jamie: Yeah, copy off us.

Peter: Yeah, copying off everybody.

(1F3)

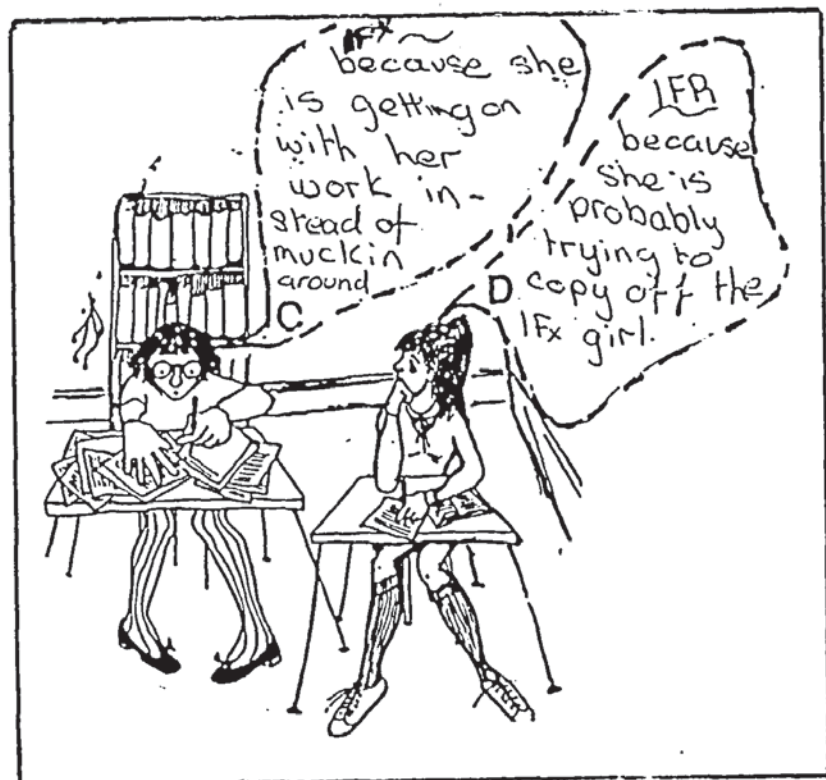
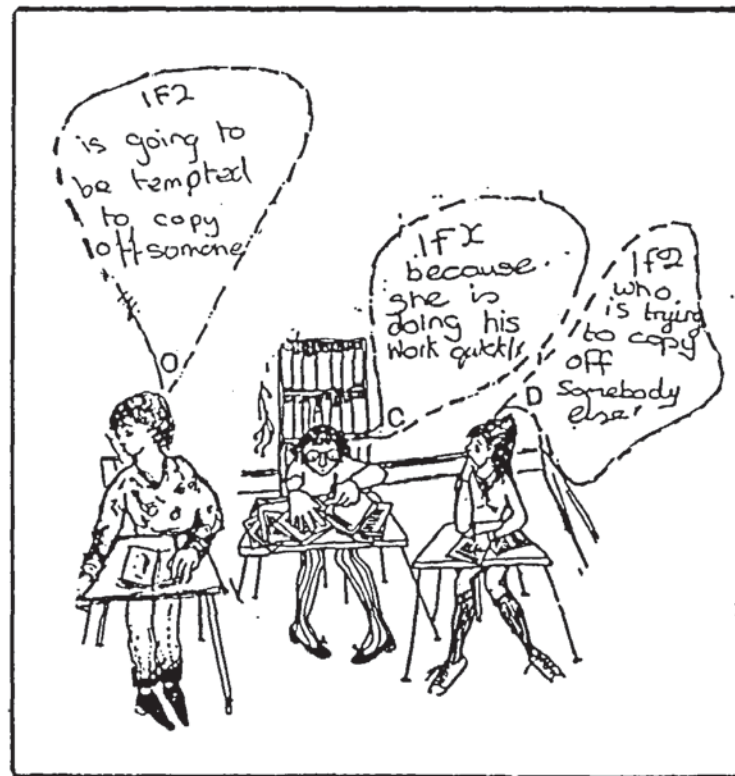
A pupil's role-playing in the pupil drawings questionnaire (Figure 4.1), illustrates the different working practices expected of pupils according to their set allocation. It is clear that different practices are considered legitimate for pupils depending upon their position in the hierarchy of setting. Pupils in 1FX typify pupils in the lower sets as utilising copying as a legitimate practice, as one pupil explained : "they're allowed to copy". Pupils in 1F3 see copying as an acceptable practice for pupils in their set :

Peter: If you say to them (Express pupils) 'let's copy off your work' and they go 'No', you know, 'you should have done it last night or the night before that, I'm not letting you use it'. But if I say to my mate like Andrew (...) I go 'let's use your homework' he goes 'yeah, yeah' 'cos you know they'll want to use your book next time so you just let them lend it.

(1F3)

In contrast, 1FX see copying as an illegitimate practice. They may ask friends "how to do it", they "don't do it to ask the answer" but to

FIGURE 4.1. First year pupils' role-playing situations, showing the different working practices expected for pupils depending on their set allocation.



find out the method (1FX pupils). Copying is considered "pointless" because the teacher will soon detect them if they copy the wrong answers. Whilst pupils in the lower sets see knowledge as being a shared commodity, 1FX see knowledge in terms of possession and ownership. 1F3 draw on group solidarity in terms of friendship to help one another with school work. Clearly, doing work and homework or copying are considered legitimate working practices depending upon pupils' set allocation and are important factors in the development of pupils' setting identities.

4.2.5. Spiffs

If pupils engage too readily in school work they can be derided as being spiffs. Spiffs are viewed as having different working practices from most pupils and are usually found in the Express sets. Such pupils are criticised by their peers because they "revise" more than other pupils, they "do all their homework everynight" and are "neat writers" (1F3 pupils). A spiff can also be a "posh nosh", "stuck up" and a "snob"; someone who wants to "get their own way" and "thinks a lot of themselves" (1F3 and 1FX pupils). Pupils in the Express sets can also discriminate against pupils in their own set who engage in extra work, more than is legitimately accepted by the group. One pupil's role playing in the pupil drawings questionnaire depicted Scott M (a 1FX pupil) as "a big spiff", other pupils described him as a "toffee nosed, goody-goody two shoes doing as he is told"; or "posh and gets on with his work because he wants it to be the best". In contrast, Scott M used his knowledge of lower set pupils to insult Donna T (in his Express set) by depicting her in one pupil drawing as being thick and therefore more suited to a Remedial set. Peer group

influence must be seen as a factor in pupils' working practices, not only between the top and lower sets but within the top set.

4.2.6. Displays and Fronts

Spiffs are also typified as pupils who creep round the teachers and, as noted previously, are mostly in the Express sets. Whilst Express pupils are typified as being eager to collect merit marks and badges as part of the school's rewards system to encourage pupils to work (Chapter 3; 3.3.4), 1F3 pupils play down the importance of collecting such rewards and purposely present a different front:

- Mark: Some of the Express are alright but the majority of them are creeps.
- R: Creeps, what does 'creeps' mean ?
- Mark: They creep round the teachers.
- R: Why do they do that ?
- Peter: The merit mark is when you do something really outstanding. And when you get 10 you get a badge.
- (....)
- Pupil: All the X's try to get merit marks. When they get merits they all show off they've got them (...)
- R: Do you get many merits ?
- Peter: No, I've only got one.
- R: Why is that ? (...)
- Mark: 'Cos he's not a creep.
- Peter: I'm not a creep, that's why. No, its just that you don't get them very often (...)
- Jamie: I've got three merit marks but that doesn't mean I'm a creep or a snob.

Merit marks and badges are signs and symbols which differentiate Express pupils from pupils in the lower sets. Consequently, to walk around school wearing badges is to run the risk of being labelled a spiff and is a label which is avoided by pupils, particularly those in the 1F/G 3 or Remedial sets. Whilst merit marks and badges are used by

teachers as strategies to promote learning, they exacerbate differences between pupils. 1F3 pupils castigate pupils in the Express sets who gain badges and display them: "they think they're brilliant, they're the best in the school (...) they're Xcellent, and all that". Pupils purposefully play on the 'X' which symbolises the distinctive quality of the top of the lower school hierarchy.

Lower set pupils purposefully present fronts, these are impressions "given off" (Goffman, 1959) to pupils in their own sets and also, directed towards pupils in the higher sets, as these 1FX pupils explained :

Pauline: I've got friends in 1F3 and they come out of lessons and they're laughing and saying 'Oh we've had a doss about in class today' and 'we've been drawing on the desk and looking through key holes and banging the desks and things'. They said the teachers never said anything to them (...)

R: Dossing, what does that mean ?

Pupils: Mucking about, messing about (...)

Pupil: Like having a laugh, laughing and joking.

R: Does this happen in this group then ?

Pupils: No (many voices)

Pupil: We'd get detention if we do

(1FX)

These fronts are designed to confirm 1F3 pupils status within the hierarchy of sets. 1F3 pupils' practices of having a laugh or a "doss about" are presented to other pupils as being legitimate for lower set pupils, whereas for pupils in the higher sets this is an illegitimate practice punishable by detention.

Pupils utilise fronts when talking about how pupils enter a classroom and wait for the teacher. 1F3 pupils compare themselves with the Express pupils who are perceived to adopt different practices:

Peter: Before the classes, before the teacher comes into class, us lot we start mucking about, don't we ? But before a teacher comes into the class they (Express pupils) just sit there and start looking at the books.

(1F3)

Similar practices or strategies occur in the third year. On one occasion, on visiting 3F3 pupils, they explained that they did not usually sit quietly before the teacher arrived :

R: Are you usually like this when the teacher comes in (ie. sitting quietly) ?

Pupil: No.

R: Why, what are you usually like ?

Pupils: Noisy. We're usually noisy and mess about.

R: Why's that ?

Pupil: So the teacher spends over half the lesson telling us off and we don't do as much work.

(Field Notes, 3F3 pupils)

When teachers enter the classroom it is a custom for pupils in the Express sets to stand up, as a pupil remarked "you get detention if you don't stand up". However, this custom seems not to be the practice for pupils in the lower sets. My field notes make explicit how the 1FX and 3FX sets I visited stood up when I entered the room, yet 1F3 and 3F3 sets did not. 1F3 pupils were aware of this discrimination, as a pupil explained : " a girl called Karen (...) every time she comes in class she always sits down and always stands up" (meaning when a teacher enters). When asked why, the pupil explained that it was "'cos she's an X and X people are stuck up".

It is clear that there is a polarisation between pupils typified as stiffs to be found in the Express or top sets and pupils typified as dossers to be found in the lower and bottom sets. Each group are perceived to

have or present themselves as having their own distinctive working practices.

4.3. The Socio-Economic Context

Setting identities can also be related to a broader context than the classroom context. Pupils expect pupils to be of a certain social status or from different socio-economic backgrounds depending on their set allocation.

4.3.1. The Rough Kids and Friendships

1FX pupils typify pupils in the lower sets as being different type of pupils, socially, from themselves: "normally, the rougher kids are in the lower sets". Pupils justify their perceptions of pupils by making reference to pupils' set allocation:

John: The people who are rough, they're in the lower sets because they're always fighting and they don't seem to bother about their work. All they seem to bother about is fighting and things like that.

(1FX)

Other 1FX pupils see the lower set pupils as being "rough" in the sense that they like games: "they don't do well in their subject, but when it comes to games, they show a real effort because they like doing it". Subject status, as detailed previously, is also a product of the social as well as the school world. Similarly, 1FX pupils signify that the lower set "rough" pupils are also thick. A pupil, by disagreeing that all "rough kids" are in the lower sets: "John's rough and he's an X, he's not thick", merely gives more emphasis to the typifications that the lower set pupils, the predominantly "rough kids" are, in fact, "thick". But John, termed "the cock" because he fights, is an exception and deviant in terms of expectations for pupils in the top sets.

"Roughness", a product of both the school world and the social world, means that 1F3 pupils typify Express pupils as not wanting to mix with the "rough kids" at discos. A 1F3 pupil explained that some Express do not go to them because "they might get beat up by the (indistinct) and get pushed about. They don't like it 'cos they say it's a bit too rough for 'em". It is clear that friendship patterns evolve around the lower school hierarchy. 1F3 pupils explained that they do not "get on with the Express set" because Express pupils "think they're really good and hard". 1F3 pupils see themselves as being different to these pupils, as another pupil explained: "they're not the sort of people for us. We're a lot different than them. They're brainy and that. And they know more things".

1F3 pupils "get on with the Remedials, the not so brainy ones" (1F3). These are nearer to them in the hierarchy than the Express pupils. Similarly, an Express spiff or a posh nosh would usually only hang around with a certain type of pupil:

- R: Well, just for example, would say, 1F3 think they're posh noshes ?
- Jane: No, because they're not good at their work, they've got nothing to be proud of.
- R: Oh, I see.
- Karen: Posh nosh, he wouldn't really hang around with somebody from 1F3 because he thinks he's not up to their standard.
- R: Oh, I see, they keep to their standard. Would 1F3 hang around with the Remedials ?
- Karen: Yeah, like Scot hangs around with Carl (Express pupils) because they're both posh noshes.
- R: Well, what about 1F3, what group would they hang around with ?
- Karen: 1F3 mainly.
- R: Any other groups, if there are any other groups ?
- Karen: 1F3 and 1F2.

(1FX)

The school's system of segregation of pupils through setting helps forge closer friendship links between pupils of the same "standard". Pupils have friends in their own sets because, as one pupil pointed out, pupils "wouldn't hang around with anybody in another set because you don't see them all that much" (1FX). It is also clear that when the Express sets were formed under the headteacher's reorganisation, pupils in these sets were resented by their friends :

Matthew: At first they resented yer a lot, but after a while it was alright.

R: Who resented you, sorry ?

Steve: ~~Some were our mates, weren't they?~~

Pupil: They (Express pupils) all thought they were big so they started showing off because they were in the Express set.

R: What did the other pupils think ?

Pupil: They said, "right, we'll kick their heads in" (ie. Express pupils)

Pupil: They called us stiffs and creeps.

(4th year Band A, Cohort 1 pupils)

Stiffs appear to be a variation on spiffs as a derogatory term, which is used extensively by pupils in the upper school (Chapter 5).

At Westward High this resentment against Express pupils is still evident, as is apparent in pupils' typifications. This can result in lower set pupils playing tricks on the Express pupils when they meet them in the back region, as Jamie a 1F3 pupil explained : "to get me own back on an Express kid, you go in the dinner hall at dinner times, right ? When you see an Express sitting down, we screw the top off the vinegar and the salt and when they start to shake it on, it goes all over". This antagonism between pupils probably renews itself with each new intake of pupils into the school when they are segregated and placed in different sets.

Pupils' setting identities relate to friendship patterns. 1F3 pupils see pupils in their own set as being more friendly than pupils in other sets. In 1F3 there is a group solidarity of self help :

Peter: And, say, they (Express pupils) do you a favour (...) say they lend you 5p, they expect it back the next day.

R: Oh, don't they do that in your group ?

Peter: Not really.

Andrew: He lent me 5p to 'phone my mum up and I said I'll give it back tomorrow and he said it don't matter, give it me back another day.

(1F3)

The few friends 1F3 pupils have in the Express sets are only friends because they indulge in the practice of having a laugh : "there's five or six of them, they're all a laugh" (1F3). Clearly, pupils' friendship groups develop and may change in relation to pupils' set allocation and the expected practices associated with particular sets. Such friendship can also be dependent upon pupils' standard of work and whether pupils are typified as being rough, clever, thick or a spiff. All these combine and form part of pupils' setting identities and act together to perpetuate resentment or antagonism between pupils.

4.3.2. Posh Noshes and Snobs

There is a perceived social significance in pupils' setting identities. Because 1FX see themselves as being a higher standard than pupils in other sets, they are typified by 1F3 as being "creeps", "snobs", "posh" or "posh noshes". Express pupils are typified as being like this because they "can't be bothered to know yer"; "they don't want to talk to yer" because "they're looking down on yer" (1F3). It is also clear that 1F3 pupils expect pupils in the top sets to come from a particular socio-economic background. Pupils explained that

such pupils "live down the posh part of Westward", "down Princes Way". Princes Way is a few hundred yards from the school on the southern end of the promenade with houses valued in excess of £60,000. Rosewood, also near to the school, is another area where there are private houses and a private school :

Pupil: (Express) people live down Rosewood. It's this school they call a street after. It's a boarding school. They come from somewhere near Rosewood Grange.

R: You're telling me about these houses. I haven't been to these places, what are they like ?

Susan: Posh and that. All the houses have flat roofs all around. All the stalks are dead nice, all the petals are polished every day. Looks nice.

(1F3)

Although the pupil qualified her remarks by saying that "not all of them are snobs, some of them are common just like us, but they've got better brains" she implied that pupils in the lower sets were predominately from the lower end of the socio-economic groups. This resentment against the top sets was demonstrated by : a 1F3 pupil who when talking about the Express sets kept throwing his head backwards and vigorously breathing up through his nose to signify that such pupils were stuck up and different from pupils in the lower sets. This socio-economic significance in pupils' set allocation and setting identities was also prevalent in the differentiated occupational expectations of the fourth year (Cohort 2) pupils (Chapter 3; 3.4), related both to their lower school setting and upper school band allocations.

Summary

The segregation and division of pupils according to set allocation by teachers (Chapter 3; 3.2) has been shown to be related to first year pupils' typifications of their peers. These divisions between pupils

were related to pupils' perceived attitude to work, intelligence, and personality. Pupils are conferred with a setting identity and status by their peers according to their allocation to sets. In this respect pupils develop fronts and conform to expected practices of their set. These expectations broadly differ in terms of being either most like teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (Express and Set 1), or like the teachers' less favourable and negative descriptions of pupils (Set 3 or Remedial). Pupils' working practices are perceived to be polarised between top and bottom sets. Part of the status differentiation between pupils concerns pupils' perceived access to knowledge and the forms of knowledge expected to be legitimately made available to pupils in relation to their set allocation. Express pupils and to a lesser extent Set 1 pupils, are expected by pupils to engage in harder work, work faster and produce better results than their peers in other sets.

The depiction of pupils as spiffs who engage in extra work, more than is legitimate and expected by other pupils in their set, may well influence pupil work output or necessitate pupils putting on a false front with their peers (Turner, 1983). It was also clear that pupils in the Express set can be derided as spiffs if they engage too readily in extra work and achieve substantially better results than other pupils. Setting identity and academic achievement is perceived by pupils to be related to the wider divisions in society between the social classes. Lower set pupils expect Express pupils to be of a higher social status than other pupils. Pupils clearly perceive a relationship between the occupational structure in society, which pupils refer to as the posh-common dichotomy, and the ability structure in the lower school that is reflected in the school's arrangement of pupils in sets. These first year pupils, who

had been in the comprehensive school for only half a term, had sorted themselves out and knew their place in the setting hierarchy.

In Chapter 5 data will be presented on fourth and fifth year pupils' typifications of their peers, particularly in relation to their allocation to bands.

CHAPTER FIVE

BANDING AND PUPIL TYPIFICATIONS

Pupils' perceptions of pupils in a comprehensive school is an under-researched area. Whilst Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Reynolds (1976), Willis (1977) and Woods (1979), provide detailed accounts of peer group influence and pupils' perceptions of pupils, these were from secondary modern or grammar school pupils. Lambart (1976) and Furlong (1976) only provided evidence of girls' perceptions of pupils. Pupils' perceptions of their peers and schooling were not used in any Government enquiries from the Hadow Report (1926) through to the Plowden Report (1967). Indeed as Meighan (1978) suggests, "pupils are seen as things being processed and having little or no rights". Meighan points out that in the Great Debate on education, Callaghan's Ruskin College Speech in 1976 contained no reference to pupil consultation. Such research, involving pupils' commentaries on teachers and the organisation of the school, were considered ill-conceived and even dangerous by many headteachers (Barton and Meighan, 1979).

Surveys such as those by Monks (1968) and Benn and Simon (1972) on comprehensive re-organisation were more concerned with an analysis of the structure and organisation of the schools and collecting data from teachers, than collecting data on pupils' opinions. Whilst Ford's (1969) study of a comprehensive school gave details on pupils' opinions about the school and their expectations, there was no indication of how they construed their peers. Ball (1981) provided data on pupils' perception of pupils in relation to their banding identities but his analysis was mostly concerned with teachers' perceptions of pupils. More recently, Turner's (1983) analysis of pupils' perception of their peers and peer group influence was restricted to study of academic pupils. In

contrast, Burgess (1983) gave case study details on less academic, so called Newsom pupils' perceptions of their peers. Little comparative analysis has been forthcoming from research into how pupils in a comprehensive school perceive and differentiate between their peers in relation to the organisation of the school.

In Chapter 4 aspects of differentiation and divisions between first year, lower school pupils were outlined. In this Chapter, data on differentiation and divisions between upper school, 4th and 5th year pupils and the effects of banding on their perceptions, will be outlined. The analysis will initially relate to the classroom context, but will broaden to include pupils' banding identities which will be placed in the context of pupils' working practices, pupil knowledge and perceived background, the perceived characteristics and expected underlife practices for certain pupils and pupils' self concept.

5.1. The Classroom Context

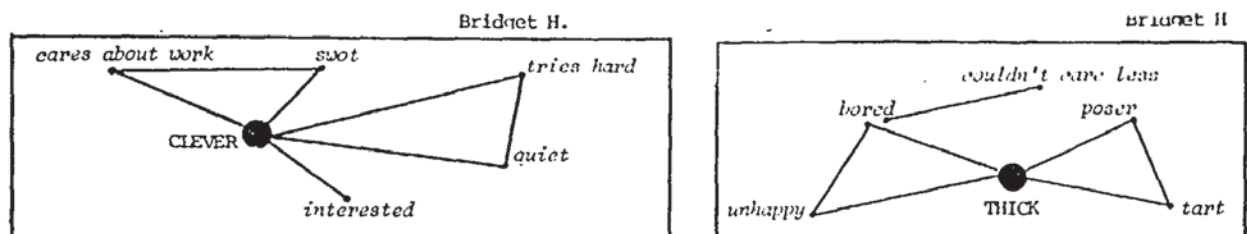
Data were obtained from Cohort 1 pupils when they were in the fourth year on how they construed pupils in the classroom. This was obtained by eliciting pupils bi-polar constructs through the use of drawings depicting various types of pupils (Appendix 2). Pupils perceive pupils in relation to their attitude to work, personality, intelligence and thinking capacity (Appendix 14).

5.1.1. Pupil Typifications of Clever or Thick Pupils

In the lower school, first year pupils perceived as intelligent or clever were expected to be from Express sets or Set 1, whilst thick pupils were expected to be from the lower or Remedial sets. Intelligence was also a factor in pupils' working practices (Chapter 4, 4.1;

4.2). Analysis from the twenty 4th year (Cohort 1) pupils who provided more than one bi-polar construct for any pupil drawing, revealed that intelligent and thick pupils are expected to have different characteristics. For example, Bridget H's construing of pupils (Figure 5.1) illustrates how clever and thick pupils are expected to have different attitudes to work and different personalities. On the diagram, the connected lines show a direct relationship between constructs, that is, where more than one bi-polar construct has been used to describe a particular pupil drawing. Where constructs are not connected directly by an unbroken line, this demonstrates an implied rather than a direct relationship. A full analysis of these pupils perceptions of clever and thick pupils is given in Appendix 15, a summary is outlined in Table 5.1.

Figure 5.1. Construct Networks: Clever and Thick Pupil Typifications



Whilst a clever pupil is typified by Bridget H as someone who "tries hard" and is "quiet" (one pupil drawing); a clever pupil also "cares about work" and can be "a swot" (bi-polar constructs on another pupil drawing); such a pupil is also "interested" in school. In contrast, a pupil perceived as "thick" can be "unhappy" and "bored" and, by implication, "couldn't care less" ("bored" and "couldn't care less" being constructs on another pupil drawing). Such a pupil may be a "tart" and a "poser".

TABLE 5.1. Pupils' typifications of clever and thick pupils

PUPILS' TYPIIFICATIONS OF CLEVER/INTELLIGENT PUPILS	PUPILS' TYPIIFICATIONS OF NOT CLEVER/THICK PUPILS
Sensible / serious / thoughtful talkative / quiet	- fools around / plays about /daft - outspoken/big mouth/outgoing/ noisy
attentive/listens/concentrates hard working/enjoys, cares about work / neat ready for work	- doesn't concentrate/never listen - not hard working/lazy/bored - daydreams / in a world of his own
worried about work interested / happy confident	- not worried about work - not interested/couldn't care less -, not confident
tries hard reliable/goody-goody (obedient) polite	- doesn't try - disobedient - impolite
creep / participates friendly stiff /swot	- not a creep - not well liked - gormless clumsy/dozy/stupid/idiot/simple tart/poser/punk
clever pupils may also be ...	thick pupils may also be
lazy/doesn't try/doesn't work vain	- a pupil who tries hard - not vain quiet / shy

Source : Analysis of constructs from pupil drawings where pupils (Cohort 1) offered more than one bi-polar construct, full analysis in Appendix 15 N = 20

An individual's social status is dependent upon the expected behaviour within that institution (Goffman, 1961). Intelligence is also dependent upon institutional expectations in as much as Berger and Luckman (1966) suggest, all reality is socially constructed. Squibb's (1973) analysis of the concept of intelligence suggests that intelligence is something which is socially approved whilst 'unintelligence' is not socially approved. He points out that there are "many definitions and

concepts of intelligence and that the definition chosen as operational at any particular time by any particular persons reflects the social perceptions and evaluative implications of particular relevance to those times and those persons".

At Westward High pupils designated as intelligent are expected to have certain characteristics which are socially approved, whilst pupils designated thick have characteristics that are not socially approved. These characteristics of approval resemble teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils which form part of the selection procedure for Band A (Chapter 3, 3.1; 3.1). Clearly, pupils tend to adopt similar typifications of clever or thick pupils to teachers' typifications.

5.2. Banding Identities

Pupils' allocation to sets or bands provides a framework which teachers use to typify and formulate expectations of pupils. Similarly, pupils use this same framework in formulating perceptions and expectations of their peers, as these unsolicited comments from Band B pupils makes apparent :

(To researcher during lesson)

- Michelle: Have you wrote your book now? (...) Why did you come into our lessons? I mean, we shout and bawl at you an' all that? I thought you'd had enough of us.
- R: You mean why did I pick you originally?
- Michelle: Yeah.
- R: Its just that Miss Willis said I could and(...)
- Michelle: I mean, why didn't you pick on one of those posh noshes, do they ever talk to yer?
- R: Posh noshes?
- Michelle: Yeah, the Band A

Collette : the Band A swots.
 R: Posh noshes, who are they then?
 Michelle : All the pupils in Band A, they're all posh aren't they Collette.

(5th year Band B pupils comments
 during a lesson)

A more-detailed analysis of pupils' perceptions of pupils according to band allocation in a classroom context was achieved by obtaining perceptions of pupils from fourth year Band A and Band B (Cohort 2) pupils. They were asked to describe pupils on pupil drawings and assign such pupils to particular bands. Pupils differentiated between pupils in relation to pupils' perceived attitude to school work, their intelligence and thinking capacities, and personality.

5.2.1. Banding and Attitude to Work

There is a polarisation between Band A and Band B pupils according to pupils' perceived attitudes to work (Table 5.2). 84% of the derived bi-polar constructs from Band A pupils and almost the entire derived bi-polar constructs from Band B pupils (99%) stereotype Band A pupils as being most like teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils. In contrast, both Band A pupils (92% of derived bi-polar constructs) and Band B pupils (96% of derived bi-polar constructs) stereotype Band B pupils as being related to teachers' less favourable descriptions of pupils (Chapter 3; 3.2).

TABLE 5.2.

Derived bi-polar attitude to work constructs from 4th year Band A and Band B pupils related to teachers' favourable (+) and less favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

DERIVED BI-POLAR ATTITUDE TO WORK CONSTRUCTS	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES				BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES			
	+		-		+		-	
	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B
Works hard, studying/ Doesn't work, lazy	74	6	4	22	62	4	0	26
Concentrates, tries/ Distracted	31	5	2	39	7	1	0	12
Does own work / Copies	1	0	1	5	1	0	0	25
Creep or asks teacher/ Not a creep	4	0	4	1	7	3	0	0
Interested / Bored	5	0	10	31	1	0	2	21
Bothered, likes school / Couldn't care less	2	1	4	24	2	0	0	21
Answers questions / Not answers, wrong	3	0	0	4	12	0	0	2
Does work easily / Finds work is hard	1	0	2	3	2	0	0	4
Finishes work first/ Slow with work	2	0	0	4	23	0	0	1
Stiff or Swot / Dosses, messes about	19	1	1	5	16	0	0	9
TOTALS	143	13	28	142	133	5	2	121
% OF TOTALS	84%	8%	16%	92%	99%	4%	1%	96%

Source: 4th yr (Cohort 2) descriptions from pupil drawings.

(Pupil description of pupils being condensed into ten derived bi-polar constructs) + denotes descriptions similar to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils, - denotes descriptions similar to teachers' less favourable descriptions of pupils.

5.2.2. Banding and Intelligence

Pupils' differentiation of pupils according to bands is also polarised with respect to pupils who are perceived and expected to be "intelligent" or "thick", or are able to think about and understand their school work (Appendix 16). Band A pupils (92% of derived bi-polar constructs) and Band B pupils (100% of derived bi-polar constructs) stereotype Band A pupils as being "intelligent". In contrast, Band B pupils are stereotyped as being predominantly "thick" by both Band A pupils (83% of derived bi-polar constructs) and Band B pupils (92% of derived bi-polar constructs). Similarly, Band A pupils are typified by pupils in both bands as being able to think about or are inquisitive about their school work, whilst Band B pupils are typified as not thinking about, or not understanding their school work.

Pupils' perceptions and definitions of intelligence, particularly in relation to the analysis of Cohort 1 pupils (Table 5.1), is dependent upon pupils' band allocations.

5.2.3. Banding and Personality

Pupils expect pupils to have different personalities depending upon their band allocation. Band B pupils are stereotyped as being "sleepy", "talkative" or "noisy", "daydreams", or are said to be "vain" by Band A pupils. In contrast, Band A pupils are stereotyped as being "quiet", "polite" or a "snob , thinks they're something special" by Band B pupils. (Appendix 17).

5.2.4. Band Allocation and Pupil Typifications

A few pupils in Band A indicated that a number of the pupil drawings were perceived as being ambiguous. For example, Pupil P was described as "could be thinking - Band A" or "just daydreaming -

Band B". Another pupil described Pupil E as "thinks what to do – Band A" or "daydreams – Band B". Pupil G is described as a "thinker" or "may not be concentrating" and therefore, "could be in either band". The perceived ambiguity in the drawings shows how pupils have clear and definite typifications of one another which is dependent upon band allocation.

Examples given here reveal the extent of the division between pupils. Band A pupils may typify Band A pupils as simply "'A' definitely by the way she is working hard" or "a creep because he knows the answer (so) what's the use of spreading it" or, more far-reaching in terms of occupation expectation: "probably ambitious wondering how to rule the world". Pupils also used the drawing as devices for role-playing which showed the divisions between pupils in the two bands.

Band B pupils are typified by Band A pupils as having a "doesn't see the point attitude"; such a pupil is "content to copy off people, when it comes to exams will get a low mark", "a waste of skin", "slow – Band B material". Band B pupils also typify Band A pupils as particular types: "this is a typical Band A person who does piles of work and never gets owt wrong" or "he's thinking so hard his brains are going to burst" or "this girl is from Band A and she thinks she is something special". Pupils have different expectations and working practices. Whilst a Band A pupil can be called "a stiff because she is doing a lot of work and not letting anyone copy", a Band B person may only "like working because she copies and messes about" (Figure 5.2; 5.3).

FIGURE 5.2.

4th year Band B pupils' role-playing situations showing perceived divisions between pupils according to band allocation.

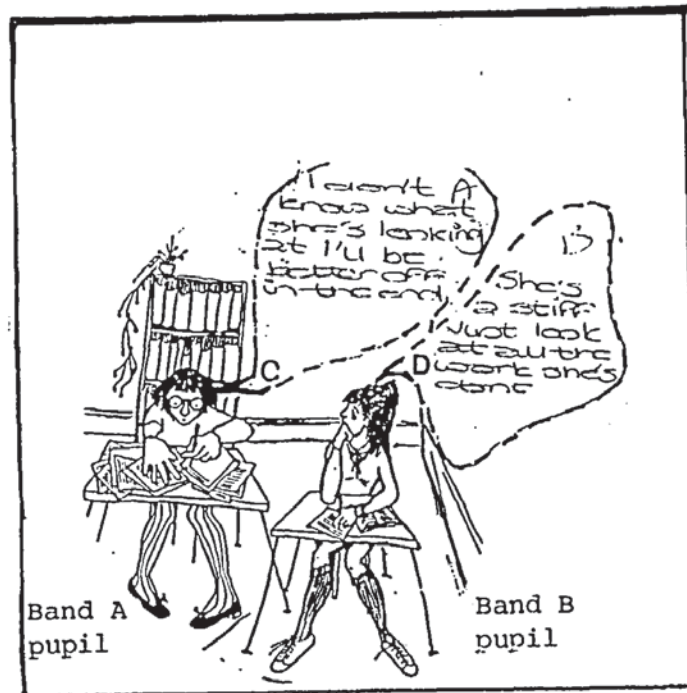
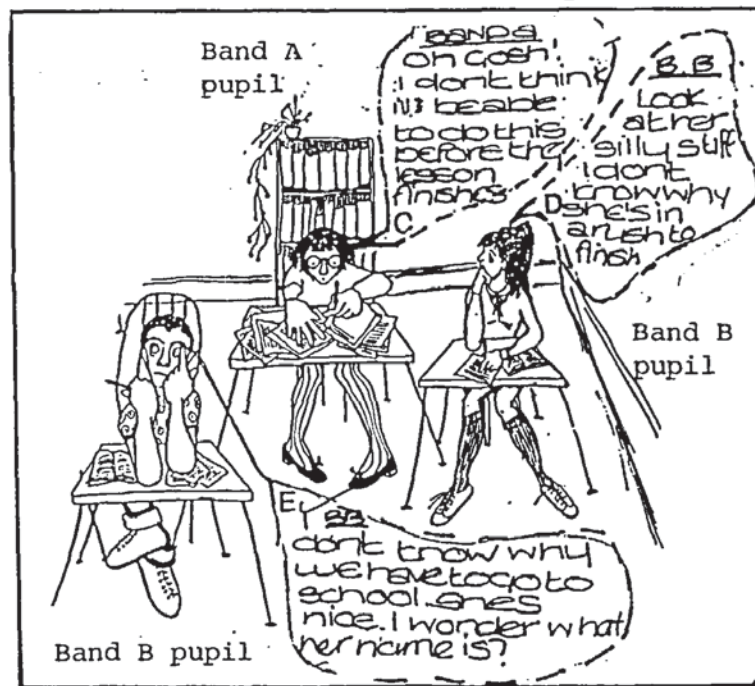
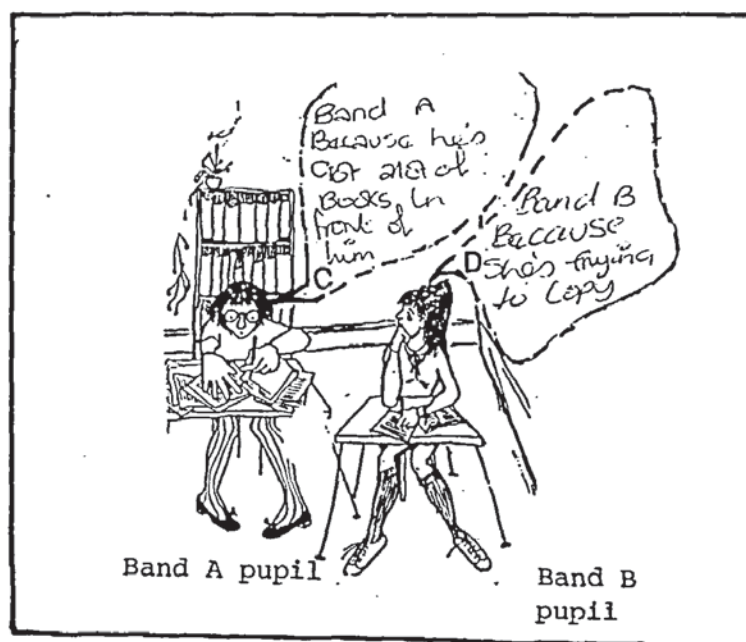
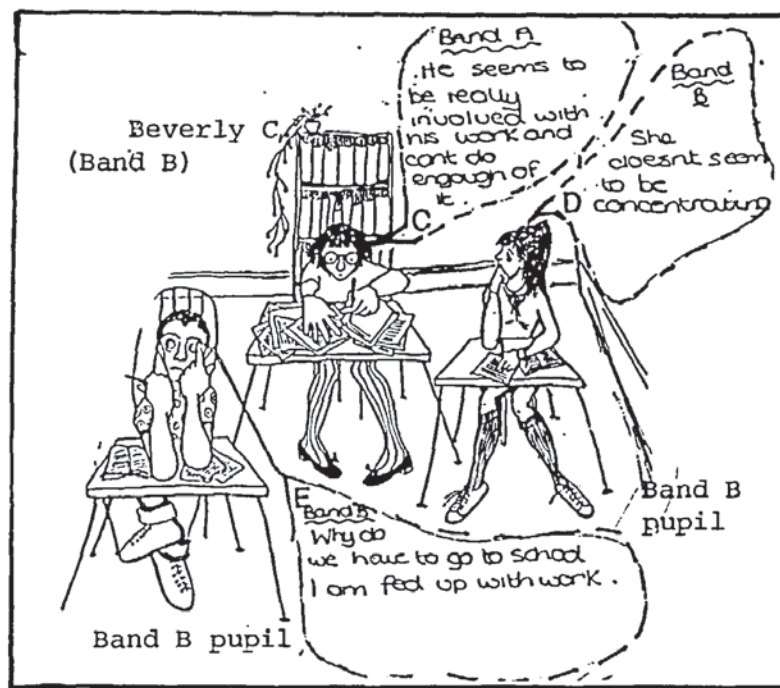


FIGURE 5.3 .

4th year Band B pupils' role-playing situations showing perceived different working practices according to banding.



5.3. Working Practices

Pupils are perceived to have particular working practices which are dependent upon their band allocation. However, pupils have no direct knowledge of how other pupils work since Band A and Band B are taught separately, their typifications and expectations of one another are formulated in the back region.

5.3.1. Stiffs and Dossers

Working practices are polarised in the upper school with respect to pupils who are perceived to do extra work, more than is considered legitimate and necessary by pupils. Such pupils are labelled stiffs. Pupils who are perceived to do little or no work, play up or mess around are labelled dossers. The spiffs of the lower school are more commonly called stiffs in the upper school.

All institutions have histories and biographies and such institutions also provide what Goffman (1961) refers to as the physical confines within which individuals weave their impressions of people. At Westward High the origin of the typification of pupils as stiffs can be traced to the amalgamation. Miss Willis (as ex-secondary teacher) explained that she thought pupils used the word before re-organisation but once we amalgamated all the Burston kids (thought) anyone who came from the grammar school (...) was a stiff, before they even got to know them". It is clear that the reorganisation of the grammar and secondary modern schools and the organisation within Westward High in 1977 exacerbated rather than ameliorated social relations between pupils from the two different types of schools. Miss Willis explained that "we didn't mix any, I mean we kept them in the same forms (...) so instead of mixing them up into different forms (ie. classes) they were kept, sort of, how

they started school. And there was never any chance of them meeting".

The organisation within the new comprehensive school still perpetuated the differentiation and division of pupils since pupils who had started their education in a grammar school prior to amalgamation were allowed to continue with that type of education. Pupils' typification of their peers and interpretation of schooling must be viewed in terms of the school's reorganisation and present organisation. The label stiff that secondary pupils gave to all the grammar school pupils became a stereotype for a particular type of pupil. Miss Willis explained that a stiff was a pupil "who conforms to school, really. You know, they work hard and dress neat and tidy ... what it is, basically, is intelligent kids, really. If they get a good exam mark they'll say: Oh, you're a stiff".

Goffman (1959) argues that people present themselves in certain ways and the impressions a person "gives" is meant to convey the type of person he is. But impressions a person "gives off" in as much as he is construed by others as being a particular type of person, are also important. The label stiff is not self-appropriated, but is an identity that is conferred upon certain pupils by their peers. As one pupil explained "it's what other people think of them" because "they don't know they're doing it", that is, being a stiff (5 year Band A). The origin of the stiff is a very precise formulation of how pupils present themselves to their peers:

- Jane: Straight
- Mark: .. the way you walk around, dead straight (...)
- Cathy: Stiff upper lip (...)
- Jane: And you look down on people.
- R: Oh, and you're looking down your nose?
- Ian: ... That's everything about their appearance and their clothing is all in place and there's not a hair out of place on their head.

(5th year Band A)

A stiff may also "have their top button fastened" or they may be "something like a corpse" because they are dead socially and "can't take a joke" (4th year pupils).

A stiff is associated with teachers' favourable descriptions of a pupil and is more likely to be in Band A; a dosser is least like teachers' favourable descriptions of a pupil and more likely to be in Band B (Chapter 3; 3.2). An analysis of how Cohort 2 pupils depict stiffs and dossers is given in Table 5.3.

Whilst pupils in both bands can "play up" a certain amount at certain times in particular lessons, it is predominantly "the Band B people (who) play up" (Cathy, 5th year, Band A). Most pupils in Band A expect pupils in Band B to doss because for such pupils dossing is an accepted practice. Other pupils who disagree with this statement merely confirm the notions of expected practices:

- | | |
|----------|---|
| Michael: | Some Band A play up (...) |
| Rachael: | You get somebody quiet in Band B, it doesn't mean they doss around all the time. <u>Some</u> people in Band B want to work and really do well. |
| Jane: | Yeah, they did at the beginning, this boy got moved up out of Band B into Band A. There was a couple who got moved up because they were really working. |

(5th Yr Band A)

Pupils' banding identity relate to pupils' expected working practices. Consequently, it is only some pupils in Band B who are "quiet" and "want to work". The implication is that most pupils in Band B are expected not to want to engage in school work, are noisy and doss about. 'Proof' of this is drawn from reference to the band allocation of pupils and Jane's personal experience of pupils who have been given 'promotion' by being moved from Band B to Band A.

TABLE 5.3 Fourth year pupils' typifications of stiffs and dossers

	STIFFS	- DOSSERS
ATTITUDE TO WORK	always reading studies/works hard/works too hard works all day long stays in to do homework always revising ⁺ does everything straight away ⁺ gets everything right/high marks	- never does work - lazy/doesn't like school - never does homework - couldn't care less - not bothered about school - doesn't pay attention
ATTITUDE TO TEACHERS	creeps/grovels/sucks up to teacher always in teacher's good books ⁺ helps teacher/carries teacher's books hangs around teacher good when teacher's about + teacher's pet ++	- never listens to the teacher - gives back-chat to teacher - gives cheek/argues with teacher + - doesn't like teacher ++ - swears at teacher ++
BEHAVIOUR	never does anything wrong/behaves does as he is told/doesn't to against school rules never smokes or drinks + never fights ⁺ never late or away	- never behaves/gets into trouble - not doing as he should - always messing about - always late/scives off school
PERSONALITY	swot who acts posh ⁺ stuck up/posh ++ not very cheerful/boring not very active +	- acts childish - always talks
INTELLIGENCE	looks down on people not as clever as themselves +	- not so brainy/stupid +
SOCIAL / APPEARANCE	never goes out doesn't join in activities no free time well dressed/hates to get dirty has no bottle + + Band A pupil typifications only	 ++ Band B pupil typifications only

Source: 4th year pupils (Cohort 2) sentence completion - 'A stiff is a pupil who is ...' 'A dosser is a pupil who is....' on pupil drawings (Appendix 4)

Band B typify all Band A pupils as stiffs and glean knowledge of such pupils from the back region of school: the form rooms, toilets, corridors, the dining hall. As one pupil explained "like in the library or summat they say 'Oh, look at them stiffs over there' " (Russell, 5th year Band A). Because the front region (classroom) is unobserved by Band B pupils, inferences and stereotypes of Band A pupils are developed. As this pupil explained : "Some stiffs might mess around and obviously people don't think they're stiffs but people lower down the school might think they are because they don't see them" (5th year Band A).

Pupils in Band A may also label pupils in their own band as being stiffs depending upon their position in the hierarchy of the different sets within Band A, between pupils taking CSE and those taking 'O' levels. Pupils described as "being higher people", those taking all subjects at 'O' level, can be derided as being stiffs by pupils who are "lower down" in Band A.

Pupils may be accused of being stiffs in some subjects but not others: "it depends on the lesson (...) like in geology, I might be called a stiff but he (to a pupil) might not be called a stiff" (Russell, 5th year, Band A). Consequently, knowledge or subject boundary enables pupils to take on or relax the particular identity signifying the pupil as a stiff. Pupils in Band A may also label their peers stiffs if they utilise different working practices from those used by most pupils. Such pupils may be outcasts if they are seen to get everything right: its "the person you get annoyed at 'cos he gets everything right and you don't" (4th yr Band A). Pupils in Band B can also be labelled a stiff. These are pupils such as Joanne who does not take part in particular

Band B practices:

Denise: (of Joanne) she works now and again but she doesn't be bad.

Girl: She never gets 'done' like us.

Girl: Or she might not shout across the classroom.

(4th year Band B)

There is a clear differentiation between Band A and Band B stiffs as this pupil explained: "It's not like stiffs as bad as Band A but they just, er, (are) like stiff because they never get into trouble and if they do they can't get themselves out of it" (Denise, 4th year Band B). Whilst pupils in Band A are stiffs because they do a lot of work and are well behaved, well-mannered, Band B pupils are as stiffs if they do not join in the accepted practice for Band B pupils. These practices are a proving ground in which pupils are obliged to show to their peers that they can and do get into trouble and, as important, they can get themselves out of it. Thus, Band A pupils are exempted from being labelled a stiff if they indulge in practices perceived to be associated with Band B pupils:

Pupil: Not everybody in Band A are stiffs, Shirley – isn't.

R: Why aren't they stiffs then?

Tina: Because they go around with us (...)

Pupil: Yeah, they do the things that we do.

Denise: Like we go smoking and drinking.

(4th year Band B)

5.3.2. Pupil Identity and Educational Career

Pupils were asked in a questionnaire (Appendix 5) to indicate which sets or bands were likely to contain stiffs or dossers, thus ascertaining whether pupils' identities were related to their educational career. Analysis of data showed that pupils expect stiffs and dossers to be from particular sets or bands (Table 5.4). Band A and Band B

TABLE 5.4.

Pupils' differentiation of pupils as stiffs or dossers according to set or band allocation.

YEAR	SET OR BAND	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES			BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES		
		Stiffs	Dossers	Between	Stiffs	Dossers	Between
1st	Express	15 (100%)	-	-	13 (100%)	-	-
	Sets 1	10 (67%)	-	2 (13%)	10 (77%)	1 (8%)	-
	Sets 2	9 (60%)	4 (27%)	2 (13%)	5 (38%)	5 (38%)	2 (15%)
	Sets 3	-	12 (80%)	-	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
	Remedial	-	14 (93%)	-	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
2nd	Express	15 (100%)	1 (6%)	-	13 (100%)	-	-
	Sets 1	8 (53%)	4 (27%)	3 (20%)	10 (77%)	2 (15%)	-
	Sets 2	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	3 (20%)	5 (38%)	3 (23%)	2 (15%)
	Sets 3	-	12 (80%)	-	-	10 (77%)	1 (8%)
	Remedial	-	14 (93%)	-	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
3rd	Express	14 (93%)	2 (13%)	-	13 (100%)	-	-
	Sets 1	7 (47%)	3 (20%)	3 (20%)	10 (77%)	1 (8%)	-
	Sets 2	5 (33%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)	5 (38%)	3 (23%)	2 (15%)
	Sets 3	1 (7%)	13 (87%)	-	-	10 (77%)	1 (8%)
	Remedial	-	14 (93%)	-	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
4th	Band A	13 (87%)	5 (33%)	2 (13%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)	-
	Band B	2 (13%)	11 (73%)	-	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
5th	Band A	12 (80%)	5 (33%)	1 (7%)	11 (85%)	1 (8%)	1 (8%)
	Band B	1 (7%)	12 (80%)	1 (7%)	-	9 (69%)	1 (8%)
		N = 15			N = 13		

Source: Analysis of data derived from questionnaire (Appendix 5) given to 4th yr (Cohort 2) pupils

pupils expect stiffs to be predominantly in the Express sets (100% of responses) and, to a lesser extent in Set 1 (67% and 77% of responses respectively). More pupils in Band A expect Set 2 to be associated with stiffs (60% of responses) than dossers; whereas Band B pupils see Set 2 as being as likely to contain stiffs as dossers.

In contrast, pupils in Band A and Band B expect dossers to be predominantly in Set 3 (80% and 77% of responses respectively) and the Remedial sets (93% and 69% of responses respectively). In Chapter 3 the analysis of these pupils' (Cohort 2) routes through the lower and upper school showed a clear differentiation in relation to pupils' allocation to bands. Set 2 formed the division in the lower school between those pupils destined for Band A and those destined for Band B. (Chapter 3; 3.4.). Pupils' typification of pupils as stiffs or dossers is dependent upon pupils' setting or banding identities. However, the analysis must be seen with some caution. Only a small number of pupils were available to complete the questionnaire, with 9 pupils' responses being unusable because they had scribbled crosses in a random manner over their questionnaires. If all Cohort 2 pupils, approximately 230 pupils had been given the questionnaires, more reliable data of pupil identity and educational career could have been obtained. However, pupils' perceptions of pupils across sets and bands in different years is an aspect of considerable interest in relation to comprehensive school organisation.

5.3.3. Swots and Creeps

Stiffs and dossers represent polarisations of pupil typifications. However, pupils also differentiate between stiffs and swots;

- Jane: A stiff is at the top (...)
- Karen: But some people need to swot, though, don't they? Some people are finding it hard so they have to revise for everything.
- Mark: You swot for exams.
- Michael: It's not working, it's what you do for tests.
- Cathy: Karen's always swotting (pupils laugh)
- Jane: No, she messes about in lessons so she has to swot.

(5th year Band A)

Swots and stiffes have different working practices. A pupil can mess about in class which necessitates swotting at home to make up for it. Pupils in Band A also swot at particular periods for a certain amount of time and for specific purposes such as tests or exams. The swot may "do extra work to get it over with" or they may "do it extra well and spend more time" (Emma, 5th yr Band A). A swot is seen by Band A pupils as not being as bad as a stiff because a stiff "puts extra work into everything" whereas a swot does only that which is required by the teacher.

Band A pupils also typify a swot as being studious and naturally intelligent in contrast to stiffes who are perceived to have intelligence but are social climbers. They concentrate solely on school work and "won't communicate" or mix socially with other pupils. Whilst stiffes can be in both bands (though predominantly in Band A and typified differently), Band B pupils do not engage in swotting :

- Pupil: That's a posher word for it, isn't it?
- R: It's a different word?
- Denise: That's too posh, it's just a stiff to us.
- Norma: None of us are swots.

(4th year Band B)

The differentiated working practices related to stiffes and swots are indistinguishable for these Band B pupils who associate such work-

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ing practices with the stiffs in Band A. However, creeping is a legitimate practice employed by Band B pupils who differentiate between stiffs and creeps in their own group:

- Denise: (Stiffs are) creepy round the teacher creeps.
Pupil: To get good reports.
Denise: And they go round saying 'D'you want us to do this, Miss; d'you want us to do that?' (...)
R: What's the difference between that and a creep then?
Why not just call them a creep?
Darrel: Because we can be creeps (...)
Pupil: When you want someat.
Pupil: When its near report day we might do that.

(4th Yr Band B)

Creeping is a legitimate practice employed by Band B pupils because it is done for a short time and is used to try and manipulate the system for the short term pay off of a good report. In contrast, Band A stiffs perpetually creep for the more long term pay off of high grades, GCE and possibly a professional career (Chapter 3; 3.4).

5.3.4. Identity and Impression Management

Peer group pressure helps set the limit on the amount of work that pupils can legitimately produce. Whilst pupils in Band A may do the set work they can also operate what Turner (1983) has referred to as a "work restriction norm", that is, pupils engage in restrictive working practices. Band A pupils do the minimum work required and distinguish between suggested and explicit work and homework requirements made by teachers. Such pupils, therefore, may avoid the label stiff and the associated typifications.

However, three pupils did admit to doing extra work and managed the impressions they gave to other pupils (in answer to Questionnaire, Appendix 5). Whilst few pupils admit to being a stiff or a dosser, three pupils from Band A admitted to doing extra work and keeping it a

secret:

- Alison: Because you get laughed at otherwise.
- Denise: I sometimes keep it a secret because people think you're stupid or a teacher's pet. I think it's your business and not for anyone else to know.

(4th year Band A, responses on a questionnaire)

Follow up individual interviews with these pupils revealed how the endeavour to manage the impressions they give to other pupils:

- Denise: Well, if you tell people they laugh at you thinking you're a stiff whereas if you get (extra work) you can keep up with the class.
- Andrew: Well, why should they know I do extra work and call me a stiff (...) it's none of their business.

(4th year Band A)

Pupils who break the rules on restrictive working practices and engage in extra work have to put on a false front (Goffman, 1959) and manage the impressions they give off to other pupils otherwise "they think you're creeping to the teacher" (Alison), or they "laugh at you thinking you're doing extra work all the time, they're thinking you're better than them" (Denise). Mrs. Summers reported to me that recently she had asked this Band A class if they had completed a piece of extra art work. Alison was the only one to raise her hand only to lower it quickly when she discovered she was the only pupil who had done the work. Consequently, only within a small circle of friends "next to you who can see what you've done" (Alison) can the false front be momentarily relaxed. These pupils do extra work because they have high aspirations: Andrew to get 'O' levels and be a pilot, Denise and Alison to get 'O' and 'A' levels to go to university and obtain professional jobs.

Pupils in Band A and Band B have distinctive working practices. Whilst Band A pupils consider that they have a lot of homework and do the minimum required by teachers; Band B pupils consider that they either do enough work, are not usually asked to do work or "don't do extra work because I'm not a spiff and I hate it anyway". Pupils' continuing education and occupational expectations (Chapter 3;3.4) may well be influenced by peer group pressure which legitimates certain working practices, yet restricts others. Such practices are developed in the first year (Chapter 4; 4.2) in relation to pupils' setting identities and carried over into the upper school. There is also the factor of teachers' expectation of pupils made manifest through the selection procedures at 11+ and 13+ and the option system which channels pupils into acquiring particular forms of knowledge. Peer group pressure and expectations, the curriculum and school organisation act as powerful determinants in pupils' educational career and identity.

5.4. Knowledge and the Socio-Economic Context

Pupil status is perceived to be dependent upon access to, and acquisition of particular forms of knowledge, occupational stratification, family and background. Pupils' expectations of pupils are polarised in relation to these areas in accordance with pupils' band allocation.

5.4.1. Knowledge and Banding

Lower school pupils differentiate between one another according to a hierarchy determined by pupils' set allocation. A similar process occurs in the upper school, with certain pupils at the bottom of the hierarchy being referred to as "the dregs" of the school. As a pupil explained: "They might mean that they were like the lower half of the senior school's society. Like, they're - me mum's like this,

she's dead biased – like, someone in Band A is higher in society, exaggeration like, but higher in society than somebody in Band B" (Louise, 5th year Band A).

Pupils differentiate between pupils within and across bands by making reference to the type of knowledge pupils have access to, and the examination they are expected to take. A pupil explained that "it's varied 'cos there's the low sets and the high sets" (5th year Band A). The high sets are for pupils taking 'O' levels; the low sets for pupils' taking CSE, each has a different status in relation to the option system (Chapter 3; 3.3) which pupils are aware of: "We've always been told that CSE are down grade" (5th year Band A). Pupils' banding identities are determined by the subjects and examinations they are expected to take:

- Claire: You can tell the difference (...) in an 'O' level class and CSE
- R: What's the difference?
- Claire: It's mad in CSE, they can't get anything done, can they?
- Russell: No, geography is an excellent example of that.
- Cathy: We get things done.
- Claire: Oh, yeah, but not the level of 'O' levels.

(5th year Band A)

Clearly, 'O' level pupils in the high sets are depicted as being the elite of Band A. In contrast, pupils' perceptions are polarised when pupils recount the differences between Band A and Band B. Band B pupils are said to be "the thick ones" for whom exams are "a waste of money" (5th yr Band A). In Chapter 4 details were given on how pupils typifications of intelligent pupils were related to pupils' sets allocation. Similarly, pupils in the upper school typify intelligent pupils as being predominantly in Band A, and justify their perceptions in relation to examinations: "They're supposed to be brighter (...) if

they're taking exams they're supposed to be bright" (5th yr Band A).

Band A are seen by some Band A pupils as "more intellectual" than

Band B pupils because they are taking 'O' levels. In contrast, the less intellectual pupils are seen as a "complete loss" by Band A pupils:

Matthew: You leave them to their own devices 'cos they're not going to do anything for you (ie. teachers) so you think 'Oh well....'

Russell: (interrupting)'... put them in Band B'.

(5th year Band A)

5.4.2. Learning the Essentials

Pupils expect Band B pupils to study subjects related to their everyday knowledge (Bernstein, 1971) and they utilise their experience of the option system to justify their perceptions of pupils.

Karen: (of Band B) ... they do environmental studies and health education (...)

Cathy: They learn the essentials.

Karen: It's something they can do, you see.

(5th year Band A)

These pupils' typifications of Band B pupils as pupils who need to learn the essentials reveal the divisions between pupils in relation to pupils' access to academic or non-academic subject knowledge. Band A pupils see themselves as taking subjects which are more intellectually suited to their needs and requirements, as this girl pointed out: "Band A are intellectually more academically suited than Band B, but Band B might be more sort of, craft, you know. More time to do art and craft and everything" (5th year Band A). Pupils readily accept as legitimate the differentiation of knowledge through the option system in as much as everyday, surface structured and non-academic knowledge is seen to be more suitable for the needs of Band B pupils:

- Matthew: Because they're expected to be not so academic. They do subjects that would help them in their life when they get married and plan what to do with their money in the house and things like that (...) Band B is more practical, simply it's more what they will use in life.
- R: As opposed to what?
- Matthew: Well, you're not going to use trigonometry, are you? (meaning, if you are in Band B.)

(4th year Band A)

Band A pupils not only differentiation in general between Band A and Band B pupils, but also do so between girls in each band in terms of their access to knowledge and their expected occupations: "In Band B all the girls do these house things" because "they're not going to get a job, really, they'll be a housewife or something" (4th year Band A boy). Pupils are aware of the differentiated option system and this is an important element in the way pupils typify one another in relation to their band allocation;

- Alison: I know this girl in Band B, family science, and they taught her how to hold a baby. I think they (teachers) surmise that we have the intelligence to know how to hold a baby without being taught.
- Pupil: Yeah.
- Pupil: It's common sense to Band A.

(4th yr Band A)

This "common sense" knowledge, which is thought to be an inherent quality of Band A pupils by teachers and pupils, means that Band B pupils are stereotyped as being deficient or lacking in particular forms of knowledge and are expected to have a different life style after school than Band A pupils:

- Alison: I think it's because they either can't think for themselves or (...) the teachers that gives them the curriculum think that they're going to be geared

Alison (cont..) towards a life of girls in the home and the men bringing in the money, having more children probably (...) that being all they (girls in Band B) can do.

(4th year Band A)

Alison interprets the option system in terms of the school's aims, which she says is "to exploit the natural talents of pupils in Band B" and she sees these pupils in contrast to Band A pupils who possess academic and intellectual ability. The school organisation legitimises pupils' perceptions of their peers. Different types of pupils are seen as "naturally" requiring particular forms of knowledge which is associated with pupils' expected occupations.

5.4.3. Occupations and Expectations

An important aspect of pupil differentiation concerned pupils' educational career and occupational expectations (Chapter 3; 3.4). Although the school was reorganised in 1977, pupils are aware of the demarcation between the former Westward Grammar School and Burston Secondary Modern school. A pupil explained that the grammar school pupils were orientated towards "professional jobs" whilst the secondary modern school pupils were orientated towards "industrial jobs" (Vicky, 5th year Band A).

R: But everybody's in the same school now, so does that mean everybody has the same sort of chance of getting the same jobs now? (...)

Vicky: It's not so extreme but people in Band A will probably get the professional jobs.

(5th year Band A)

A fourth year pupil commented that "Band B, probably more labourers or (do) menial work". Other pupils suggested that Band B pupils who do

subjects such as family science "get jobs as nannies and that". Band A pupils are aware of how the school's organisation of banding and the option scheme channel pupils towards certain occupations, as this conversation between Band A and Band B pupils make explicit:

- Vicky: ... the people in Band A will get better jobs.
- Darren
(Band B) (incredulous tone) Band A get better jobs?
- Vicky: Yeah, they do.
- Darren: Why?
- Julie: You can't get into college with CSE's. You've got to go to college if you want a proper job.
- Darren: (incredulous tone) Just 'cos you're in Band B you won't get a proper job?!
- Vicky: No, we're saying because you're in Band B you won't get a good job; but people who go to university now, get ...
- Julie: ... You can't get into university with three CSE's (...)
- Darren: Who wants to go to university anyway?!
- Julie: You've got to go if you want a job, a decent job; you've got to go further.

(5th year pupils)

Another pupil crystallised the divisions between the bands by suggesting that "somebody in Band A could own a factory and somebody in Band B could clean it" (4th year Band A). Pupils expect divisions between bands to mirror the larger divisions in society:

- Glen: We're supposed to be 'the thinkers' and they're (Band B) supposed to be the 'doers' (...) we have the ideas and they turn them into something (...) like a designer has ideas, puts it down on paper and the 'doer' will build it.
- R: So what sort of job would 'the doer' have?
- Glen: A 'doer' would be a labourer or someone.

(4th year Band A)

Pupils from the Express sets are seen as being more likely to go to university than pupils in other sets "because they probably aim higher (...) they don't want to be stuck in a boring job all their lives" (Alison, formerly Express set). In this context Band A stiff's are typified as using certain working practices (Table 5.3) because they are pupils "who want more qualifications than the others" and "want to do well in future work". In contrast, a Band B dossier is said to mess about because "he doesn't stand any chance of getting a job" or couldn't care less if they get a job" (4th year Band A). The link between school and the workplace is made very apparent by a Band B pupil who described dossiers as people who "don't like school and aren't bothered about getting a job".

5.4.4. Family Background

Pupils typify one another in relation to pupils' perceived socio-economic status. Family background and where pupils live are important factors in differentiation and division between pupils according to band allocation, by both teachers (Chapter 3; 3.2), and pupils. One pupil explained that "we think they're scruffs and they think we're posh nosh" (5th year Band A). Band B pupils expect Band A pupils to live in certain 'posh' areas in Westward such as Princes Way and Leaside; or areas further away such as Pooltown, Cleavsea and Thornlee. These areas are described by Band A pupils who live there as "not common places". A pupil explained that "there are more middle class people who live in Pooltown than there are in Westward (...) 'cos we live in Leaside and they live in town (Westward), they call us snobs" or "you know they call it the elite Cleavsea and everything" (5th year Band A). These perceived divisions between pupils are expressed humorously by

Band B pupils:

- Christina: 'Cos they've been brought up proper.
- Karen: They all come from the posh areas like Chatstone (pupils laugh at the in-joke)
- R: Oh, is that a difference then? How do you know they come from these posh areas?
- Karen: Chatstone ain't posh, its scruffy.
(Laughs)
- R: Make your mind up.
- Christina: Well, they all live in mansions, don't they?
- R: I don't know. I haven't been to their home, no-one's invited me back yet!
- Karen: Don't blame them.
- R: Well, how do you know they come from these big houses and mansions then?
- Karen: Well, they live in Pooltown, Thornlee don't they?
- Christina: some from Cleavsea.
- R: It that a (sniff) area?
- Karen: Yeah.

(5th year Band B)

Chatstone is a council estate adjacent to the school.

Band B pupils poke fun at Band A pupils and exclaim that "their noses have got a peg on it", that they are "stuck up" with their "noses in the air" and they are derided as being "posh gits" or "pouffs". A Band B pupil explained that they exaggerate and call them any derogatory name.

Band A pupils, in contrast, expect Band B pupils to come from a poor home background in which their parents have little concern for their children:

- David: Like some people, their mums and dads don't care about what they do at school and things like that. Say they're caught skiving and sent home with a letter their mums wouldn't be bothered (...). No, I mean its the background of the kids, the parents

David: (cont..) aren't bothered and a lot of the kids aren't bothered because they're brought up like that.

(4th year Band A)

Matthew: If you come from a home where the dad was out at the pub and the mum couldn't care less, you could stop out to whatever time, I mean, you're not going to be bothered about school. There's no one to clip you 'round the ear to tell you about your homework.

Tim: But that doesn't necessarily mean that they're all thick.

Matthew: I know, but it does mean that Band B are not trying as much.

Pupils: No, they won't work.

(4th year Band A)

Pupils home background and intelligence is communicated to Band A pupils by teachers, as this pupil explained: "a teacher today was telling us he wished the mothers of the thick were sterilised because they bred prolifically and if you get one who is a nutter, you'll get them all nutters" (4th year Band A). The "mothers of the thick" at Westward are, clearly, the parents of Band B pupils since these pupils are least like teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (Chapter 3; 3.2).

Stiffs and dossers are said to come from different home backgrounds. Band B pupils typify Band A pupils as stiffs because they "want to please their mother and father" or "are made to do well at school by their parents". Band B pupils also castigate as stiffs pupils who attend private schools and whose parents live in the "posher" parts of Westward. Pupils explained that pupils who go to Rosewood School are "all stiffs" because "they all pay a lot of money for their education" (4th year Band B). Band A pupils expect dossers (predominantly in Band B) to come from a "rough" family or a "poor family". Pupils

see education as being stratified with respect to pupils' socio-economic status in terms of their occupational expectations and their home background.

5.5. Underlife Practices and Expectations

Goffman (1961) argues that the underlife of a public institution is such that "expected activity in the organisation implies a conception of the actor and that an organisation can therefore, be viewed as a place for generating assumptions about identity". Underlife practices and expectations are differentiated according to pupils' band allocation and relate to pupils depicted as skivers and truants; pupils' physical appearance and social characteristics, sexual stereotyping and pupils presentation of self as being drinkers or smokers.

5.5.1. Skivers, Truants and the Bad Group

Stereotypical expectations of pupils are associated with banding identities and peer group influence. Band B is depicted as being "the bad group" by pupils in Band A:

- Ian: Some of them (...) it's not their parents influence its their friends or the group they're in.
- R: Which band are you talking about now, anybody or...?
- Ian: Band B ...
- Pupils: (shout) B!
- Cathy: They've got their own mind to do what they want (...) I mean, if they get in with a bad group they start behaving like they behave (...)
- Russell: It's your mates who control.

(5th year Band A)

Band B pupils are expected not to want to work in school because they "mix with the wrong people" (5th year Band A) and they are depicted as "hanging around in a mob" (4th year Band A). The bad group are

depicted as pupils who "don't conform to the rules" of the school and "don't take any notice, they just do what they want". Another pupil explained that it was because "if they don't do what the rest of their friends do they're pushed out (...). Like, if they don't go smoking or they don't go truanting" (5th year Band A). Unlike Band B pupils, Band A pupils explained that they see themselves as being independent; they are individuals who have their own ideas and are not swayed by the group.

In contrast, Band B pupils operate different practices and see themselves in terms of the group and group solidarity:

Darren: If they're caught out of class (...) the Band A people. Like, if there's two of them, like a Band B and a Band A person that gets done, and the 'A' person gets done more than the Band B, they'll split on the Band B people, where we don't. We just get the punishment for ourselves. We don't go around stirring it up (...)

Pupil: Like, say seven people did something wrong and two of them get caught, they'd take the punishment for the rest of them (of Band B pupils).

Denise: (of Band A pupils) They'd have to tell, say the others did it.

(4th year Band B)

Pupils draw upon their observations of pupils from the back region of school which consolidate their impressions of the bad group: "some of them have a very immature attitude, they'll run round the corridors" or "they're always mucking about at dinner time" (5th year Band A):

Darren: Like, we had an incident a couple of days ago, a big fight was going on but you never saw any Band A people there

Tim: ... I did ...

Darren: All the bad B Band, it's mostly B Band, they get into trouble.

(4th year Band A)

Whilst Tim saw some Band A pupils at the fight, Darren did not. It is probable that Band B are typified as the bad group because they are expected to fight, run around the corridors, and are generally seen as being immature. Clearly, it is unlikely that Darren would know all Band A and Band B pupils (from fourth as well as fifth years) to say with any certainty whether there were only Band B pupils present at the fight.

Jokes from Band A directed towards Band B pupils are initiated at the expense of the bad group:

- R: If I walked around the corridor of a lunch time would I know the difference between Band A and Band B? (...)
- Debbie: You might do.
- R: Why d'you think I might?
- Tim: (Jokes) You'd get mugged by them! (of Band B pupils)

(4th year Band A)

5.5.2. Physical Appearance and Social Characteristics

Pupils' physical appearance is an important factor which distinguishes Band A from Band B pupils and, at an extreme level, can result in pupils being typified as being stiffs (Table 5.3). Pupils' educational status also suggests expectations for their appearance as a pupil explained: "There's some pupils who seem to think if you're not doing 'O' levels you're not such a high status as people who are doing 'O' levels. Like, they expect you to be scruffy, nits and things. But I just think it's what other people think" (Louise, 5th year Band A). Two other girls explained how they typified pupils according to their appearance which is inextricably linked to pupils' behaviour:

- Sammy: These lot in Band B are an old-fashioned lot. They tie their hair and everything and are always in trouble.
- R: Who are in trouble?
- Ian: Not always in trouble.
- Sammy: Girls and boys.
- Julie: Most of them are, like, they wear massive ear rings (..)
- R: Band B wear what would you say, outrageous fashion?
- Pupils: Yeah.

(5th year Band A)

In contrast, Band B pupils distinguish Band A by their appearance "they've got bags" (ie. brief cases) and they wear "dead pointed shoes" or "posh" shoes. Girls in Band B are typified by pupils in both bands as being more interested in looks and appearance than school work (Table 5.5).

TABLE 5.5. Pupils' typifications of Band B girls according to their predominant interest in appearance.

BAND A PUPILS' TYPIFICATIONS	BAND B PUPILS' TYPIFICATIONS
"It was great last night in my new dress"	She's wondering what to wear at the disco
"Oh, I've got make up on my new dress"	Too busy thinking about what she's going to wear
Rather have her nails beautiful than her work right	
More interested in her looks and her nails	

Source: 4th year (Cohort 1) responses on pupil drawings ("refer to role play responses)

Pupils' banding identities are also related to pupils' social characteristics. Pupils typify Band B pupils in the classroom (from pupil drawings) as "thinking about the weekend" or "wishing she was at a disco" or "wishing she was somewhere else" (4th year Band A). Band B

pupils typify pupils in their own band as "having too many late nights" or "too many late nights at the pub"; "can't wait to get to the disco and see Mike" or "probably thinking about what to wear at the disco". Band A pupils appear not to indulge in such practices.

5.5.3. Sexual Stereotypes

Band B pupils are typified by Band A pupils as being more interested in the opposite sex than school work, as noted below:

always thinking about girls
 thinking of nothing but about boys
 looks more interested in the boy next to her
 cares for her appearance for the opposite sex
 "I wonder if she's going to take me out" type pupil

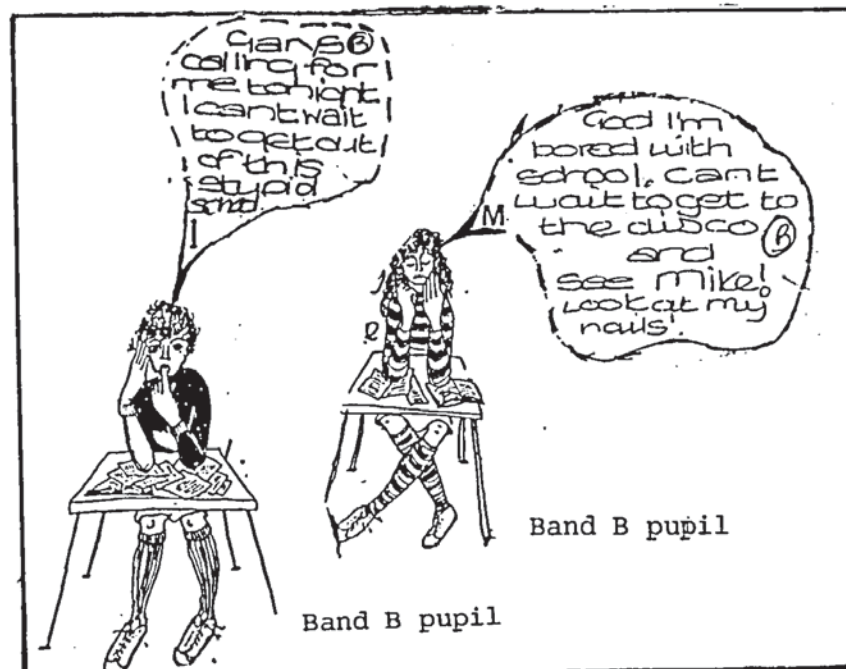
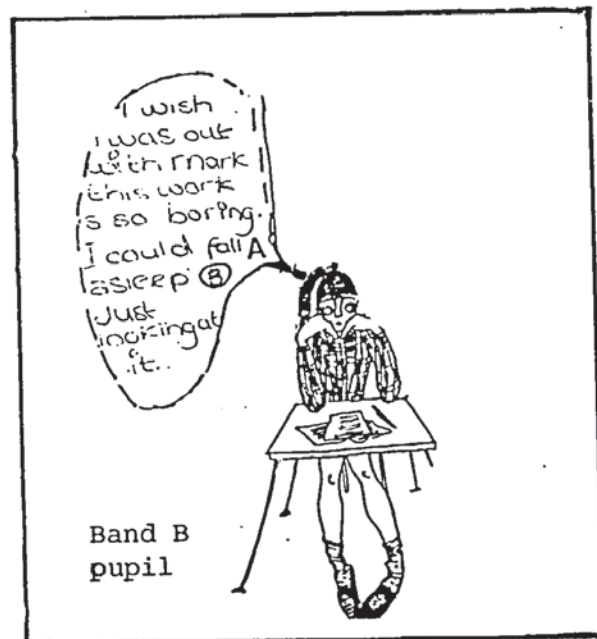
(Band A pupils' typifications of Band B pupils)

Band A pupils are stereotyped by Band B pupils as not being interested in the opposite sex and are derided as being a "stiff, and doesn't like to be near boys" (Denise, 4th year Band B).

For Band B pupils thinking about the opposite sex can be a relief from the boredom of school, a practice in which they are perceived to indulge more frequently than Band A pupils, as the role play situations emphasis (Figure 5.4). Fifth year pupils in Band A also distinguished between pupils in relation to posh-common with respect to girls' appearance. 'Common' can relate to pupils who have "loose morals" (Russell, 5th year, Band A) and refer to girls who are "heavily made up", "wear split skirts with white ankle socks and trainers". A girl can be stereotyped as being a "tart" and "common" depending on the way she may act, how she is "dressed up" because such a girl does not mind "who she goes out with". Since the typifications of Band B girls discussed previously related to their attitude to boys, their style of dress and make up (4th year pupils), it seems probable that girls in

FIGURE 5.4.

4th year Band B girls' role playing situations illustrating sexual stereotypes according to Band allocation.



Band B are more likely to be stereotyped a "tart" or "common" than girls in Band A.

5.5.4. Presentations of Self

Band B pupils present an image of themselves to their peers as pupils who indulge in the practice of smoking and drinking. Pupils explained that Band B seem to get into trouble more with the teachers, skiving and smoking" because "when they go truanting they're usually in the bogs smoking" (5th year Band A). Band B pupils readily admit to the practice of smoking and drinking which they assume to be restricted to pupils in their own band:

Denise: We smoke and drink ...
 R: I thought you were being serious.
 Denise: We are being serious.
 Pupils: We are!
 R: And Band A don't, generally?
 Denise: Do they heck, they're all big stiffies.
 (4th year Band B)

Band B pupils make fun of Band A in relation to their perceived presentation of self. Pupils joked with respect to drinking that "some of them do" and another pupil added quickly "they'll have a glass of milk!" However, pupils in Band A did admit to drinking and added that it was not seen as a legitimate practice by Band B pupils for them: "'cos if they think you're a stiff they don't think you do anything wrong, or break the school rules or get into trouble or fight somebody" (4th year Band A). Band B pupils see smoking and drinking as being a legitimate practice for them so that if Band A smoke or drink "they only do it because we do it" (4th year Band B).

Band B pupils' presentations of self was made explicitly in a

conversation between four Band B girls. Whilst interviewing this group of pupils they appeared shy and so the tape recorder was left by them for a short time. The following is a verbatim transcript:

- Pupil: Go on, go on. What's the point then. Go on.
 Pupil: How many's going, then? (pupils laugh)
 Pupil: Eleven.
 Pupil: There's about eleven of us going.
 Pupil: Darren said he'd get some booze.
 Pupil: I know he did. (Girl whispers) Why?
 Pupil: (girl says something indistinct) We can throw it out the window or even out the door.
 Pupil: (whispers) We'll stand outside and bring it in the back.
 Pupil: In your back yard?
 Pupil: Then Mrs. (indistinct)
 Pupil: Well, right, we'll drink it in your house and then before we go we'll take it down to t' park.
 Pupil: Drink it before we go? Drink the booze before we go?
 Pupil: (laughs) We've got to drink the booze before we go out.
 Pupil: So it means that you will have to come out then.
 Pupil: Before we get to Amanda's we've got to drink the booze (girls laugh)
 Pupil: Amanda said 'What's the point?' and you was going to say ...?
 Pupil: Nothing.
 Pupil: And we're watching a bluey (laughs)
 (Talks loudly into the tape recorder)
 We're watching a bluey called 'Tat a Box' about a fanny (laughs)
 Pupil: Switch it off.
 (Researcher's voice approaching in background)

(4th year Band B)

It is immaterial whether the detailed planning for the acquisition of booze and subsequent drinking, punctuated by laughs and giggles, was an actual planned event or simply a false front, mask or charade for the benefit of the researcher. Pupils present an image of themselves that they perceive is expected of them by their peers and teachers.

5.6. Pupils' Self Concept

Pupils' presentation of self is dependent upon their self concept. When pupils were asked to select from their own range of descriptions elicited through pupil drawings, those descriptions which were most

like and least like themselves, Band A and Band B pupils were polarised in their assessment of themselves. However, when pupils were asked to describe a pupil they would most like to be like (ideal), pupils in both bands described themselves in terms of teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils, those pupil characteristics which formed part of the selection process for Band A (Chapter 3; 3.2).

5.6.1. Most Like Descriptions

Band A pupils predominantly perceive themselves, individually (70% of derived attitude to work constructs), as having attitudes to work work most like those of teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (Table 5.6). These descriptions are outlined in the Table under the + symbol. Pupils see themselves in these terms because of their goals and their expected occupations:

Lee: I enjoy doing subjects because the work I do now will benefit my career prospects. If I work hard and do my homework on time I should pass the big exams.

Andrew: I like to do work or homework as soon as possible instead of leaving it to the last minute. I always do my homework unless I get too much.

(4th year Band A responses on
pupil drawings)

Many pupils complained that they were sometimes bored with school work: "I do dream and think lessons are boring but I do my work" or "I know when to work and when to mess around". The practice of "messaging around" may be different for Band A and Band B pupils. For Band A pupils, work has priority over other things .

TABLE 5.6. Pupils' attitude to work self concept related to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (+) and less favourable descriptions of pupils (-).

10 CORE DERIVED BI-POLAR ATTITUDE TO WORK CONSTRUCTS	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES						BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES					
	most like		ideal		least like		most like		ideal		least like	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Works hard, studying/ Doesn't work lazy	24	5	21	0	7	6	3	5	17	2	30	1
Concentrates, tries/ Distracted	4	3	6	1	4	16	0	5	0	0	1	2
Does own work / Copies	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	5	0	1	0	7
Creeps, ask teacher / Not a creep	6	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Interested / Bored	3	5	2	0	0	10	0	5	0	0	1	1
Bothered, likes sch/ Couldn't care less	8	1	0	1	0	19	0	3	0	1	1	0
Answers quests correct / Not answers quest.	5	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	7	0
Dces work easily/ Work is hard	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0
Finishes work quickly / Slow	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3	0
Stiff or swot / Dossier	4	0	4	0	7	6	2	4	0	1	4	3
TOTALS % of TOTALS	55 79%	15 21%	44 96%	2 4%	22 27%	60 73%	5 15%	29 85%	22 81%	5 19%	48 78%	13 21%
Total responses	N = 26		N = 23		N = 26		N = 21		N = 13		N = 22	

SOURCE

4th yr pupils (Cohort 2) responses on pupil drawings (Appendix 4) (Pupils descriptions of themselves being condensed into ten derived bi-polar constructs) + denotes descriptions similar to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils - denotes descriptions similar to teachers' least favourable descriptions of pupils.

In sharp contrast, Band B pupils' perceptions of themselves (79% of derived attitude to work constructs) are different from Band A and least like the teachers' favourable pupil descriptions (Table 5.5). Whilst Band A pupils see themselves as thinking about school work (Table iii Appendix 16), a number of Band B girls remarked that they spent a lot of time in lessons thinking about boy friends, clothes and discos:

Susan: Sometimes in class I think about my boyfriend. I don't always not do my work. I usually do my work.

Alison: I don't like some lessons, I would rather be out with my boyfriend. I like getting new clothes for the disco.

(4th year Band B pupils' responses on pupil drawings)

For these pupils, school work is a necessary chore which has to be got through either by day-dreaming or "giving cheek" to the teacher:

Sadie: I work when I want to. I'm talking or giving cheek when I'm bored, can't be bothered to work, only work in my best lessons. I like English and art.

Mandy: I'm always late for lessons and if I don't like a teacher, I can be very nasty. I'm alright with my friends.

(4th year Band B pupils' responses on pupil drawings)

It may be difficult for pupils not to see themselves in terms of their banding identity, as a pupil remarked: "people in Band B are thick like me" (5th year Band B). Teachers expectations of pupils are communicated to them and undoubtedly influence pupils' self concept. Pupils' comments concerning pupils' banding identity were punctuated with reference to teachers: "Band A are expected to get better results" (4th year Band A); teachers "take more care with Band A (...) because they know they're going to get 'O' levels, aren't they" (5th year Band A) or teachers have "given up on Band B anyhow" and "(they say) "oh,

if you don't want to learn, that's alright" (5th year Band A).

5.6.2. Least Like Descriptions

Although Band A pupils see themselves (individually) as being least like Band B pupils (73% of derived attitude to work constructs), there are tensions with these pupils concerning doing too much work and being associated with a stiff and doing too little work and being associated with a dosser:

- Steph: I don't think to myself "I can't be bothered". I try hard (...)
- Simon: 'F' works in excess of what is expected probably about things that will never be needed.
- Neil: 'C' can't do enough 'I only do what I have to when I have to.

(4th year Band A pupils' responses on pupil drawings)

Whilst another pupil, Andrew, sees himself least like a day-dreamer; yet he also sees himself least like a stiff or someone who messes about. Band A pupils generally see themselves as pupils who do not work "flat out" because "it would restrict my social pleasures" (Lee) although they refrain from messing around because "I know if I mess about now it will make getting a job harder". Thus, for Band A pupils, their school life is inextricably bound to their after-school life and their predominant expectations for professional occupations (detailed in Chapter 3).

In contrast, Band B pupils who predominantly expect to obtain manual jobs (Chapter 3; 3.4) see themselves least like (78% of derived attitude to work constructs) pupils in Band A. Band B pupils see doing school work as predominantly associated with stiffs and as such is to be avoided:

- Bernice: A stiff, I'm not a stiff, not likely.
- Jane: This boy is a stiff, he does all his work. I do sometimes but only when I feel like it.
- Marie: I am not a stiff because I always talk and mess about.
- Alison: 'C' is always working all day long. 'O', she's stuck up.

(4th year Band B pupils' responses to pupil drawings)

There is a risk for Band B pupils that if they engage in working practices similar to Band A pupils, they would be ostricised from the group:

"because they would not like me if I worked hard all the time" (Denise, Band B).

5.5.3. Most Like to Be Like (Ideal) Descriptions

Band A pupils see themselves as an ideal pupil (95% of derived attitude to work constructs) which are similar to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils:

- Sharon: I'd love to finish my work first in class. And I'd love to get everything right. I don't think of myself as a stiff but I'd enjoy to be best in the class.
- Sarah: I would like to be able to do more than I can and I wouldn't care if they called me a stiff, at least I'd get more education than them.

(4th year Band A pupils' responses on pupil drawings)

For Band A pupils their goal is gaining qualifications, "more education", Such pupils have access to the professional occupations (Chapter 3; 3.3) which are the goals which these pupils strive for when working in schools (Chapter 3; 3.4). As a pupil explained: "I would not have any worries about qualifications. I would just slip through exams" (4th year Band A) Another pupil made explicit her goal: "If I was a stiff I would most probably get a very good job. I'm not saying that I'm thick, but being a little brainier would help" (4th year Band A). This pupil has inter-

nalised the notion that being clever rather than thick improves a pupil's chance of obtaining a good job. Other pupils indicated that they see their ideal selves as being "intelligent", "brainy", "clever" or "smart" (Appendix 18).

Although fewer Band B pupils than Band A pupils depicted themselves as ideal pupils, those who did saw themselves predominantly in relation to the teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils (81% of derived attitude to work constructs). They indicated that they would like to work harder because "I would like to know the answers to a lot of questions" or "I would like to get on with my work and get a good education and get a decent job". Other Band B pupils explained that they saw their ideal self as someone who works at a less frantic pace than some Band A pupils: "they don't rush over their work, they look as though they know what to do but don't fuss like 'C'". Drawing 'C' was described as "Oh gosh! I don't think I'll be able to do this before the lesson finishes". Since Band B pupils see perceptual creeping around the teacher as an illegitimate working practice (as a pupil explained, "I've never been able to creep and I'd like to do my work now and then") work is only acceptable if it does not necessitate being a stiff:

Lisa: I would like to do my work but not be a stiff, staying in every night and doing some work every night and not going to discos because they do their homework.

(4th year Band B pupil responses on pupil drawings)

Being associated with teachers' favourable descriptions and engaging in more than a minimal amount of school work may cause tensions for Band B pupils since there may be peer group pressure to

"doss about" . However, since a number of Band B pupils indicated that they would like to work harder, it is probable that the differentiation of pupils brought by banding and the option system helps produce more negative self concepts in Band B pupils which are similar to teachers' unfavourable descriptions of pupils as part of the selection process (Chapter 3; 3.2). The analysis of data presented suggests that pupils tend to conform to teachers stereotypical views and expectations of pupils according to their band allocation so that pupils may not be able to see themselves other than in terms of their banding identities.

Summary

Pupils' perceptions of intelligent and thick pupils were shown to be socially constructed with respect to pupils' differentiated working practices, attitudes to school and personality. Intelligent pupils were more likely to be associated with teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils which formed part of the selection process for Band A. In this respect, pupils' perceptions and typifications of their peers were shown to be related to pupils' band allocation and the option system. Furthermore, it was clear that pupils engage in different working practices which can result in pupils being stereotyped as stiffs or dossers, with such pupils being associated with particular sets or bands. Divisions between pupils were related to divisions in society according to socio-economic status, occupations, and home background. Underlife practices are perceived by pupils to flourish with respect to Band B pupils' membership of the bad group, their physical and social characteristics, sexual stereotyping and presentation of self. Finally, pupils' self concept was also shown to be related to pupils' band allocation. Whilst Band A pupils think about themselves in terms of teachers'

favourable descriptions of pupils, Band B pupils think about themselves in terms in terms of teachers' less favourable descriptions. However, Band A pupils and Band B pupils perceptions of themselves as ideal types showed a resemblance to teachers' favourable descriptions of pupils. . What is clear is that pupils may not be able to see themselves other than in terms of their banding identities, brought about by the organisational arrangements of setting, banding and the option system.

In Chapter 6 the analysis of differentiation and division at Westward High will present data on pupils' perceptions of teachers with respect to the division of labour within the school.

CHAPTER SIX

BANDING AND PUPIL PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHERS

Data presented in Chapters 4 and 5 showed divisions in the school between pupils to be related to their set or band allocation and the option system. In Chapter 3 data on the school organisation showed that divisions occurred between ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers in relation to their timetable commitments and their colleagues' expectations. Data to be presented in this Chapter will show how pupils differentiate between teachers in relation to teachers' presentation of self, their ability to discipline and control pupils; the pupils they teach and their attitude to teaching; their strategies and personal fronts.

6.1. Teachers' Presentation of Self

Delamont (1976), drawing upon Goffman's (1959) analysis, suggests that pupils "judge teachers by clues picked up from their personal fronts" and that significant aspects of the personal front are "gowns and overalls, physical appearance, clothing, age, sex, race, speech". She argues that researchers should use the message conveyed by teachers' personal front when studying classroom situations. At Westward High pupils judge teachers on the type of clothes they wear:

Sammy: I noticed that if teachers are wearing dead old fashioned clothes they can't seem to control a class (...) or they're dead boring or summat. Like a teacher, Miss Biggs, teaches Latin, she wears really way out fashion clothes but she's really a good teacher, she likes talking to us as a person, d'you know what I mean?

(5th year Band A girl)

The back region provides an area in which pupils discuss and exchange evaluations of teachers so that stereotypical views are confirmed by observation: "I thought 'Oh what a nice teacher and it seems to go with the clothes they wear' " (Sammy).

Some pupils express a preference for teachers who are dressed casually and 'modern' since such teachers are assumed to have a favourable attitude towards pupils. As these pupils explained: "yeah like Mr Challow, he wears track suits, he can teach you well and looks after a class as well" and "he's a nice person to know" (5th year Band A girls). In contrast, a teacher who wears a suit can be perceived as being "too organised" (5th year Band B) or may give off the impression of being "more organised and more capable of giving a lesson" but may be socially distant from pupils. Male teachers who wear suits are stereotyped as expecting "a lot off you", they "come in and expect you to do as well as they've done. They've got 'A' levels and things.." (5th year Band B). Observed details of teachers' facial expressions when they enter the classroom can give rise to pupils' stereotypical views of teachers so that teachers who have a fierce expression are expected to "try to be really hard" with pupils (5th year Band A).

6.1.2. Discipline and Violence

Band B pupils differentiate between male and female teachers with respect to their ability to keep order and discipline, as these pupils explain :

- Darren L: Mr Cope, we have in Communications, I wouldn't give cheek to him 'cos I know he's big.
- R: So you think male teachers are more strict ?
- Darren L: No, not really more strict. But just because they're men. I wouldn't hit 'em because I wouldn't do anything to him, he'd hit me. He's

big, have you seen him ? But Miss Willis, she's only small, isn't she ? (...) The women teachers in this school I'm not bothered about they can do what they want. If any of them hit me I'd probably hit them back but I wouldn't hit any of the fellas back.

Darren T : Because you'd get leathered.

Darren L : I know (...) I'm not scared of any of the women teachers.

(5th year Band B pupils)

Another pupil explained that women teachers were considered to be less strict than male teachers: "I don't like women teachers that are not strict because they sit there and let you mess around" (5th year Band B). Pupils in Band B may curtail "giving cheek", playing up the teacher or dossing, practices pupils expect Band B pupils to indulge in (Chapter 5; 5.3.1) if the teacher is a man and has physical control over them. However, my field notes record one incident in which Mr Barlow came into the staffroom with a black eye and conversations between the teacher and other colleagues indicated quite clearly that he had been assaulted by a fourth or fifth year boy.

There is also an expectation amongst pupils in the lower school that discipline and violence towards pupils are synonymous.

Mrs Summers explained that pupils in the lower sets in the first year "regarded teachers who didn't hit them as being weak with discipline". She explained that pupils in 1F3 had said that "they were frightened of teachers who hit them and from that they thought that teachers who didn't hit them were weak". Conflicts can arise between male and female teachers over the ability or otherwise to discipline and control pupils' behaviour through violence, as Mrs Summers explained, citing a conversation she had with the head of first year (an ex-secondary modern teacher) :

"Alec Barlow, they (1F3) said, used to go round kicking them in the ankles because they weren't working hard enough. When I mentioned this to the year head he said that some staff did hit them and I said 'Well, if some staff hit them, where does that leave staff like me who won't hit them?' He must have realised I was criticising him and that he wasn't supposed to say that anyway, so he then started blaming me, didn't he, saying that the children would only start playing up the members of staff who were weak with discipline. So I just said in that case what you are implying is that the only ones who've got discipline are the ones who are going to hit them and that leaves someone like me in a very awkward position."

There is an uneasy alliance between particular types of teachers and the pupils they teach. Mrs Summers was a new teacher to the school, held a degree qualification and was seen by the year head as being from a different background to lower set pupils, who are assumed to be of a lower socio-economic status. Mrs Summers explained that the year head in a farewell speech had remarked: "Mrs Summers, teaching art to 1F3 - the meeting of two cultures, I wonder who won?"

6.2. Teachers and Banding

Burgess (1983) showed that teachers who taught the 'less able' pupils, referred to by colleagues as Newsom Teachers, were considered of a lower status and different to the academic teachers. This differentiation between teachers had already been suggested by the Hadow Report (1926) and the Newsom Report (1959), who assumed that a division of labour to justifiable exist between teachers depending on the type of pupils they taught (Chapter 1; 1.4). Academic teachers were assumed to possess quite different qualities to teachers of less academic pupils. At Westward High the division of labour exists between ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers (Chapter 3; 3.5). Analysis of data derived from a questionnaire (Appendix 6) to

a group of fourth year Band A and Band B pupils and follow up informal group interviews showed that pupils' differentiate between teachers according to the pupils they teach and pupils' band allocation. Pupils differentiate between teachers according to their perceived socio-economic status and professional status, intelligence and knowledge, appearance, personality and social characteristics (Tables 6.1; 6.2).

Teachers who teach less academic pupils are perceived to have "a different attitude" towards pupils than teachers of academic pupils (4th year Band A). Band A teachers are expected to "get on more with stiff pupils" (4th year Band A); they are perceived to be of a higher socio-economic status than teachers who teach Band B pupils, in a similar way that Band A pupils are expected to be of a higher socio-economic status compared with Band B pupils (Chapter 5; 5.1). For instance, one pupil who had been 'promoted' into Band A after one term in Band B made a pointed remark that he believed Mrs Summers considered him inferior because he had "come up" from Band B: " 'Cos like if I say something she says 'Oh shut up' - she looks down on me (...) in a class position, like she's the bourgeois" (5th year Band A). These comments may not be a reliable account of what transpired but must be viewed in the context of teachers and pupils' expectations of Band B pupils and their banding identities (Chapter 3, 3.2; Chapter 5, 5.2).

Teachers of Band A pupils are expected to be "academic teachers", "very intelligent" and so "have the brains to teach 'O' and 'A' levels" (4th year Band A). Pupils reason that Band A teachers "need to be intelligent to teach intelligent kids". Band A teachers like Band A pupils are stereotyped as being more interested in school work at the

TABLE 6.1

Band A pupils' typifications of teachers according to the band of pupils they teach

DESCRIPTION	BAND A TEACHERS	BAND B TEACHERS
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	speaks proper / posh / snobby university people / always trying to teach us to talk proper	dossers people more down to each
PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS	academic teachers most qualified knowledge of teaching push pupils hard/swatty/stiff helps pupils / more obsessed with getting pupils through exams/ care about grades usually experienced teachers constantly telling pupils they're not good enough	do mostly practical work least qualified can't control a class properly second rate teachers more individual interest in pupils than academic tough teachers / most experienced teachers
INTELLIGENCE / KNOWLEDGE	very intelligent / clever think they know it all got the brains to teach 'O' and 'A' levels	aren't as brainy as Band A teachers do not know as much as Band A teachers not got the brains to teach 'O' and 'A' levels
APPEARANCE	wears smart clothes	
PERSONALITY	no sense of humour thinks they're the bees and knees / think they have a right to talk down to pupils/ stage up on everyone else / hellish temper	can take a joke / prepared to have a laugh talk to pupils more tolerant
SOCIAL	never gets to know pupils or tries to get on with them know nothing of life / a few are down to earth	easy-going / makes you more relaxed / puts you in a better mood treats you as friends not inferior being listens to modern music
DIFFERENTIATION OF PUPILS		working with more down to earth people most of the time

Source: 4th yr Band A pupils (Cohort 2) responses on questionnaire (Appendix 6) sentence completion 'Teachers who teach Band A are ...' 'Teachers who teach Band B are ...' N = 30

TABLE 6.2. Band B pupils' typifications of teachers according to the band of pupils they teach

DESCRIPTION	BAND A TEACHERS	BAND B TEACHERS
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	posh stuck up	haven't been brought up proper not posh (some are snobs, well spoken)
PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS	stiffs old fashioned makes, expects you to do lots of work works faster / cares about work strict can't cope with naughty kids not allowed to talk	not stiffs don't have to get all your work done knows when pupils can manage with work / helps pupils more not as strict / let's you do anything you want understands pupils/has patience can talk in class good teacher (when bad, not as bad as Band A teachers)
INTELLIGENCE / KNOWLEDGE	not really brilliant know everything	good but not brilliant
APPEARANCE		
PERSONALITY		can be snappy
SOCIAL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> better to talk to talk to them without them discussing it with other teachers better to get on with tell jokes
DIFFERENTIATION OF PUPILS	teachers and pupils both posh think higher of the ones in Band A teach most of the snobby kids gets on more with stiff pupils teachers find that some Band B are different put off it teaching Band B	teachers more like pupils in Band B treat us better

Source: 4th yr Band B pupils (Cohort 2) responses on questionnaire (Appendix 6)
sentence completion 'Teachers who teach Band A are ...' 'Teachers who
teach Band B are ...' N = 30

exclusion of socialising with pupils and, as such, are "obsessed with getting you through exams" because "they think we are destined for either college, university or a job higher than the rest" (4th year Band A). The reference to "the rest" is to Band B pupils.

In contrast, teachers who teach Band B pupils are stereotyped as "dossers' people" (4th year Band A), they are perceived to be of a lower socio-economic status than teachers who teach Band A pupils and are typified as "not posh" and "haven't been brought up proper" (4th year Band B). Pupils expect teachers of Band B pupils to be of a lower professional status than teachers of Band A pupils and they are derided as being "least qualified" and "second rate teachers". Pupils infer that these teachers are not as intelligent or as knowledgeable as other teachers because "they don't need a lot of knowledge because it won't come in useful teaching the less brainy people of Band B" (4th year Band A). Pupils reason that it is not necessary for Band B pupils to have the most qualified teachers because such pupils "won't learn much" (4th year Band A). Teachers who predominantly teach Band B pupils are stereotyped as "tough teachers" who have been taught to "sort out the trouble makers" in Band B (4th year Band A). Such teachers are expected to socialise more with Band B pupils and to "have a laugh" with pupils (4th year Band B) rather than being solely concerned with pupils' school work.

Division between pupils according to band allocation is reflected in perceived divisions between teachers according to the type of pupils they teach. Banding provides a framework for pupils' perceptions and evaluations of teachers.

6.2.1. Labelling of Teachers as Stiffs

Teachers who are perceived to be interested only in school work at the exclusion of socialising with pupils label pro-school pupils as "creeps" or as "weeds" (Woods, 1979), "swots" (Turner, 1983) or "ear 'oles" (Willis, 1977); at Westward High stereotypical views of certain pupils as stiffs are related to stereotypical views of certain teachers. To some extent labelling of teachers as stiffs arose from the amalgamation. Miss Willis explained that the ex-secondary school pupils ridiculed the ex-grammar teachers for being stiffs since they taught the ex-grammar school pupils and thus had a reputation for only being interested in school work. Data derived from a questionnaire (Appendix 6), and follow-up interviews to the same group of 4th year Band A and Band B pupils showed that the castigation of teachers as stiffs to be strikingly similar to descriptions of certain Band A pupils (Chapter 5; 5.2).

Pupils use a wide range of typifications for teachers castigated as stiffs. These relate to teachers' socio-economic and professional status, intelligence and knowledge, appearance, personality, social characteristics and the differentiation of pupils (Table 6.3). Data derived from the same questionnaire indicated that pupils expected stiffs to be teachers who mostly teach Band A pupils (Table 6.4).

DESCRIPTION	BAND A PUPILS' TYPIFICATIONS	BAND B PUPILS' TYPIFICATIONS
SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	<p>posh/talk posh someone who pronounces every word correctly brought up strict they think they are inferior and we are nothing talks down to you /treats you as inferior acts as if you were dirt under their finger nails think they are upper class been to university and think everyone should be like them they try to pump manners and graceful living into a working class majority</p>	<p>talk posh thinks they are someone more than they are/thinks they're really something special noses in the air think high of themselves</p>
PROFESSIONALISM AND PROFESSIONAL STATUS	<p>very strict makes you work hard/in silence leaves pupils to get on with their work/just talks about work</p> <p>keeps strictly to their job sticks to the school rules/never makes exceptions</p> <p>not bothered about pupils doesn't like younger children think they're God's gift to teaching</p>	<p>strict/old fashioned/on time won't let you do anything without jumping down your throat always nagging/talks to pupils only about work always making you work/home-work likes you to learn proper/follows school rules scared they might be told off by the Head of Year always tells the Head what you do if you do something wrong/splits on you to the headteacher every time you give cheek can't cope with disruptive pupils</p>
INTELLIGENCE / KNOWLEDGE	(thinks they're) dead intelligent	know everything /think they know it all
APPEARANCE	<p>acts posh / dresses posh uses a brief case combs his hair all the time</p>	
PERSONALITY	<p>looks down their noses at pupils brag about something they do admire themselves whilst dictating notes doesn't look at you when talking to you</p>	<p>thinks they can never be wrong think they're someone great loves herself talks over you</p>
SOCIAL	<p>no sense of humour / never jokes or has a laugh never lets anyone enjoy themselves/ doesn't care if you enjoy lessons can't agree with the kids today tells you about places they've been to / talks about things like opera and theatre never associates with pupils or talks to them in lesson</p>	
DIFFERENTIATION OF PUPILS		<p>thinks a lot of pupils are common looks down on pupils who cannot do the work as well as the brainy ones only like smart 'A' people who are good at work/only like brainy people</p>

Stiff teachers, like most teachers of Band A pupils, are perceived to have a higher socio-economic status than other teachers or aspire to this status; they can be university graduates and "upper class" and as such are said to be set apart from the "working class majority" of pupils (4th year Band A). Teachers can be labelled as stiffs if they do not live in or around Westward and therefore know little of pupils out of school life styles. Such teachers are characterised as people who "talk posh", "they pronounce their words properly" they "don't say 'yeah' or anything they say 'yes', 'is it not' instead of 'isn't' " (4th year Band A). Teachers can acquire reputations for being stiffs even if pupils are not taught by them but meet them in the back region. One pupil explained that "one said you've got to open the doors for them an' all this lark (...) you've got to walk on the right side (of the corridor)" (4th year Band A).

Stiff teachers keep to the school rules and take on the head-teacher's definition of the situation (cf Burgess, 1983). Pupils refer to this aspect of teachers' professionalism when differentiating between teachers. Stiffs are said to do "their job and (stick) to the rules" (4th year Band A) because they are "scared they might get told off by the head of year" (4th year Band B). Pupils also draw upon their observations and experience of teachers in the front region (classrooms)

TABLE 6.4. Pupils responses indicating stiff teachers related to the band of pupils they teach.

	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES	BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES
Band A teachers	13 (59%)	18 (86%)
Both bands	9 (41%)	2 (10%)
Band B teachers	0 (0%)	1 (4%)
TOTALS	22	21

Source: 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils responses on questionnaire
(Appendix 6)

to justify their perceptions of stiff teachers :

- Stephanie: (Mrs Thompson) she's a snob and dead posh.
 Glen: Looks down on yer.
 Pupils: Always going on about the theatre or things
 she's done or ... Shakespeare ...
 Stephanie: ... Places she's been to.

(4th year Band A)

Teachers can be labelled stiff because of the way they talk to or teach pupils or because of the knowledge they possess :

- Pupil: The teacher next door (ie. next classroom)
 is a stiff (...)
 R: Why is she a stiff ?
 Pupil: She's posh and (...) when she came she said she'd
 done all sorts of photography and drawing and she
 couldn't (...)
 R: How did you know she couldn't ?
 Pupil: Mr 'er thingey told us (ie. Mr Hey).

(4th year Band A)

Mrs Summers is labelled a stiff because "she looks down on yer all the time (...) as if you were a piece of muck" and "she's got to be better than anyone else". She is typified as being a stiff by the way she acts "dead posh" and by "the way she dresses". She is also labelled a stiff because of the way she teaches: "she's got to be better than anyone else" and another pupil added "say you're doing a painting, she'll come around and say 'Oh no, you're doing all that wrong'. She'll explain it to you but she always makes you out to be wrong" (4th year Band A).

Teachers' perceptions and criticisms of colleagues are communicated to pupils. However, comments relating to Mrs Summers must be viewed in terms of the recent amalgamation. Mr Hey was head of the

art department in the secondary school and was not offered the post when the school amalgamated in 1977. Mrs Summers joined the department as head of art soon after amalgamation. She explained that there were considerable disagreements and friction between the staff in the department, all of whom are ex-secondary modern teachers. Consequently, a teacher may 'play off' a teacher in front of pupils by subtle derision and criticism.

6.2.2. Teacher Status

Pupils are aware of the division of labour between teachers at Westward High which related directly to the amalgamation of Westward Grammar School and Burston Secondary Modern School. The differentiation between teachers is related to their former schools:

- Matthew: I think most of the teachers expected a grammar school standard 'cos they knew the grammar school before it went comprehensive.
- R: Which teachers were they ?
- Matthew: Some that were in the secondary school came and some that were in the grammar school, so they're all mixed together.
- Alison: A lot of parents probably thought that this school would be better because they had grammar school teachers. But whereas the secondaries that went comprehensive they would have secondary standard teachers.
- R: Secondary standard ? So there is a different standard between the two schools, is there ?
- Alison : (...) The teachers (from the) grammar school would be used to a different standard of behaviour in a sense (...) this (secondary modern school) was known as Burston Borstal. It was supposed to be a dumping ground for everybody else. That's what I've been told anyway. (pupils laugh)

(4th year Band A)

Whilst pupils cannot identify specific teachers from either the grammar school or the secondary school, they are aware of a division

of labour within the school which is reflected in the organisation of the school and teachers' perceptions of teachers (Chapter 3;3.5).

6.3. Strategies and Personal Fronts

Teachers of Band A pupils, particularly those derided as stiffs, are typified as not liking or are not able to teach Band B pupils. Band B pupils explained that these teachers "don't like us 'cos we're common to them lot 'cos they're used to teaching the Band A" and they "can't cope with us (...) because we argue back with them (...) 'cos Band A don't because they're always just quiet little people" (mocking tone, 4th year Band B). Teachers of Band B pupils are perceived to be particularly attuned to the ways of Band B pupils. Mr Hey and Mr Wade, both ex-secondary modern teachers, are cited by Band B pupils as being able to "understand our ways of things". In contrast, Mrs Bailey, a middleaged ex-secondary modern teacher of art, is said to be "very old fashioned". The teachers Band B pupils single out as teachers who understand them are ex-secondary modern teachers. Mr Challow, an ex-secondary modern teacher who also teaches Band A pupils, is typified as being 'common' by Band B pupils and is said to be "a laugh and jokes with pupils" and "most of the kids call him Challs" (Band A pupils, responses on questionnaire).

Pupils see socialising as an essential part of teacher-pupil interaction in the classroom. Teachers who are not stiffs talk to pupils about pupils' social and after school life. Mr Fellows, an ex-secondary teacher, is cited by Band A pupils: "Well, Mr Fellows (...) head of year, I was getting told off for something and I was talking to him and he said 'How's your boyfriend?' and we just talk. And you can talk to him about anything". Pupils suggest that certain teachers

are prepared to have a laugh with pupils which is perceived as a legitimate teacher strategy designed to make pupils work:

- Pupil: They'll have a laugh with you when you're trying to work which makes you work.
- Matthew: You get to respect them but if you get to hate them you don't get to do the work for them.
- R: Which teachers would you respect, a stiff teacher ?
- Pupils: No.
- Alison: No, one who probably can take a joke against himself.

(4th year Band A)

Teachers who predominantly teach Band B pupils may adopt particular strategies to cope with what they perceive as a particular type of pupil. It was clear from observations that Mr Hey adopted a particular strategy of 'humouring them' :

Mr Hey said that Band B pupils had to be humoured into work and that they rebel against authority. When the pupils (4th years) came into the classroom he introduced me to them saying that they were going to do something different and then he joked and said to them 'I'll do a song and dance routine for you!' It was also apparent that Mr Hey expected these Band B pupils to be disruptive with me whilst I was interviewing them because Mrs Summers later informed me that he had said to her when he left me alone with the group - 'Oh, he'll have a riot on his hands'. When he returned after my interview with them (about one hour), he said 'It went alright then ? A novelty you see'.

(Field Notes)

Whilst certain teachers' personal fronts are designed to encourage friendliness with pupils which gives rise to particular strategies such as humouring them, other teachers castigated as stiffs present different fronts. It was clear that Mrs Bailey, who had overheard pupils conversations about stiff teachers, presented a different front compared with other teachers who do not conform strictly to the school rules. Mrs Bailey's comments were recounted by Mrs Summers:

"(Mrs Bailey) had heard a word she hadn't heard before. She said she couldn't think what it was so I said 'stiffs' and she said 'yes, that's it'. She said 'they even called me a stiff, they said Dave Hey wasn't a stiff'. She went on to clarify it by saying that 'as far as I can gather it means that I'm a bit stuffy (...) Well, I just try to do my job. The children think Dave Hey is marvellous because he lets them do as they like'. She said that she comes through the room and 'they're wearing jackets and scarves and chewing gum and he allows them to play a radio which is forbidden in school anyway'. She said if she goes across and tells them to take the gum out of their mouth and take their jackets off they pull a face and mutter under their breath."

Mrs Bailey saw her role of teacher as one that is necessarily conforming to the school rules which is made specific by the headteacher outlined in the Staff Handbook. She justified her conformity by making reference to the school's hierarchy and the role of year heads (Chapter 3; 3.5) as Mrs Summers explained :

"She told me that as far as she was concerned she has a job to do. Mr Fellows (year head) lays down the school rules, he is in turn enforcing the rules laid down by the Head (...) She said as far as she was concerned they could go on calling her names it wasn't going to bother her because she feels she's doing what she is supposed to be doing."

Clearly, teachers conform in different ways to the school rules laid down by the headteacher. Those teachers who conform strictly to the rules, who never deviate and are only concerned with school work, can be castigated as stiffs by pupils in just the same way as pupils are critical of pupils who too readily engage in extra work.

Summary

Pupils' perceptions of teachers has been shown to be related to teachers' presentation of self with respect to the impressions teachers' give off by the type of clothes they wear. A teacher's personal front is perceived to be related to their ability to teach pupils' effectively.

Pupils differentiate between teachers according to the control they have over pupils and there was an expectation amongst certain pupils that teachers who could not exert physical control over them through violence were weak disciplinarians. In this respect, pupils differentiate between male and female teachers; female teachers are considered not to be a physical threat to pupils. Teacher status was shown to relate to the type of pupils they teach with divisions between pupils according to band allocation being associated with similar divisions between teachers. At an extreme level teachers who never break school rules or are aloof from pupils socially, or are wholly concerned with school work, are castigated as stiffs. Such teachers are perceived to be more likely to teach Band A pupils. In contrast, ex-secondary modern teachers and teachers of Band B pupils are perceived to utilise particular strategies and adopt personal fronts designed to encourage friendliness with pupils, and their approach is perceived to be related to socialising with pupils. Divisions between teachers at the organisational level has been shown to be matched to divisions between teachers perceived by pupils.

In Section 3 the data presented gives a detailed analysis of differentiation and division at the classroom level, utilising a comparative study of a Band A classroom and a Band B classroom with respect to pupils' working practices (Chapter 7) and teacher and pupil strategies (Chapter 8).

Section 3

INTERACTIONAL LEVEL

CHAPTER SEVEN

PUPILS' WORKING PRACTICES

Data presented at the organisational level (Chapter 3) and at the perceptual level (Chapters 4 to 6) has shown the extent of differentiation and division between pupils and teachers with respect to pupils' set or band allocation. These data were largely drawn from the back region and derived from practices of organisation, teacher and pupils perceptions and expectations. Chapter Seven focuses in some detail on the front region and on classroom interaction, though relating aspects of classroom interaction to what occurs in the back region. In this respect a comparative analysis was undertaken of teacher and pupil interactions and perceptions in two different classrooms: compulsory 'O' level English, consisting of literature and language (subjects restricted at this level to Band A pupils) and optional CSE Mode III life science (a subject restricted to Band B pupils). The settings and props utilised in these two classrooms differ (Chapter 2; 2.2.1). Whereas English pupils sit at desks in rows and do not move around the classroom, life science pupils use a laboratory, sit at benches and are allowed a certain amount of movement around the room. Analysis of interaction takes account of these factors and shows how pupils went about their work and how they engaged in particular working practices. Data was obtained through participant observations and video and tape recording classroom interaction. Informal discussions with both teacher and pupils took place either during or after the lesson with the utilisation of triangulation procedures (Chapter 2; 2.2.1, 2.2.2). These processes are placed in the context of pupils' outcomes with respect to 'O' level or CSE examination results.

7.1. Working Practices

Research in education has not been particularly concerned with the relationship between how pupils work in school and the working practices developed by workers in industrial, commercial or professional settings. However, Willis's (1977) comparison of the counter-school culture with the shop floor culture is a rare example of this type of research. Willis suggests that class identity is reproduced when it has "passed through the individual and the group" with labour power being an important pivot because "it is the main mode of active connection with the world". The connection between group identity, school and the world of work is outlined by Willis:

"The specific milieu, I argue, in which a certain subjective sense of manual labour power, and an objective decision to apply it to manual work, is produced in the working class counter-school culture. It is here where working class themes are mediated to individuals and groups in their own determinate context and where working class kids creatively develop, transform and finally reproduce aspects of the larger culture in their own praxis in such a way as to finally direct them to certain kinds of work".

(Willis, 1977, p2)

Willis argues that there are "many profound similarities" between the counter-school culture and the shop floor culture. Despite and perhaps because of the harsh conditions and external direction from teachers or bosses, Willis argues that people do look for meaning and impose framework which are most clearly manifest in pupils or workers exercising their ability to seek enjoyment in social activity in their workplace which indirectly relates to their work.

The way pupils go about engaging in school work has been referred to in the present research as working practices (Chapters 4 and 5). Pupils' working practices may be said to be patterns of working which

are sometimes negotiated with the teacher and are specifically related to pupils' interests in and expected outcome from school. Whilst such practices form part of classroom interaction they overlap with practices outside the classroom such as the legitimacy or otherwise of engaging in homework. The analysis of working practices in industry by Gottschalk (1973); Parker (1973a, 1973b) and Hirszowicz (1981) show quite clearly how workers and management negotiate and bargain about work rates. Hirszowicz has outlined a number of practices that workers have developed. She suggests that "by studying the relationship between the type of incentive and the resulting output, one accumulates empirical evidence of the worker responses to various rewards and benefits". Similar benefits and rewards operate in schools. At Westward High the rewards system clearly favoured the academic Band A or Sixth Form pupil (Chapter 3; 3.3.4).

Hirszowicz outlines a number of practices in industrial settings. For instance, the practice of 'payment by results', she suggests, is a widely used method of motivating people to work. Work is seen to have some tangible pay off. However, if workers cannot easily attain rewards, a practice of 'gold bricking' or as Willis (1977) notes, "systematic soldiering" is brought into operation so that workers may "find it more profitable to save their energy and peace of mind" by avoiding extra work. They may also restrict the amount of work and output they do and operate 'quota restrictions'. Even where workers can increase their output easily, they "may still use their skill and ingenuity to maintain a sound balance between output level and wage increases and avoid reaching the highest limit of income based on maximum productivity" (Hirszowicz, 1981). Workers may also

restrict their output and give the impression to a supervisor of lower productivity. By keeping aside production "they can converse, relax, or whatever, making up for lost production later". Pupils in schools utilise similar practices. Hargreaves (1972) noted how pupils write the date in pencil at the top of the page. If the work has not been checked that day, the date can be rubbed out and a new one substituted. In this way, a pupil can relax from working during that particular lesson, secure in the knowledge that if called upon to account for this work, he can provide irrefutable evidence of work achieved that day by the date on the page.

Workers can also be polarised between 'rate busters' and 'restricters'. Goffman (1959) has drawn attention to the notion of the rate buster who is frowned upon for working at a greater rate than his fellow workers. At Westward High pupils who engage too readily in extra work can be derided as being stiffs or spiffs. Such pupils may be labelled as "swots" (Turner, 1983), "creeps" (Woods, 1979) or "earholes" (Willis, 1977). Indeed, pupils can utilise what Turner (1983) has referred to as "the work restriction norm", with even academic pupils putting on a false front and seemingly to restrict the amount of work they do. There are clear parallels with industrial settings :

"One rate buster explained: 'I'm here to make money. If any of these damn loafers think they can stop me, let them try it'. On the other hand the restricters asserted that 'you've got to keep your nose to the wheel.... And if things was fixed so you could make your regular bonus by working like hell, I wouldn't do it if I had to make somebody sore to get it or have the whole shop down on me'."

(Hirszowicz 1981, p 88)

In industrial settings workers can engage in "the go-slow"; "the overtime ban"; "informal refusal of co-operation and withdrawal of

goodwill" and "the work to rule"; with strikes being the accumulation of industrial action (Hirszowicz, 1981). However, strikes do not occur in societies in which individuals are unable to withdraw their labour or where "withdrawal has little or no effect on the interests of others". Pupils do not strike, yet they have much in common with workers in industrial settings and engage in practices that have a commonality.

Observations of English and life science pupils and their perceptions of classroom life showed quite clearly that they adopt a variety of working practices (Table 7.1).

TABLE 7.1. English and life science pupils' working practices

English Pupils' (Band A)	Life Science Pupils' (Band B)
Restrictive Working Practices Overtime Wanting to Please/Coasting or Contributing / Note-taking Perks Copying as a Non-Legitimate Practice Pay Off and Prospects Co-operative Working	Restrictive Working Practices Working to rule Restriction on Perks Demarcation Protectionism and Solidarity Time Off and Absenteeism Talking, Wandering, Messing and Having a Laugh Rituals, Routines and Underlife Practices Disputes

7.2. Restrictive Working Practices

Pupils operate different forms of restrictive working practices. For English (Band A) pupils there is restriction on work output unless specific work is stipulated by the teacher;

- Karen: They (teachers) might expect you to learn it in your own time but you don't because you don't have to (...)
You don't do any more work than you have to.
- Cathy: Unless they give you a specific thing that you've got to do like: 'Do comprehension such and such and I'll collect your books in' they say 'Learn such and such a page' - you don't (...)
- R: You mean a teacher shouldn't hint (about work), she should say?
- Jane: She should say whether she wants it in or not and when it's to be done for 'cos if she says 'Oh do it', you know, and no one's going to check up on you, you don't do it.

(English pupils)

When details of work are made explicit by the teacher and pupils know the amount of work output required in the context of specific time limits, for example, when work to be done is known to be collected in afterwards, marked and graded, this is deemed legitimate work and working restrictions are not operated.

Life Science pupils operate a different form of restrictive working practice. Whereas English pupils are prepared to do prescribed amounts of work, life science pupils restrict the total amount of work they are prepared to do, regardless of whether work has been specifically stipulated by Miss Willis. For example, doing work over a summer vacation was judged as illegitimate work so that questions to pupils about homework led then to offer comments related to comparative working practices between Band A and Band B pupils.

(Miss Willis is standing close to pupils)

- Michelle: Miss, I bet if you gave the posh noshes (ie Band A pupils) the insulation project, I bet they would have handed it in, wouldn't they?
- Miss Willis: It's not 'cos they're posh, it's just that they ...
- Collette: ... it's 'cos they're stiffs and their mothers will shout at them (ie if they do not do the work).

Miss Willis: No it's – what it is, they want to do well in life. They are interested in learning. They know the more they learn the better chance they'll have in life.

(during life science)

In their conversation, both Miss Willis and these pupils draw attention to the differences in working practices made apparent by pupils' band allocation (noted in detail in Chapter 5), thus confirming and legitimising the status of Band A pupils in the hierarchy of pupils at Westward High. Life science pupils also relate pupils' working practices to their home background so that "posh noshes", who may also have teachers as parents, are expected to work harder.

Other life science pupils restrict their work to a minimum "standard" to merely pass their CSE:

R: So you don't think there's any point in working?

Malcolm: Course I think there's a point in working.

R: Well, at what level do you work then?

Malcolm: Standard (...) well, just normal (...) I don't want grade 1, so long as I pass CSE...

R: Just enough to pass?

(Voices from pupils near Malcolm call him "creepy, creepy, creepy" either because he is talking to me or talking about school work)

Malcolm: I'll get a 2 or a 3 in this subject.

R: Not a 1, that would be too much, would it?

Malcolm: Well, I don't know. It would be alright if I could get a '1' but I'm not really bothered.

(during life science)

Grade 1 is not an expected outcome for Band B pupils (Chapter 3; 3.4.1). Restrictive working practices for these pupils are also used to avoid being labelled as a stiff, with all the working practices associated with Band A pupils. The extent to which teachers at Westward

High may not be aware of the division and resentment between pupils in relation to working practices employed by pupils was evident in Miss Willis' comments after the lesson:

"I never realised they felt so strongly, I mean, I know why they call them stiffs but even when we had the secondary modern school, the kids who worked at the top of the secondary mod. who were just doing CSE's were called stiffs. You know, I didn't realise, listening to them there, there seems to be a real deep resentment against them (ie. Band A pupils)."

7.3 Overtime and Working to Rule

Whilst overtime is part of English pupils' working practices, working to rule are practices operated by life science pupils. During the fifth year, teachers are perceived by English pupils to put greater pressure on them to work harder:

Sammy: You can't live a life of your own (...). They're (teachers) are so serious about everything. You're not allowed to laugh or they say 'Oh, you should be serious you've got your 'O' levels coming (...)

Mark: No time to muck about (...)

Sammy: All the time they're making you aware of it (...) They make them sound like the gifts of the gods, only to be bestowed on the rare few.

(English pupils)

Other pupils explained how they sometimes indulged in a certain amount of overtime or extra work which related to their perceptions of pupils as being a "hard thinker", "thinks a lot before he writes" and "does everything in rough first" (pupils' perceptions of pupils, Chapter 5):

R: Is there anyone in your class like that?

Russell: Well, for assignments ...

Matthew: Well, for assignments you have to do that, really, otherwise you make a right mess of it. Like the only assignment I didn't do any rough work for, I got a 'C'.

(English pupils)

Clearly, a 'C' grade, whilst being a pass grade at 'O' level, was not considered a high enough grade for this pupil. This affirms the high grade achievement expectation for Band A pupils and their perceived working practices by life science pupils, as Malcolm explained: "Well, they don't just work a lot, they work for higher grades".

In contrast, life science pupils do not see extra work and home-work (overtime) as legitimate work and can adopt a practice of working to rule. This was made apparent by one pupil's complaint to Miss Willis:

Steven: Say we've finished one lot of work and it's like the other day, you said turn over the page and do some more. Like other teachers (...) when you've done that page, you know, they don't go onto another, they've stopped but you keep telling us through the lesson (ie do more more work).

Miss Willis: So you mean I don't give you any chance to sit and chat and talk?

Steven: Well, you're not supposed to, are you, only you are but ...

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

Pupils may be concerned not to do too much work and so in their workplaces these pupils may engage in the practice of clock-watching, as my field notes make explicit:

Towards the end of the lesson Steven kept pointing out to the teacher that it was break time. Miss Willis said it was still not time to go (it was about one minute until break time). Steven then complained that the teacher was being very precise by waiting for the minute part of one minute. Miss Willis said to Steven that he always wants to get out of class and always complains that it is later than it was. When I asked "Why d'you want to get out, Steve, get some fresh air?" he indicated by putting his fingers to his mouth that he wanted to smoke.

(Field Notes, life science)

The practice of working to rule also means that once the lesson has finished, life science pupils are eager to leave. Malcolm was observed to strategically move places and sit near to the door so that he could make a quick escape from the classroom since all life science lessons were just before break times or home times. This was corroborated by pupils' comments on viewing slides of a lesson :

(To Malcolm)

R: You're on film, I mean moving like I don't know what. That's when the bell went. Why's that?

Mark: Wants to go for a fag at break.

R: (To Malcolm) You wanted to get out of the lesson. I thought you liked life science?

Malcolm: I do but it was just, I don't know. I just like to get out of the lesson when its finished. I think everybody's like me.

(Comments on viewing slides of a lesson)

There is a sense in which these pupils remarks and their eagerness to leave the classroom resemble factories or other industrial settings where the workers keenly watch and wait for the factory hooter to blow.

7.4. Wanting to Please, Coasting or Contributing, Note-Taking

The working practice for English pupils of overtime does not take into account moment to moment changes which are part of these pupils' working practices during teaching and learning. Whilst English pupils engage in practices of wanting to please the teacher and contributing in class, which constitutes putting effort into work, they may also, to a certain extent, withdraw their labour and coast. These practices interrelate.

7.4.1. Wanting to Please

This is an accepted and legitimate practice for English pupils, though not necessarily for life science pupils, and relates to pupils' perceptions of pupils. Such pupils are said to be "good all the time" :

Sammy: They're dead anxious to please.

R: Anxious to please? Is there anyone in your group like that?

Julie: I think everyone is.

R: (To Darrel, life science pupil) Is anyone in your group Darren, anxious to please?

Darren: (Laughs) No, not really.

(Pupil interview: perceptions of pupils)

Although pupils in the English group are anxious to please the teacher, different workers are said by pupils to use different forms of this practice. Some can be "quiet about it" and "put it in their work"; others are said to achieve this through their presentation of self: "some use big words they don't need just to impress the teacher". Clearly, whilst wanting to please is a recognised practice for English pupils, the use of big words may be counter-productive with respect to peer group influence since it may not be considered a legitimate working practice.

7.4.2. Coasting or Contributing

Because hand-raising and question and answer techniques form the major structure of didactic teaching in English, pupils may contribute to teaching and learning or they may utilise coasting. Coasting consists of a number of not easily observable working practices which English pupils explained.

Pupils may engage in "Turn-Taking" and allow other pupils to answer the question: "You might know it (ie. the answer) and every-

body else has their hand up so it's not worth putting your hand up, is it?"

'Keep it to yourself' is a form of restricting knowledge to oneself: "I know the answer so why should I show everybody else" and why should I "show myself up". Pupils may have 'Disagreements' with the teacher: "you might not like the teacher (...) say you've had an argument with her (teacher) it's a sort of complex where you say 'right, I'm not telling her that's it'". Disagreements may take the form of personality clashes with the teacher but do not constitute major disputes. Pupils may take 'Time Off' in lessons and not contribute because they are "thinking about other things", "can't be bothered half the time" or are "having a bad day".

Pupils who regularly contribute in class are said to occupy certain locations within the classroom, with such pupils gathering together in cliques. In English, pupils sit by their friends and certain areas of the classroom are perceived by pupils to contain pupils who are more ready to contribute in class:

Gillian: Well people on this side (left side, facing pupils) answer more than people on the other side (...) because I think they're more talkative. I think they're more shy people on the other side (...). See, I go round with Emma and Rachael so we all stick together. But Heather and Pamela, they're very quiet so they stick together.

R: So you're talkative amongst yourselves. Are those the ones who raise their hands and contribute a lot?

Gillian: Yeah, we're cheekier. If you talk in lessons, if you talk amongst yourselves, you're more likely to answer the teacher than people who just sit quiet.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a Lesson)

7.4.3. Note-Taking

This is an observable working practice which becomes part of the routine in didactic teaching in English. The teacher suggests certain aspects of the novel or play has some significance and requests pupils to make a note of it. Without exception, on the many occasions this occurred, pupils heads bowed as they underlined particular parts of the text. Pupils did not dispute the teacher's views and were willing to accept her opinions.

7.5. Perks

A notable aspect of workplaces is the workers' access to perks. At Westward High, life science pupils referred to the demonstrable lack of perks for Band B pupils. Band A pupils were perceived to have access to perks which ranged from pupils going on field trips without having to wear school uniforms or going camping. Band A pupils were also perceived to be entitled to organised school holidays, unlike Band B pupils, as these pupils noted in conversation with Miss Willis:

Michelle: Yeah, Miss, but when these holidays come up you never get to hear about these holidays (...) These Switzerland holidays.

Miss Willis: Well, it goes in the bulletin.

Michelle: I never hear about it.

Collette: It's not, it's all for Band A.

(during life science)

After the lesson, Miss Willis expressed particular concern about pupils' interpretations and clearly saw it in terms of differentiation and division between pupils within the school:

"You know there's not such a great demand for places whereby you say first come first served, so those with money will get first chance (...). The skiing trip at Easter I'm really scratting around to get people to go on it (...). It just seems

this school, you know, with a lot of kids it seems to be going in the other direction and enforcing a class system. Them and us is even stronger than it was before."

Perks and pupils' perceived access to them heightens yet further the differentiation between pupils according to band allocation.

7.6 Demarcation

Workplaces can be characterised by the division of labour between male and female workers. Westward High is no exception to this. The analysis of working practices thus far has revealed differentiated working practices between pupils, particularly with respect to their band allocation. However, pupils at Westward High also operate a division of labour in the school, a demarcation between work judged legitimate according to sex stereotypes. In Chapter 5, data were outlined on how stereotypes of sex roles related to the woman working in the home which was an expected working practice for Band B girls, Band A girls being judged more career orientated.

A series of life science lessons on reproduction and contraception formed the basis of discussions with pupils and showed the extent of this division of labour between boys and girls. Life science girls, particularly, did not expect boys to be interested enough to work in lessons which were ostensibly concerned with child-rearing:

Jackie: Because it's a girl's subject. It's what like girls do.

Gary: It's like metalwork's a boy's subject (...) I'd rather do metalwork than talk about babies.

Paula: People who are in that set (ie. referring to family science) are going to be nannies.

Jackie: It's not the boys who have the babies.

(life science pupils)

Demarcation was legitimised by other pupils because they insisted

that boys would not be prepared to do work on child rearing "because they won't want to do 40 side essays" (Michelle). However, manliness and peer group pressure were also factors. Collette suggested that boys would not want to do a "girl's subject" because "boys would call them cissies". The working practice of subject demarcation between boys and girls is clearly influenced by cultural expectations dominant in society:

Collette: Like if they (boys) took it, it would help them when they were older but it's usually the girls who look after the children 'cos the fellas don't usually bath 'em and change their nappies, do they? (laughs).

7.7. Protectionism and Solidarity

Pupils according to their band allocation, operate different forms of restrictions on their work and have different expectations for different workers in school. Protectionism as a working practice seeks to preserve the autonomy of pupils' classroom life. Life science pupils may try to prevent other teachers gaining knowledge of their working practices in the front region and so prevent teachers talking about pupils in the back region (staffroom). Some pupils were not willing for me to feed-back to the teacher, as part of triangulation, information they offered concerning their interpretations of events in a particular lesson:

Debbie: I'm not telling you if you've got the tape (recorder) on

R: Why?

Debbie: 'Cos I'm not.

R: Well, I'm trying to find out.

Debbie: Well, it'll go round the staff room, won't it (...)
you will, you will tell Miss Willis and it'll go round
the staffroom.

(Comments on a video recording of
lesson)

This anxiety is shared by other pupils, as Claire (a Band A pupil) explained : "You just can't tell your own feelings to a teacher without it getting around (the staffroom)". Clearly, pupils are aware of the back region practice between teachers of the supply and exchange of information about pupils (Chapter 3; 3.2.2). That what happened in the front region of classroom life was not confidential between teacher and pupils was clearly a concern with pupils.

Classroom life may also be used to exchange information about, and thus reveal aspects of, solidarity. For life science pupils, as indeed for other pupils particularly in Band B (Chapter 5; 5.5), 'grassing' was considered an illegitimate practice, as this snippet of classroom conversation revealed:

Mark: and she (teacher) says to Malcolm, go and get Timpson (year head) and he says 'no', he goes 'no, I'm not going to grass on my mates'.

Mark went on to explain to his friend that none of the pupils would grass on their mates, "nobody would go". There is a real sense in which life science pupils protect their classroom autonomy and indeed form a close bond with their own friends through solidarity against the perceived threat from teachers.

7.8. Copying as Legitimate or Non-Legitimate Practices

The working practice of copying from pupils' work and its legitimacy is another source of differentiation between pupils according to their set allocation (Chapter 4; 4.2) or band allocation (Chapter 5; 5.2). English pupils view copying as not being a legitimate practice and as this calls into question pupils' intelligence. As this pupil explained : "like a clever (pupil), he uses his brain, he doesn't, you know, just say 'Oh I can't do this (and) copies off someone else". However, the

back region of registration form rooms are observed by pupils as being used for such illegitimate working practices:

- Matthew: Well, there's some people that copy out of... not mentioning no names but they come into our room and ask for somebody's book and sit down and they sit through assembly (ie. copying work).
- Russell: Sometimes you can't help it, like if you've been away ill or something like that.
- Matthew: You sit through assembly when you should be in there and you're not, you're in your form room copying up notes to hand in on time.

(English pupils)

Clearly, 'clever' pupils not only have certain dominant characteristics which set them apart from other pupils (Chapter 5; 5.1.1.), but they utilise different working practices compared with 'less clever' pupils. For English pupils, copying becomes a legitimate practice only when it is necessitated through absenteeism over which a pupils has no control.

7.9. Pay Off and Prospects / Time Off and Absenteeism

The varied and differentiated working practices utilised by pupils must be seen in the context of outcomes as perceived by pupils – that is, what pupils expect to gain from working in school termed 'pay off and prospects'.

7.9.1. Pay-Off and Prospects

English pupils readily compare their working practices with those they believe to be utilised by Band B pupils. 'O' level qualifications are perceived as "something to work for" and are compared favourably to low grade CSE and pupils in Band B:

Karen: They know there's no good out of it even if they work hard 'cos they're not going to get anywhere.

Cathy: They'll end up with no qualifications 'cos they just don't bother because if they're not going to get any qualifications at the end of it, why work for no qualifications?

(English pupils)

Life science pupils do work, although they utilise restrictive working practices (as noted previously) so that work output has to be increased through the use of the teacher's strategies (Chapter 8). Paul is one pupil who sees some pay off from working in life science and disregards being labelled a stiff or a creep by other pupils: "all I want to do is get a good job. I'm not bothered how much it takes me, so long as I get a good job, that's all". However, not all pupils share Paul's optimism about work:

R: Paul says he has to work for something that's why school's better. (To Mark) Are you working for anything?

Mark: Me, I'm working for nowt.

(during life science)

For other life science pupils working in school will not produce any useful qualifications and can be looked upon with derision:

Darren: It's not worth it nowadays, all these exams. You've got to have 'O' levels to be a busman.

R: What d'you mean, it's not worth it?

Darren: Rubbish, innit (...) About 20 odd years ago, 30 odd years ago if you wanted to be a policeman they'd just drag you off the streets and ask you to join up.

R: Oh, yes, you want to be a policeman, don't you.

Darren: Now, you have to have about 5 'A' levels or 5 'O' levels or whatever.

R: So, what's your point?

Darren: Load of rubbish, don't need these exams (...) Well, lots of jobs you'll get them anyway, won't yer. If you're gonna get a job, you'll get a job won't yer?

(during life science)

It is clear that pupils see working in school in relation to job expectation and the job market (as noted in Chapter 3). Thus, whilst Steven, a life science pupil, explained that he would like to be in Band A because "they get better qualifications, better jobs"; other pupils restrict their work because they perceive very little pay-off and prospects from school work. This was clearly a source of irritation for Miss Willis:

"Like Darrel T-, all he is is lazy, he comes out with questions all the time, the same question: 'What good is a science CSE?' I'm fed up trying to explain to him anymore. He brings that excuse all the time as though he's some intellectual (...) That's the reason for doing no work, He's bone idle."

(after lesson comments)

The legitimacy of this pupil's complaints were viewed by the teacher in the context of expectations for particular Band B pupils, made apparent by Miss Willis' comment "as though he's some intellectual". However, working in school must be viewed in the context of the present climate of high unemployment, which brings about pessimism and dejection with some pupils, such as Malcolm who retorted during a life science lesson:

"What's grades got to do with it, this day and age? (...) There's no employment for anyone, there's no jobs or anything. It's just absolutely knackered the world's crapped off, sort of thing".

Mark, Darrel T- and Malcolm obtained only one or two low grade CSE's at the end of their school career, whilst Steven obtained no CSE's (Appendix 17). These pupils' attitudes to society had a clear influence on their working practices in school.

7.9.2. Time Off and Absenteeism

Life science pupils can employ the working practice of 'time off'. Time off can take at least two forms: it can constitute a 'free

lesson' (restrictive working or no working) or it can mean absence from school. The working practice of time off was made apparent when Miss Willis took pupils onto the school playing field for an ecology lesson. Malcolm, Debbie and Tracey were working together, began to have a laugh and explained to me their reluctance to work:

R: What about you, Tracey, d'you think it's a good idea to come outside?

Tracey: What about me? I don't know.

Malcolm: We don't want to work, though.

R: You want to come outside without the work?

Malcolm: Yeah, just have a sit down, have a free lesson.

(outside, during life science)

Having time off or a free lesson for life science pupils can also be related to particular periods in the week. The last period on a Friday afternoon was regarded by these pupils as a lax period when they bide their time to leave school for the weekend. My intrusion as a researcher using this period for data collection threw this practice into sharp relief, as these pupils complained:

Tracey: This lesson used to be good until you came.

R: Friday afternoon? Oh come on, you don't do much Friday afternoon?

Lynn: I know, that's the point (...)

Malcolm: Usually, have a fag, Friday afternoon.

(life science pupils)

It is probable that the mention of having a fag is bravado, more so than the practice of having a free lesson.

Time off is also related to having time off school. Boredom can encourage the practice of time off, as Malcolm complained: "School bores me anyway. I'm sick of it. Me mum will tell you that (...) I'm

always moaning to her - 'can I have days off school?'. She won't let me though". During these periods of observing life science lessons certain pupils had time off school. Steven reportedly went away to sea for two weeks when the classroom research began. Another pupil, John, who the teacher and pupils said was a pupil who can get good grades in exams, took time off school to endeavour to combat boredom. Time off becomes synonymous with recuperation from the demands of school. At the end of one research session John's Report form had to be signed. This is a form which pupils carry around with them to lessons if they have been absent illegitimately from school:

- R: Have you been bobbing off school?
 John: A few days.
 R: Where have you been?
 John: Westpool.
 R: Why Westpool?
 John: Better than Westward.
 R: I thought you liked school (...) I thought you liked life science?
 John: Yeah, but I got sick of school.
 R: You couldn't take any more?
 John: Yeah.

Westpool is the nearby nothern holiday resort, a bustling town with much activity, particularly during the summer and autumn. Data presented in Chapter 3 (3.2.4), from the Year Head's reports indicated quite clearly that there was a predominance of absenteeism from Band B pupils.

7.10. Talking, Wandering, Messing and Having a Laugh

Analysis of working practices utilised by pupils show a certain amount of overlap. Boredom is problematic for pupils and can give

rise to other practices such as talking, wandering about, messing and having a laugh. Talking is a working practice which helps relieve boredom. Life science pupils naturally indulge in talking which is deemed a common-place and legitimate working practice as Darren explained:

"What's wrong. You get bored, you might find it boring in science so you talk to someone. Then we get done for talking just because we don't like the work. (To researcher) In our science set you know how boring our work is, we have to do the same things over and over again, don't we?"

(during life science)

Later in the lesson Darren remarked: "we never stop (talking) hardly, apart from an interesting lesson. We do a lot of talking in this class, don't we, and discuss things amongst ourselves even if it's not about work". Work and writing may only be acceptable for these pupils if it is associated with talking.

Wandering around the classroom is a routine working practice indulged in by life science pupils. The arrangements of furniture allowed this to occur. On one occasion the teacher remarked to Malcolm: "what's the matter, Malcolm, are you bored - going for a wander?" Later Malcolm explained that wandering around the classroom was considered a legitimate working practice which is acceptable to the teacher:

"Most days you get on with your work, you know, then you get a day when you're always wandering around and everything like that (...) She knows that I wander around sometimes. I don't think she minds but I don't do it all that often, really (...) I'm not what you call a creep, you know, who always gets on with their work."

(during life science)

Messing about is a practice that develops from the first year and

can continue in the upper school, as Malcolm insisted: "everybody does. I don't know they're just immature. I did it in my first year but you know, I wasn't that bad". Although Malcolm explained that his behaviour (messing about) is not that bad, he saw having a laugh as a legitimate working practice in school:

- Malcolm: I have a laugh, in nearly all my subjects but...
- R: Have a laugh, now does that mean with the teacher?
- Malcolm: Oh, no, no chance.
- R: Having a laugh between who then?
- Malcolm: Between me and my mates (...) We have a joke about different things, like.

(during life science)

For Malcolm life science was one of his best subjects for having a laugh because he "gets on" with Miss Willis and enjoys the subject, whereas having a laugh in other subjects is against a background of boredom. However, for these pupils there may be tensions between having a laugh and wanting to work and being encouraged to work;

- Malcolm: Sometimes the teacher lets us have a laugh, you know – the Head of Sixth Form (English, ex-grammar teacher) if he was a bit stricter and told us to get on with our work, you know, I think I'd be better in English.
- R: Do you think that goes for a lot of your mates, that they'd like to be told more what to do and (the teacher) be stricter with you?
- Malcolm: Ah, no, me and Batters (Mark) were some of the people who want to get on but we can't because we like to have a laugh.

(during life science)

English pupils also experience boredom, which was apparent in their perceptions of pupils (Chapter 5; 5.1). For these pupils boredom is a problematic element of their schooling and classroom life, in English and in other subjects. These pupils' reaction to boredom, like

life science pupils, is to take their mind off such work by daydreaming. The workplace setting, unlike life science pupils who work in a laboratory, and the teacher's style of teaching (didactic) does not allow wandering around the classroom and makes talking difficult. Work is achieved entirely by pupils being seated. However, pupils utilise the arrangements of furniture to covertly communicate with their friends. One pupil who sat at the back of the classroom was pleased to explain to me how she was able to show photographs under the desk to her friend without being detected by either the teacher or myself.

7.11 Rituals, Routines and Underlife Practices

Whilst English pupils operate covert practices not easily detected, by the teacher, life science pupils engage in rituals and routines and underlife practices which are overt and observable.

7.11.1. Rituals and Routines

Life science pupils restrict the total amount of work they are prepared to do, engage frequently in time off and may not see any pay-off from working in school. More particularly, life science pupils did not always provide their own tools and equipment for work, unlike English pupils who carried their pens, pencils and books in their briefcases or bags which they carried into the classroom. Consequently, the provision of equipment by Miss Willis became a ritual and routine activity during many lessons. These consisted of pupils borrowing rulers and rubbers, the teacher giving out and counting in pens and pencils, or the teacher asking pupils to lend other pupils equipment:

Steven: Miss, I haven't got a pencil.

Miss Willis: Tell me another one Steven.
(Teacher hands him pencil)

(Martin asks the teacher for a pencil)
 Miss Willis (looks in her bag) I don't think I have,
 actually I gave some out this morning and I
 forgot to get them back. Sorry, I haven't
 (to the class)
 Has anyone got a pencil to lend Martin, please?

(during life science)

This activity of lending and borrowing was clearly related to pupils from Band B, as Miss Willis explained:

"The fact that they don't bring their pens and pencils – I mean, basically it annoys me because they should be trained to bring their own pens and pencils. But they're never going to do it because they're not interested enough. So, you know, you either have a confrontation where you're not going to win 'cos they'll never bring a pen or pencil, or you're going to end up – you just have to make a joke about it and you have to provide the pens for them otherwise you get no work done."

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

The provision of equipment for Band B was clearly a practice used by other teachers in the school. Whilst collecting data from 4th year (Cohort 2) Band B pupils, Mr Hey came into the room and left a number of pencils to be given out to pupils who, he explained, were loathe to bring their own.

7.11.2. Underlife Practices

Life science pupils differentiate between Band A and Band B pupils with respect to what can be termed as underlife practices. These are part of life science pupils' working practices and constitute an area of differentiation between pupils according to band allocation (Chapter 5). Such practices as abusing, swearing and sexual innuendo form part of the less public and taken for granted aspects of classroom life for these pupils. It was clear that in some instances my researcher role itself again threw these practices into sharp relief.

Life science pupils see themselves as being different from Band A pupils who are perceived to have more refined manners. Michelle and Collette were interested to know how the Band A class (English pupils) treated me as a researcher:

- Collette: And were they nice to yer?
 R: Well ...
 Collette: Don't shout at you like we do, do they?
 (Michelle laughs)
 R: Well, they don't actually ... that's true.
 Karen: Because they're stiffs (...)
 Collette: Don't shout at yer, though, 'cos they're stiffs.
 Their mummies would shout at them if they do.

(during life science)

Life science pupils see themselves more favourably in comparison with Band A pupils because they believe they speak their minds: "Well, we're open, we tell you what we think" (Christina), which can mean making abusive remarks to me as a researcher. Consequently, Band A pupils are castigated because they do not swear in class which they relate to their home background:

- Karen: We swear in class.
 R: Well, don't the others swear in class, the 'O' levels ...?
 Karen: No, they daren't.
 R: Why?
 Christina: 'Cos, they've been brought up proper.

(Comments on viewing video recording
of a lesson)

Swearing was evident in a number of lessons. During one lesson Karen said "fuck off" to a pupil in the class but was reprimanded by Miss Willis.

The underlife practice of smoking was made apparent during the last period on a Friday afternoon which was treated by pupils as time off. Pupils were not interested in watching a video recording of, and commenting on, a lesson but were trying to coerce me into allowing them to smoke:

Tracey: (To Researcher) Can we have a fag? (...)
Well, you won't stop us, will you?

R: I mean, what if the headmaster walks in. I'm
not a teacher I won't get sacked

Malcolm: We'll go over to the other side (ie. of the classroom) .

Mark: We'll stomp it out (ie. put out cigarettes if someone
comes)

Tracey: We'll sit over there (...) No, well, can we have one?
(...) We'll sit over there, blow it out the window.

(extracts from life science pupils during
data collection session)

The situation revealed at least two elements of pupils' working practices. Firstly, they were not prepared to spend a period considered to be time off from lessons to discuss other lessons. Since many of them were not interested in doing large amounts of school work, they were even less interested in talking about work which was also considered boring. Secondly, they endeavoured to take advantage of a researcher who was not considered an authority figure to endeavour to indulge in practices more usually occurring in the back regions during break.

The underlife practice of sexual innuendo forms part of life science pupils' classroom life and is a factor in pupils' differentiation of pupils according to band allocation (Chapter 5; 5.5). During one lesson Malcolm went over to speak to Lynn and asked her "D'you fancy any fucker? ... D'you fancy anyone to screw?" Later Malcolm asked me if I would "have" Lynn. When I asked him if he meant to teach, he

laughed and said "no, for sex". This was not an isolated incident, but characteristic of the working relations between pupils in life science. These sexual innuendos are utilised by life science pupils with respect to strategies for having a laugh with other pupils (Chapter 8; 8.6.5).

7.12. Co-Operative Working

The working practices highlighted thus far between English and life science pupils can be polarised between the two extremes: co-operative working with the teacher and less co-operative and restrictive working practices.

English pupils perceive pupils in relation to their working practices so that "Star pupils" are particular pupils who co-operate with the teacher and are expected to be most like teachers' favourable perceptions of pupils (Chapter 3; 3.2):

- Rachael: (Mrs Simms) likes Mark H- best ...
- Pupil: ... A pupil who co-operates.
- Cathy: It could be Karen.
- R: Well, what about the type of pupil then? If there a type of pupil who might be the teacher's pet?
- (pupils in conversation had already referred to a pupil who was likely to be the teacher's pet)
- Cathy: A good pupil (...)
- Rachael: Somebody who's got personality.
- Cathy: Yeah, and they contribute in class and always hand their homework in on time.
- Jane: They behave.
- Rachael: They listen to the teacher but don't dispute their views (...) well, not like - who doesn't dispute the teacher just the subject.
- Russell: Or if they do, they do it nicely.

(English pupils perceptions of pupils)

Both Mark and Karen obtained 9 and 8 mostly high grade '0' levels respectively (Appendix 18). Perceived attributes of a star pupil, a

teacher's pet and co-operative workers bear striking resemblance to those attributes which form part of the selection process for Band A (Chapter 3; 3.2., 3.3). Details of pupils' perceptions of pupils (Chapter 4; Chapter 5), showed clearly that pupils from the higher sets or Band A were expected to work harder and co-operate more with the teacher than pupils in the lower sets or pupils in Band B. The more 'able' and 'intelligent' pupils who were described favourably by teachers were thus expected to achieve better examination results (Chapter 3; 3.2.3). The question arises as to whether it is ability alone which determines a pupil's performance or whether it is a combination of factors which would include pupils' working practices and pupils' perceived outcome from school.

7.13. Examination Results

The examination results of Band A English and Band B life science pupils show a similar pattern to teacher expectation and examination results for pupils for the whole year group, with divisions between high and low achievers related to pupils' band allocation (Chapter 3; 3.2.3). English pupils who generally utilised co-operative working practices achieved a higher number of examination passes compared with life science pupils, who operated less co-operative working practices (Tables 7.2., 7.3).

Over three-quarters of English pupils' grades (76%) were high grade '0' level passes (grades A to C) in contrast to life science pupils who gained middle to low grades (grades 3 to 5) in their CSE passes in life science. When these individual subject results were placed in the context of all examinations taken by these pupils, a similar pattern was produced. Both groups had high rates of success for subjects (over

TABLE 7.2. English (Band A) pupils' grades for English language and English literature 'O' levels

GRADES	LANGUAGE	LITERATURE	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
A	0	9	9	15%
B	13	5	18	29%
C	10	10	20	32%
D	7	1	8	13%
E	0	2	2	3%
U (Fail)	0	0	0	0%
Absent	1	4	5	8%
TOTALS	31	31	62	100%

Source: School records, examination results, September 1983 for 31 pupils

TABLE 7.3 Life science (Band B) pupils' grades for life science
CSE Mode III

GRADES	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
1	0	0%
2	0	0%
3	9	50%
4	3	17%
5	4	22%
U(Fail)	2	11%
Absent	0	0%
TOTALS	18	100%

Source: School records, examination results across all subjects,
September, 1983 for 18 pupils.

80% success rate), although the number of subjects taken varied (Appendix 19, 20). Whilst half of the English pupils were entered for and a third gained 8 or 9 'O' level passes, with an average gain of over 6 'O' levels per pupil; life science pupils were mostly entered for 4 or 5 CSE's, average gain being less than 4 CSE's per pupil. English pupils mostly gained (71% of grades overall) high grade A, B, or C passes at 'O' level. However, when the failure rate (13% of subjects entered) is disregarded, pupils gained high grades (81% of all grades for subject passes). If they passed a subject at 'O' level they tended to pass with high grades.

Life science pupils mostly gained (83% of all grades) middle to predominantly low grade CSE passes (grades 3 to 5) with a failure rate across all subjects entered of 12%; although five pupils each gained a CSE grade 1 pass (Appendix 20). English pupils who sat for CSE examinations without exception were successful, although their examination results were spread across grades 1 to 5, with only a few passes at grade 1 (Table iii, Appendix 20). This may be because these subjects were viewed as weak areas of these pupils since some pupils took 'O' level and CSE examinations in the same subjects. The failure at 'O' level may well be cushioned for English and Band A pupils by a pass at CSE level.

Summary

Analysis of classroom interaction has shown that pupils operate a variety of working practices which were related to pupils' perceived pay-off and outcome from school. What is clear is that both academic and less academic pupils restrict the amount of work they were prepared to do both during and after school hours. Practices operated in these classrooms have been related to the broader divisions in society with respect to sex roles and knowledge acquisition, access to perks, solidarity of workers, time off and absenteeism, overtime and so forth. As with certain shop floor workers (cf Willis, 1977), in industrial settings, life science Band B pupils readily engage in rituals and routines and underlife practices as a consequence of, and reaction to, boredom in school. The disparity between the examination results of these two groups is, in part, largely due to the school organisation and teacher expectations, banding and the option system; but must also be seen in relation to the different working practices pupils engage in according to band allocation.

Chapter 8 focuses on teacher and pupil classroom strategies, it will show how these were deployed and how they relate to pupils' working practices and band allocation.

CLASSROOM STRATEGIES

Goffman's analysis of communication between individuals deals with what he terms "the calculative, gamelike aspects of mutual dealings – what will be called strategic interaction". He argues that individuals, in pursuit of their interests, are obliged to deal with "both individuals who appear to help and individuals who appear to hinder" their interaction and course of action:

"In these dealings, parties – or rather persons who manage them – must orientate to the capacities which these individuals are seen to have and to the conditions which bear upon their exercise..."

(Goffman 1969, p3)

How individuals deal with others are bound up with assumptions held about the "fundamental nature of the sorts of persons dealt with", although such assumptions about human nature may be taken for granted and difficult to uncover (Goffman, 1969).

In industrial settings strategies form an integral part of interactions between workers and management, particularly with reference to the whole area of bargaining. Gottschalk (1973) suggests there are at least three stages in the bargaining process: "settlement point or outcome of negotiation", "the concession process" and "attempts by parties to change some parameters of the situation". A distinction is drawn between bargaining which is defined as "process of demand formation and revision which provides the basic mechanism whereby parties seek to come towards an agreement" and negotiation which is the situation in which the bargain occurs. Negotiation refers to "an occasion where one or more representatives of both or more parties are

intent to reach a jointly acceptable position over one or more divisive issues" (Gottschalk, 1973). The implication is that both parties can stand to mutually benefit by reaching an agreement.

Hargreaves (1972) has drawn attention to similar processes in his analysis of teacher/pupil interactions and definitions of the situation, which he refers to as "the working consensus" in the classroom.

Concord occurs when consensus is high, discord when consensus is low with pseudo-concord representing a third type between these two extremes.

Hargreaves' analysis of consensus, compromise, imposition and counter imposition in teachers' and pupils' "mutual dealings" was to be influential in stimulating research in teacher and pupil strategies. In this respect the research by Woods (1979) showed eight types of teacher strategies which he refers to as "the hidden pedagogy of survival".

These are domination, negotiation, socialising, fraternisation, absence or removal, ritual and routine, occupational therapy and morale-boosting. However, such strategies as outlined by Woods are dependent upon regional behaviour (Goffman, 1959). Whilst some occur in the back region, in the staffroom and amongst teachers, other occur in the front region and form part of teacher/pupil interactions. Woods shows quite clearly that strategies for survival are played out in relation to certain pupils as part of a ploy either to retain or to regain control of them, or are formulated by teachers to attain goals which may be against hostile opponents:

"To reach goals we have to outwit opponents who stand in the way of our attaining them, frustrate their plans to achieve goals which run counter to ours, or persuade others to join forces with us and add to our strength."

(Woods, 1980a, p. 23)

8.1. Teacher Strategies

The growing interest in teacher strategies is clearly evident in Woods' 1980a collection of papers. Teacher strategies have come to be associated quite clearly with the hidden pedagogy, whether they be concerned with the role of humour in teaching (Woods, 1979; Stebbins, 1980) or a means to keep pupils quiet to promote an impression of teacher competence amongst fellow colleagues (Denscombe, 1980a). Whilst not all strategies are directly related to the business of teaching and learning, Woods argues that "the best strategies are those that allow a modicum of teaching to seep in".

In the present research, a detailed analysis was undertaken of the strategies deployed by Mrs Simms teaching English 'O' level to Band A pupils and Miss Willis, teaching life science CSE to Band B pupils. Woods (1980a) suggests a useful definition of strategies: "patterns of specific and repeatable acts chosen and maintained in logical relationship with one another to serve the larger and longer term rather than smaller short term objectives". Strategies must also be placed in the context of teachers' differentiation and expectations for pupils according to their band allocation (Chapter 3; 3.2) and pupils' working practices (Chapter 7). Strategies may be used to control the flow of and acquisition of knowledge or they can be used to control the behaviour of pupils. In the former instance, teachers may not need to put on fronts, whilst in the latter instance, a teacher may try to "outwit opponents who stand in their way" (Woods, 1980).

8.2. English Teacher Strategies

Mrs Simms used conversational control strategies with pupils who operated co-operative working practices and her strategies were

predominantly related to the control and acquisition of knowledge (Table 8.1).

TABLE 8.1. English teacher strategies

CONVERSATIONAL CONTROL
Selection of Pupils Two-Thirds Rule Provocative Tone Obtaining Received Opinions Specifying and Cueing Hinting and Cueing Closing Negotiation

Source : Observation, teacher and pupils comments on viewing video-recording of lessons.

8.2.1. Selection of Pupils

Observations of a large number of English lessons showed that the teacher selects pupils to respond to a question if they have their hand raised, she selects pupils who she believes to be not paying attention and to keep their attention, she also selects pupils who she believes will probably have the correct answer. Since she is eager to keep the pace of the lesson moving, if a pupil does not readily respond she will move onto another pupil. Pupils develop counter strategies with respect to the teacher's selection of pupils (pupil strategies: 8.5.1).

8.2.2. Two-Thirds Rule

Mrs Simms works on the assumption that you have to tell pupils particular pieces of information more than once and tell them a third time because "for two-thirds of the time two thirds of pupils may not have heard or have understood what you said".

8.2.3. Provocative Tone

Here the teacher uses inflections in her voice to control the conversation between teacher and pupil and imply particular meanings in aspects of the text and information which she wants and expects pupils to accept her particular opinions. For example, she reads a short passage from a play about nuclear attack:

Mrs Simms: 'Go quickly to your shelter, go to the National Trust property where they are building a nice convenient atomic warfare shelter on land which belongs to the nation which has been declared Must Be Preserved Forever'. They're building a nice little bunker under it so somebody's going to be safe!

(during English)

The teacher follows this with a question: "so somebody's going to be safe?" Mrs Simms explained that she was using this particular provocative tone to try and provoke pupils into talking about aspects of the play which she felt was important.

8.2.4. Obtaining Received Opinions

This is perceived by pupils to relate to the teacher accepting certain opinions from pupils and is part of the teacher's strategy of obtaining what she recognises as the correct response from pupils:

Matthew:	You've got your views yet she thinks that her opinion is right and nobody else is (...)
Susan:	She does accept them, well ...
Matthew:	She'll accept them but she'll have her opinion.
Susan:	Then she gives it back to you after you've said something.
Matthew:	Yeah, she says 'Well I never thought of that' and then goes on. She takes it in but she has her own opinion and she doesn't want that changing.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

The teacher's strategy of obtaining the correct response can go through at least three phases:

i. Provisional Acceptance

This is intimated to pupils by the elongation of the word 'yes' (ye-es) or 'well' (we-ell), as noted below:

Mrs Simms: How do you regard that? Paul?

Paul: She moves towards him instead of moving away.

Mrs Simms: Ye-es, and er, is it a passionate or a reconciled kiss?

(during English)

ii. Rephrasing

The teacher either elaborates on or repeats what the pupil has said, or the teacher may ask the pupil a rephrased question to endeavour to get the correct response:

Mrs Simms: Or is it just that she accepts it without someone responding to him. She perhaps lets him kiss her on the cheek, admittedly she is prepared to accept his advance towards her

iii. Acceptance

This is a more definite acceptance of a response from pupils:

Mrs Simms: So Abigail is an important member of the court but before even that? (the teacher wants pupils to raise hands) Susan?

Susan: They brought four judges.

Mrs Simms: Yes, they brought four judges.

It is clear that pupils were well aware of the teacher's strategies. They have learned a whole series of unwritten rules about classroom interaction and communication between teacher and pupil with respect to inflections and intonations in the teacher's voice, as these pupils show in explain-

ing what the provisional 'ye-es' meant:

- Mark: It means 'no, but' or 'not really'.
- Karen: Instead of saying 'no it's wrong' she always says that.
- Jane: Ye-es, you're half-way there.... so you don't get mad by getting it wrong. Like, it could be right ...
- Karen: It depends on how near you are to the answer.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

Other pupils explained that they could distinguish 'yes' from 'ye-es' depending upon the type of question the teacher asks: "It depends if its a general question, there isn't a particular answer yes or no". More particularly, the difference between emphasis and tone can relate to particular textual questions:

- Pupil: Yeah, but that ('yes') it's probably a straight answer from the text but like when she's asked before ('ye-es') it's one that you could make up your own mind about.
- Pupil: You reason with it.
- Sammy: Deeper meaning underneath the work.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson).

The provisional 'ye-es' refers to pupils' interpretations which may not always match those of the teacher:

- Gillian: She'll listen to you, she answers 'ye-es' but she'd rather have her interpretation of it than anybody else's.
- Karen: Sometimes she says 'Yes but don't you think it can mean this as well?'

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson).

If a pupil's answer is provisionally accepted by the teacher, it can be rephrased and expanded to fit with the teacher's recognisable mode of correct response so that pupils interpret the teacher's strategy as "putting words into your mouth".

Mrs Simms agreed that she did put words into the mouth of pupils but that rephrasing/expanding was also a tactical device to ensure all pupils had heard and understood pupils' comments. The 'ye-es' strategy is used to signify an incorrect and unacceptable response whilst seeking not to offend pupils: "you mustn't say 'rubbish' (or) try and make anybody look - make a fool of them" (Mrs Simms).

8.2.5. Specifying and Cueing

Mrs Simms specifies and cues pupils into taking note of aspects of knowledge which she considers pertinent and relevant:

Mrs Simms: That's an important quotation there because it's John Proctor's conscience that matters. It's a play about conscience and that's a very important quotation there.

(pupils underline particular aspects of the play specified by the teacher)

During discussion with pupils about a novel or a play, Mrs Simms frequently suggests that pupils "make a note of that" or she instructs pupils to "underline that" or "you should note that down", "that's very important". This is accompanied by bowing of heads as pupils underline sections as instructed by the teacher. This forms part of these pupils' working practices (Chapter 7, 7.4.3).

The teacher's strategies are accepted by pupils because they are a compliant and co-operative workforce, as noted in the range of pupils' working practices. They readily accept the teacher's definition of the situation with respect to what constitutes acceptable forms of knowledge:

Karen: When she says something important about the book, we make notes of it in the book. When you're writing all your notes are made so you've got everything you need (...)

R: Mrs Simms always directs you?

Karen: Yeah, sometimes if you think it is important you write it down yourself. But if she thinks it's really important she'll tell you it herself.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

However, pupils may operate restrictive working practices since note-taking is not a compulsory activity: "nobody's going to check your book, so you don't have to write it down, you don't have to" (Gillian).

8.2.6. Hinting and Cueing

This is a subtle strategy in which the teacher offers pupils hints about what aspects of the work to revise for a forth-coming examination. The teacher uses inflections of voice and suggestions to indicate to pupils what area of work they should concentrate on: "I strongly recommend you to do a question on 'Lord of the Flies'." Later in the lesson she offers further advice and hints why pupils are doing particular aspects of work: "At this stage in the term, a week and a half before the exams, you're doing things for a purpose". Mrs Simms intention is to make it apparent to pupils that there would be a question on the character of Simon in the examination.

Conversations with pupils during the lesson, whilst the teacher was engaged in individual teaching and immediately after the sequence of hinting and cueing, revealed how pupils had interpreted the teacher's hints. Some pupils were aware of the teacher's hints but were unsure of the teacher's meanings and intention (Table 8.2).

Hinting and cueing is another strategic device used by the teacher to direct pupils' attention to particular forms of work deemed to be desirable. What the strategy reveals is the tacit communicational links between teacher and pupils. Pupils who are not tuned in to the

TABLE 8.2.

Pupils different interpretations of the teacher's hinting and cueing strategy.



Illustration removed for copyright restrictions

(after Parlett and Hamilton, 1976)

teacher's intentions can be castigated by the teacher. When Mrs Simms was told of pupils' responses to her strategy she laughed and said "if they're thick enough not to realise that, that's their misfortune". Success in exams may be as much to do with pupils homing in on hints and cues by the teacher as learning and knowing the subject.

8.2.7. Closing Negotiation

This is part of the strategic approach used with English pupils to encourage pupils to do particular questions for assignments. The teacher's strategy, whilst appearing to 'negotiate with pupils moves progressively to closed negotiation, as exemplified below:

Mrs Simms: This is an old favourite. And I think some of you in fact have written on this topic before. Don't think 'Oh I've done a good essay on that before'. You haven't done it for me but I've seen it in exercise books from last year (ie. third years). If you've written it before it isn't necessarily a good idea to do it again (..) Now, I suggest you don't do that simply because the first assignment you did was about school. Now I know you could do this in quite a different way and not relate so much to your own experiences when you were very young. But you've already written on this topic and what I don't want to happen is at the end of the year we submit 12 topics and four of them are about school. We may yet write something else about education (...) I think you'd be better if you didn't do that one.

(during English)

Mrs Simms, whilst asserting that pupils have choice, closes the negotiation and restricts pupils' choice:

Mrs Simms: I didn't say you couldn't do it again if you've done it before. What I hope was you might not - it's not necessarily a good thing to repeat it. You often don't write as well a second time. I don't want rehash of what you've already said before. You know, if you've written an essay on this topic and you've got an 'A' I don't want

it again. You've done it. You know this is supposed to be an, er, this year's work. If you did it before you did it last year.

(during English)

Another example of closing negotiation relates to a pupil's suggestion of writing out an essay to take into an examination, rejected completely by the teacher:

Mark: What if you could write it down word for word?

Mrs Simms: Well, if you wish to do that, Mark, you wish to waste your time doing that ...

Mark: I don't ...

Mrs Simms: ... The best of British luck. I shouldn't think anybody else would do either.

(during English)

Mrs Simms uses closed negotiation strategies with Band A English pupils because they operate co-operative working practices and see school as providing pay-off and prospects in terms of examination results and job opportunities (Chapter 5; 5.4.3). Pupils are thus more willing to accept the teacher's demands concerning work and more readily engage in work that has been stipulated which will be graded and count towards their examination results.

8.3. Life Science Teacher Strategies

Miss Willis deploys a range of strategies which form part of her negotiation with pupils concerning their behaviour and work output. Her strategies fall into three interrelated categories: survival strategies, negotiating behaviour and order strategies and negotiating work output strategies (Table 8.3).

TABLE 8.3. Life science teacher strategies

SURVIVAL	NEGOTIATING BEHAVIOUR AND ORDER	NEGOTIATING WORK OUTPUT
Socialising and Fraternising Having a Laugh Forming a Relationship	Negotiating Order Cajoling Promises, Bribes and Threats Anger and Mock Anger	Negotiating Work Negotiating Pupils' Working Practices Reminders of Agreed Working Practices Threats of Extra Time Penalties on Work Striking a Bargain

Source: Observation and teacher and pupils comments during and after lessons and comments on video recording of lessons.

Survival strategies must be viewed in terms of the school's organisation (Chapter 3). At Westward High strategies were a necessary part of teaching less academic Band B pupils, particularly when these pupils reached the fifth year. Miss Willis remarked that some pupils were deliberately trying to upset teachers and were actively engaged in disruption tactics in an endeavour to get suspended from school. She was concerned that "Men (who have) been teaching 10 or 12 years come out (of the classroom) saying they've lost them completely". Survival strategies relate to teachers' attempts to retain self respect and control of pupils, as Miss Willis explained: "if it comes to the day where I've got humiliated by a pupil, then I'll just leave my job (...) I just don't every fancy having to stand there and just take abuse without having any sanctions on them ...". Although life science pupils were not considered by Miss Willis to be as disruptive as certain pupils in the school, she did utilise strategies

which concerned socialising and fraternising, having a laugh, and forming a relationship with pupils.

8.3.1. Socialising and Fraternising

This strategy was developed by the teacher in order to get onto friendly terms with pupils and, as Miss Willis explained, to "keep order about the place". The pupils were frequently engaged in conversation by the teacher concerning such mundane things as visits to the dentist, hair styles and boyfriends:

Miss Willis: (To Debbie) I thought you were in a good mood this week, Debbie, your boyfriend's coming home.

Debbie: How d'you know?

Miss Willis: 'Cos you told me ...

Debbie: ... When?

Miss Willis: He doesn't want to come home to a grouching, moaning person, does he?

(during life science)

Socialising and fraternising with pupils can also be used by the teacher as a tactical device to calm a pupil and thus avoid a pupil getting into a temper. Karen, who plays hockey for the school, is perceived by Miss Willis as girl who has a temper so she frequently engages her in conversation about hockey.

Pupils recognise the teacher's strategy as an integral part of the lesson because "she's a friend of ours" or "she wants to get to know us" (Lynn) and it "helps you to get on with the teacher" (Christina). For those life science girls, talking about boyfriends with the teacher and other such subjects was regarded by one pupil as "girl talk" (comments on viewing video recording of a lesson).

8.3.2. Having a Laugh

The teacher sees having a laugh with pupils, utilising this aspect of their working practices, as a device for avoiding confrontation:

Miss Willis: They're (pupils) not as nasty and as hard (as other Band B pupils from other years) but the most important thing is to be able to laugh with them otherwise sometimes it's the only way to get out of a confrontation without losing face. Just change the whole thing into a joke, you know, otherwise...

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

Allied to having a laugh is the strategy of forming a relationship.

8.3.3. Forming a Relationship

Division between male and female teachers means that women teachers more than men teachers need to form a relationship with pupils as a strategy for survival. Women teachers, unlike men teachers, cannot easily use physical coercion with particular types of pupils:

Miss Willis: When I first came into teaching, sort of 'specially in this school when it was a secondary modern – the whole thing was run on corporal punishment. If they (pupils) did anything wrong they got clouted and you felt you had to go along with that – you had to get control of your class.

(Comments on video recording of a lesson)

Miss Willis saw a sharp division between teacher roles according to sex, so that whilst pupils were afraid of certain male teachers, a woman "has to work a lot harder at it" and build up a relationship with pupils, particularly with respect to less-academic Band B pupils.

These three strategies form the basis of the teacher's survival

strategies with pupils and overlap with other strategies. These concern how the teacher negotiates behaviour and order with pupils.

8.3.4. Negotiating Order

A particular strategy used to negotiate order is that of silence. In an endeavour to gain control over the class the teacher negotiates order by her stance and her eye movement. Pupils have gained sufficient insight into the teacher's strategy to understand the meaning of her silence, as detailed below:

Miss Willis: Sssh...

(Pupils are noisy and inattentive. Teacher stands upright, arms folded, faces the class. Some pupils look at her, others look away. Teacher unfolds arms, steps back slightly, then sits down in chair by teacher's desk. Looks around to certain pupils who are talking. Pupils look round and follow teacher's gaze)

Pupil: (To pupils talking) Shut up.

(Pupils stop talking)

Miss Willis: Thank you.

(Video analysis)

The teacher uses avoidance of provocation (after Hargreaves, et al., 1975), by stepping back and withdrawing, thus bringing about a stark silence which makes for an uneasy atmosphere where the teacher is seen, though begrudgingly perhaps by certain pupils, as holding the balance of power in the classroom..

The teacher may also utilise accepted notions of what constitutes mature behaviour amongst 5th year pupils, which is expected to be part of 5th year pupils' working practices, to endeavour to negotiate order:

Miss Willis: Look, I'm about losing my temper. What I might tolerate in the fourth year I won't in the fifth year because you should be a little bit more grown up and tolerant of other people and I'm not having you coming in wasting time.

(during life science)

The threat of an imminent loss of temper is a warning of a possible cessation of negotiation and a substitution of closed negotiation.

8.3.5. Cajoling

This can take several forms.

i. Appeal

The teacher may appeal to pupils to create a reasonable working atmosphere. Both teacher and pupil endeavour to reach a consensus of how to work together:

Miss Willis: Can I have silence, please. Now look, up until today you're sensible and you've come back to school like fifth years; mature and a sensible attitude to work. Don't spoil it. It's a lot more pleasant, isn't it; it's been pleasant in here hasn't it with no one screaming and shouting?

(during life science)

ii. Imploring

Another facet of the cajoling strategy is imploring. Here the teacher recognises from past experience that pupils may not respond to her instruction as she wishes them to, so she explains what they are to do in a series of steps:

Miss Willis: Right, can you all just ssh, stop what you're doing for a minute, please. Would you like, very quietly, you know, don't make a fuss or ... very quietly come and sit round this area?

(during life science)

The teacher emphasises the various parts of her instruction: "please";

"would you"; "don't make a fuss or" which clearly indicates the extent of negotiation of behaviour and order as part of her teaching. The strategy used is directly related to how the teacher perceives pupils. Such pupils are not readily associated with co-operative workers who are expected to be in Band A (Chapter 3, 3.2; Chapter 5). However, once pupils have moved to where the teacher wants them, she makes a more dominant assertion: "can you be quiet, please, I don't enjoy talking above other people's noise".

iii. Flattery

Flattery can be seen as a disguised form of negotiation for order. This sequence follows the ones above during the same lesson:

Miss Willis: So, first of all quietly, let's just see - let me see if you're going to be as sensible as you've been all week. I was only telling somebody today how you've come back (ie. into the 5th years after summer vacation) in a responsible manner.

(during life science)

iv. Trust

This takes into account pupils' expected working practices and behaviour. Here the teacher tries to exert moral pressure on pupils to conform to her expectations before she agrees to take pupils out of school:

Miss Willis: I want to trust you to behave yourself. Remember you're not on the (school grounds), probably messing about on the school fields, but out of school. I think the school's got enough publicity at the moment without someone ringing up (the head teacher) saying 'you've got silly people fooling around'.

(during life science)

8.3.6. Promises, Bribes and Threats

Promises and bribes are open negotiation strategies which have a tendency to err towards closed negotiation. Miss Willis restricts what pupils are allowed to do and options available to pupils but holds out a promise which acts as a bribe to encourage pupils to do the expected work:

Miss Willis: I'm not going to carry on while people are chatting. You know you will go out eventually (ie. on the school grounds for ecology) but you're not going out for a skive. You're going out to do some work. You've got to understand what you're doing to get the most of it.

(during life science)

Clearly, the teacher draws on her knowledge of the expected working practices of these pupils such as Time Off (Chapter 7; 7.9.2).

Promises and bribes can give way to threats if the teacher believes a pupil to be failing to respond to the negotiation:

(The teacher is talking about not moving animals from their natural habitat when pupils go outside to do ecology work. She responds to John's comments on what he intends to do with a crab)

Miss Willis: Well, John, if you go down and do put crabs down someone's back, it will be the last time you go out.

(during life science)

This is an example where pupils' working practices (having a laugh) can conflict with the teacher's strategies designed to encourage pupils to work.

8.3.7. Anger and Mock Anger

These are control strategies related to pupils' behaviour.

Miss Willis explained that she believed it a good strategy to get angry

with pupils: "yeah, after I had my say I think they – because, I think, sometimes it does them good to see you get angry because I really was angry". Mock anger can also be used as a strategic device to make it clear to pupils that the teacher has control over the class. Consequently she puts on a false front: "Sometimes the only way they see firmness is by raising the voice, you know, sort of mock anger, really. Otherwise they think 'Oh, she's a soft touch I can do what I want". These strategies sharply contrast with the other strategies of negotiation.

The third aspect of the teacher's strategies reveal how she endeavours to negotiate pupils' work output. These are related to the teacher's implicit knowledge and expectations of pupils' working practices.

8.3.8. Negotiating Work

Work is treated as a commodity which can have a currency and value. Work to be undertaken can be justified by the teacher as being valuable for pupils because it can contribute to their work output in another subject. One one occasion Miss Willis suggested pupils did a survey on smoking as part of work in life science which, she pointed out to pupils, could be accepted as work for domestic science.

Work can also be negotiated by the teacher in the form of deadlines and by indicating to pupils the interesting work ahead when pupils have finished the present work:

Miss Willis: I want you to do this as quickly as possible because I want to get onto the next topic which is drugs. And as soon as we get over these topics where there is no experiments – I know some of you aren't ... you've had a little moan that you're not doing any experiments. Well, it's just that this is part of the syllabus, there aren't any really you can do. So the quicker we get through this, the quicker we can get that (ie experiments)

(during life science)

The teacher negotiates work with life science pupils by reminding them of the necessity to work for their CSE and to complete project work:

Miss Willis: Right, come on we've got to get through quite a lot of work today. (Pause) Right (...) although we've discussed smoking – you may think it's enough just to talk about it, you have to have something in your books because a) you need it for revision when you do a test in the summer and b) I have to produce work for an examiner. We've got to get something down in our books.

(during life science)

The teacher clearly identifies herself with pupils which forms part of her negotiations with them by using words such as "we've" and "our", implying the necessity of mutual support between teacher and pupil to bring about an agreement on working practices.

8.3.9. Negotiating Pupils' Working Practices

This strategy is clearly designed to avoid confrontation and indiscipline with pupils and draws upon the teacher's knowledge of pupils' working practices.

Miss Willis: Now to do this you've got to be very sensible if you're going to do that, then you are going to have to be very, very sensible ... you're going to do it step by step so you don't get lost, so you don't get confused, therefore you don't all end up slinging your books all over the place, 'cos I know you lot

(during life science)

8.3.10. Reminders of Agreed Working Practices

Agreements which have been negotiated with pupils previously are brought to the attention of pupils by the teacher. In one lesson, Tracey made some derogatory comment about Mark and Miss Willis immediately intervened: "Tracey, I thought we sorted out there was to

be no nastiness in this class?"

8.3.11. Threats of Extra Time Penalties on Work

Pupils' working practice of Time Off (Chapter 7; 7.9) can evoke a penalty clause by the teacher. This is a strategic device to require pupils to put in extra time during their break period: "if you're going to waste my time then I'm going to waste yours at break time. You stay in." (Miss Willis) Here the teacher leaves very little room for negotiation by pupils and is used as a last resort strategy when other forms of negotiating work and cajoling pupils have reaped little success. Time penalties may be problematic since they necessarily involve the teacher giving up a break period to supervise pupils. However, on one occasion Miss Willis countered this by explaining to pupils that she did not mind giving up her break period because she was free after break.

8.3.12. Striking a Bargain

It is clear that the teacher uses a variety of strategies to negotiate with pupils concerning their behaviour and work output. These strategies are a necessary part of the teacher's survival strategies. Essentially the teacher seeks to strike a bargain with pupils. For instance, one particular lesson was interrupted because Christina laughs, Marks says he's bored and would prefer to do experiments and Jackie says she wants to go outside and "sunbathe". The teacher employs a number of gambits in an endeavour to strike a bargain with pupils over their work output.

i. Pay-Off Reminders

The teacher reminds pupils what they are ultimately working for: "look, I've asked you before. I've walked in this classroom and

I've said 'who wants a CSE?'. " Pupils had already unanimously said they did want their CSE. Since this gambit had already been used at the beginning of the lesson, the teacher uses a second, back-up, negotiating gambit.

ii. Demotion Prospects

Miss Willis negotiates with pupils the possibility of their demotion to a non-examination set and offers them the choice:

Miss Willis: If you don't want a CSE then I'll go and see Mr Clarke (ie. Head of Science), and get you put in a non-examination science class and you can do whatever you want. There's experiments galore, you know, and you do no writing, no homework; you just go and get nothing at the end of it.

(during life science)

Clearly, non-exam sets offer pupils the choice of different working practices from those in CSE life science, particularly with respect to no homework and no writing. Assumptions inherent in the teacher's strategy is that interesting work associated with experiments is a province of 'less able' pupils who obtain little or no pay-off from school work. The restrictive practice of no homework would appear to operate quite legitimately in non-exam sets.

iii. The Go-Between

The next gambit the teacher invokes to strike a bargain with pupils is to refer to aspects of work outside her control. Miss Willis argues that she is only passing onto pupils a body of knowledge demanded by the syllabus, over which she has little control.

Miss Willis: I don't make the syllabus up, I have to teach you what is on the syllabus. Now there are times when you won't go outside, sometimes when you've got to sit and listen.

(during life science)

This is a strategy designed to form a bond with pupils against the examining board who hold the balance of power concerning what constitutes knowledge to be taught to pupils. The teacher then plays the pay-off gambit but there are tensions between a pupils' reaction to boredom and pupils' interest in obtaining a CSE:

Miss Willis: Would you rather I didn't teach it and then when it comes to the exam you can't do it?

Mark: That's no good, is it?

(Pupils laugh at Mark's comments)

(during life science)

iv. The Professional Adviser

The teacher then plays her last negotiating gambit in an endeavour to clinch the bargain with them. She invites them to accept her professional advice:

Miss Willis: And you all accept why we have to do things that you don't like sometimes?

(Girls complain that they have done about health education in other lessons)

If you want to get this CSE then I would like you to accept my professional ability in that I will get you that CSE. You have to do as I say. Right? Right, let's get on ... where were we ...

(during life science)

Striking a bargain and negotiations with pupils are strategies that evolve over time. Relaxation of rigid classroom rules by the teacher is given in exchange for a working consensus in classroom atmosphere, as the teacher explained, after the lesson:

"I think if I had been lax with them last year they just couldn't cope with that situation. They just would go wild, you know. It's taken a lot longer with these than say with other groups, to get that type of atmosphere in the classroom."

8.4. Pupil Strategies

Delamont (1976) points out that there has been relatively little research on pupil strategies. She argues that research needs to take account of how "the differing perspectives of individuals and sub-groups are reflected in classroom strategies". Some headway has been made in this respect (Woods, 1980b; Turner, 1983). Denscombe (1980) refers to the counter strategies used by pupils against teachers. His analysis indicates how strategies are "context specific" and that the 'props' used in the classroom help determine the scenes enacted; "The strategies adopted by pupils and teachers owe a great deal to the physical and institutional settings in which they occur".

McLure and French (1980) provide details on the strategies used by pupils to get the 'right' answers. Whilst didactic teaching and learning situations have been assumed to be teacher dominated, the researchers show how pupils utilise various strategies to control the lesson. However, the details analysis of lesson transcripts is problematic and they admit that "of course we have no way of verifying our analysis of the origins of these answers". Verification of pupils' intentions by the researchers were not sought by asking pupils to comment on their action.

The paper by Hammersley and Turner (1980) is of particular interest since they examine notions of conformity and suggest that the pro- and anti-school culture model to be too crude an explanation of what actually occurs in classrooms and in school. They suggest that the adaptation model, though being more flexible and taking account of individual differences between pupils, undervalues latent culture other than that which is goal orientated (see Chapter 1; 1.5). They prop-

ose an interactional alternative which is based on social interaction other than on theories of how individuals relate to society. This model is said to detect more variability where other models assume consistency and as such provides a basis for work on sub-cultures and adaptations, with all three models being complementary but providing explanations at different levels of generality.

Pupil strategies are dependent upon a number of variables which relate to pupil careers and pupil cultures. Woods (1980c) argues that the segregating and sorting of pupils at 11+, at 13+ as part of the option system, the run-up to the final examinations at GCE or CSE level and the selection for the Sixth Form are examples of stages in pupil careers. Woods suggests that "at each stage, there is a marked change in status and the role of the pupil, the expectations required and treatment of him". Pupil careers also relate to pupil status and pupil cultures. Data in Chapter 4 and 5 showed how pupils' perceptions and expectations of pupils was dependent upon their set or band allocation and their access to knowledge. Stiffs and dossers were expected to be predominantly in particular sets (in the lower school) and in certain bands in the upper school during pupils' fourth and fifth years, (Chapter 5; 5.3.3). Woods cites examples from other researchers which relate pupil status to pupil careers: Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) pro- and anti-group; Dale's (1972) "planners" and "drifters"; Willis' (1977) "lads" and "ear 'oles"; Wakeford's (1969) "conformists" "colonists", "rebels", "intransigents" and "retreatists".

"Although all of these might be better regarded as modes of adaptation which pupils might shade in and out of, they might also represent the major orientation of certain pupil careers, and clearly, the form of strategies deployed will differ considerably amongst such types."

(Woods 1980c, p 17)

Woods suggests that cultures provide a firm platform for pupil action and grow out of the problems which pupils as a group, with their own specific identities, experience in school.

Research concerning pupil strategies have been related to those which are directed towards the teacher (MacLure and French, 1980; Woods, 1979; Turner, 1983). Little account has been taken of strategies directed towards pupils other than reference to pupils' perspectives (Bird, 1980) and peer group influence (Meyenn, 1980). Other researchers have taken a theoretical analysis and have not concerned themselves directly with classroom strategies (Hammersley, 1980) or they have utilised an analysis which "seeks not to provide a comprehensive model of teacher or pupil strategies but to show the urgent reasons why models of this kind ought to be developed" (A. Hargreaves, 1980). However, more analysis is needed concerning pupil strategies which takes place at classroom level.

The present research examined pupil strategies in two different classrooms (English, Band A; life science, Band B).. The analysis takes account of the context of school organisation with respect to banding and the option system; classroom setting; pupil career and pupil cultures, particularly in relation to teacher and pupil expectations; and pupils' working practices. Pupil strategies are analysed with respect to their orientations to the teacher in as much as they are deployed in response to teacher strategies. Strategies are also analysed in relation to their orientation towards pupils with respect to peer group influence and pupils' presentations of self. In the context of pupil careers and pupil cultures, strategies may be said to be directed towards one of at least two ends: to facilitate learning or to cushion

the unwelcome effects of being in school.

8.5. English Pupils' Strategies

English pupils' strategies are related to teacher strategies (8.3) and are directed towards their peers (Table 8.2).

TABLE 8.4. English pupils' strategies

TEACHER ORIENTATED STRATEGIES	PUPIL ORIENTATED STRATEGIES
Stalling Avoidance of Asking Questions Avoidance of Being Found Out Re-Directing the Lesson Checking Out	Avoidance of Labelling Collaboration

Source: Observation and video analysis, pupils' comments on viewing video recordings of lessons.

8.5.1. Stalling

This is a strategy in which the pupil is playing for time. A pupil may not know the answer when called upon by the teacher because he may have been day-dreaming and not listening. The pupil is aware that the teacher will want to ensure the pace of the lesson is kept moving and will soon move onto asking another pupil. The strategic sequences were explained by Russell:

Russell: Just wait till she repeats it (ie the question) (...) you give her a look 'Oh' or 'sorry, didn't get that?' or nudge your friend or wait till she tells you again or (say) 'I don't know'; get done.

Various permutations may follow from a pupil being called upon to answer a question. However, pupils may have gained sufficient insight into the teacher's strategy to play the system to their advantage:

Sammy: At first when Mrs Simms asked you a question you thought 'Oh God, what am I going to do now, will she beat me up or something' but now you know after a few minutes she'll ask someone else, so you just sit there and pretend to think, like.

The best way out of an awkward situation with the teacher for pupils like Sammy is for her to take on a false front and give the impression to the teacher that she was thinking about the question. For pupils who wish to avoid confrontation with the teacher their best strategy may be to stall, for the teacher who is eager to keep up the pace of the lesson, will soon move onto another pupil (English teacher strategy 8.2.1). However, there is a risk element in the strategy since the pupil who stalls may annoy a teacher who is in a bad mood. Consequently, accurately judging the teacher's mood is an essential element of the strategy if it is to pass off successfully.

8.5.2. Avoidance of Asking Questions

Pupils may refrain from asking the teacher questions about aspects of the literature because they are aware of the teacher's strategy of explanations, as noted by Sammy: "'cos I know she'd explain it to me and she did (...) 'cos if you say nowt she always explains it to you, even if you don't ask for it". This strategy particularly relates to pupils' working practices of note-taking (Chapter 7; 7.4.3) and the teacher's strategy of obtaining received opinions (8.2.4).

Go-operative workers such as English pupils readily accept the teacher's instruction which aids pay-off and prospects; they believe that the teacher tells them all they need to know for assignments and examinations and that they accepting the teacher's advice they will be in a better position to obtain high grade passes in their examinations.

Pupils avoid asking questions as a strategic move to avoid possible complicated and elaborate explanations by the teacher, as Michael explained: "If you ask her she goes into a load of detail that you don't understand, anyway". Avoidance of asking the teacher questions may also cut down the possibility of unnecessary extra work for a pupil and thus, contribute to aspects of pupils' restrictive working practices (Chapter 7; 7.2).

This is a no-risk strategy in which pupils play safe and do not hedge their bets. Pupils who have engaged in day-dreaming or have not been listening to the teacher will refrain from asking questions:

Sammy: You don't ask questions because the teacher might have gone over it before (...)

Elizabeth: It's like that in any subject. In physics if you don't understand you just sit there and don't say a thing (...)

Julie: You know, when she's like explained it all and then she'll think you haven't been listening if you put your hand up (or) you're a bit thick.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

This strategy gives rise to the necessity of another strategy in which pupils collaborate with one another, as part of pupil orientated strategies (8.5.6).

8.5.3. Re-Directing the Lesson

Unlike the tactic of avoidance of asking questions, pupils can specifically ask the teacher questions as a strategic move to re-direct the flow of a lesson, particularly when pupils are bored:

R: Obviously the teacher asks a lot of questions but do pupils ask a lot of questions?

Pupils: No, not really.

Gillian: Unless you want to stop the lesson a bit and have a bit

of a discussion (...) Like in RE if you're getting a bit bored with it someone will ask a question which is deep and meaningful, she'll (teacher) give a long explanation. From there we'll ask another question. You'll spend a whole lesson talking. But Mrs Simms is not so easily taken in.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

Clearly, boredom can give rise to strategic and orchestrated moves by a number of pupils to feed questions to some teachers in an endeavour to gain conversational control and avoid certain work, thus bringing into operation pupils' restrictive working practices. Avoiding work is not through disruption but through calculated moves to play the teacher at her own game. By using the rules in operation, pupils give the impression to the teacher of being interested in and contributing towards the lesson. Whilst the teacher may see pupils' discussions as being a meaningful part of the lesson, pupils see them as avoidance of aspects of work.

8.5.4. Checking Out

This is a strategy which is also concerned with avoidance: it seeks to ascertain what work is expected by the teacher and so ensure that work achieved is productive work. As noted in pupils' working practices, restrictions on work do not operate where work is seen to be towards some useful purpose and is marked and assessed. One particular pupil utilised a checking out strategy:

Russell: Is it two separate questions or is it the same one?

Mrs Simms: It's all part and parcel of the sort of person Simon is, this is his big moment when he goes up the mountain, finds the airman, comes down to it's really like – give an account of the

Russell: So you can do Simon's sort of a dream, sort of thing...?

Mrs Simms: Yes, then lead out.

Russell: Can you do it in little stages, sort of thing? (...)

(during English)

Russell later explained that he wanted to "get it right 'cos I wanted to do well" because "it pays". Checking out is a strategy utilised by a pupil to ensure work produced is "precise" so that what is expected of pupils in the examination is clearly understood by them. The strategy is clearly related to pupils' working practice of pay-off and prospects (Chapter 7; 7.9).

Strategies can also be orientated towards pupils with respect to avoidance of labelling by other pupils and the need for collaboration with pupils over work output.

8.5.5. Avoidance of Labelling

This is a deliberate strategy used by English pupils to avoid being labelled as 'thick' by their peers. Consequently, they put on a false front:

- R: Is it a common thing then, people asking the teacher to explain it?
- Cathy: Not in English, really, is it?
- Russell: It depends, because you don't want to really put your hand up, you know, 'Oh look at him, dumbo, 'cos he can't understand a question'.

In contrast, Cathy explained how she was willing to take the risk of being labelled by her peers: "I don't care what other people say, even if they think I'm being thick. If I can't understand, I want to know why I don't understand."

8.5.6. Collaboration

To prevent possible confrontations with the teacher, and to

prevent losing face with their peers and being labelled 'thick', pupils may utilise a false front in the classroom, presenting themselves as understanding what the teacher is trying to teach and refraining from asking questions. After the lesson and in the back region, clarification of particular aspects in English can be made by collaboration with pupils' peers: "you just ask your friends later" (Sammy). However, restrictive practices can operate in these 'remedial' sessions since only legitimate work is used as the basis for collaboration: "you only bother to ask when you have to do the homework" (Sammy).

English pupils operate strategies that are orientated to either teacher or pupils. Because pupils perceive school work as having pay off and prospects, they work with the system as opposed to working against the system and do not dispute the teacher's definition of the situation. English pupils may also put on fronts and so manage the impressions they give off to the teacher and to other pupils. English pupil strategies have also been shown to relate to pupils' working practices of co-operative working.

8.6. Life Science Pupils' Strategies

Life science pupils' strategies are either directed towards the teacher or towards pupils and are developed against a background of boredom in school. Strategies are played out in relation to the teacher's strategies of negotiation and in relation to pupils' orientation to less co-operative working practices (Table 8.5).

TABLE 8.5.

Life science pupils' strategies

TEACHER ORIENTATED STRATEGIES	PUPIL ORIENTATED STRATEGIES
Routine Laughter Entitlement as an Incentive for Work Poking Fun at the Teacher and Institution One-Upmanship	Making Fun of Pupils Getting Pupils Done Messing About Solidarity

8.6.1. Routine Laughter

Pupils' strategies for having a laugh, which are directed towards the teacher, are related to classroom working practice routines.

Pupils may try and confuse the teacher's instruction to the class:

- Miss Willis: Turn to page 1
 (Malcolm turns his head away from the teacher)
- Malcolm: ... Two ...
- Miss Willis: (Repeats in a definite tone) Page 1
- Malcolm: Two, three, four
- Miss Willis: (Repeats) Page 1 (pause) Am I right, Malcolm?

(during English)

On another occasion the teacher embarked on the familiar routine of giving and counting out pencils to pupils. As the teacher counts out the pencils, pupils shout out random numbers and laugh. Pupils explain how this was regarded as a legitimate strategy for having a laugh:

- R: Why are you laughing when Miss Willis is giving out the pencils?
- Debbie: (Obvious tone) She was trying to count and we was putting her off (...)
- R: Why?

Pupil: Because we were having a laugh (...)

Mark: You're entitled to a laugh (...) it's the one thing she (teacher) doesn't mind us doing that much (...) as long as it doesn't get out of hand.

(Comments on viewing video recording of a lesson)

Providing pens and pencils was viewed by the teacher as a necessary routine which necessitated acceptance of pupils having a laugh to ensure they engaged in work (Chapter 7; 7.11).

8.6.2. Entitlement as an Incentive for Work

Clearly, life science pupils see having a laugh as an entitlement which is used as a legitimate strategy to make work more easily acceptable. Mark suggested that having a joke and a laugh at the beginning of a lesson is a legitimate strategy because afterwards "you settle down and get on with your work." Laughter is seen as a strategic mechanism to encourage pupils to work. Steven suggested that the teacher should "give in" to pupils who engage in these practices because "if you have a laugh at the beginning of the lesson, well you'll work then, won't you". For these pupils having a laugh is a group activity into which other pupils are drawn and as such is used by pupils as a legitimate outlet from the boredom of school, as Malcolm explained:

"School's boring, it's the only thing to cheer us up (...) You get distracted (...) you sit near some lads, the usuals, you know what I mean by 'the usuals'? The mischievous ones, you get to sit by them and you have a laugh. Things like that."

(during life science)

8.6.3. Poking Fun at the Teacher and the Institution

This strategy is also designed to stave off boredom but is not directly intended to challenge the authority of the teacher. It can consist of light-hearted banter with the teacher:

Miss Willis: I have to look at silly idiots like you all day long.

Mark: Just think who we have to look at.

(during life science)

On another occasion the teacher maintains, in conversation with pupils, that she is not snobbish. Karen turns the situation round and pokes fun at the teacher and the school:

Collette: Teachers at this school are posh.

Miss Willis: Am I posh?

Collette: No.

Miss Willis: Well, I sat 'O' levels, I sat 'A' levels.

Karen: (Retorts) You've got nowhere if you've only got here.

(during life science)

Jokes can be directed at pupils, notably in Band A, who are derided as being stiffs. During one lesson Paul and Darren remarked that a stiff was a twelve year old who reads the Financial Times.

Poking fun at the institution can have serious elements to its surface veneer of humour. Mark drew upon an analogy of a topical news items of the Falklands conflict to highlight their plight concerning boredom in school:

Mark: D'you know if the Germans came over here – or I mean in our case the Argentineans – if you put them in school, they'd die.

Martin: No, they'd surrender straight away.

Mark: Shoot themselves.

(during life science)

On another occasion whilst pupils were talking about school Gary jokingly remarked that: "school should start at twelve, finish at one and we should have an hour off for lunch".

8.6.4. One-Upmanship

This is part of having a laugh in which the pupil is intent on having the last say or upstaging the teacher. In this particular example, the pupil contradicts what the teacher says:

Mark: I don't like that paper.

Miss Willis: Well, its going in your file.

Mark: (of the paper) This will fit my file.

Miss Willis: You said it didn't yesterday because the holes aren't in the right place.

Mark: That weren't this (paper) that was the file that was wrong.

Miss Willis: You always have an answer, haven't you.

(during life science)

Life science pupil strategies, like English pupil strategies, can also be orientated towards pupils. However, unlike English pupils, life science pupils orientate their strategies with respect to laughter, which is either with pupils or at pupils. Pupil orientated strategies are related to making fun of pupils, getting pupils done, messing about and solidarity.

8.6.5. Making Fun of Pupils

Making fun of pupils is indulged in frequently by life science pupils, not only as a strategy to alleviate boredom but also as a means of getting at pupils who are perceived to engage in more than the minimal amount of work. Darrel L. and Paul, who at the end of their schooling achieved four and five CSE passes respectively, had a reputation among pupils for doing work. Consequently, Malcolm and Tracey make fun of them, particularly when the teacher is temporarily out of the room;

Malcolm: They are scruffy gits, aren't they?

R: You think they're scruffy, why? They don't look scruffy.

Tracey: (From across the room) Because they stink of piss.

(during life science)

Malcolm suggested that Tracey insults pupils because "she just likes to have a laugh".

Part of making fun of pupils relates to pupils who indulge in swearing at each other and name-calling and becomes part of the ritualised underlife practices. On one occasion pupils 'stole' my tape-recorder and recorded their fun-making of pupils whilst the teacher was momentarily out of the room:

Tracey: Malcolm is a toss bag.

Malcolm: (Laughing) Get out Tracey.

Tracey: Steven T- is a wanker.

(Tracey spoke in a high-pitched voice. Steven smiled and appeared to enjoy the fun-making)

(during life science)

Having a laugh through making fun of pupils is a derisive form of humour and forms part of the accepted and legitimate working practice of talking in lessons. During another lesson pupils call Jackie 'Mary Channing', the name of a local prostitute. Jackie is perturbed and complains to the teacher:

Miss Willis: Who's Mary Channing?

Tracey: A pros. (pupils laugh)

Malcolm: She goes on boats when

Jackie: That's not why they call it me.

Malcolm: She goes right through the whole crew.

Jackie: It's 'cos my middle name's (meaning Mary)

Miss Willis: Come on, back to ecology.

(during life science)

The teacher makes no direct reprimand of pupils' fun-making but simply suggests pupils do their work and consequently curtail their fun-making. However, when the teacher moves away from these particular pupils, the name-calling and fun-making continues. One pupil calls out "shut up Mary" to Jackie, whilst Tracey retorts "I don't know why you call her that, you're no virgin".

Sexual innuendo and sexual insults are the back-drop against which scenes are played out during the lesson. Mark propositions Karen whilst Malcolm purposefully mis-hears Mark:

Mark: Do you want a shag?

Malcolm: Ah, did you hear that, she had a shag!

(during life science)

Malcolm's deliberate mis-hearing heightens the fun-making. Such underlife practices are bravado, risque humour designed by pupils to enlighten the whole proceedings of teaching and learning. More particularly, it also sets Band B pupils apart from Band A pupils who are derided for not indulging in such practices in the front or back regions of school. (Chapter 7; 7.11.2).

8.6.6 . Getting Pupils Done

This is a strategy in which pupils have a laugh at other pupils' expense and appear to take the side of the teacher. Pupils put on a false front, pretend to object to pupils' misbehaviour or indulgence in underlife practices, and thereby, form an 'alliance' with the teacher. An example is given below:

Collette is on another bench to Malcolm and is looking across to him and giggling. Steven, next to Malcolm is tapping on the desk with a pencil and ruler. Malcolm leans across to Steven and sticks the end of a pen momentarily in the flame of a bunsen burner. Steven and Collette watch. It flares slightly. Malcolm puts it under the water tap and turns on the water to cool it. Steven shouts up: 'What are you doing Malcolm, burning your pen top' so audibly that it cannot help but attract the teacher's attention.

(Video Analysis)

On viewing a video recording of a lesson, Steven and Malcolm were particularly interested to watch themselves getting pupils done and admitted to the practice and strategy: "I'm fidding with the gas taps, Miss thought it was him (Steven) see, so I've got him done" (Malcolm).

8.6.7. Messing About

Messing about is a strategy related to pupils' working practices which governs the amount of work pupils may legitimately achieve. Work is not acceptable at the expense of a reduction in pupils' fun-making. Malcolm insisted that life science pupils did their "share of messing but we do our work, if you know what I mean?" Christina argued that John, a pupil who was perceived as being intelligent by pupils and who eventually obtained 5 CSE's including one grade 1 (Appendix 20) "messes about during the year (...) when it comes to the exam he comes top".

8.6.8. Solidarity

This is a form of working practice (Chapter 7.) which is related to peer group influences within the group. Consequently, a pupil not engaging in messing about or having a laugh may run the risk of being ostracised from the group. Martin, a new boy to life science and to the school, at first mis-behaved in life science as a strategy to

to get in with the group. Martin explained that he was a "bad lad" at first and messed about because he "didn't know anybody" and "you've got to make friends". However, solidarity may only need to be a short term strategy for once accepted into the group, a pupil can drop the false front and engage in a certain amount of work without running the risk of being ostracised. What is particularly interesting with Martin's strategy is how quickly he had sussed out the working practices of life science pupils and probably other pupils in the school. Although a newcomer he displayed an intimate knowledge of expectations and practices of particular pupils according to band allocation.

Whilst English pupils engage in strategies of playing with the system, in certain circumstances pupils putting on false fronts to avoid being labelled as thick or to avoid confrontation with the teacher, life science pupils engage in strategies of playing against the system. Scenes are enacted in which pupils indulge in fun-making. Whilst English pupils' strategies are played out against a back-drop of co-operative working, life science pupils play out their strategies against a back-drop of less co-operative working, humour and underlife practices. Inevitably such scenes can set the stage for conflicts between teacher and pupil, with each participant having a different perspective. Such perspectives, reveal aspects of the interplay between teacher and pupil, with each participant having a different perspective.. Such perspectives, reveal aspects of the interplay between back and front regions of school, more particularly they reveal aspects of the differentiation and divisions within the school.

8.7. Disputes

Pupils' working practices may come into conflict with the teacher's strategies and give rise to what may be termed a dispute. A number of these were observed in life science concerning pupils' practices of smoking, having a laugh and messing about.

8.7.1. Smoking

The back region practice of smoking during break times was considered a legitimate practice by Band B pupils (Chapter 5;) and life science pupils (7.2.10). One on occasion, after Miss Willis had reported three life science pupils (Jackie, Tracey, Paula), for smoking in the toilets, the dispute and disagreements between teacher and pupils carried over into the classroom. Jackie did not argue that pupils had not been smoking but that the teacher had not caught them smoking. The situation culminated in Jackie's disillusionment with school and also revealed the teacher's role-conflict, as noted below (Figure 8.1).

FIGURE 8.1 Disputes Different perspectives on pupils' smoking

<u>PUPIL PERSPECTIVE</u> (Jackie)		<u>TEACHER PERSPECTIVE</u> (Miss Willis)
"I hate this school I'm going to (leave) and sign on"	—	"I think I sort of get on with them"
"You're not allowed to do anything in this school"	—	"No way could I ignore that (smoking)"
"They say they'll treat you like adults"	—	"They can't understand it's my job"
Only "teacher's people (...) teacher's pets" are treated like adults" (ie. Band A pupils, not life science pupils)	—	"I can accept things in my own lessons but if they break school rules"

8.7.2. Having a Laugh

Life science pupils' working practices and strategies for having a laugh can be the basis for disputes. This can occur if the teacher strikes a bargain using negotiation strategies of appeals for trust which is broken by pupils. A dispute between teacher and pupils arose when they were taken on the school fields for a lesson on ecology and Malcolm, Tracey and Debbie engaged in having a laugh. At the end of the lesson whilst still on the school field, the teacher reprimanded these pupils for breaking their working agreement whilst at the same time, complementing other pupils who had been working:

- Miss Willis: (To Malcolm) Sitting on a wall chatting is not doing any work. You also disturbed Mr Howard's class.
- Malcolm: How did we disturb Mr Howard's class?
- Miss Willis: The classroom's there, I've just spoken to him. He's just spoken to Tracey and asked what the hell you were doing sat on a wall outside his classroom. Why did you have to mis-behave Malcolm?
- Malcolm: O.k we had a little laugh.
- Miss Willis: But Malcolm, while you're having many of your little laughs you're not working. Every two minutes you're having a little laugh with Tracey (...) Malcolm, I told the group last week, if you want a CSE you've got to work.

(during life science)

It was clear from talking to Miss Willis and Malcolm afterwards that they viewed the situation from different perspectives.

i. Teacher Perspective

The underlying reason why the teacher was annoyed with Malcolm stemmed from the division of labour within the school:

- Miss Willis: On the whole I was quite pleased (with pupils). It's just Malcolm, Tracey and Debbie (...) 'cos they're on show to the whole school they get people like Alec (Mr Barlow) and whatever,

having a go at you – 'Oh, you're letting the kids outside and' You know. I have all the pressure from the staff like that because they can't understand

(after lesson comments)

Mr Barlow is an ex-grammar teacher. Accepted working practices by pupils in the front region of school, the classroom, which is unobserved by other teachers, may be different from those acceptable to the teacher when pupils are 'on show' to other teachers. What is at stake for a teacher in this situation is her reputation with her colleagues concerning whether or not she had gained control of pupils, particularly of the less academic Band B pupils.

ii. Pupil Perspective

Malcolm had no knowledge of the teacher's pressure from other teachers to restrict pupils' working practices to those generally believed to be acceptable (no messing, no noise, reduction in having a laugh), and resented the teacher's reprimands for what he considered were legitimate and accepted working practices. On returning to the classroom Malcolm immediately started to talk about his disillusionment with school. He argued that he had done as much work as other pupils and had not unduly disturbed other classes. He argued that "there was no teacher's watching, it's just like somebody having games outside". For Malcolm, timetabled activities like games which are perceived to be legitimate activities by teachers, do not constitute infringements of accepted practices, do not constitute infraction of school rules and consequently, do not disturb other classes. For these reasons the teacher's reprimands were considered unreasonable.

The dispute for Malcolm, as with Jackie, highlighted these pupils' disillusionment with school which culminated in pupils' desire to

leave. Malcolm was exasperated and considered school to be inevitable, unchangeable: "you can't make it any better. School's bad and that's all there is to it".

8.7.3. Messing About

Messing about is an accepted working practice for pupils which forms part of talking, wandering and having a laugh (Chapter 7; 8.10). However, when messing about is perceived by the teacher to be followed by reduction in work, then a dispute may arise. On one occasion, the teacher moves Steven because he was messing with the gas taps. Steven complains that he cannot work in his new place. He kicks a stool as he walks to his new place and the teacher immediately asks him to leave the room. The teacher and pupil accounts of the incident are outlined below.

i. Pupil Perspective

The dispute highlighted the personality clash between Miss Willis and Steven, as he explained: "I hate her, worst teacher in the school (...) ever since the third year I've never liked her". Unresolved disputes from previous years can form part of on-going disputes. However, Steven denied that he had indulged in messing about and accused other pupils of engaging in more serious underlife practices of swearing, without attracting rebukes from the teacher. As Steven sat in the porch-way he was preparing his defence in the event that he was sent to the year head:

Steven: I washed my hands and got a drink of water by Arrowsmith (Malcolm) – well, he plays with the gas taps but I wasn't playing with the gas taps then, you know. And he plays with the water and flicks it all over..... And he swears and everything and she never says owt. Shut me out till the end of the lesson. So if she says probably go

to Mrs Timpson (...) I'll just say it's Malcolm Arrowsmith, playing with the taps. Only got a drink of water. I didn't drink it, I only washed my mouth out. I'd say (to the Year Head) about that Karen Wilson saying about the 'f' word

(comments to researcher)

Steven clearly sees one way out of the dispute to be in the form of the common-practice of arbitration with the year head. The naming of names of other pupils who have indulged in particular practices may not be purposefully to get pupils 'done' since a code of conduct as part of pupils' working practices (Chapter 7; 7.7) disallows 'grassing' on their mates. Naming of names is probably used as a means to highlight particular practices used by other pupils and thus, add weight to his claim of unfair treatment by Miss Willis.

The amount of discord between teacher and pupil which occurred during an attempted reconciliation at the end of the lesson when other pupils had left is noted below (Figure 8.2):

FIGURE 8.2. Discord between teacher and pupil

TEACHER PERSPECTIVE		PUPIL PERSPECTIVE
"You were refusing to work"	-	"I wasn't refusing to work - I couldn't do it"
"I told you to go and sit down on that table and you kicked that stool"	-	"I didn't kick it, I moved it away"
"You must learn to control your temper and you won't get anywhere by screaming. I'm not going to allow people in my class if they scream."	-	"I wasn't screaming"

The teacher offers no room for negotiation with Steven about his behaviour and their dispute is polarised between the teacher's accusations and the pupil's denials. No consensus is achieved and the dispute is unresolved.

8.7.4. Re-Negotiating Pupil's Working Practices

The teacher's role in the back region of school – around the toilets, in the corridors and on the school playing field – as opposed to her role in the front region may throw into conflict working relations in the classroom. Consequently, teachers who are obliged to abide by the school rules in the back-region may have to re-negotiate pupils' working practices, drawing on the range of strategies outlined previously. Malcolm's working practice of having a laugh was the basis of re-negotiation by Miss Willis in the back region before the next lesson, as he explained:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Malcolm: | She stopped on the corridor and said 'Are you going to be good this lesson or aren't you?' |
| R: | Well, what happened, did you say you were? |
| Malcolm: | Yes. She said, she goes 'Well, oh have a laugh but you've got to get on with your work'. |

(during life science)

Negotiating pupils' working practices (8.3.8) is a necessary strategy used by the teacher to produce a new or continued working consensus in the classroom.

Disputes between teacher and pupil may occur where the teacher does not accept the legitimacy of pupils' working practices and may engender resentment from pupils. Disputes may also occur when there is a role conflict with respect to front and back regions of school. Whilst a teacher has considerable autonomy in the classroom, this

autonomy is weakened when the teacher's role changes and the teacher is placed in a position where her actions and ability to control pupils are on display to other colleagues, since there is an expectation that all teachers will implement school rules.

Summary

Teacher and pupil strategies have similarities to processes of negotiation in industrial settings. In this respect, teachers strategies relate to pupils' working practices. For life science pupils who saw little pay-off from school, the teacher operated a range of negotiation strategies designed to contain potential disruptive tendencies amongst pupils and to encourage work output. In contrast, little or no negotiation was evident between teacher and pupils in the English classroom. The pupils saw school as offering considerable pay-off and prospects in terms of examination success, further education and future occupations. Although such pupils experienced didactic teaching which was teacher dominated in which she had conversational control over pupils, they utilised a number of strategies in which they gained some control of the lesson. Whilst English pupils' strategies were mostly concerned with learning or as a means of putting on a front with their peers, life science pupils' strategies were enacted in relation to the teacher's strategies of negotiation and in relation to pupils' orientation to less co-operative working and boredom in school. Laughter for these pupils provided the main thrust of their strategies. Both English and life science pupils' strategies have been shown to be directed towards pupils. As in industrial settings, life science pupils sometimes experienced disputes with the teacher which occur when there was a conflict between pupils' working practices and teacher strategies which necessitate further negotiation on the part of the teacher.

CHAPTER NINE

DIFFERENTIATION AND DIVISION IN A COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL: IMPLICATIONS FOR CHANGE

The analysis of differentiation and division at Westward High has raised a fundamental issue concerning the reorganisation of schools along comprehensive lines: has the amalgamation of two distinct types of schools brought about a new type of school or have the existing divisions between grammar and secondary modern schools been replicated in a comprehensive school? At a time when schools were moving towards comprehensivisation, Hargreaves' (1967) study of the social relations in a secondary school questioned such changes. He suggested that 'many of the basic social processes (...) may be independent of, or little affected by, comprehensive reorganisation'. These and other questions can be addressed to the analysis of data from Westward High.

Firstly, analysis of school organisation and structure in terms of pupils' selected for particular sets and bands, their access to subject options, and teacher and pupil expectations (Chapter 3), raises an important question: has setting and banding itself distributed success and failure across different pupils or have teachers been accurate in their perceptions and expectations of pupils? In other words, has the school itself designated certain pupils as failures by assigning them to Set 3, Remedial Sets or Band B. Does teaching and learning proceed in relation to their designation or is it simply that certain pupils have more ability than others and the school recognises this and sort and classifies pupils accordingly?

Secondly, analysis of pupils' perceptions and expectations of pupils and teachers has shown that these are related to the organisational arrangements of setting and banding (Chapters 4, 5 and 6). How is

this related to pupils' acceptance or rejection of school values?

Thirdly, analysis of two contrasting classrooms with respect to pupils' working practices and teacher-pupil strategies (Chapters 7 and 8) raises questions concerning pupils' school work. Are particular pupils high achievers because they have ability and/or intelligence (or both), or are they high achievers because they are in a work setting where it is an accepted convention to operate less restrictive and more co-operative working practices? Furthermore, what does constitute ability and achievement?

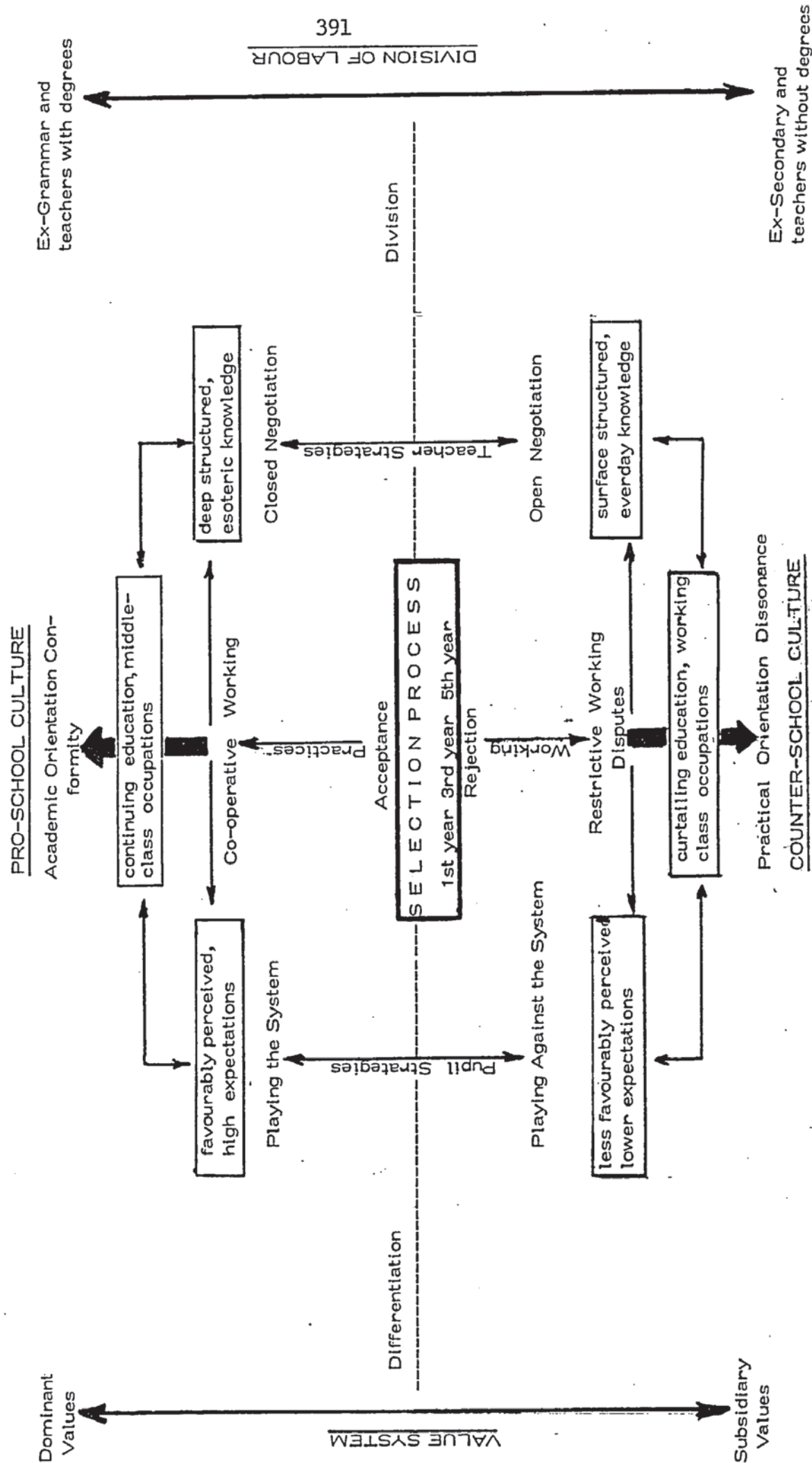
Fourthly, what are the implications for change at Westward High and what alternatives to the present system of schooling can be suggested?

In tackling these analytical questions it will be argued that Westward High is a failing or underachieving comprehensive school (cf Holt, 1971). It fails or underachieves because it divides pupils and offers pupils alternative educational routes through the school which carry unequal status. These routes lead either to success or relative failure in relation to how pupils experience school and what they derive from their schooling in terms of enjoyment, levels of working, rewards and examination success. In other words, the school has failed to develop the potential of certain pupils.

9.1 Differentiation and Division in the School

Figure 9.1 represents the differentiation and division at Westward High. This draws together data from the organisational, perceptual and interactional levels. It shows pupil cultures to be related to school values and the division of labour, as well as being a product of the selection process in the school. The various stages in the selection process when pupils are aged eleven, thirteen and sixteen years, have implications for classroom interaction, perceptions and expectations, the

FIGURE 9.1. Representation of Differentiation and Division: Aspects related to the development of pro- and counter-school cultures



curriculum pupils receive and the preparation of particular pupils for distinctive but differentiated occupations.

9.1.1 Pupil Culture and the Selection Process

~~The concept of acceptance~~ of certain pupils and rejection of other pupils by the school is central to the formation of distinct pupil cultures. Acceptance and rejection as a concept is double edged since the pupils themselves can be seen to accept or reject the school in varying degrees. The use of the concept 'cultures' is used here in the Median sense, that is, "cultural determinism" in which individuals gravitate towards other like-minded individuals. It is argued that the school itself helps promote these distinct groups of pupils by the way in which it segregates them into sets or bands. There is evidence to suggest, with respect to pupils' perceptions of pupils according to sets or bands, that there is a "reaction formation" (Cohen, 1966) by pupils in the lower sets in years one to three and in Band B in the fourth and fifth years, against the school system. This is because pupils perceive that first year Express and Set 1 pupils and fourth and fifth year Band A pupils are accepted by the school as representing pupils most likely to succeed and achieve good examination results. They are "warmed up" (Ball, 1981) from the moment they enter the school to expect to produce more work and better results. Consequently, they feel accepted by the school and accept the dominant values (see 9.1.2) and work ethic. In contrast, first year pupils in Set 3, Remedials and fourth and fifth year Band B pupils are rejected by the school from the higher sets and Band A, excluded from certain subject options and are "cooled out" (Goffman, 1962) to expect to obtain lower CSE grades or no examinations. As a consequence of this they feel rejected by the school and reject the dominant values associated with the work ethic and acceptable patterns of behaviour.

The concept of acceptance and rejection is made apparent during the various stages in the selection process throughout pupils' educational career. It occurs when pupils enter the school at eleven. The sorting of pupils by their scores on NFER English and mathematics tests assumes that these subjects are a good basis on which to segregate pupils as well as an effective way of predicting how well a pupil will perform in other subjects. This selection is compounded when pupils 'choose' from their restricted options in the third year. These options lead to 'O' level, CSE, CSE (Mode III) examinations or pupils taking no examinations at the end of their compulsory schooling. It is this ultimate selection which has the final great impact since Band B pupils are effectively barred from continuing studies to 'A' level as certain subjects they have studied at CSE level (such as life science, ie environmental science; or family science, ie child care) are not available at 'A' level. This channelling or funnelling of Band B pupils effectively ensures that a selected group of pupils underachieve or fail in relation to those particular subjects made available to Band A pupils. The question arises as to whether all subjects have equal status. If so, then why is it that there is mutual restrictions on subjects according to band allocation (the headteacher's "banded option system")?

The main argument being put forward in relation to pupil cultures, the acceptance and rejection of school by pupils and the rejection of certain pupils by the school, and notions of underachievement and failure, is that there exists at Westward High a counter-school culture. However, to demonstrate this it is necessary to show that there are dominant values to which certain pupils broadly conform, whilst others generally oppose them.

9.1.2 School Values and the Division of Labour

The representation of differentiation and division also takes

account of the school's value system. To understand why there are dominant values at Westward High it is necessary to refer to the division of labour (Chapter 3; 3.5.2, 3.5.3), teacher and pupil perceptions of pupils and pupil cultures (Chapters 4 and 5), and pupils' perceptions of teachers (Chapter 6). Reference also has to be made to the stratification of knowledge brought about by the option system, as noted previously. It is within the value system and division of labour with its relation to acceptance and rejection of certain pupils, that differentiation and divisions are also made manifest. These must also be placed in the context of the changes in secondary schooling and the movement to comprehensivisation.

At Westward High divisions between the former Westward Grammar and Burston Secondary Modern teachers are apparent in the distribution of teaching between academic and practically orientated pupils. There is, as Hargreaves (1980) suggests, a skills-knowledge dichotomy. The ex-grammar and teachers with degrees who are assumed to have the knowledge, mostly teach and therefore, pass on their knowledge to academic Express, Set 1, Band A and Sixth Form pupils. These pupils, who have been accepted into the highly valued academic options experience a specialist, esoteric curriculum allowing access to deep structured knowledge. They are prepared for and expect to obtain professional or middle-class occupations. In contrast, the less academically qualified and ex-secondary teachers are assumed to have the skills to teach and therefore, pass on their knowledge to lower set, Remedial and Band B pupils. These pupils who have been rejected by the school and have failed to win a place in the highly valued academic options, experience a more practically orientated curriculum related to everyday knowledge, and are prepared for and expect to obtain manual, skilled, semi-skilled or working-class jobs.

School values and the division of labour are also related to teacher and pupil perceptions and expectations of particular teachers. Not only do teachers assume that particular types of teachers, that is, ex-grammar and ex-secondary teachers are qualified to teach only certain pupils, but pupils themselves draw this distinction and differentiate between teachers and ascribe to them a particular status depending on whether they teach academic or practical orientated pupils. A teacher's presentation of self, style of dress and mannerism contribute to teacher differentiation, as does sexual stereotyping and pupils' assumptions that women teachers are less able to exert physical control over counter-school culture pupils. The relationship between teachers and pupil cultures is evident, of course, in the labelling by pupils of particular teachers as stiffs. These are mostly academic teachers who are perceived to be wholly concerned with school work to the exclusion of socialising with pupils and are assumed to come from a middle-class background. In contrast, the ex-secondary modern teachers' presentation of self are perceived to be markedly different. They are less concerned with school work, are expected to socialise more with pupils, and relax, bend or break school rules. They are assumed to come from a different social class background and to have different values compared with academic teachers.

The analysis presented here of different values made manifest in the division of labour reflects the suggestions made by the Hadow Report (1926) that certain teachers need to be employed to teach certain pupils. There was assumed to be a need for a match to be made between teacher and pupils with respect to their mutual background. This would indicate that the school is an agency in the transmission of separate cultures. If society can be said to be divided between the academically educated few and the more practically educated majority, then the school helps reproduce these divisions and does little or nothing to change the

status quo. It seems that at Westward High the amalgamation of the grammar and secondary modern schools and the formation of a new comprehensive school, has done little to ameliorate the old divisions that existed between these two schools. There has been little substantive change in the teaching commitment of teachers compared with their commitments at Westward Grammar and Burston Secondary Modern school. The dominant values of the grammar school have simply been incorporated into the structure of the comprehensive school.

Of course, alternative career structures were developed for the ex-secondary teachers at Westward High by the formation of a system of pastoral care, with year heads being offered Scale 4 posts. But there was great dissatisfaction amongst the ex-secondary modern teachers who were not appointed as head of departments in the comprehensive school, other than the head of craft subjects, home economics and remedial education. These positions were of lower status and carried less prestige than did those of the academic heads of department. Although the ex-secondary modern teachers had their salary from their former posts protected, the ancillary and psychic or intrinsic rewards so vital for a person's sense of purpose in a career, were lacking with these teachers (Lortie, 1975). They were well aware that their skill was considered to lie in the role of 'policeman' (as one ex-secondary modern teacher once remarked), to keep discipline and order and to teach the more practically orientated subjects and everyday knowledge to the secondary modern type of pupil in the comprehensive school. Having been initially employed in the secondary modern school, such divisions were probably considered by the head to be fully justified. These divisions are similar to those reported by Riseborough (1981) and Sikes (1984). As Riseborough has pointed out, just as there can be different pupil cultures in a school, so too can there be different teacher cultures. At Westward High teachers

are streamed in much the same way as pupils. Teachers and pupils are aware of this and use this notion of 'teacher streaming' in their perceptions of and differentiation between teachers.

At Westward High the counter-school cultures flourish because there is no mutual access to achieving valued states in relation to rewards, success and achievement for either pupils or ex-secondary modern teachers. This is because these teachers are associated with the less academic, bottom set and Band B pupils. These pupils are rejected by the school because of their inability to succeed in terms of academic criteria of achievement, or in terms of their unacceptable behaviour or both, and so are relegated to the low sets or Band B. Such divisions mirror those that existed under the tripartite arrangement in which pupils who had failed to win a place at a grammar school were rejected and went, by default, to a secondary modern school. Pupils in Band B, like their counterparts in the secondary modern school, could not be relegated and demoted to a lower Band or Stream and so the only course open to pupils who did not fit in with the school system was, and still is, suspension. To a certain extent, withdrawal units or 'sin bins' provide further ways of demoting pupils who are particularly disruptive in school.

9.1.3 Cultures and Adaptations

Whilst it is argued that there are distinctive pupil cultures at Westward High, these are not solely based on social class but arise from the institutional arrangements (see 9.1.5), although bottom set first year pupils and Band B pupils do associate the academic pupils with wealth and the middle-classes. Pupils gravitate towards like-minded individuals, brought together under the school's setting or banding arrangements. These support groups or group affiliations (Meighan, 1986) have different values. Whereas the pro-school culture is broadly supportive of the dominant values and school culture, the counter-school culture react against these

values, in a similar way to the analysis offered by Cohen (1966), and develop values that oppose the School. Turner's (1983) contention, noted in Chapter 1 (1.11) that it is an unrealistic appraisal that pro-school pupils accept and anti-school pupils reject school values because not all teachers have the same values, is itself too simplistic and cannot be substantiated in this analysis of the division of labour and differentiation of teachers. What is apparent at Westward High is that there is a value system which incorporates dominant values and subsidiary values. The dominant values rest with those who have control over the school organisation and curriculum, notably the head teacher, deputy heads and heads of departments, and those teaching academic pupils (the ex-grammar and teachers with degrees). The subsidiary or subterranean values rest with those who have little control over the curriculum and timetabling and who teach low status subjects to the less academic pupils (the ex-secondary and teachers without degrees). At Westward High there is an alignment of pupil cultures with teacher cultures and values. This dimension of pro- and counter-school cultures is not apparent in both Cohen and Miller's sub-cultural analysis when applied to schools by Hargreaves, Lacey, Willis and Ball. To understand pupil cultures it is also necessary to take account of the division of labour in a school.

The differentiation between dominant and subsidiary values raises questions concerning the relationship between goals and pupils' adaptations. At Westward High the differentiated curriculum with restricted access to particular pupils under the banded option system, means that the school has different and distinct goals for particular pupils. These factors, it would seem, are not taken into account by Woods, although he does differentiate between instrumental and expressive curriculum which is followed by different pupils and is associated with different pupil adaptations (Woods, 1979).

A problem of the conceptual analysis of pupils' adaptations to school in Woods' typology, as well as that of Wakeford (1969), is that they are sociological or second order constructs, divorced from descriptions of pupils' actual practices in school. To make greater sense of pupil activity it is necessary to produce categories of analysis that relate directly to what pupils do, but that also have some carry-over to other institutions. This aspect will be discussed later in relation to pupils' adaptations to school in terms of working practices in the context of the sociology of the workplace (see 9.1.7).

The emphasis by the sub-cultural model on polarisation of pupil cultures is, of course, too simplistic and does not take into account the details of classroom interaction. Whilst Hargreaves (1967) notes how pupils in the 'B' Stream utilise different practices and operate more restrictions on work compared with 'A' Stream pupils (pp 27, 99), his diagram of the representation of two sub-cultures is problematic. Where, for instance, does he place those pupils who restrict their work? Are they pro- or anti-school? Drawing on data from Westward High it is argued that pro-school and counter-school pupil cultures should be viewed on a continuum between those pupils who fully accept the dominant values of the school and those who oppose or react against these values. This is very apparent in the different restrictive working practices and strategies operated by Band A and Band B pupils.

More recently, Hargreaves would seem to be arguing that this polarisation of two sub-cultures is too rigid and he suggests that pupils range from "the committed" and "the instrumentalist" who, in their different ways are pro-school, and "the indifferent" and "the oppositional". These latter pupils are, in varying degrees, anti-school (Hargreaves, 1979; 1982). At Westward High, life science pupils are willing to work to a

certain extent, with the aid of Miss Willis's strategies of negotiation, but they are generally indifferent to school and see themselves as being in opposition to Band A pupils. Band A English pupils, by contrast, are committed to school, although they utilise restrictive practices when these do not conflict with obtaining high grades leading to examination success.

A major criticism of the sub-cultural model, which is applicable to Lacey's (1970) analysis, concerns the way he attempts to explain all aspects of pupil behaviour in terms of one theory and to endeavour to fit all explanations into this paradigm (cf Kuhn, 1962). It is necessary to draw on compatible, though not necessarily competing, theories (see Chapter 1, Figure 1.7) for a fuller and more meaningful explanation of differentiation and division in the school. Although oppositional pupil cultures are evident at Westward High, pupils are not enslaved by their culture. Using Goffman's analysis it can be shown, for instance, that Scott in the Express Set (Chapter 4; 4.2.5) is derided by other Express Set pupils because he wants to be top. He is labelled as "a big spiff" and "posh" because he embraces an institution too warmly (Goffman, 1961). He is considered to be too pro-school. Yet Scott, a pro-school pupil, is a valued friend of 1F3 boys because he plays football with them. Although he is a member of the Express Set, from the point of view of 1F3 boys, Scott's saving grace is his sportsmanship, a highly regarded quality of these boys. In this way Scott cleverly manages what Goffman (1959) calls "audience segregation". In the eyes of the teachers, of course, he is considered to be pro-school and would attract all the positive labels from them which is associated with this position.

Other examples of audience segregation concern the need for impression management or identity management in which even academic pro-school pupils who do more than the prescribed amount of work stipulated

by the group, have to do it secretly, as Alison explained (Chapter 5; 5.3.4). Whilst the teacher is aware of this extra work, Alison was concerned to hide her extra work-output (rate-busting) from other pupils. Yet another example is John, in life science, who came top in the class examination and was considered intelligent by both the teacher and his peers. His saving grace was that he was well-liked by other pupils because he did not work hard in class. These 'saving graces', then, enable some pupils at least to appear to be operating both sets of values, although they have a vested interest in one or other. Of course, the sub-cultural analysis, as a paradigm, cannot take account of these fine details of differentiation in pupil cultures since it defines culture as being dominated by the group with its members devoid of decision-making abilities. In endeavouring to fit data to theory, the sub-cultural model obscures the reality of what actually occurs.

A major problem of both the sub-cultural model and the adaptational model, as they are applied to schools, is the contention that an anti-group or dissonant pupils come to fruition in the third year with little or no sign of pupil opposition to school from first year, eleven year old pupils. Woods (1979) suggests that first year pupils begin school with an "air of hope" with "a lot of acceptance of goals on trust". Hargreaves (1967) suggested that at Lumley the low streams are not "difficult" in the first two years, but that they become anti-school from the third year onwards. At Westward High, as noted previously, the selection process at 11+, as well as at 13+ and 16+, have a decisive influence on pupils' attitudes to school. This leads to the development of a counter-school culture at the beginning of pupils' first year in the school. It is probable that once cast as anti-school with the associated rejection by the school, pupils do not change their

allegiance to the group throughout the school. In many ways, as will be argued later (9.1.5), the selection process at these different stages, legitimises and reinforces these oppositional cultures.

In summary, the major criticisms of both the sub-cultural and adaptational models concerns their concentration of pupil cultures or pupil adaptations to the exclusion of other factors. These concern teachers, values, and the division of labour, the curriculum with respect to who teaches what to whom, and the differentiation of knowledge. Whilst Ball (1981) and Woods (1979) offer some insights into option schemes, Ball's summarised diagram explaining divisions in the schools (see Chapter 1; Figure 1.2) omits these crucial details. Instead he concentrates on portraying pupil cultures in the school as emanating from the divisions between the middle classes and the working classes. Whilst this is part of Miller's analysis concerning divisions between the social classes, it is problematic when compared with Cohen's analysis since he only recognised the one dominant middle class culture and values. Finally, emphasis on the interplay between teacher and pupils, expectations, labelling and strategies are not discussed in any great detail and do not appear in the analysis of sub-cultures or pupil adaptations by Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball. Although Woods does describe a range of strategies used by teachers in the staffroom and classroom, these are not related to pupil adaptations. The representation of differentiation and division at Westward High (Figure, 9.1) encompasses these areas of identification and layers of meaning and, in so doing, seeks to utilise a number of compatible perspectives in the explanation of differentiation and division in school.

9.1.4 Expectation and Labelling

To understand how differentiation and division occurs at Westward High it is necessary to take account of both teacher and pupil expectations

and the process of labelling. It is not surprising that there has been no clear indication from research in this areas as to whether teacher expectation does, in fact, improve or depress pupil performance (see Pidgeon, 1970; Brophy and Good, 1974; Rist, 1977). This is because researcher's may concentrate on specific variables (such as teachers' perceptions of pupils) and relate these to specific outcomes (such as test or examination scores). This analysis is too simplistic, the expectation effect must be viewed as multi-dimensional or multi-faceted. It is difficult, if not impossible in human relationships, to isolate a specific variable that can be said to lead to a specific outcome. However, a number of processes or variables, when viewed in combination, can provide evidence of these subtle, and sometimes less subtle, expectations which help bring about certain outcomes. In this respect it is possible to examine assumptions teachers make about individuals or groups of pupils and locate the effects on those individuals in terms of their perceptions, attitudes, working practices and strategies, as well as the outcome of pupils' schooling in terms of examination grades. There is a need, also, to examine how pupils' expectations and peer group labelling help bring about certain outcomes. Certainly, as was noted in Chapter 1 (1.7.2), there is evidence that this form of labelling occurs in schools.

At Westward High expectation and labelling has been shown to be evident in a number of areas. The most powerful of these being the selection process itself. The first element in the process occurs in the first year and is made apparent in the expressing of top set pupils. The assumption made is that only a certain group of pupils (ie those who have scored high marks on English and mathematics tests) and have, therefore, 'won' a place in the top set, should be pushed harder to succeed. The logical conclusion from this is that the lower set pupils are not required to work as hard and are not pushed at such a pace as Express

set pupils. This is certainly the hidden message that pupils receive. The pacing of knowledge (re Bernstein, 1971), varies between pupils according to set allocation. The analysis of pupils' routes through school has shown one outcome of teacher expectation to be the sharp division between pupils. Whereas pupils who were in Express and Set I in the lower school were promoted into Band A, pupils who were in the bottom sets in the lower school were relegated to Band B. There was a clear connection between lower school setting and upper school banding. The hidden messages of setting and its implication for selection into Band A are understood by pupils. For instance, Denise a fourth year pupils in Band A (formerly in Set 2) had realised that to be in Set 2 risked being demoted to Band B. She understood the hidden message of selection to mean that pupils selected into Band A "get better chances" to do 'O' levels (Chapter 4; 4.2.3).

It was evident that pupils did see and judge themselves in terms of the school's setting or banding arrangements. Not only do teachers expect certain pupils to do well and to be of a particular type (pro-school or anti-school) depending on their set allocation, but pupils themselves take on board these expectations of pupils. Thus Express and Band A pupils, bottom set and Band B pupils have opposing views of each other and describe each other differently. These descriptions being in terms of either pro-school, most-like teachers' ideal pupil or in terms of anti-school, least-like teachers' ideal pupil. This influences pupils' expectations for continuing education and future occupations, and is further evidence that the expectations pupils have for themselves matches closely those of the teachers'. The higher the set the pupil was in during the first three years in school, the higher the professional occupations to which they aspired. Clearly, the demarcation lines between pupils are boldly drawn at an early age at Westward High and the message this sends to pupils is clearly understood

by them and made manifest in terms of different and distinct expectations.

Another assumption, which manifests itself in terms of expectation, is that different pupils need a different educational or intellectual diet. (see also 9.2.1). Band B pupils are given a diet of everyday knowledge which helps trap them in their own environment and reduce their occupational mobility, whilst the more esoteric knowledge is made available to Band A pupils. If schools were to advocate a different nutritional diet for pupils depending upon whether they were in Band A or Band B, because Band A pupils needed more protein by the mere fact that they used their brain more and were more 'intelligent', the school would surely be inundated with irate parents. Yet that such a divisive 'diet' is procured in the educational-intellectual area seems to be acceptable and unquestioned at the school. This process of "warming up", but more particularly the process of "cooling out" (Goffman, 1962) of certain pupils, is indicative of this failing or underachieving comprehensive school.

Of course the outcome of these expectations was the all too familiar divide between GCE and CSE (see Ball, 1981; Woods, 1979). This is not only an examination divide, but a subject divide (and knowledge divide) and status differential. The expectation by teachers that most pupils in Band A would get 'O' levels and the top or higher grades in the CSE examinations they took were broadly confirmed. But of course Band B pupils did not study for, nor were they entered for, 'O' level examinations. These results are viewed by the school as confirming that the teacher's predictions for pupils were, on the whole, upheld and could be used to justify the continuation of segregation. Alternatively, the results can be viewed more negatively since the school has, effectively, failed a large number of pupils. By demoting certain pupils to Band B (and the bottom sets in the lower school), the system of segregating pupils has in effect depressed pupil performance. Stated simply: pupils

underachieved because they were placed in the lower positions in the hierarchy of setting and banding in which the school expected least from them. They quite simply lived up (or down as the case may be) to expectations.

These outward signs of expectations in relation to examination results belie the subtle nature of expectations that take place during pupils' progress through school. Pupils selected for Band A were perceived to be substantially different to those pupils who were placed in Band B. The system of monitoring pupils' progress during their first term in their bands is evidence of the effort taken to ensure that pupils in Band A are, indeed, pro-school. A pupils' attractiveness, his good manners and behaviour; being from a 'good' home as well as academic ability, it seems, are all prerequisites for entrance to Band A and an academic education. Thus pupils singled out and placed in Band B are not only of 'lower' ability, but are perceived to have characteristics least like teachers' ideal pupil. When pupils begin to act out their roles as pro-school and anti-school pupils, as they do at Westward High, this again is confirmation in the teachers' eyes that they were correct in their diagnosis of pupils. Perception then becomes expectation as teachers assume that pupils in particular sets or bands are of a particular type. The appropriation of blame for poor work or bad behaviour is placed, not on the school, but on the pupils themselves.

The alternative suggestion, of course, is that it is the school itself that helps in the formation of anti-school feelings amongst pupils in the bottom sets or Band B. By 'demoting' pupils from Band A to Band B if they misbehave, signals a clear message to pupils that such behaviour is more appropriate for pupils in Band B. Clearly, if pupils misbehave or produce little work, this, of itself, should not disqualify them from Band A. If a pupil is considered to have a problem,

steps should be taken to either help the pupil or to rectify 'defects' in the teaching-learning or school situation. To simply 'demote' a pupil is to legitimise such behaviour or work rate as consonant with Band B or bottom set pupils.

Expectations and labelling should be viewed as mutually reinforcing each other and as part of the same process as Hargreaves et al. (1975) and Rist (1977) have suggested. At Westward High there was evidence of pupils being labelled by teachers as certain types. The ascription of labels, of course, is accompanied by allocation to sets or bands, as noted previously, thereby compounding the labelling process and helping to bring about a self-fulfilling prophecy. Of course it is not possible, with any precision, to show beyond doubt that a particular label appropriated to a particular pupil (or group of pupils) produce a certain outcome. What is suggested is that peer group labelling reinforces teacher labelling. As noted in Chapter 1 (1.7.2), peer group labelling is part of the process whereby pupils differentiate between each other. At Westward High, labels such as spiffs or stiffs, swots, creeps or dossers are hierarchical in nature and have different emphasis and different meanings when used by different pupils. Whilst Band B pupils deride all Band A pupils as stiffs, Band A pupils use the term to castigate pupils in their own band who did more than the legitimate and acceptable amount of work. A similar process was shown to exist with first year pupils who label certain pupils as spiffs. These perceptions and expectations for Band A and Express set pupils, Band B and bottom set pupils, are soon learned by pupils. For instance, one fifth year girl in Band A who had only been at the school for three or four weeks, was well aware of the stereotypical views pupils had of each other. She was able to explain the differences between Band A and Band B pupils and knew the meaning of the label 'stiffs'.

Labelling is more than a two-way interaction between the labeller (the teacher) and the labelled (the pupil) that labelling has up to now purported to show (see Hargreaves, 1976). It is a three- or four-way and circular interaction. At Westward High not only do teachers label pupils and pupils label each other, but pupils label teachers. The appropriation of the label 'stiffs' to mostly the academic teachers of Band A pupils, has a wide range of meanings (see Chapter 3, Table 6.3). Such labelling keeps alive the old grammar and secondary modern schools divide since the label was originally given to the ex-grammar teachers by the ex-secondary modern pupils soon after amalgamation. These labels, of course, have implications concerning pupils' expectations of teachers. There is some suggestion that teachers also label each other. Burgess (1983) noted how teachers who taught the less able pupils were labelled 'Newsom Teachers'. At Westward High, whilst no data was collected to suggest that teachers appropriate labels to their colleagues, there is a definite expectation for these teachers which form part of the division of labour.

Not only do pupils come to see themselves in terms of teachers' stereotypes of pupils, but more particularly Band B pupils expressed a desire to want to achieve valued states and work more. But peer group pressure and the depressing effects of expectations according to band allocation, provide an all too powerful force which holds them back (Chapter 5; Table 5.6). It is far easier for pupils to follow the stream than fight against the current of negative expectations.

It was also evident at Westward High that, in labelling pupils and their expectations for them, teachers draw on a number of second-hand typifications (Schutz, 1964). The staffroom and staffroom notices certainly provide a vibrant arena in the discussion of pupils. Of course this highlights the importance of the staffroom as a back region for the

dissemination of information about pupils (as noted in Chapter 1; 1.6.4). This area contributes to labelling as does teachers' typification and labelling of parents and the home. Pupils were perceived in relation to whether they were considered to come from a 'good' or 'bad' home, whether or not their parents were supportive of the school also contributed to the label assigned to the home and the pupil. As Sharp and Gree (1975) note, the "good parent" role involves, among other things, parents having a knowledge of how the school works and a strong interest in education. At Westward High the so-called good parent, like the good pupil, were considered by teachers to be supportive of the school.

Labelling does not operate simply on personal initiatives but can derive from socially constructed ideas that are fed into the consciousness of teachers and pupils (Meighan, 1986). Thus at Westward High pupils account for differences between pupils in relation to set or band allocation as being a product of the difference between pupils from "posh" or "common" backgrounds (Chapters 4 and 5). They have acquired the popularised notions from sociology of the link between social class and academic achievement. The divisions in the school are seen as a manifestation or reflections of the divisions in society between the rich and poor and the divisions between the social classes. More research concerning peer group labelling, in relation to pupils labelling of pupils and teachers and teachers labelling teachers, could well produce some interesting findings and is certainly an area rife for exploration. Similarly, research that analyses whether teachers perceive pupils differently with respect to a division of labour in the school is a further area worthy of exploration. For instance, at Westward High it would have been interesting to have data on how ex-grammar compared with ex-secondary modern teachers perceived pupils in relation to their set or band allocation.

9.1.5 The Institutional Arrangements and Pupil Identities

The formulation of pupil identities at an early age makes it difficult for pupils to change and break out of the mould created for them by the school. The analysis of the affects of the institutional arrangements at Westward High have similar characteristics to other institutions such as mental hospitals and prisons. Goffman's (1961) analysis of the wards system in mental hospitals has striking similarities with pupils' allocation to sets or bands. He argues that people are a product of the institutional arrangement and that "the self arises not merely out of its possessor's interactions with significant others, but also out of the arrangements that are involved in an organisation for its members". As noted in Chapter 1, Goffman suggests that a patient's assignment to a ward is intended to convey "an expression of the general level of functioning, his status as a person" and that such a system "can be explicitly employed to frame a conception a person takes of himself". The promotion or demotion from one ward to another represents the patient's status in much the same way as a pupil's allocation to a set or band or movement from one to the other represents his status or status change.

At Westward High the arrangements within the institution are taken as given, unalterable, fixed; they appear to possess "a reality of their own" (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). Teachers and pupils believe in the institution and ascribe to it a state of infallibility. They are unable to see pupils as individuals but perceive them in terms of their setting or banding identities within the allocation system. This was expressed forcefully by two fifth year Band A pupils. One remarked: "you tend to think all Band B are thick (...) because they're in Band B". The other pupil added: "it's not our fault for thinking that, it's because they've been segregated, haven't they?" Pupils are slotted into

this assumed objective reality:

"There is then a total classification of the individual with his socially assigned typification. He is apprehended as nothing but that type. This apprehension may be positively or negatively accentuated in terms of values or emotions."

(Berger and Luckmann, 1967, p108)

The paradox is, as Berger and Luckmann point out, that "man is capable of producing a world that he then experiences as something other than a human product". The institution gives rise to habitualisation in as much as it channels and regulates human behaviour and actions. The institution, as Berger (1966) points out, "provide procedures through which human conduct is patterned, compelled to go, ingrooves deemed desirable by society". So powerful is the school's hold on an individual's perception and actions that it protects him from decision-making and shuts out all other options in favour of that which has been predefined by the institutional arrangements.

At Westward High habitualisation gives rise to a process of legitimation. Thus pupils in the lower sets and Band B challenge the institution and pose a threat by setting up what Berger and Luckmann refer to as "alternative symbolic universes". This confrontation of alternative symbolic universes implies a problem of power and conflicting definitions of the situation. This was most apparent in lower school Set 3 pupils vehement castigation of Express pupils as being the more powerful "big people", "the big ones" "the brainies" and the ones that "rule the school"; whilst Set 3 pupils were considered by Express set pupils to be "weeds". (Chapter 4; 4.2.1). In an endeavour to gain power, lower set pupils revert to misbehaviour such as playing tricks on the Express set pupils in the dining hall in an attempt to discredit them and to get them into trouble.

The school also endeavours to gain power of these bottom set and Band B pupils through nihilation (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). They are

given a negative status by teachers and top set and Band A pupils. This process of labelling, as Berger and Luckmann note, helps reduce the threat they make to the school by debasing them and ridiculing them as being less than human. The labels 'maladjusted', 'bolshie' and 'problem, psycho, alcoholic, suicide' (Chapter 3) were assigned to pupils who were later selected for Band B. As was argued previously, by assigning such pupils to Band B, the school in effect legitimises Band B as being appropriate for such pupils. An even more ambitious form of nihilation is to incorporate the deviants into the main culture of the school and thereby liquidate them ultimately. As noted in the analysis of the banded option scheme at Westward High, this is achieved to a certain extent by giving pupils a diet of everyday life and community based knowledge with a practical and 'realistic' orientation. To a certain extent this is successful, as witnessed in Miss Willis's strategy of negotiation with pupils and her exhortation for them to work for their CSEs. The ten girls who did receive grade 1 CSE in family science (child care) is evidence that this form of nihilation did produce some results at Westward High.

The movement of pupils between sets and bands and the recommendations by teachers for pupils to be transferred from Band A to Band B is not considered to reflect unfavourably on the school itself. At Westward High teachers ascribe this movement to a defect in the child, his ability or his behaviour. These pupils are also said to be a product of a 'poor' home background. In this way the integrity of the school and the allocation system (setting and banding) is left unscathed and considered unimpeachable. This typification of pupils acts in a double sense since individuals (especially Band B pupils) are apprehended as a particular type in a typical situation. For instance, the Deputy Head's assertion that a particular Set 3 pupil was a "typical Burston kid" is a typification of a pupil who is seen as being representative of a group

of similar individuals. The typification is made more complex because she considers him to be typical of pupils that were in the secondary modern school prior to amalgamation (Chapter 3). Here is the stark reminder that the older institutionalised typifications survive and are reborn in the newly formed institution.

Just as pupils are conferred with a setting or banding identity by both teachers and pupils, so teachers are conferred with a banding identity by pupils. There is a double paradox here in that the institution acts back on its creators (Berger and Luckmann, 1967). The first element of the paradox is that whilst the school endeavours to accomodate the less academic pupils and bring them into the mainstream of the school by offering them a distinctive and differentiated curriculum (the banded option scheme), this acts back on the school because the subsidiary or subterranean values created encourage the development of counter cultures in both the lower and upper schools. The school, then, has created that which it sought to accomodate and to eradicate. The second element of the paradox is that whilst the school assigns particular identities to particular pupils depending upon their set or band allocation, these low status pupils, in effect, lower the status of the teachers assigned to teach them and help in the creation of the division of labour.

9.1.6 Achievement and Ability

If a large proportion of pupils are expected to receive low grade CSEs or no examinations, it can be questioned as to what does, in fact, constitute achievement and ability. Notions of achievement and ability are, at least from an interactionist perspective, problematic since they may be said to be "a social construction rather than an inevitable fact of life" (Meighan, 1986). The sociology of education of the late 50s and early 60s put forward the idea of "wastage of talent" with a particular allusion to working class children. From this analysis

was born the notion of compensatory education (see Karabel and Halsey, 1977). It was argued by some educationalists that if pupils do not succeed or fail in school, the cause of this 'failure' was attributed to something that was lacking in the home and in their socialisation, their environment, culture or, indeed, all three. It was the purpose of the school, to endeavour to change this by compensating these children. There was an influx of extra resources and teachers, who were paid an extra allowance to encourage them to teach in these social priority areas (the Plowden Report, 1967). Teachers, it seems, were to be compensated for having to teach such children. There was no attempt, as Bernstein (1970) argues, to integrate and accomodate these pupils and their culture into the educational system. Instead, attempts were made to rationalise their failure by suggestions that it was something lacking in their culture which needed to be eradicated so that pupils could learn to accept the dominant middle class culture of the school. Here was an attempt to use the school as a means of changing society, or at least one section of it, under the guise of seemingly to provide greater opportunities for a particular group of pupils.

The notion that the identification of talent could result in true mobility rests on three assumptions. Firstly, that education should be about sorting and selection. Secondly, that defining 'merit' is unproblematic, and objective, and without class bias. Merit was inextricably related to the competitive examination system. Thirdly, that an individual's route through the educational system was an index of greater equality of opportunity (Meighan, 1986). The argument was if the school produced successful pupils, then the more the school could be seen as helping change society. However, as Davies (1980b) points out, this was simply "the replacement of notions of genetic heritance with social pathology models of deprivation". It is not so

much that the pupils have a fixed ability or intelligence, as Burt had advocated, but their 'poor' background was said now to hamper their progress at school. Consequently, attention was drawn away from ways in which schools were processing pupils.

The method used at Westward High of placing pupils who were not expected to do well in the lower sets in the first three years and then transferring them into Band B in the fourth year, effectively reduced the failure rate at 'O' level. Statistically, the school can be seen to be doing relatively well since the proportion of pupils entered for 'O' level who actually pass will be greater if certain pupils who are expected to fail are excluded. This, in effect, affords a higher status to Band A pupils, just as grammar school pupils were of a higher status and tended to do well in their examinations because they were the top 20% of the school population. This 'weeding out' process ensures that by the time pupils come to choose their options in the third year, the school is confident that it has chosen only those pupils it feels sure are good at performing the narrow range of skills associated with school success.

This system of schooling can be considered questionable for a number of reasons. Firstly, the notion of 'ability' is dubious since it ostensibly concerns the ability to use and to manipulate symbols on paper. But why should these academic skills be more highly regarded than other skills? Davies rightly questions these notions:

"Why is the facility to manipulate other people's symbols on a piece of paper more highly regarded than the facility to form social relationships, operate a calculator, organise a trade union? In particular, why is only one continuum used to rank pupils? Given the enormous range of skills, competencies and orientations in our society, it is curious that we can glibly talk of children as being 'able', and 'less able', 'average' and 'below average', as if all we were measuring were head size."

(Davies, 1980b)

Davies also questions the notion of 'general intelligence' as being misleading. Squibb (1973) has argued that intelligence is socially constructed and has different meanings in different cultures. At Westward High intelligence was related to pupils' set or band allocation as well as being related to pupils' personalities, their ability in school subjects, their concern about school work, and their favourable attitudes to school and school work. In short, intelligent pupils were considered to be those that matched teachers' conception of an ideal pupil (Chapter 5; Table 5.1).

Just as the operating definitions of ability are questionable, so too are the operating definitions of assessment (Meighan, 1986). Meighan rightly argues that a norm-referenced examination system such as the 'O' level is designed to select certain pupils as being 'successful' whilst labelling others as 'failures'. The notion of success is individualised in as much as the pupil is said to have made the grade through his own efforts but the school, as an institution, can also take credit for this. Conversely, of course, a pupil's failure is also individualised in as much as the school does not accept responsibility (or liability) for this failure. This can give rise to labels attached to pupils by teachers such as "psychotic" or "maladjusted", as noted previously. Meighan argues that the school legitimises this failure in terms of an unequal system of life chances: "you do not deserve many rewards because you are not very bright, as the paper and pencil tests have told you". The obvious point about such norm-referenced examinations is that they would soon be regarded as unsatisfactory if everyone gained the same high grades or, indeed, if all pupils who were entered passed them. Schools have to balance the hierarchical nature of the examination system, with its graded passes and failures with the comprehensive ideology of equality of opportunity and impartiality (Davies, 1980b). This produces

a dilemma, and the way out of this, Davies argues, is for the school to blame the child and advance the argument that opportunities were available to him were it not for him being an underachiever and of a low IQ. It is also highly questionable whether 'O' and 'A' level school examinations should be used in the selection of students for continuing or higher education. The Open University has shown that adults who have not been 'successful' in school do have the academic ability to study for, and later gain, a degree. Furthermore, research has shown that the class of the degree awarded to students has little relationship to 'A' level grades (see Broadfoot, 1979; 1984). Yet universities still insist on sorting and selecting students according to their 'A' level grades.

Achievement and ability are problematic for other reasons. At Westward High it was shown that pupils utilise particular and distinctive working practices. If pupils purposely restrict their work output, as both Band A and particularly Band B pupils do, it is difficult to ascertain what is 'achievement' and what does constitute 'ability'. We do not know what a pupil's true ability is, or how much he may be hiding it or withholding it by restricting his work output. Ability and achievement has as much to do with work output and rate of work (hence the formulation of Express sets in the lower school), as obtaining high grades. Of course, occasionally teachers may talk of pupils who do not work hard enough or put in the required amount of work, as being underachievers. That is, they have the ability but do not produce enough work. At Westward High these comments would be assigned to Band A pupils or top set pupils in the lower school, rather than Band B pupils or bottom set pupils. These pupils are simply labelled low achievers and are not given the status of being under

achievers. They are not considered to be underachieving because they are not expected to obtain 'O' levels or grade 1 CSEs.

9.1.7 Working Practices and Strategic Action

Achievement and ability should also be viewed in relation to pupil practices. In the analysis of pupil practices at Westward High, the term 'working practices' was used to draw attention to the level and rate of work output by pupils in different sets (Chapter 4) and bands (Chapters 5 and 7). The representation of differentiation and division (Figure 9.1) suggests that pupils' working practices vary between co-operative working (pro-school pupils) and restrictive working and disputes (counter-school pupils). However, there have been different explanations of pupil practices and work rates advanced.

Woods (1979; 1983) sees it as part of pupils' individual adaptation to school. Drawing on the work of Merton (1968) and Goffman (1961) he argues that pupils adapt to school by making primary or secondary adjustments which ultimately lead to conformity or dissonance. Although Woods outlines how pupils tackle and define work (see Woods, 1978), no detailed analysis is offered of pupils' working practices. Turner (1983) sees the work restriction as part of peer group pressure in which individuals choose whether or not to do work in school. Drawing on Goffman (1959), he suggests those pupils who do more than an acceptable level of work (as perceived by the group or class), utilise impression management. Turner suggests that a pupil's work rate may vary between subjects and that it is unlikely that a pupil will adapt to school in the same way in all lessons.

Other explanations of pupil practices are rooted in an analysis of social class divisions and anti-intellectualism. Willis (1977) argues that school work, as viewed by 'the lads', is not considered part of the

masculine trait and is, therefore, avoided. Willis bases his analysis on the work of Miller (1958) as well as drawing on a neo-Marxist perspective. Of course, Willis does not offer any details of how pro-school pupils view school work or indeed how girls view work. For work restriction in school to be a masculine trait, it is necessary to show that girls do not restrict work in school. The work by Davies (1979; 1980) and others on deviance amongst girls, has shown Willis's analysis to be problematic (see Chapter 1; 1.7.2).

The work of Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981) related pupils work rates to three factors: values, streaming and social class. Drawing on the work of Cohen (1966), they argue that work rates are influenced by pupils' allocation to streams; the higher the stream, the greater the rate of work. Pupils in the lower streams (or bands), who suffered from status frustration, reacted against school and reduced the level of work output accordingly. They rejected school values because they could not succeed in them and developed other means of achieving valued states. One way of achieving valued states was through work restriction and the opposition to school rules. Although the analysis of working practices is not made explicit in the sub-cultural model, it is implicit in Hargreaves, Lacey and Ball's analyses of such aspects as homework rates and restrictions on work in the class.

These varied explanations of pupil practices, whilst representing plausible reasons for pupil practices, have failed to draw attention to the similarity between school and the workplace. Although Turner has drawn attention to pupils who use "the work restriction norm" in school, he does not develop this analysis and compare it to restrictive practices in the workplace. Research in education, other than that of Willis (1977), has, generally, failed to make any definite connections between these two elements either conceptually or empirically. The sociology of the workplace and the sociology of education would appear to be distinctive

disciplines. What is argued here is that there is a need to build bridges across this divide. To some extent, of course, the Crowther Report (1959), which was concerned with education of the 15 to 18 year olds, did suggest that the mode of school work should be brought into line with that prevailing in pupils' expected occupations:

"Now that the leaving age is 15, a good many people have doubts whether school conditions should not be brought for everyone (as they are for a good many) a little nearer to working conditions. When the school leaving age is raised to 16 these doubts will, we think, right become virtual certainties."

(the Crowther Report, 1959, p126)

The Report argued that the hours spent in school should be supplemented by extra time on homework, except for the below average pupils, and that pupils' working day should grow longer as they grow older. This was to enable the school hours to be brought into line with working conditions: "as soon as (pupils) leave school, however, (their) hours of work become longer and (their) holidays much shorter". The Report warned that "what would have been condemned at school or in the family is tolerated or accepted as natural" in the workplace. Pupils were advised that if this was the case, they should be non-conformist in the workplace. There was an assumed existence of a common culture between home and school, which can be at odds with the workplace to which some pupils were destined. The suggestion by the Crowther Report that schooling should emulate what happens in the workplace is ironic since the comparison between work and school ignores the conflicts and work restrictions that occur in the workplace (Roy, 1952; Flanders, 1964; Gottschalk, 1973; Parker, 1977; Brown, 1977; Willis, 1977; Hirszowicz, 1981). A number of themes from the sociology of the workplace in relation to working practices and work restrictions are applicable to Westward High and schools generally.

i) Payment by Results

In the industrial workplace monetary payment is the most widely used,

and yet most controversial method of motivating people to work (Hirszowicz, 1981). The controversy and problems arise over fixing the rate for the job. Workers endeavour, as Hirszowicz points out, to outwit their time and motion men by deliberately working more slowly. In this way, of course, they can set the pace and level of rewards. At Westward High, as noted previously, the rewards system favours the academic Express, Band A and 'A' level pupils (Chapter 3; 3.3.4). They are rewarded by being offered a curriculum which will give them access to higher education and professional occupations. They are further rewarded when they receive their 'O' level certificates, and they receive special awards if they obtain the highest grades at 'O' or 'A' level. Effectively, Band B pupils have a much reduced incentive to work, are not offered nor given symbolic rewards such as grades and do not receive prizes for the effort of labours in school. One outcome of this is that they operate less co-operative and more restrictive practices. (Chapter 8).

ii) Quota Restrictions or Goldbricking (Systematic Soldiering)

It has long been noted that workers themselves can effectively reduce output through restrictive practices (Roy, 1952; Flanders, 1964; Brown, 1977). It seems that in the workplace workers have always sought to protect their own interests which applies not only to the standard of effort and restriction on output, but also to "the practices that govern job demarcation, work routines and the whole web of social relations that surround the individual workman" (Flanders, 1964). Flanders argues that restrictive practices are not only a function of the present environment but have been carried on "despite having lost their justification". Restrictive practices appear to be of two major types: quota restrictions and goldbricking (or systematic soldiering). Roy suggests that quota restrictions "appear as limitations of effort on 'gravy' jobs in order not to exceed set maximum" whereas

goldbricking appears as "holding back or failure to release effort, when a close approach to the quota system seem unattainable". Quota restrictions are concerned with a number of areas which these three would seem to have relevance to school: the continuance of social relations, the desire to continue social stratification from the practice of restriction, and the need for workers to have at least a minimal area of control over their own behaviour (Hirszowicz, 1981; Willis, 1977; Roy, 1952). In school it has already been noted how pupils utilise counterfeit work and work restrictions (Chapter 1; 1.8.3; 1.8.4). At Westward High academic pupils utilised the practice of goldbricking by holding back on work output if it was not considered necessary and would not be marked by the teacher (hence they would not receive a symbolic reward) as well as redirecting lessons to avoid unwarranted and unnecessary work in an area they considered to be of little importance (Chapter 8; 8.5.3). Certainly, Malcolm, in the life science Band B class, operated quota restrictions since he was only prepared to work for a minimum pay-off and expected to get only CSE grades 2 or 3. The effort needed to obtain a grade 1, in terms of reduction in having a laugh in class, would not be worth it for Malcolm. Work must be reduced to allow a certain amount of socialising.

The practices of saving the reported outcome (Hirszowicz, 1981) or make-work (Goffman, 1961) is common to both industrial settings and schools. Workers may do extra work one day and record it as being a product of the following day's output. In schools, as Hargreaves (1972) and Holt (1964) have shown, this practice is carried out by pupils. At Westward High pupils in life science were encouraged by Miss Willis to do particular pieces of work because they would be accepted as work done in other subjects such as home economics. Work in one lesson could be carried over and 'reported' as work done in another subject.

iii) Rate Busters and Restricters

Whilst restricters in industrial settings are the average or less motivated workers and content to do the minimum, rate busters endeavour to exceed the norms and make extra money. At Westward High the division between Express sets and bottom sets; and Band A and Band B parallels these divisions in the industrial setting. Rate busters who do extra work are criticised and labelled as spiffs or stiffys (as noted previously). This is because working practices, rates of work and rewards vary between these sets and bands. To break the rates of work in Express sets or in Band A is to show up other pupils and to set a higher level of work which all pupils will be expected to do. This is viewed as counter-productive by other pupils. There is a need, therefore, for pupils who wish to remain part of the group, to engage in impression management and to do extra work in the secrecy of their home (see also Turner, 1983).

Interestingly, in the industrial setting Dalton (cited by Hirszowicz, 1981) notes how rate busters and restricters tend to come from different socio-economic backgrounds. Restricters were mostly sons of unskilled workers from urban conglomerations with experience of youth groups. They were well integrated into shop-floor life and enjoyed a flourishing social life. These workers would appear to be very similar to those described by Willis as members of the shop-floor culture - the lads. In contrast, rate busters were more likely to come from rural areas or from lower middle class families and, unlike restricters, were independent of shop-floor culture and lived a life of their own. In schools the link between educational achievement and social class, of course, has been well documented in a variety of different types of studies both longitudinal (Douglas, 1964) and interactionist (Ford, 1969; Hargreaves, 1967; Ball, 1981). There are a number of parallels between these aspects and pupils at Westward High. For instance, fifth year

Band A pupils emphasised most strongly that they were not swayed by the group, as Band B pupils were, but that they were independent workers. Other aspects concern divisions between pupils with respect to pupils' working practices, the perceived background of pupils (with implications for divisions between the social classes and the development of the counter-school culture), have a direct relationship to the divisions in the industrial settings between workers. Moreover, the reasons offered by Band B and bottom set pupils in the first year for their restriction on work in school centred around the need not only to enjoy their social life in school (for instance, by having a laugh) but the need also to go out at night with friends rather than to stay in and do homework (see also Bushwell's, 1984, work on sixth form pupils).

Other similarities between the school and the workplace centre on what Parker (1977b) refers to as work ideology, work values, work involvement and motivation. He suggests that what are described as 'incentives' for managers are more properly described as 'bribes' when they are offered to wage earners on the shop floor. In the school setting this form of bribery was made very apparent in the introduction of the CSE with its curriculum suited to 'less able' pupils. At Westward High, in life science, a number of strategies used by Miss Willis consisted of cajoling or bribery (Chapter 8).

Parker, drawing on research in this area, notes how white collar workers emphasised the nature of the work itself and freedom as important, whilst blue collar workers emphasised such aspects as the physical easy nature of the work and the economic rewards as being the most important aspect of the workplace. Differences between pupils exist at Westward High in the way they view school work. Whereas pro-school pupils expected school work to lead to the more professional jobs, counter-school pupils expected to obtain semi- or unskilled and manual jobs. Interest in, and values attached to, school varied between pupils according to what they

expected to get out of school in terms of future employment. Parker argues that a worker's involvement in the work he does centres on the meanings he attributes to work, his attachment to or alienation from work and the degree to which work is central to life interests. These criteria have relevance to school in much the same way that work satisfaction varies between different occupations (Parker, 1977b). Professional workers like academic pupils, it seems, tend to be more satisfied with work in contrast to the semi-skilled and unskilled workers who, like less academic pupils, tend to be least satisfied with the work they do. What is apparent is that divisions in school are also experienced as "divisions between different kinds of future, different kinds of gratifications and different kinds of jobs that are relevant to these things" (Willis, 1977). The divisions in school, and this would seem to be true of Westward High, are likely to be carried over into the workplace by pupils when they leave school:

"The 'ear oles/lads' division is taken by those concerned as likely as future division between skilled/unskilled or white collar/blue collar work. 'The lads' themselves readily transpose the divisions of the internal cultural landscape of the school to the likely divisions at work'..."

(Willis, 1977, p97)

For the conformist pupils there is a continuum from school to work so that it is considered worthwhile to work at school and to conform because it is the best preparation for work. For the less academic and counter school culture pupils at Westward High, there is little real job choice. The school and the pupils' acquiesce in such expectations and by so doing are "committing themselves to future generalised labour" (Willis, 1977). The irony for Band B pupils who are rejected by the school and in turn reject school, is that they may well enter a job situation (assuming, in a climate of high unemployment that such a job

exists) which they may consider to be as boring as the situation they found themselves in at school. The incentive of tangible rewards of money will, to a certain extent of course, compensate them. They also have the practices of having a laugh to fall back on, to nullify the boredom of work, which they practised at school.

iv) Strategic Action and Working Practices

For teachers, counter-school pupils pose problems, particularly during a period when corporal punishment is considered inappropriate in school. Also, during a time of high unemployment there is even less incentive for these pupils to work in school. This reduces the ability of the school to encourage pupils to work for CSE examinations as a means of securing future employment. In this respect teachers develop strategies in relation to pupils' working practices. It was suggested that strategies can be understood in terms of Goffman's (1959; 1969) dramaturgical model and his games analysis (Chapter 1; 1.9). What can also be suggested is that teacher and pupil strategies have parallels with the bargaining processes in the workplace (Flanders, 1964; Chamberlain and Kuhl, 1965; Gottschalk, 1973).

Teachers utilise different strategies in relation to different pupil cultures. The type of strategy used in the classroom will affect the work output of pupils and should be viewed as a response to pupils' working practices. At Westward High academic pro-school pupils will respond to closed negotiation and domination strategies because they feel part of the school system and are reaping the rewards the school will bestow upon them. They have a vested interest in the school system. In this respect, as noted in Figure 9.1, these pro-school pupils in turn utilise strategies which may be classed as 'playing the system' since they do not wish to alter or tamper with the mechanism, thereby minimising any conflict with the teacher. In contrast, less

academic counter-school pupils enter into regular negotiation with the teacher concerning the rates of work and working conditions. For instance, just as Roy (1952) noted how workers enjoyed easy jobs or "gravy jobs" so Miss Willis bargained with pupils over the work they were to do in a particular lesson in exchange for easier forms of work such as visits out of school and trips (see also Woods, 1978). Counter-school pupils work the system in a different way to pro-school pupils by 'playing against the system'. This is most noticeable in the practice of having a laugh and mildly ridiculing the teacher or the school. They have little regard for the system and its associated values, but try to manipulate the mechanism. For instance, pupils put on false fronts which is very noticeable in the pupil directed strategy of 'getting pupils done' (Chapter 8; 8.6.6). They appear to 'play the system' by informing the teacher of other pupils' misbehaviour, but the strategy is procured for the purposes of having a laugh at the expense of other pupils.

What little negotiation or bargaining that exists between pro-school pupils and the teacher may be said to be "co-operative bargaining". Using the analysis of bargaining structures from the industrial setting, it can be seen that the basis for co-operative bargaining between these two parties is dependent upon the other and (...) can achieve its objectives more effectively if it wins the support of the other" (Chamberlain and Kuhn, 1965). In contrast, the survival strategies and techniques used by Miss Willis with life science pupils may be called "conjunctive bargaining". This is because there may be mutual and sympathetic regard for each other, although each party may see a need to strike a working relationship and "to provide certain requisite services (...) and to accept certain responsibilities in respect to the other" (Chamberlain and Kuhn, 1965). Being a woman teacher teaching less academic pupils, Miss Willis was doubly disadvantaged since she had to develop strategies

to encourage pupils to work in a school that treats such pupils as rejects. A school in which male teachers dominate pupils and exert physical coercion over them also puts female teachers at a disadvantage because they cannot use such force. This raises questions of equality of status, employment and opportunities for women teachers, as well as the credibility and professional status of teachers who feel the need to resort to physical coercion with pupils (see Chapter 6).

The purpose of bargaining strategies used by Miss Willis was to avoid disputes with life science pupils. The term 'disputes' has been used deliberately to draw comparisons with the workplace practices such as the work to rule, the go-slow and overtime bans (Parker, 1977a). These give rise to disputes of which the basic one, according to Parker, centres on the feelings by workers that they are receiving unjust rewards. Others, such as structural conflicts relate to "problems that emerge from the interactions within the formal structure of the organisations". In life science it was clear that certain disputes arose in relation to the division of labour within the school and the application by Miss Willis of school rules. There was a conflict in roles between what she did and allowed pupils to do in her own classroom, and what she did around the school when she was in full view of other teachers. Implication here concerned the shifting balance of power between pupil and teachers which can be viewed as an enactment of the shifting balance of power between workers and management (Brown, 1977; Willis, 1977). As in the workplace setting, disputes in life science were resolved by the teacher in terms of renegotiating pupils' working practices and striking a bargain or "productive bargaining" (Parker, 1977a), though the narrower concept of "effort bargaining" is probably more accurate since it is taken to mean "a revision of norms directly regulating output" (Flanders, 1964).

The strategy Miss Willis used with life science pupils of keeping them busy (see Denscombe, 1985) or keeping them occupied with writing tasks, is acceptable to these pupils, to a certain extent, because it does not constitute hard or difficult work. Again, there are obvious parallels with the workplace. Roy has drawn attention to workers who differentiate between different kinds of work such as "gravy jobs" and "stinkers". Gravy jobs could be completed easily without great effort, with quotas being achieved in minimum time after which workers "knocked off". Miss Willis often reminded pupils that they needed to write things down to put in their file which was to be used as part of their assessment. When pupils had finished their quota of writing they expected not to be given extra work. Whenever Miss Willis suggested they do more work, complaints abounded. Pupils were, generally, willing to write, although this often amounted to copying up or answering questions from a text book.

The importance of the amount of written work in the file was made apparent when Miss Willis on one occasion recounted one particular CSE meeting in which moderators checked the grade 1 files by the weight and the amount of work inside it. The quality of the content of what was in the files was never questioned. Miss Willis refused to play this 'quota' game and explained: "if I don't think a pupil's worth a grade 1 I don't submit it as a grade 1". which, she said, put her and her pupils at a disadvantage compared with the other pupils. Of course, the parallels with an industrial setting are that these workers are turning out their quotas but the quality control is lacking.

However, "gravy jobs" are not necessarily confined to the less academic pupils. The English Band A pupils were willing to engage in this type of work which was most obvious in terms of pupils copying down notes of the 'right' answers and underlining important points in the text at the direction of Mrs Simms. They were simply playing the

system inasmuch as they were willing to be fed the 'correct' answers since they know that this would provide examination success with its routes to continuing and higher education. To have engaged in activities of sorting out the meanings of the literary text through discussion and hard intellectual effort would, for many of these pupils, probably have constituted "stinkers" in Roy's workplace terminology.

Attention has been drawn to the similarity in working practices used in the workplace with those used by pupils in school. The intriguing question is whether such practices are, in some way, learned by pupils through the course of their school career and carried over into the workplace to be reinforced by practices used there. Or are such practices passed down from the workplace and emulated in school and then carried over into the workplace when these pupils leave school? The former process would be linear whereas the latter would be a circular and mutually reinforcing process influenced by culture (re Willis's shop-floor culture). If pupils learn such practices in school, what changes in school could be made to influence pupils' working practices? How would this affect practices in industry, if at all? The probability is that the learning and acquiring of working practices and, more particularly, restrictive practices are a complex interaction between school, workplace, culture and the home. Certainly, the area of pupil working practices offers scope for research that bridges the seemingly discrete areas of school and workplace with a need to follow pupils through school and from school to the workplace. Such a study should compare the working practices of both academic and less academic pupils and compare these to those they engage in when they leave school and join others in the workplace. The question directed to the study might be how far does society influence school or school influence society in relation to working practices and what are the implications for change?

9.2 Implications for Change

"You can't make it any better. School's bad and that's all there is to it" was the exasperated comment by Malcolm during one particular life science lesson. The point that needs to be stressed here is that schools and education can be changed. But changed in what direction? Clearly, having pieced together the extent of differentiation and division at Westward High it is necessary to suggest how changes could be made in the school which would improve teaching and learning and reduce hostilities between pupils, as well as reduce divisions between teachers. Firstly, analyses of some tentative changes are outlined that could be made at the school, whilst at the same time drawing attention to those changes which would be needed on a more national scale. Secondly, reference will be made to the recent literature outlining alternatives in terms of either improving the present school system or suggestions for its replacement. The concern here is whether schools can, in fact, undergo any radical change without corresponding changes in society itself.

9.2.1 Knowledge, Status and Organisation

Consideration needs to be given to pupils' access to knowledge and changes needed to minimise these divisions in the school. The option system at Westward High acts as a transmission of separate and different cultures in a similar way to divisions brought about by the 11+ selection procedures. Under the tripartite arrangement, pupils who had not been selected for and accepted into a grammar school were rejected and went, by default, to a secondary modern school. Such a school was not put forward as being a school of prestige where places had to be won or earned. At Westward High, lower school setting at 11+ and pupils' band allocation at 13+ is a similar form division. There is still a match between what pupils are allowed to know and their

assumed station in life. For Band B pupils, education is narrowed and their horizons are lowered which effectively traps and confines pupils in an environment in which, unlike academic pupils in Band A, there is little room for job mobility. The parallels of Band B pupils with secondary modern pupils are reminiscent of comments by Hargreaves (1967). He saw as essential that low stream pupils should be given greater status by making external examination work available to them. His study emerged at the precise moment that the recommendations of the Beloe Committee (1960) for the introduction of CSE examinations were being implemented in schools. Hargreaves' hope that these examinations would promote greater interest and encouragement for pupils to work who were not studying for GCE examinations has not been fully realised at Westward High.

Not only are different pupils matched to a particular curriculum, but the hidden message that this conveys to pupils is such that they soon learn that particular forms of knowledge are imbued with high status. Hargreaves (1982) rightly argues that academic education is contrasted with "learning about the community" which is considered only suitable for pupils who are "thick". At Westward High CSE subjects are viewed as being inferior to GCE subjects, as one fifth year Band A pupil pointed out: "We've always been told CSEs are low status". The message the curriculum sends to pupils is that bottom set pupils in the lower school and Band B pupils are expected to learn simply "the essentials" or to learn about "common sense" knowledge. When this is linked to subjects such as family science (ie child care) at Westward High, which is purposefully restricted to Band B pupils and taken mostly by Band B girls, a disturbing picture of divisions in the school emerges. The hidden message of the curriculum is that only Band B girls need to do this subject because soon after leaving school they are expected to have children and possibly marry. One Band A girl noted that she believed

the teacher surmised that Band A pupils "have the intelligence to know how to hold a baby without being taught" (Chapter 5; 5.4.2). This, of course, raises a number of questions. For instance, why is it that Band A pupils are not given access to this knowledge? Are they assumed to know about such things as how to look after babies and children? Perhaps the extent of the 'message' that is not only conveyed to pupils but also to teachers can be gauged by a staffroom joke. Mrs Summers explained to me how some staff made fun of Mrs Timpson (ex-secondary teacher of child care and year head) and remarked that she was "teaching Band B girls to have babies". Other hidden curriculum messages suggest that Band A pupils are "the thinkers" whilst Band B pupils are "the doers". Here are clear parallels of the division in school with division in society between the social classes, as one fourth year Band A boy remarked: "Like a designer has ideas, puts it down on paper and the 'doer' will build it" (Chapter 5; 5.4.3).

The hidden message of the curriculum is, as Hargreaves (1982) notes, "a disastrous one" because it continues to promote as high status the cognitive-intellectual curriculum which is still accorded high status in schools. This tradition, handed down from the public schools and through the grammar schools, has become the yardstick of what counts as ability as success. Low status knowledge such as the affective-artistic and physical-manual, which are often confined to a particular group of pupils, many of whom are from a working class background (Hargreaves, 1982), are more likely to be associated with failure than with success. This 'failure', as noted earlier (9.1.6), is portrayed as being the fault of the individual and not the school:

"By creating new courses of 'low status' knowledge areas, and restricting their availability to those who have already 'failed' in terms of academic definitions of knowledge, these failures are seen as individual failures, either of motivation,

ability or circumstances, and not failures of the academic system itself. These courses, which explicitly deny pupils access to the kinds of knowledge which are associated with rewards, prestige and power in our society are thus given a kind of legitimacy, which masks the fact that educational success in terms of them would still be defined as 'failure'".

(Young, 1971b, p40)

~~High status knowledge is still represented by entrance requirements~~ at 'A' level for university although, as Meighan (1986) has suggested, "some subjects have greater market value than others". Whilst he argues that there are divisions between the arts and sciences, with science being conferred with greater prestige, at Westward High divisions between subjects in the option system are evident between those that are academic and those which are practical and concern what Hargreaves refers to as the personal-social curriculum. Subjects such as family science (ie child care) and life science (ie environmental science), are not taken by Band A pupils and cannot be taken at 'A' level. Options for higher education are thus closed off for Band B pupils. Few carry on into the sixth form in much the same way that secondary modern pupils were unable to continue their education in school even if they had wished to.

Hargreaves has suggested that the school should not offer pupils a curriculum that is considered suitable for them but should start from the pupils' own interests. But this is also problematic in as much as the interests of some children (for instance those from an upper middle class background) may be different from other children (such as those from a lower working class background). It is likely that the interests of middle class pupils would correspond to the values dominant in society which are in the cognitive-intellectual domain, as well as being representative of the high status knowledge prevalent in society. If the interests of pupils from a working class background were in areas such as the physical-manual domain, how can the promotion of these varied

interests reduce the divisions in the school? Pupils would soon be aware of the difference in status, as he later suggests (see p137). For these suggestions to have any great impact, values held in society concerning the varying status of knowledge needs to undergo radical change. Moreover, Hargreaves' suggestion, drawing on his experiences from his own school days, is that divisions between pupils resolve around the cognitive-intellectual and the physical-manual domains, and that pupils are inclined to one or other. This is a questionable assumption that has been passed down from successive government reports from the Hadow Report (1926) through to the Newsom Report (1963). Whilst some pupils may have little practical abilities, surely many pupils can master both domains with some degree of success. Certainly, the recent developments in craft subjects within the new faculty of craft design and technology (CDT) aims to bridge the areas of cognitive-intellectual (thinking and planning) and physical-manual (practical) by incorporating thinking and design with doing and making.

To help break down the barriers between pupil cultures at Westward High it is essential that academic and practical subjects be made available to all pupils. Certainly, Band A pupils should be given access to the more practical and community based subjects (such as child care, environmental science, industrial science) if these subjects are to be included in the school curriculum. The argument is not whether subjects should be included in the curriculum, but that if they are they should be made available to all pupils. Access to knowledge should not, however, be confused with ability to succeed. Whilst not all pupils will reach the highest levels of attainment in all subjects, the essential point is that pupils should experience a range of different knowledge areas and be encouraged to succeed (and, indeed, may well succeed in many subjects), and not "cooled out" as some pupils are at Westward High.

However, there are, of course, problems with this simplistic solution. Westward High is part of society and one of many state schools. Whilst these changes, if implemented in the school, would help to create equality of opportunity within the school, this may also create a situation of inequality and pupils at Westward High would be disadvantaged if other schools did not follow and change their curriculum accordingly. Equality of opportunity would not exist between schools. Furthermore, these changes would not only necessitate similar changes to be throughout the county, but also throughout the country with obligations on private schools to amend their curriculum. Otherwise the few private schools and state schools operating a curriculum with a strong emphasis on the intellectual-cognitive domain would attract parents who wanted such an education for their children, assuming that parents were willing to pay for such an education or lived in the catchment areas of these state schools.

Of course such curriculum proposals would necessitate the co-operation of the universities who would need to modify their entrance procedures. This, of itself, would constitute a radically different appraisal of university entrance procedures. Whilst the barriers between GCE and CSE may be broken down, particularly with the advent of the new GCSE, 'A' level subjects are, at present, unchanged and unaffected by the new 16+ examinations. It was clear at Westward High that teachers expected many Band A pupils to carry on into the sixth form to study for 'A' levels and consequently advised them and their parents to consider certain academic subjects in the fourth and fifth year (see Chapter 3). Even if the curriculum in the fourth and fifth year was to be broadened, to become less differentiated, this would cause problems when pupils make their selection for 'A' level subjects. Whilst examinations at 16+ have undergone radical changes with new courses being developed, little or no changes have been made to 'A' level courses. The options available at

'A' level will undoubtedly influence decisions taken by some pupils and their parents in relation to their choice of subjects in the fourth and fifth year options. Of course, the broadening of the curriculum in the sixth form with the introduction of the new 'AS' levels will provide a wider range of subjects ('Better Schools' HMI 1985), assuming of course that universities are willing to recognise these new courses.

Whilst the implementation of the new GCSE at national level may help eradicate divisions between pupils so evident at Westward High and other comprehensive schools (Ford, 1969; Ball, 1981), this must be tempered with caution. For instance, Hargreaves' study of Lumley Secondary Modern School was carried out when the school was introducing CSE subjects. Hargreaves hope was that this would give greater incentives for pupils to work, but evidence at Westward High is that CSEs have only had a partial affect on pupils' working practices. The research at Westward High was carried out when the school was piloting the new 16+ examinations. Under the pilot scheme pupils who obtain the top three grades will receive an 'O' level, those obtaining the lower grades will receive a CSE, whilst all pupils will sit for the new examinations in 1988. The structure of the new examinations raises a number of questions.

With the advent of the GCSE, will pupils be differentiated between those expected to obtain the higher grades (those who would have gained CSE 1: passes)? Furthermore, will Westward High operate a system of selection of pupils for 'A' level courses who have the highest grades at GCSE? How will access to 'A' level subjects be affected? For instance, will a pupil need to have studied the subject at GCSE level before being accepted onto the 'A' level course? If so, those subjects available at 'A' level will be considered to be of a higher status than other subjects.

9.2.2 Streaming, Setting and Banding

Whilst changes within the curriculum may be limited, organisational changes in the school could be more easily made. Any suggested changes in the school organisation should, however, be placed into perspective. Hargreaves (1967) argued that "the most radical way sub-cultures could be suppressed at Lumley is through the complete abolition of streaming". The survey by Benn and Simon (1972), whilst noting that streaming was prevalent in grammar and secondary modern schools, showed that there had been a substantial reduction in the use of streaming in comprehensive schools. Although Westward High does not operate a formal system of streaming, the pro- and counter-school cultures flourish in relation to pupils' set or band allocation and their expectations for examinations and occupations. Much the same process is evident at Westward High as was reported by Hargreaves at Lumley and Lacey at Hightown Grammar. The similarity between the different forms of segregating pupils are noted in Figure 9.2. The 'A' and 'B' streams correspond to Band A pupils taking 'O' level and CSE subjects. The 'C' and 'D' streams correspond to Band B pupils taking predominantly CSE and CSE Mode III and no examinations. The lower school setting arrangements fit pupils into their expected allocation to either Band A or Band B and so prepares pupils for their different examination and occupations. Tampering with the system of segregating pupils by the substitution of different labels, which has occurred at Westward High and at other comprehensive schools (Benn and Simon, 1972; Monks, 1968; Weeks, 1985), does nothing to ameliorate divisions in the school:

"Children are quick to spot differences among one another in knowledge and skill (...) Cognitive-intellectual differences cannot be masked from them by disguised names for streams and ability groupings; it may make the teachers feel better about it, but the pupils are totally undecieved."

(Hargreaves, 1982, p137)

FIGURE 9.2. Comparison of streaming, setting, banding and pupils' access to knowledge and occupations

STREAMING	A		B		C		D	Grammar, Secondary Modern, early comprehensives Westward High and Comprehensives
SETTING	Express	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Remedial			
BANDING	Band A			Band B				
EXAMINATIONS	GCE	CSE	CSE/Mode III		Non-Exam			
OCCUPATIONS	Professional, skilled			Semi-skilled, manual				

If divisions at Westward High are to be reduced, if not eradicated, it is also essential that there should be greater interaction between all pupils, with more emphasis on co-operation and co-operative learning rather than competitive learning. Hargreaves, nearly twenty years ago, made a specific plea for this and his suggestions are purposely quoted here to point out that in relation to divisions at Westward High, little seems to have changed in the intervening years:

"If these hostile sub-cultures are to be eliminated - either in a Comprehensive or a Secondary Modern School - the school must provide greater opportunities for members of the different streams to interact, preferably in a co-operative enterprise."

(Hargreaves, 1967, p187)

Co-operative forms of learning in mixed ability classes, in which pupils were studying for a common examination, could go a long way in breaking down the barriers between pupil cultures. This would create a more friendly atmosphere and reduce hostilities between pupils. However, it is not clear whether the implementation of the new GCSE will encourage co-operative forms of learning, although criteria related grading means that pupils will not have to compete with other pupils to obtain the top grades. Certainly in English, the new GCSE stresses oral as well as written work and encourages the development of group work in the classroom. How this is to be organised is left to the discretion of the school. There is no compulsion for the schools to de-stream, dis-band or desegregate pupils.

Of course, mixed ability teaching has been widely used in primary schools, replacing streaming which was prevalent in these schools during the 60s (Barker-Lunn, 1970), but there is some evidence to suggest that streaming may be re-appearing in some primary schools (Barker-Lunn, 1982) as well as ability grouping within the class (Nash, 1973; Meighan, 1986). What is suggested is that whilst mixed ability classes would

help break down barriers between pupils, this would necessitate a considerable change of attitude on the part of the teachers at Westward High, particularly ex-grammar teachers used to teaching mostly the academic pupils. They would, no doubt, see this as an erosion of their status. In terms of the school's organisation there would need to be a drastic revision of the present timetable and increase in staffing, an improvement in the teacher-pupil ratio; there would need to be more expenditure on materials and equipment and, more importantly, it would take time to implement and would have to start from the first year onwards. Of course, improvements in the teacher-pupil ratio would need the assistance of the local authority who would be asked to provide extra funding. Interestingly, the year after field work ceased, the head teacher decided to abolish banding in the fourth and fifth years and introduce a form of setting for certain subjects with mixed ability teaching in practical and craft subjects. However, the new arrangements would seem to be problematic since there was little consultation with teachers. Mrs Summers (Head of Art) explained that there had only been one meeting with the heads of department to discuss the changes. It is questionable whether all teachers would be in favour of, or convinced of, the need for change, whilst the speed of change itself may create problems. More importantly, since pupils are still segregated in the lower school, divisions between pro- and counter-school culture pupils developed in the first year will probably manifest themselves in the new arrangements in the upper school.

There are, not surprisingly, very great problems associated with these implications for change. Ball's (1981) analysis of the change from banding to mixed ability teaching at Beachside Comprehensive revealed that teachers still perceived pupils as belonging to certain groups reminiscent of their previous banding identity. Different

subject departments operated differently. Whilst some moved to mixed ability others operated ability setting. What is apparent from Ball's analysis is that the headteacher would need considerable skill in convincing his staff of the need for change. The study by Sikes (1984) contrasts two different approaches by two grammar school heads whose schools were reorganised into comprehensive schools. The head of one school, who took over from an autocratic head, involved the staff in decision-making and held staff meetings. He set up working parties and sub-committees to investigate and report on the social and academic organisation of the school. The staff responded to this by studying the literature on comprehensive schools. Consequently, mixed ability classes became the rule, craft and practical subjects assumed a more prominent position with teachers being involved in other areas of the curriculum:

"The school is characterised by a strong sense of purpose, of membership and pleasure and pride in belonging which is shared by pupils and teachers alike. Compared with teachers in other schools who complained about pupil attitudes and behaviour, the teachers at Bahram emphasised the good relationships they had with pupils. This they attributed to involving pupils and respecting them as people and giving them responsibility within and for the community."

(Sikes, 1984, p255)

In contrast, the other school that Sikes studied was the opposite extreme. There was a high level of resistance by the staff and parents to the change in the school status, which they feared would result from the reorganisation. There was staff reluctance to relinquish or to modify their didactic styles of teaching, which resulted in conflicts between the academic and pastoral sides of teaching. There was a breakdown in communication between the head, his management team and the teachers. The outcome was that the head started to act on his own and in consultation with his management team.

The sharp contrast between these two schools suggest that if changes are to be effective the staff need to be won over by democratic

means rather than by an autocratic style of leadership. But how are pupils to be won over to this new system?

One method would be the development of a system of rewards for individual or group work rather than competitive achievements. This would, of course, help to break down divisions in the school. At Westward High the competitive selection process and the rewards system encourages the belief that knowledge is a form of possession bestowed on the few. Pupils are, as Bernstein suggests:

"socialised into this concept of knowledge as a private property. They are encouraged to work as isolated individuals with their arms around their work. This phenomena, until recently, could be observed in any grammar school. It can be most clearly observed in examination halls."

(Bernstein, 1971, p56)

A further course of action to help break down the divisions in the school would be to substantially reduce homework for first, second and third year pupils. At Westward High a considerable amount of homework would appear to be given to pupils, usually the more academic pupils. A more realistic amount of homework could be given to all pupils, regardless of set or band allocation, so that pupils would not regard learning as a chore. The amount of homework set for all pupils could, in consultation with pupils, be legitimately increased during pupils' fourth or fifth years when there is a definite goal of an examination confronting them.

9.2.3 Performance Review, Teaching Methods and Motivation

If divisions are to be minimised at Westward High, it is necessary to look at the input to the teaching/learning situation by the teacher and place this in a national context. In 1976, James Callaghan's Ruskin College speech generated the so-called Great Debate on education. In the period immediately following an Assessment of Performance

Unit was set up to monitor pupils' performances in various subjects. More recently assessments have been directed towards teacher performance. The White Paper 'Better Schools' outlines the need for the appraisal of teacher performance. There is an unequivocal allusion, though not explicitly stated, to the nineteenth century system of payment by results. In education, as in industry, in some quarters at least, it seems that payment by results are still in vogue. The White Paper asserts the need for "the regular and formal appraisal of the performance of all teachers" with "the most promising and effective being identified for timely promotion" (para 180). It suggests there should be "a systematic performance appraisal, designed to bring about a better relationship between pay, responsibilities and performance, especially teaching performance in the classroom" (para 181). One obvious problem of this tenuous link between teacher performance and pupil performance is that it fails to take account of pupil motivation. Pupils are not passive recipients but actively develop working practices in relation to expected outcome from school. It is difficult to see how, for example, the 'performance' of Mrs Simms or that of Miss Willis could be adequately or meaningfully appraised and assessed in relation to pupil performance. The new GCSE advocated by the White Paper and now implemented in schools, may make comparison of teacher performance more easy to assess since pupils will be sitting for a common examination. But if certain pupils obtain low grades, how would a teacher's performance be assessed? Would pupils' low grades be ascribed to defects in the performance of the pupil (underachieving) or the 'poor' performance of the teacher?

Consideration also needs to be given to teacher performance in relation to the division of labour between teachers. The unquestioned assumptions in Government reports (Hadow, 1926; Crowther, 1959; Newsom, 1963), that certain teachers are more able or qualified to teach

particular pupils, that is the academic or the practically orientated, are endemic at Westward High. It is a simplistic and inadequate appraisal of the teaching profession and encapsulates a root cause of division within the teaching profession and within the school. The White Paper's suggestion that teachers who perform effectively in terms of better pupil results should be given "timely promotion" would bring about divisions between teachers in more schools that in many ways correspond to the divisions that exist at Westward High. What is of concern is that divisions between teachers may, in future, be apparent between those who teach pupils who are expected to obtain the higher grade GCSEs who may be segregated and placed in the higher sets or bands, and those who teach pupils who are expected to attain only low grade GCSEs or those opting for the Certificate of Pre-Vocational Education (CPVE). This would re-create similar divisions that exist at Westward High between teachers teaching pupils who are studying for GCEs and those teaching pupils studying for CSEs or no examinations. Future research will reveal how the new GCSE has been adapted and organised in school and whether divisions occur between pupils according to their expected GCSE grades.

Improved performance, whether it be by pupils or teachers, will only come about if all pupils are motivated to work in school. An important way in which pupil motivation could be improved would be through the development of, and improvement in, teaching methods. From the layout of desks placed in rows in most classrooms at Westward High, it was obvious that for the majority of lessons a formal, class teaching approach was adopted. The furniture was not arranged to facilitate group work. Complaints of boredom from pupils must emanate from this type of teaching. However, problems the teacher might face in adopting different teaching methods must not be underestimated. Teachers

of Band A pupils, including Mrs Simms, whose pupils achieved high grade GCEs may not want to risk changing their well-tried and trusted methods. In contrast, teachers with less motivated pupils who utilise an enquiry-discovery and practical approach with fifth years who have been used to formal teaching in most lessons, may not meet with much success. For instance, life science pupils who had expressed a desire to do more experiments, when given an opportunity, could not easily cope with a change from more formal styles of teaching. Clearly, changes in teaching method need to be developed from the first year onwards, with an agreement by all teachers of which approaches to adopt, which can then be carried on into the fifth year. Consultations with pupils about their opinions as to how they could be taught could be incorporated into the evaluation of teaching methods. Arrangements could be made for teachers to visit primary schools since teachers in these schools, notwithstanding the points made previously about ability groupings in classrooms, do promote a more lively and integrated approach to teaching and learning (Hargreaves, 1982). Certainly, at least within the first year, less emphasis on subjects could give rise to modelling teaching and learning on the more progressive and informal methods used in primary schools such as the integrated day approach (see Dearden, 1971), with its emphasis on the integration rather than the compartmentalising of subjects. Pupils could have fewer teachers with a corresponding reduction in the movements around the school to the sound of bells ringing. They could stay in classrooms or bases with mixed ability teaching, rather than setting. The effects of these changes could be systematically monitored by both teachers and school advisers, as well as utilising the opinions of the pupils concerned. The department of education at the local university could also be involved in the joint and co-operative enterprise.

Increased pupil motivation will only come about if teacher

skills are also greatly increased, thereby creating a meaningful environment for all pupils. This could be achieved, for instance, through a detailed analysis and evaluation of teaching as well as learning. Curriculum evaluation techniques developed by the Ford Teaching Project (see Adams, 1980) using triangulation techniques could be utilised, with teacher and pupils' comments and evaluation of teaching and learning being analysed. Teachers could be released from teaching and encouraged to embark on in-service courses, provided at regular intervals. This was advocated by the James Report as long ago as 1974 and is suggested in the recent White Paper 'Better Schools'. In-service courses, the White Paper points out, 'would seek to match training both to the career needs of teachers and to desired curriculum changes in school' (par 175). This could combine practice with theory and lead to a diploma or higher degree and be commensurate with rewards in terms of increased pay. Emphasis should be on a teacher's ability to teach, not necessarily in terms of pupil outcome in relation to GCE or GCSE examination grades (though this is, of course, important where examinations at present provide major routes to success), but in terms of creating an exciting and stimulating environment to encourage all pupils to learn and so be educated to the best of their ability.

9.2.4 Competing Ideologies of Education

If these changes were incorporated into the school with the full backing of the teachers, pupils, parents and local authority, would this be a panacea for all schools? Comprehensivisation is still a contentious issue and there are doubts expressed that comprehensive schools can provide an effective and meaningful education for all pupils (Bellaby, 1977; Shaw, 1983). Perhaps the most strenuous opposition to these schools have come from the contributors to the Black Papers

between the late 60s and mid-seventies (see Cox and Dyson, 1969; Cox and Boyson, 1975; Boyson, 1975). They equate efficiency and the market forces of competition from the industrial and business world to schooling and the education of young people (Cox and Boyson, 1975). They argue that separatism in education should, again, be the goal and that comprehensive schools have replaced the proven system of grammar school education with something that is inferior. These writers contend that comprehensive schools hold back the academic and intelligent, predominantly middle class pupils in favour of the majority who constitute the average and less able (Cox, 1975; Cox and Dyson, 1975). The supremacy of middle class culture with its allegiance to the tripartite system is not in question (Lynn, 1969; Murdoch, 1969; Green, 1975) and is said to be necessary for the production of future leaders (Boyson, 1975). For these writers, then, changes in the system of schooling would necessitate the return to selection at 11+. Recent suggestions from right wing politicians have centred on what has been called Crown Schools. A number of schools would be set up in each authority and funded directly by the Government for the most academically able pupils. Yet another proposed system of schooling, supported by Boyson, is the introduction of voucher schemes which allows parents to 'spend' their voucher on the school of their choice. The implication of this system is obvious. It would give greater prestige to schools which would obtain a large number of vouchers. Those schools who could show greatest success rates in terms of pupils' examination success would tend to draw parents who wished their children to follow an academic curriculum. Effectively, many parents of the most academically able pupils would send their pupils to the same schools within a particular catchment area. The parents of the less academic pupils would be discouraged from sending their children to these schools (no doubt by the school itself) and so they would send

their children to the local schools who would be concerned with other aspects of the children's education such as the practical and the social. It is highly likely that this form of semi-privatisation would be as divisive as the former tripartite system.

Conversely, there are those who maintain that comprehensive schools fail, or are in danger of failing, because they favour the academic middle class pupils to the detriment of those pupils who constitute the majority (Ford, 1969; Pedley, 1978; Hargreaves, 1982; Weeks, 1985). These educationalists are concerned that comprehensive schools mirror the divisions that existed under the tripartite arrangement. To rectify this, they argue, it is not necessary to abolish comprehensive schools and set up alternative ones, but there is a need to radically change the curriculum and the approach to schooling and give greater equality of opportunity within these schools (see Hargreaves, 1982; 1984).

Yet other educationalists embrace the concept of comprehensive schools as fulfilling the desire of bringing together all pupils in one school, whilst still rewarding and encouraging a minority of academic pupils. The argument advanced is that these pupils have won their place in the high sets or bands and, therefore, justly reap the rewards and success that goes with this meritocracy. The comprehensive school is considered acceptable because it retains the grammar and secondary modern schools which are conveniently housed in one school. It has preserved the grammar school tradition (Wilson's "grammar schools for all"). If some pupils do fail, then the fault lies within the pupil and not the school. The mixing of all sorts is embraced because it has not changed the status quo. Clearly, Westward High resembles such a school and the amalgamation of Westward Grammar School and Burston Secondary Modern School must be viewed as an uneasy alliance.

Criticisms of the tripartite system, with all its often unfounded

and highly questionable assumptions, particularly the matching of different curricula to different pupils, has already been discussed (Chapter 1; Section 1). What is of concern here are questions arising as to whether the comprehensive system is failing to provide an adequate education and equality of educational opportunity for all pupils. What alternatives exist other than those advocated, which appear to be reformulations of the tripartite arrangement?

These differing philosophies and perspectives can best be described as competing ideologies of education (Meighan, 1979; 1986). Meighan points out that the concept of ideology is ambiguous, not simply because of the competing definitions but because the concept has been used to describe "sets of ideas operating at various levels in society in various contexts" (Meighan, 1986). Throughout the remainder of this analysis Meighan's definition of ideology will be used. Ideologies in education can be said to relate to:

"the set of ideas and beliefs held by a group of people about the formal arrangement for education, specifically schooling and, often, by extension or implication, also about informal aspects of education(...)."

(Meighan, 1986, p179)

Meighan draws on Smith's (1973) attempts to identify national ideologies and Hammersley's (1977) model of ideologies in a school context. Smith related assumptions to structural aspects. These assumptions concerned such aspects as the distribution processes and processes of selection and transmission of knowledge, as well as the way the educational system participates in the wider societal distribution processes. The structural processes relate the educational system to social stratification which, he suggests, is achieved through administrative controls, ideologies of implementation which puts into effect the organisation and selection

and transmission of knowledge. Hammersley developed five criteria with sub-categories of ideologies of education. These concerned the definition of the teacher's role, the conceptualisation of pupil action, the conceptualisation of knowledge, the conceptualisation of learning, and the preferred or predominant techniques of organisation. Drawing on these two models, Meighan suggests seven components or 'theories' that constitute ideologies of education which can be used to analyse classrooms, schools and education generally. By using Meighan's seven components, a number of alternative approaches to schooling and education can be described whilst at the same time, attention can be drawn to the ideologies of education enshrined in the tripartite arrangement as well as those at Westward High.

i) A Theory of Knowledge, its Content and Structure

It has already been noted how, under the tripartite arrangement, knowledge was stratified in relation to everyday, community based knowledge and school-based esoteric knowledge. This knowledge was made available to different pupils according to their selection to particular schools with implications for occupations (Chapter 1). Such a divisive process has been shown to occur at Westward High made manifest through the banded option system.

Hargreaves (1982; 1984) suggests that comprehensive schools need to integrate a number of different subject areas. The incorporation into the curriculum of personal and social education, Hargreaves suggests, would cut across different areas such as religious and moral education and education for parenthood, as well as the social implications of science and technology in society, with emphasis on political and economic education. This arrangement of the curriculum would certainly give greater access to all forms of knowledge for all pupils, regardless

of so-called ability. But would pupils become more willing to attend school and work in school? Would pupils appreciate this integration of the curriculum and respond accordingly? Are there other alternatives beside the present system of schooling which could be explored?

Diamond (1984) has suggested there is a need for a state-supported alternative to the present system of education. However, such a system, it would seem, has been operating for some time which Watts (1984) refers to as the "silent raising to seventeen" of the 'school' leaving age. Watts is referring to the Youth Opportunity Programme (YOPs), later superseded by the rechristened Youth Training Scheme (YTS), funded not by the local LEA but from government sources through the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). Although the scheme is voluntary for the 16 to 17 year olds, the extension of such schemes over two years and talk of denying social security benefits for those who do not avail themselves of such 'opportunities' appear, in effect, to be more like state supported compulsory additions, if not alternatives, to schooling. The knowledge these trainees are imbued with equips them for particular trades or occupations. Knowledge, then, is viewed as a commodity geared to the needs of the workplace, and not to the personal development of the individual.

The announcement by the Secretary of State for Education and Science of the setting up of twenty experimental City Technology Colleges (CTCs) for the eleven to eighteen year olds to be funded by central government and controlled by educational trusts (Guardian 8.10.86) amounts to a state supported but partially privatised system of schooling. This is because part of the funding is expected to come from sponsorship from local industry. The curriculum of these colleges is to consist of core subjects such as English, mathematics and physical recreation for half the timetable with the remaining time being given over to technology,

scientific and business studies as well as design and practical work. There is an unequivocal emphasis on preparation for work since such colleges, it seems, would stay open for a longer period during the day and during holidays than do present schools. They would, in fact, follow the model advocated by the Crowther Report (1959) which suggested that the education of the fifteen to eighteen year olds should be brought into line with hours and conditions in the workplace. It would appear that such colleges would be not so much educational institutions as used to prepare and train young people for occupations as part of a new typology of pupils and schools (Chapter 1; 1.1). There is a sense, then, in which schools serve society rather than act as a mechanism of change.

In sharp contrast, de-schoolers such as Illich (1971) argue that knowledge should not be viewed as a commodity which can be condensed into a syllabus. Learning skills themselves are considered "the basics" so that what is at present in the formal curriculum, it is argued, will be learned incidentally in the process of developing these learning skills (Meighan, 1986). A de-schoolers view of preparation for work might be that a person must first want, and then choose, to study for a particular occupation. Of course, he might well learn a trade 'on the job' rather than being obliged to attend school. There are, of course, similarities here with schemes such as the YTS, but it might rather be the case that young people choose to become trainees on a Scheme rather than having to suffer the stigma of being unemployed. Both are false, or unreal, 'choice' situations.

ii) Theory of Learning and the Learner's Role

The assumptions inherent under the tripartite system were that pupils in different schools learned in different ways. Whilst the

grammar school pupil was depicted as being interested in learning for its own sake and could grasp an argument and follow stages in a reasoning process, the secondary modern school pupil suffered from tunnel-like vision (Chapter 1; 1.1). Whereas the former pupil needed an academic (bookish) education, the latter pupils needed a more practical and realistic education. Whatever the type of school, but perhaps more so in the grammar school, learning was considered to be best achieved through competition. There was an allusion to market forces and the world of business since competition engendered improved products, speedier delivery and service, and high turn-over and profit. These distinct and differentiated ideologies were reproduced, as noted in some detail, at Westward High through its competitive system of selection and system of rewards for those pupils obtaining the highest grades.

The alternatives, or extension, of schooling developed under the YTS sees the role of the learner as trainee, in as much as education has been replaced by training. However, there are different views of such schemes. (Meighan, 1986). The functional/consensus view is that such a training provides a new flexible link between school, college and the workplace with the emphasis on the academic tradition (prevalent in grammar schools and top bands in comprehensive schools) being replaced by practical and work orientated approaches to education. Of course, this is reminiscent of the old secondary modern schools (see the Newsom Report, 1963). The conflict view is that these schemes are a "conjuring trick" in which training is substituted for real employment and selection is increased since the population of school leavers are likely to be those who have probably failed in the academic criteria of success and are being sorted yet again. Either way, the YTS and the new CTGs are concerned to fit pupils, or students, or trainees whatever the appellation, into required positions in the occupational structure. Education in the fullest sense, is secondary to training and the development of wealth-producing

skills.

Diamond (1984) suggests that a state supported school (unlike the CTCs or even the YTS) should mirror the democratic structures in society and should, therefore, not be comparable to the present undemocratic and hierarchical structured schools. The argument she advances is that rather than schools trying to change society, they should be made more adaptable and flexible to fit pupils into society. These aspirations are echoed by Hargreaves (1982; 1984), Watts (1984), Harber (1984) and Hemmings (1984). They make a specific plea that democracy and co-operative learning should replace the authoritarian ideology of education, with its emphasis on competition. Such schools, they argue, would not be selective and not discriminate between pupils. Unlike many of the present state schools, they would welcome parents at all times. Underlying this approach, and that of Hargreaves, is that such open-minded discussions which would take place in these schools, could not occur in an authoritarian type of school. Of course, if all pupils are engaged in the task of discussing and challenging ideas, but cannot challenge the way the school is run or organised (for instance, if they are not given a choice on the wearing of school uniform), how will they respond to discussion of politics and democracy (see Harber, 1984)? Yet alternative approaches to authoritarian schools do exist which offer pupils freedom to discuss changes in school, as evidenced by 'the moot' at Countersthorpe College and the committee at A.S.Neill's Summerhill School (Neill, 1968). This approach is worthy of consideration by other schools and should be an integral part of such schools. Clearly, if bottom set and Band B pupils at Westward High had been given more opportunity to partake in the organisation of the school, this may have helped reduce hostilities between pupils in the different sets and bands.

For the de-schoolers the role of the learner is that of an explorer

rather than a trainee. The emphasis is on the individual: he is self motivated, self taught and self-educated. Young people are not placed in a position to learn a particular skill or trade (such as YTS trainees) but the initiatives are said to come from them. The role of the learner is not to reproduce and give back to the teacher specific and 'correct' answers, as occurred in the English classroom at Westward High (see also Barnes, et al. 1968); his role is to analyse, make decisions and possibly produce new insights and knowledge (Meighan, 1986).

Certainly, this radical yet wholly sensible approach to the learning environment, if applied at least in part at Westward High, would not only reduce but eradicate the animosity and barriers between pupils. However, there are enormous constraints placed on schools by government, politicians and society in general. It seems likely that such challenges to the comprehensive school ideology of learning and the learner's role would be vehemently resisted by the Black Paperites such as Boyson and Dyson, and would need the full backing of the LEA, as is the case of Countersthorpe College in Leicestershire, if it is to succeed.

iii) Theory of Teaching and the Teacher's Role

The differentiation of teachers according to the schools in which they teach revealed discrepancies between status and skills (Chapter 1; 1.4). For the grammar school teacher, teaching was probably assumed to be simply a matter of passing on knowledge to a receptive and willing audience. Lacey's (1970) study questioned the assumption that all grammar school pupils were highly motivated and conformist pupils. It was assumed that secondary modern teachers needed greater skills to teach their pupils because these pupils needed not only a different diet of knowledge but a different teaching approach. It has been shown how such divisions between teachers are manifest at Westward High at the organisational, perceptual and interactional levels.

To help reduce the divisions between teachers and the varying status between subject departments, particularly between pastoral and curriculum, Hargreaves (1982; 1984) argues that all heads of departments should be on Scale 4 posts. He proposes that a head of year (curriculum) to parallel the head of year (pastoral), with such teachers acting as course team leaders. Clearly, if these proposals were to be implemented at Westward High with an integrated curriculum, at least for the first year classes and then extended throughout the school, this would break down hostilities that exist between pupils under the setting and banding arrangements. Hargreaves also advocates a horizontal form of promotion in which teachers could move from curriculum to pastoral. This would be a challenging concept for teachers at Westward High but would help break down the knowledge-skills dichotomy and the division of labour between the ex-grammar and ex-secondary modern teachers. Giving some ex-secondary modern teachers responsibility as heads of department or heads of year (curriculum), would provide greater incentives for these teachers who had previously considered that they had been deprived of such posts under the amalgamation. This new structure would afford them both ancillary and psychic rewards (Lortie, 1975). But this new system would only function efficiently if all teachers considered that they were of equal status in terms of qualifications. For Hargreaves proposals to have the desired effect at Westward High, the ex-secondary teachers willing to undergo further study would need to be given priority for secondment to up-date their qualification to the status of B.Ed or B.Phil degrees. Those teachers with degrees, that is, the ex-grammar school teachers, could also be encouraged to embark on part-time course of study on teaching methods.

A more radical approach, as alternatives to the present system of schooling, is advocated by the de-schoolers. Whereas Hargreaves' vision

of school teachers is that they would still be teachers, imbued with authority and considered authoritative, the de-schoolers reject this idea in favour of teachers as consultants and facilitators. Their role is to respond to the needs of different learners. Certainly, the work by Galton et al. (1980) in their analysis of primary school pupils (see Chapter 8) has shown that pupils interact or learn and respond to the teacher in a variety of different ways. De-schoolers place greater emphasis on the experiences of the learner which they believe is as important as the experiences of the teacher (Holt, 1971). Emphasis is placed on pupils' choice of what to learn which is not constricted by subject boundaries. To a less extent, of course, such a system has been used in the primary school under the concept of the integrated day, as noted previously (see Walton, 1971), although it is the teacher who sets the tasks from which the pupils choose what to do and when to do it. These choices are either on a daily or weekly basis. If learners were offered real choices, this would make redundant the elaborate negotiating strategies such as those used in life science and those strategies so graphically outlined in Woods (1980a; 1980b) and Denscombe (1985). For de-schoolers, emphasis is on learning rather than teaching, in which the pupil uses the teacher as one resource rather than the teacher endeavouring to manipulate and guide pupils to specific outcomes.

iv) Theory of Resources Appropriate for Learning

Under the tripartite system, different emphasis was placed on resources that were considered appropriate for teaching and learning. Whereas for grammar school pupils the emphasis was on books, writing and esoteric knowledge; for secondary modern pupils much of the emphasis was placed on making and doing and using various kinds of materials and tools, although books and writing, like blackboard and chalk, served as a valuable resource for learning in both these types of schools. The

divisions between thinkers and doers has been shown to be in evidence at Westward High. But what scope is there for changing resources appropriate for learning?

There has been much talk of computers and technology in schools, particularly with respect to the introduction of TVEL ('Better Schools', 1985). Yet this contrasts with complaints of under-funding for the new GCSE and underfunding in schools generally (see Ball, 1984). Certainly, the HMI reports of deterioration of school buildings and lack of equipment (see Weeks, 1985; Denscomb, 1985), would indicate that state education is, to some extent, starved of resources. In contrast, the new Teaching Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) courses have been set up using extra funding from government. Schools are being obliged to compete for this funding by submitting proposals on how they will incorporate vocational initiatives into the school curriculum by showing how they will lead to vocational education or training for jobs ('Better Schools', 1985). The question that arises, of course, is whether this is a subtle manoeuvre and strategic device by government. Are LEAs being deliberately starved of funding through the reduction in rate support grant, or by rate-capping for so-called over-spending authorities, and then offered the carrot of grants to undertake specific vocational training? Schools who fail to take up this offer will be disadvantaged compared with other schools. This is particularly so during a period of falling rolls when parents may choose to send pupils to schools who have taken up these grants and have more resources to offer.

Those who advocate changes that need to be made in schools argue that the home can be a valuable resource. Stevens (1984) explains how the Sandwell Project, taking its initiatives from the Plowden Report (1967), sought to get parents involved in education by instigating home visits. This was a different approach than that taken by those who

advocated the need for schools to compensate for deficits in the pupils' home background. Stevens argues that it is necessary to use a wholistic approach to education by taking into account the family's housing and financial situation as well as their attitude to health. Meetings were arranged in other places besides school during the evening, at weekends and in the holidays. Pupils involved in the Project, who had originally been doing badly at school, showed a marked improvement. The Project emphasised the need to build bridges between teachers in school and parents in the home. Of course, a noticeable part of the labelling of pupils by teachers at Westward High derived from whether the parents of these pupils were considered to be supportive or antagonistic towards school. Not attempt, it seems, were made to build these bridges between home and school.

De-schoolers stress that there are resources available for the learner that are outside the school. They stress the inquiry-based learner role and point out that radio, television, PRESTEL, ORACLE, as well as personal computers, are among the wide variety of resources available to young people (Meighan, 1986). The question arises is why is it considered that school should be the major resource for learning?

v) Organisation of Learning Situations

Of course, one of the most divisive aspects of the tripartite system lay in its instigation of separate types of schools for different pupils who were considered to have different types of minds. Moreover, these pupils' learning situation were further refined by segregation into streams. At Westward High, although all pupils were housed in one school, they were effectively segregated by being placed into sets or bands rather than streams. The process remained as under the tripartite system, but the labels were changed.

Hemmings (1984), like Hargreaves, argues for changes in the present system of state schooling to encourage parental involvement in schools. Such parents would be made welcome at all times rather than on specific occasions (such as parents' evenings) or in particular roles (such as PTA members or governors). Schools would be for the community and open in the evenings as well as during the holidays. They would be non-hierarchical, non-violent, and non-coercive (Diamond, 1984). Schools run on these lines, though few in number, already exist in the state system, the most notable being Counterthorpe College (see Ree, 1983). Unlike the CTCs which would be open for longer periods, Diamond suggests that there should be no compulsion for pupils to attend such schools in the evening or at weekends, or in the holidays.

De-schoolers favour a variety of organisational initiatives which do include school, although school is seen as not being compulsory for young people. It is one of the many resources that could be made available, as noted previously. For instance, at Westward High it is probable that many conformist pupils would still choose to be at school if schools were not compulsory, whereas many anti-school pupils who reject school may choose not to be there. However, once given the choice, pupils might well decide, after a short period of abstinence from school, to attend (see Neill, 1968). Of course, as Meighan points out, many pupils de-school themselves by being absent or by having time off school. In life science, Steven played truant and reportedly went off to sea for a few weeks, though the story was never collaborated. But if this was true, would not this constitute a far more intensive and electrifying education than that being offered in the confines of the four walls of a classroom? For these pupils de-schoolers argue that alternative resources such as activity centres, learning networks, courses, public libraries need to be provided alongside the school itself.

v) Theory of Assessment

A central feature of the tripartite system itself, of course, was assessment with all the controversy surrounding the reliability of IQ tests. More particularly, pupils were regularly assessed during their school career, sorted into streams and then given a final assessment by being examined at GCE level in grammar and some secondary modern schools, as well as being assessed at CSE level in the comprehensive schools. Perhaps in this respect the most radical suggestion made by Hargreaves concerns the abolition of the 16+ examination. He argues that this should be replaced by a core curriculum followed by all pupils which would consist of a multi-disciplined approach with the integration of subjects. Pupils would also move out of the classroom and into the community as part of the integrated course in community studies. At least half the time in school would be given over to option choices, with the time allotted to various aspects of the curriculum would not be constrained by the usual single or double lessons. Hargreaves recognises the difficult task of completely avoiding selection and so suggests postponing this until pupils are fifteen years old. This would allow academic pupils to study 'A' level subjects over three years instead of two, whilst other pupils would study more vocationally orientated subjects.

Hargreaves does not view this alternative to the present curriculum arrangements as a means to change society. Certainly, the academic and vocational divide is evidence of this. However, it seems unlikely that teachers, parents, employers and government would be willing to abolish examinations at 16+. Time has overtaken Hargreaves' suggestions for change since it is unlikely that the growing embryo of a new GCSE examination would be aborted before it has properly given birth.

De-schoolers argue that the most appropriate person to assess learning is the learner or someone chosen by the learner (Meighan, 1986). Stress

is placed on diagnostic assessment, criterion-referencing, monitoring of the process of learning rather than the product, and profiles of achievement rather than grades, all in the context of a wide range of performances which are not only written ones (see Davies, 1980b). It was apparent at Westward High that bottom set pupils and Band B pupils were unwilling to compete for high grades or merit marks since they knew these were more likely to be conferred on the academic top set and Band A pupils. The system of grading and meritsawards was counter-productive because a large number of pupils actively avoided working for them. The rewards system at Westward High effectively discriminated against these pupils, and so they dropped out of the race because they knew they would be last or simply non-starters.

vii Theory of Location Learning

The assumption, endemic in society, is that education is the province of school. This is to confuse education with schooling, as Illich (1971) has pointed out. A similar confusion arises between education, intelligence and schooling (see Chapter 5; 5.1.1). An alternative method of educating young people is education at home (Kitto, 1984; Meighan, 1984). As Meighan points out, "a special building called a school is not seen as an essential basis for satisfactory education to take place". Of course, state schools, to a lesser extent, have elements of de-schooling. Teachers organise outdoor pursuits courses, field trips and occasional visits out of school to museums and the theatre. But these, generally, are considered to be the exception rather than the rule and often constitute extra curricular activities. Hargreaves (1982; 1984) emphasises that education can and should take place in a number of areas such as comprehensive schools, sixth form colleges (for 'A' level students) and colleges of further education (for those taking vocational courses). Education should also take place in the community and the workplace.

Dissatisfaction with schools as institutions for learning has led to the formulation of Education Otherwise and the setting up of home-based education by a number of parents in Britain (Kitto, 1984; Meighan, 1986), as well as in America (Holt, 1982). Section 36 of the 1944 Education Act emphasises that it is the duty of the parents of every child to ensure that he receives an efficient full time education or otherwise. Certainly, at Westward High it is doubtful whether bottom set and Band B pupils do, in fact, receive an efficient education (how is 'efficient' defined anyway?). It would seem a sensible step to allow those pupils who reject school and who are rejected by the school because they do not conform or work in school, to be educated at home or at some other place. One problem of home-based education is that it is doubtful whether only but a small minority of parents would have the resources both financially and in terms of expertise and skill, to provide such an education. If both parents had jobs, how would they provide home-based education. Would young people work on assignments during the day and have tutorials in the evening?

Meighan's (1984; 1986) suggestion of Flexischooling offers a bridge between these two aspects in which programmes of work are arranged between teachers, parents and pupils. Home-based education and Flexischooling are alternatives to schooling because full time schooling is considered to be unsatisfactory. As Meighan points out:

"One myth that parents encounter is that schooling in contemporary Britain is basically sound. It is the parents' or the children's reaction that are supposed to be unsound or both. Educationalists who take up this posture are either unaware of the debates in educational circles or (are) deliberately trying to ignore them."

(Meighan, 1986, p396)

At Westward High two pupils expressed similar concerns. Vicki, a Band A pupil remarked that "if some parents knew what it was like in

school..." (and another pupil interjected) "...they'd die". Perhaps de-schoolers would rephrase A.S. Neill's dictum that "there's no such thing as problem children but problem parents" with the new dictum that "there's no such thing as problem children but problem schools"?

viii) A Theory of Aims, Objectives and Outcomes

A major division between schools under the tripartite arrangement was that they had different and wholly distinctive aims and objectives leading to varied outcomes of schooling for different pupils. It has been noted how these same divisions were evident at Westward High. Illich (1971) argues that an educational system should provide greater access to resources, encourage the sharing of knowledge for those who want to learn, and provide a greater opportunity for those who want to challenge issues to be given opportunities to do so. Davies' (1984) suggestions are relevant here. She argues that educationalists need to learn from how the present system in Britain concerning the divisions between mental and manual, academic and practical, with its demand for certification, and its maintenance of an elite system; has failed in the third world. One crucial part of her argument is that education should be linked with production to make schools productive units: "the linked aims here are a degree of self-help within school and pupil co-operatives to engage in productive and remunerated enterprises". An engagement in such productive exercises (one idea is for pupils to engage in school maintenance), she argues, would link learning with doing; doing with understanding as well as producing. The aims of these productive schools would appear to be not too dissimilar to those of the YTS, although Davies is arguing for pupil involvement and choice. Her alternative to school would seem to drag teaching and learning from its sterility of being cut off from the outside world (at least between the hours of 9 and 4) by making education both meaningful and purposeful.

Conclusion

Changes in education can be a slow process. The implementation of the common examination at 16+ (the new GCSE), whilst being proclaimed by some as the biggest change in education since comprehensivisation, had been advocated by many teachers and educationalists for over twenty years (Weeks, 1985). Shipman (1984) rightly warns innovators that they cannot ignore the political context of any change to the educational system. To do so, he points out, will surely "ensure an excessively high mortality among the innovators who go over the top". Clearly, such is the case of Risinghill Comprehensive School in the 60s whose closure is so graphically outlined by Berg (1968). William Tyndale Junior School is another example from the 70s. Duane, like Ellis, failed to get the full co-operation and support of teachers and of parents, as well as the local authority. Not surprisingly, the viewpoint of the pupils themselves were never sought as to whether or not they preferred their 'new' school. The more liberal and democratic and enquiry-based methods of teaching and learning that gave pupils options and choices, were roundly condemned by politicians of both left and right, as well as by teacher unions (see the Auld Report, 1975 and Ellis, et al. 1976). Kitto (1984) referring to the failure to get recognition of the success he achieved with a group of fifth year anti-school pupils when they were removed from school, sums up the problems faced by those who seek to make innovations:

"This is merely an example of the way in which established order, even at the lower end of the hierarchy, will suppress an initiative that challenges its basic assumption. Education has never been in the vanguard of social change; it has always supported the social system and been its servant, and its progress will only follow and mirror social progress."

(Kitto, 1984, p108)

Perhaps another reason why alternatives to schooling have made

headway is that notions of de-schooling have not been properly and seriously examined, particularly by those traditionalists who are sceptical of any kind of change, as Meighan points out:

"...Many of the criticisms of the de-schooling writers are dubious, either because the ideas have been misunderstood or because one component in the ideology of education has been discussed without the logic of the other components being noted. An example of the first case is that of Holly (1973), who proposes that the de-schoolers are new mystifiers because they advocate abolishing, not revolutionizing, schools (...) The de-schoolers propose nothing of the sort, and the label 'deschooler' is in fact a misnomer if taken to mean abolition rather than the diversification of learning options."

(Meighan, 1986, pp377-378)

Shipman rightly argues that the present system of schooling is defended by those who benefit from it and are rewarded by it in terms of the academic, cognitive-intellectual curriculum. They are, of course, the ones who can also be the most politically articulate. Schooling and the market place of labour are intertwined and are enmeshed in the division of labour in society. On this level, of course, the rationale of schooling has always been a process of sorting and segregation.

In a more positive light there has been some movement and changes made to schooling. Countersthorpe College, along with other schools such as Abraham Moss and Madely Court (see Ree, 1983), have succeeded and challenged certain assumptions about schooling and made innovations. One reason why Countersthorpe College, for instance, has succeeded where other schools have failed, is that it had the full backing of the LEA and, unlike Risinghill Comprehensive and the William Tyndale Junior School, it did not challenge the dominant values represented by the examination system.

Although a school can have subsidiary or subterranean values operating simultaneously, as evident at Westward High, these must be secondary and not challenge the dominant values if the school is to survive in

the present state system. It is more the case that only society itself can bring about any radical change to the present system of schooling. There must first be created the climate in which changes can be made. Schools cannot change society. In this respect what is most disturbing at Westward High is that the divisions in the school have not only mirrored the divisions that existed between the grammar and secondary modern school prior to amalgamation, but that these divisions mirror those that are prevalent in society in occupational structures and social class.

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APPENDIX 1

Outline of proposed research to participating teachers

Overview of research into
classroom interaction :
teacher-pupil perceptions
and interpretations

Malcolm Blurton
Department of Educational Enquiry
Research Group
University of Aston in Birmingham
March 1982

The DES funded research team in the school is studying Preparation for Parenthood in the Secondary School Curriculum. Teachers in this, and in a number of schools, have been interviewed concerning the subjects they teach and how those subjects are considered to be of relevance to preparation for parenthood. Teachers have also been interviewed for their definitions of the family and parenthood, and for their views on the need to prepare secondary pupils for becoming parents. Pupils have been given a questionnaire designed to ascertain their perceptions of the family and being a parent, and of what they believe should be taught that will be of use to them when they leave school. There will be follow-up interviews with some of these pupils.

A further phase of the research concerns interaction in the classroom between teacher and pupils; that is, exploring how each perceives and interprets events that transpire during the course of teaching and learning.

Objective: To explore teacher and pupil perceptions and interpretation in relation to :

- i. how the teacher perceives pupils and how pupils perceive themselves
- ii. how the teacher perceives and describes the teaching/learning situation and how pupils perceive and describe the teaching/learning situation;
- iii. how teacher and pupils perceive and interpret events that transpire in such teaching/learning situations.

Participants:

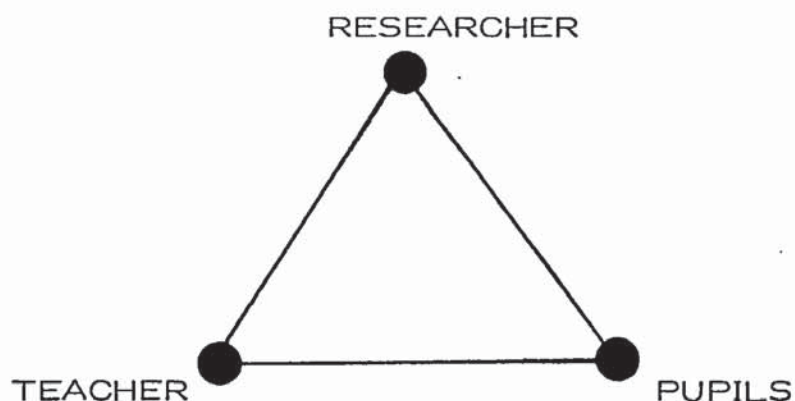
- i. Curriculum subjects - subjects that teachers have described as having elements of preparation for parenthood in them, either as a main or a subsidiary aim;
- ii. Style of teaching - it would be useful to have a 'cross section' of teaching approaches, ranging from the informal to formally taught and assessed.
- iii. Teachers - three or four teachers need to be involved to obtain a cross section of teaching approaches and different subjects.
- iv. Pupils - it is envisaged that up to about 100 pupils may be involved in this part of the research.

Methods

The method devised to obtain teacher's and pupils' perceptions and interpretations concerning classroom interaction is called 'triangulation'.

By using a number of triangulation techniques, differences and similarities in teacher-pupil perceptions and interpretations can be located.

The researcher's role is one of negotiator: to discuss with teacher and pupils when, where and how differences and similarities in perceptions and interpretations arise. The diagram below summarises the research method.



Stages

The research has three distinct but related stages:

Stages 1 and 2 'outside' the classroom setting

Stage 3 observation and recording in the classroom

Stage 1 : In this stage, it is planned to obtain teacher and pupil perceptions of how the teacher perceives individual pupils in his or her class and how those pupils perceive aspects of themselves in relation to specific subjects.

Stage 2 : In this stage, it is planned to obtain teacher and pupil perceptions of their teaching/learning situation, that is, how they perceive and construe what usually transpires.

Stage 3 : This stage utilises information derived from Stages 1 and 2, and relates this to the actual 'live' teaching/learning situation. Up to three different yet related methods have been developed concerning classroom observation and recording. It is hoped that the teachers will aid the researcher by offering their particular expertise concerning how such methods can be utilised in the classroom; and that teachers will work with the researcher to develop other techniques designed to record teacher-pupil interaction with a view to eliciting perceptions.

Feedback

At each stage, perceptions obtained from teacher and pupils will be fed back to the other for their subsequent interpretations in the light of new information. For example, when the teacher views his or her lesson and comments on what transpired, the pupils will be asked for their perceptions. The teacher's comments can then be given to the pupils

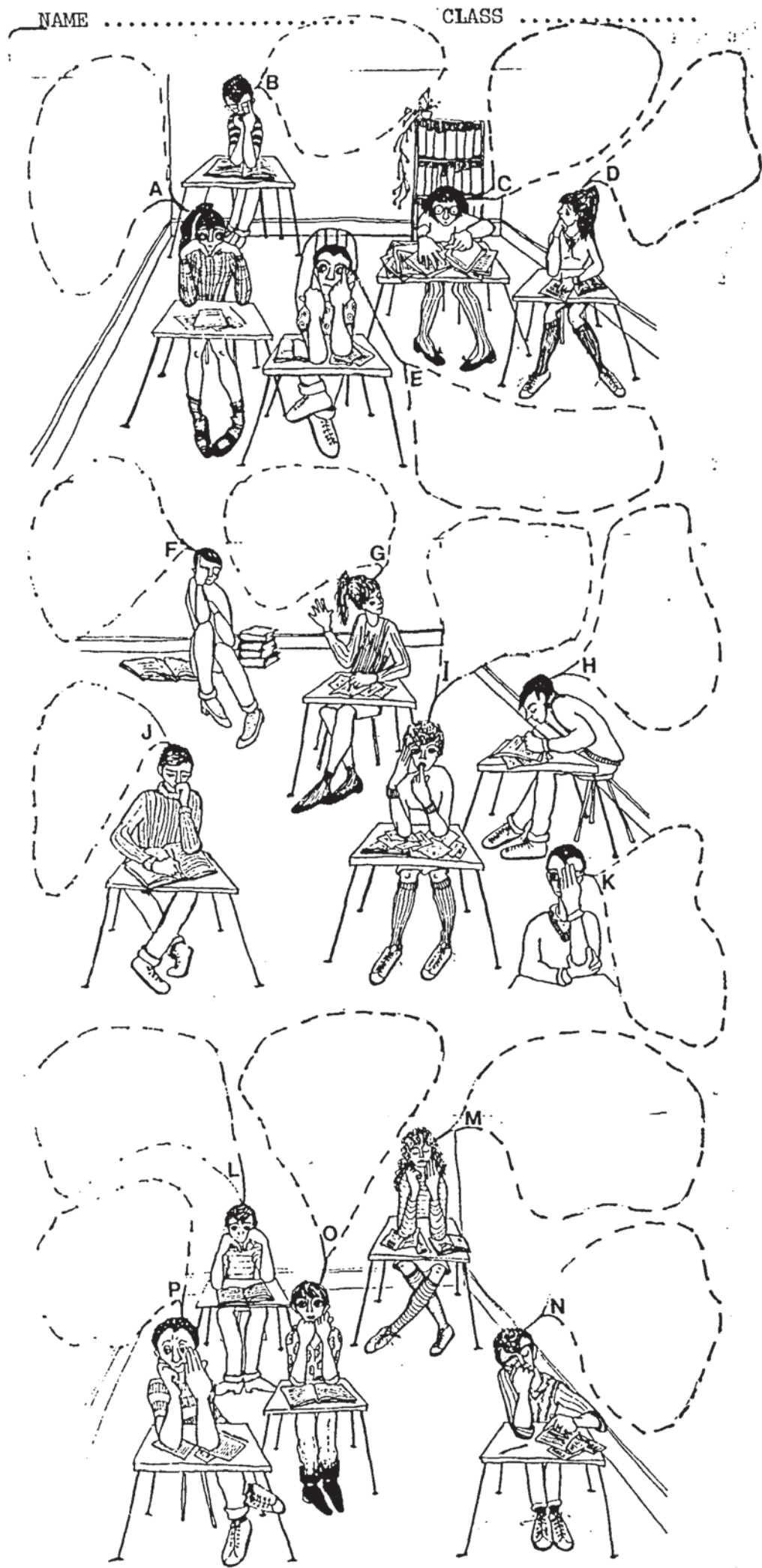
for their further comments. Pupils' comments can then be made available to the teacher, who may wish to add further comments in the light of what the pupils have said.

Commitments

- i. Teachers - Stage 1 : approximately one period
Stage 2 : approximately one period
Stage 3 : approximately one period to view
- ii. Pupils - Stage 1 : approximately one period
Stage 2 : approximately one period
Stage 3 : approximately one period
- iii. Number of lessons - it is difficult to state how many lessons will be recorded for later discussion. However, teachers need to know what time they will be asked to contribute to the research. Consequently, it is envisaged that the number of lessons observed, recorded and viewed for later discussion will be between three and five for each teacher.

Triangulation as a research technique means that teachers will have almost immediate feedback of research materials.

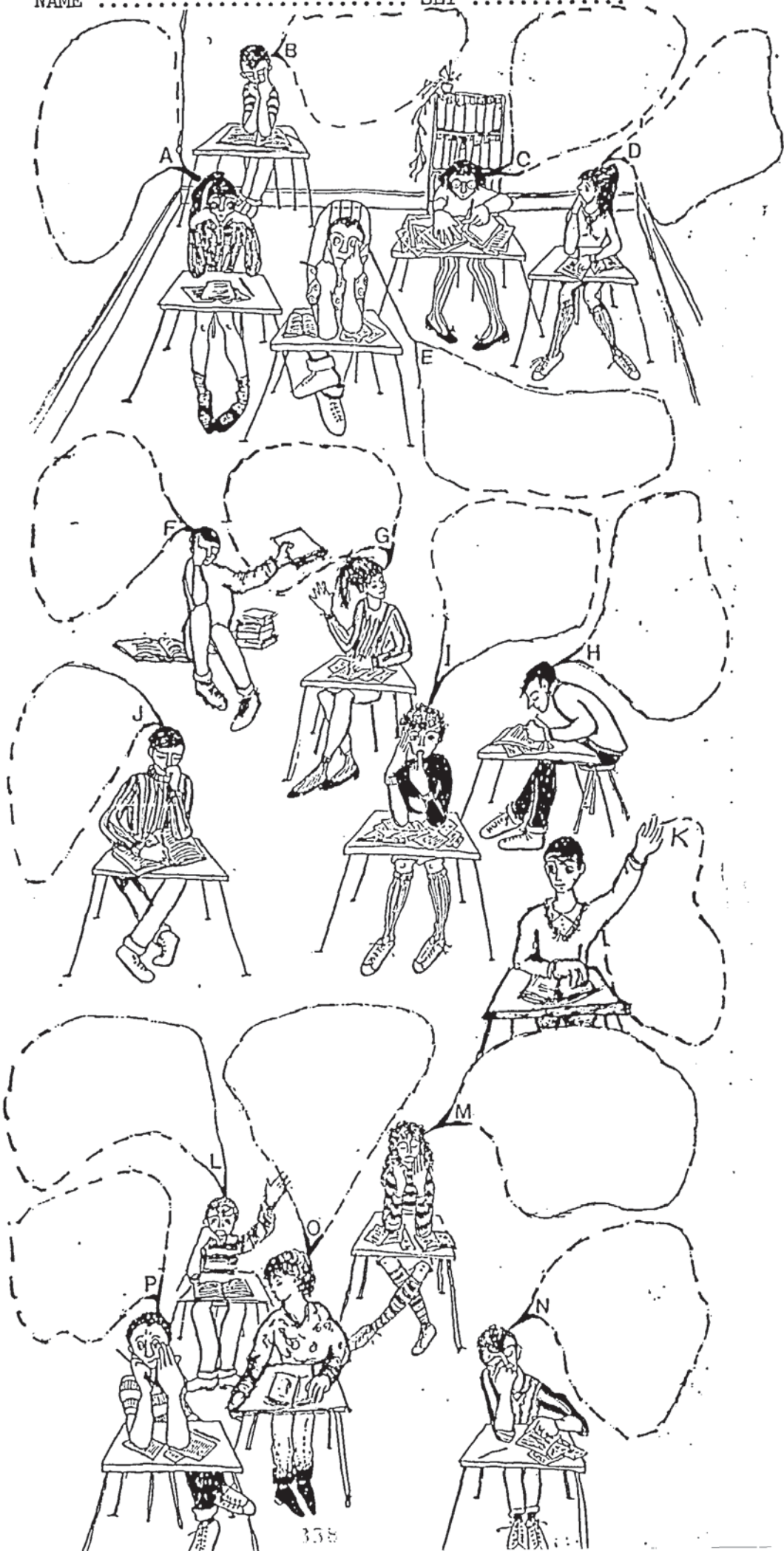
Pupil Drawings: eliciting of 4th yr (Cohort 1) pupils' bi-polar constructs of pupils in a classroom context (Reduced to half full-size)



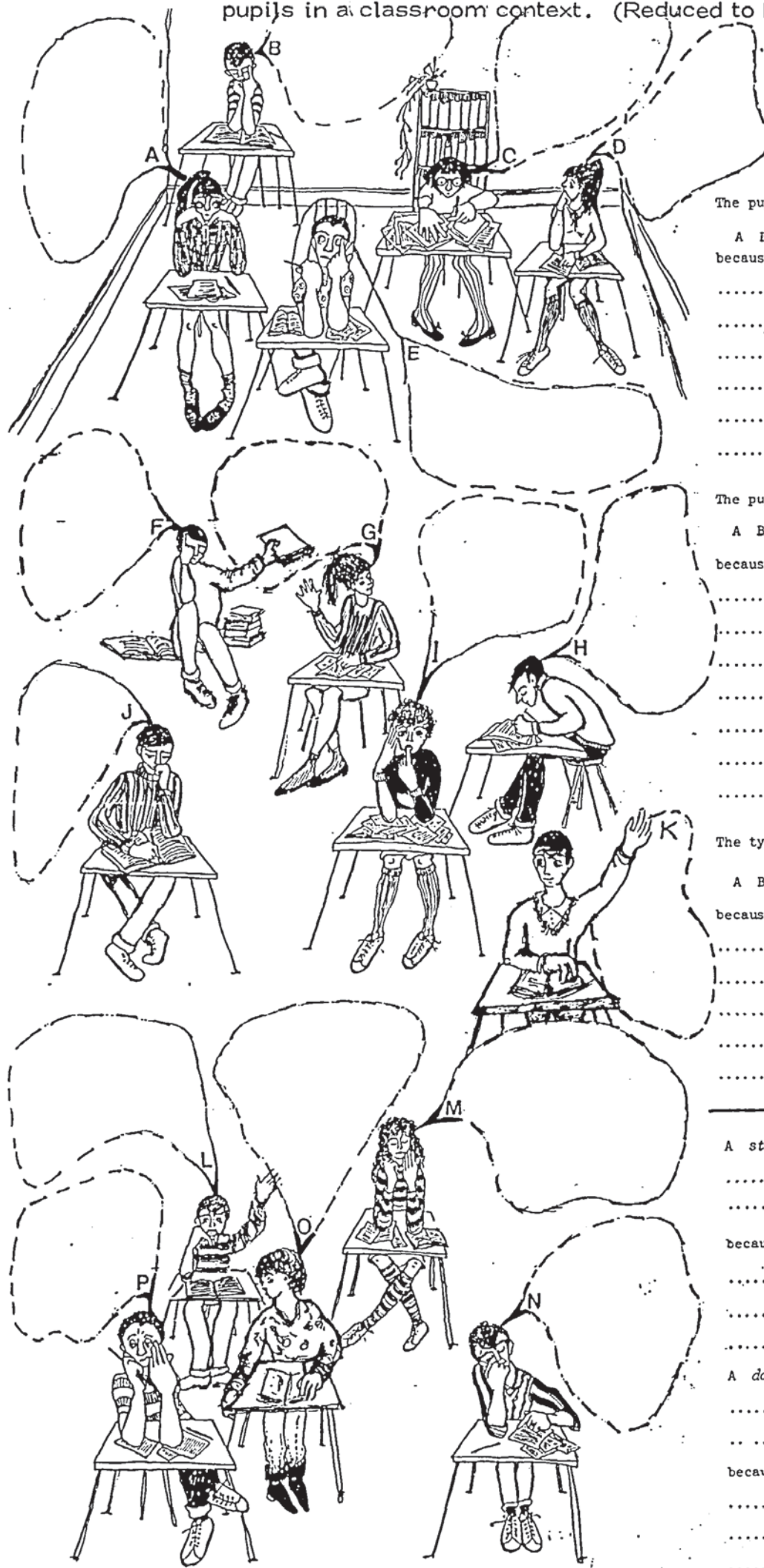
Pupil Drawings eliciting of 1st year pupils' perceptions of pupils in a classroom context (Reduced to half full-size)

NAME

SET



Pupil Drawings: eliciting of 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils' descriptions of pupils in a classroom context. (Reduced to half full-size)



NAME

PUPIL DESCRIPTIONS

The pupils most like me are (circle the letters

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O
because

The pupils least like me are (circle the letters

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P
because

The type of pupil I'd most like to be like are
(circle the letters

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P
because

A stiff is a pupil who is

because

A dosser is a pupil who is

because

NAME

You told me about *stiffs* and *dossers*. If I wanted to talk to these types of pupils, could you tell me which Sets or Bands I should go and see. Put a cross in the boxes.

	Sets or Embs	Stiffs	Dossers
First Year	1 F/G X		
	1 F/G 1		
	1 F/G 2		
	1 F/G 3		
	1 R		
Sec. Year	2 F/G X		
	2 F/G 1		
	2 F/G 2		
	2 F/G 3		
	2 R		
Third Year	3 F/G X		
	3 F/G 1		
	3 F/G 2		
	3 F/G 3		
	3 R		
4th Year	BAND A		
	BAND B		
5th Year	BAND A		
	BAND B		

BAND

Please could you fill in these sentences.

Are you a *stiff* ? YES NO

(please circle)

Are you a *dosser* ? YES NO

Do you do extra work, more than the teacher usually asks or expects ? YES NO

Do you do extra work, more than usual and do you keep it secret from your friends or other pupils at school ?

YES NO

If Yes why do you keep it secret ?

If No why don't you usually do extra work?

Thanks again for the last time.

Please write anything else you want to say on the back.

APPENDIX 6

Questionnaire : Eliciting of pupils' perception of teachers according to the band allocation of pupils they teach.

Please can you tell me about your teachers.

Fill in these sentences

A teacher who is a *stiff* is someone who

.....

.....

.....

because

.....

.....

They would usually teach Band

Teachers who teach Band A are

.....

.....

.....

because

.....

.....

Teachers who teach Band B are

.....

.....

.....

because

.....

.....

.....

NAME ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,, BAND ,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,

Thankyou.

APPENDIX 7

Questionnaire - 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils' routes through the lower school in relation to their allocation to Band A or Band B, their expectations for examinations, further education and occupations.

Important please tell B A N D
me what Band you are in

* Please could you tell me what sets you were in during the first three years. Circle the sets.

<u>1st Year</u>	1	2	3	4	R
<u>2nd Year</u>	2F/GX	2F/G1	2F/G2	2F/G3	2R
<u>3rd Year</u>	3F/GX	3F/G1	3F/G2	3F/G3	3R

* Please could you now tell me what exams you think you will be allowed to take next year? Circle the exams.

G.C.E. 'O'	16 +	C.S.E.	no exams
Level			

* Will you be staying at school to do 'A' levels in the 6th Form? Circle the answer? YES UNSURE NO

* When you leave school do you think you will be going to College or University?
Circle the answer. YES UNSURE NO

* What career or job do you think you might have when you leave school? Please tell me the job or sorts of jobs you expect you might get

.....
..... Thank you very much
for your help

APPENDIX 8

Sixth Form 'A' level curriculum summary 1982/1983

<u>LOWER SIXTH</u>	<u>UPPER SIXTH</u>
'A' LEVEL SUBJECTS	'A' LEVEL SUBJECTS
<u>BOX 1</u>	<u>BOX 1</u>
MATHEMATICS (PURE AND APPLIED)	BIOLOGY
BIOLOGY (2 Sets)	MATHEMATICS (PURE AND APPLIED)
ART	GEOGRAPHY
ECONOMICS	BUSINESS STUDIES
ENGLISH (2 Sets)	ENGLISH
GERMAN	LATIN
<u>BOX II</u>	<u>BOX II</u>
MATHEMATICS (STATISTICS)	MATHEMATICS (STATISTICS)
PHYSICS	PHYSICS
GEOGRAPHY	GEOGRAPHY
COOKERY	FRENCH
FRENCH	RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	HISTORY
	MUSIC
<u>BOX III</u>	<u>BOX III</u>
CHEMISTRY (2 Sets)	CHEMISTRY
BUSINESS STUDIES	ENGLISH
ENGLISH	ECONOMICS
LATIN	GERMAN
GEOGRAPHY	ART
HISTORY	
<u>BOX X</u>	<u>BOX X</u>
GEOLOGY	FURTHER MATHEMATICS
MUSIC	GEOLOGY
	COOKERY

NB - Only one 'A' level can be chosen from each box

APPENDIX 9

List of 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils' expectations for future occupations related to pupils' lower school setting and upper school banding allocation.

Lower School Set Allocation	Band A pupils' occupational expectations Range of Occupations Selected
Express	Armed Forces, police, pub manager, civil servant, computer programmer, draughtsman, milkman, dental hygienist, office worker, bank worker, scientist, beautician, hairdresser, fashion designer, doctor, nurse, form a band, linguist, secretary, writer, historian, teacher, astro-physicist, banker, nanny, air hostess, accountant, marine biologist, designer, technician, merchant navy officer, psychiatrist, medicine worker, artist, lawyer, engineer, surgeon, photographer.
Express/ Set 1	Meteorological officer, draughtsman, surveyor, journalist, bus driver, join pop group, teacher, lawyer, doctor, mortician, medical worker, armed forces, banker, police, engineer, solicitor, clerk, mechanic, apprentice joiner.
Set 1	Mechanic, working with children, caterer, fireman, armed services, aerial erector, engineer, vet, police, musician, groundsman, nursery nurse, shop assistant, trader, lawyer, courier, pathologist, secretary, hostess, travel agent, office worker, bank clerk, lorry driver, marine engineer, draughtsman, architect, teacher.
Set 1 / Set 2	Nurse, police, artist, secretary, electrician, technician.
Set 2	Engineer, armed services, teacher.
Set 1, 2 and Set 3	Police, armed services, courier, secretary, teacher, bank clerk, engineer, joiner.
Set 2 and 3	Psychologist, nurse, police, model, ice skater.

APPENDIX 9 - continued....

Lower School Set Allocation	Band B pupils occupation expectations Range of Occupations Selected
Set 1	Armed services, stuntman, naval officer, merchant navy (crew), radio officer.
Set 1 and Set 2	Hairdresser, store-cashier, mechanic, fashion shop worker, joiner, armed services, postman, pharmacist, fitter, skilled craftsman, merchant seaman, office worker.
Set 2	Working with animals, hairdresser, engineer, merchant navy caterer, clothes designer, police, mechanic, lorry driver, merchant seaman, oil rig worker, armed services, nursery nurse, nanny, aircraft technician.
Set 1, 2 and Set 3	Engineer, joiner, work with animals, reporter, typist, nursery nurse, rugby player, armed services, hairdresser.
Set 2 and 3	Typist, secretary, work with children, car salesman, computer programmer, shop-worker, scaffolder, gas fitter, armed services, merchant seaman, police, mechanic.
Set 3	Painter and decorator, semi-skilled worker, mechanic, armed services, merchant seaman, RSPB helper, nursery nurse.
Set 3 and Remedial	Plumber, armed services, apprentice fitter, nursery nurse, shop assistant, painter and decorator.
Remedial	Nursery nurse, hairdresser, nurse, painter and decorator, mechanic, dock worker, cook, hairdresser.

Total distribution of periods taught to academic pupils related to teacher status

TEACHERS	EX- GRAMMAR			NEW			EX- SECONDARY		
	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent	Total Teaching Periods	Academic Pupil Periods	Percent
Head/Dept. Heads. Heads of Department	448	360	80%	92	75	82%	113	54	48%
Others	321	218	68%	646	265	41%	810	260	32%
TOTALS	769	578	75%	738	340	46%	923	314	34%
	N = 27			N = 25			N = 35		

: To nearest whole percent

APPENDIX 11

Teacher qualification related to teacher status

Table relating teacher qualification to teacher status

	Dip	TCent	PGCE	BEd	BA	BSc	Ox.MA	Scot.MA	MA	Totals
Ex-Grammar	2	3	-	1	8	9	2	1	1	27
'New'	1	11	-	6	2	4	1	-	-	25
Ex-Secondary	4	22	2	3	2	-	-	-	2	35
Totals	7	36	2	10	12	13	3	1	3	87

Where a teacher has a more advanced qualification, only that qualification has been recorded in the table.

NB: Ox- Oxbridge M.A., Scot. - Scottish M.A.

APPENDIX 12

Analysis of pupils' perceptions obtained from pupil drawings (Appendix 3)

Bi-polar intelligence constructs derived from a group of 1FX pupils' descriptions of first year pupils related to teachers' favourable (+) and less favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

INTELLIGENCE BI-POLAR CONSTRUCTS + -	Express		Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Clever, brainy, smart, very bright / Thick, dumb, stupid	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Quite brainy, so-so brainy / Thick, dumb, stupid	0	0	6	2	1	0	0	5	0	13
TOTALS	5	0	9	2	1	0	0	5	0	13
	5		11		1		5		13	
% OF TOTALS	100%	0%	82%	18%	100%	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%

Bi -polar intelligence constructs derived from a group of 1F3 pupils' descriptions of first year pupils related to teachers' favourable (+) and less favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

INTELLIGENCE BI-POLAR CONSTRUCTS + -	Express		Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
Clever, brainy, smart, very bright / Thick, dumb, stupid	14	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
Quite brainy, so-so brainy / Thick, dumb, stupid	0	0	5	0	5	5	0	4	0	8
TOTALS	14	1	7	1	6	6	0	4	1	8
	15		8		12		4		9	
% OF TOTALS	93%	7%	88%	12%	50%	50%	0%	100%	13%	87%

APPENDIX 12 - continued....

Bi-Polar thinking constructs derived from 1FX and 1F3 pupils' descriptions of first year pupils related to teachers' favourable (+) and less-favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

THINKING BI-POLAR CONSTRUCTS		Express		Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
+ -		+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
1 F X	Thinking deeply about work/ Doesn't think	7	1	3	8	0	4	0	4	0	3
	% of Totals	88%	12%	38%	62%	0%	100%	0%	100%	0%	100%
1 F 3	Thinking deeply about work / Doesn't think	4	0	1	0	3	1	2	0	0	9
	% of Totals	100%	0%	100%	0%	75%	25%	100%	0%	0%	100%

APPENDIX 13

Analysis of personality constructs derived from 1FX and 1F3 pupils' descriptions of first year pupils (from pupil drawings, Appendix 3)

Express			Set 1		Set 2		Set 3		Remedial	
1 F X	sensible	9	dozy/sleepy	4	looks daft	2	day dreams	4	tired /	
	snotty-nosed		day dreams	1	day dreams	2	unhappy	1	asleep	7
	stuck up or		friendly/		hard	1	bossy	1	day-	
	goody-goody		happy		worried	1	talks to		dreams	6
	two shoes	6	interesting	3	normal,		boyfriend	1	dozy /	
	show off/		acts hard	2	modest or				care-	
	big head	3	talks only		plain	2			less	5
	thinks he		when teacher						daft	1
	knows every-		is out of room	1					worried	1
thing	2									
fool	2									
sleepy/quiet	1									
easy going	1									
TOTALS		25	11		8		7		20	
1 F 3	sensible	3	day dreams	1	idiot	1	sleepy	4	sleepy	12
	snob/				tired	1	day-dreams	2	dozy	5
	snooty	3					daft/idiot	2	dope/	
	teacher's						dozy	1	day	4
	pet/too						always		dream	
	big for his						talking	1	worried	1
	boots	3							rubbish	1
	show off	1								
hard	1									
TOTALS		11	1		2		10		23	

APPENDIX 14

Analysis of 4th year (Cohort 1) pupils bi-polar constructs of pupils from data obtained from pupil drawings (Appendix 2)

Table i Bi-polar attitude to school constructs 4th year (cohort 1) pupils

BI-POLAR ATTITUDE TO WORK CONSTRUCTS	TOTALS	% OF TOTAL OF ALL CONSTRUCTS
Interested - bored	160	
Working hard - not working hard	142	
Concentrates - easily distracted	107	
Sensible - fooling around	102	
Bothered - not bothered	33	
Does own work - copies	13	
Stiff/swot - could not care less	42	
Others	96	
TOTALS	695	46%

Table ii Bi-polar personality constructs 4th year (cohort 1) pupils

BI-POLAR PERSONALITY CONSTRUCTS	TOTALS	% OF TOTAL OF ALL CONSTRUCTS
Alert - daydreams	133	
Awake - sleepy	96	
Quiet - noisy	92	
Worried - not worried	31	
Not vain - vain	23	
Others	79	
TOTALS	454	30%

APPENDIX 14 – continued.....

Table iii Bi-polar intelligence/thinking constructs, 4th year (cohort 1) pupils

BI-POLAR INTELLIGENCE/ THINKING CONSTRUCTS	TOTALS	% OF TOTALS OF ALL CONSTRUCTS
Intelligent – thick	212	
Thinks about – not thinking work	126	
TOTALS	338	22%

Table iv Bi-polar physical/emotional constructs, 4th year (cohort 1) pupils

BI-POLAR PHYSICAL/ EMOTIONAL CONSTRUCTS	TOTALS	% OF TOTALS OF ALL CONSTRUCTS
Not fashionable – fashionable	2	
Not fidget – fidget	2	
Happy – sad	19	
Not clumsy – clumsy	2	
Not exhausted – exhausted	1	
Not ugly – ugly and skinny	1	
TOTALS	27	2%

APPENDIX 15

Analysis of construct networks in relation to pupils' typifications of clever and thick pupils, data derived from bi-polar constructs on pupil drawings (Appendix 2).

Charles S.

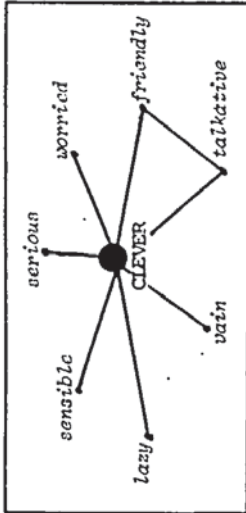
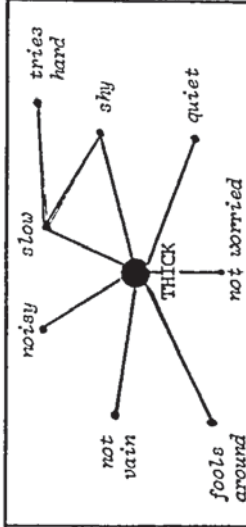
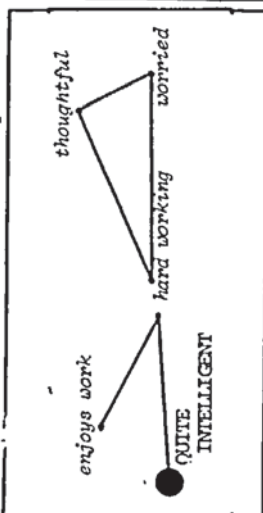


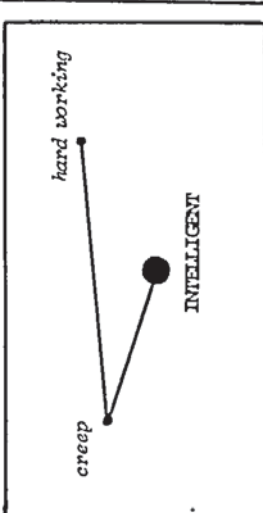
Diagram 1



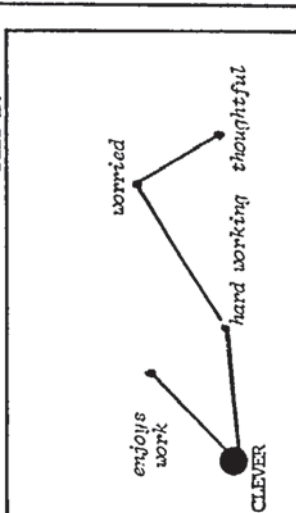
Carolyn B



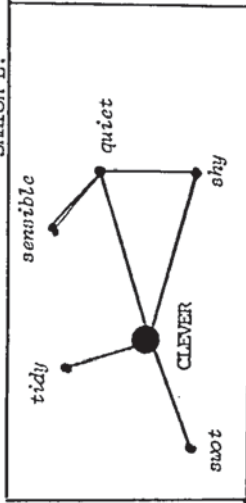
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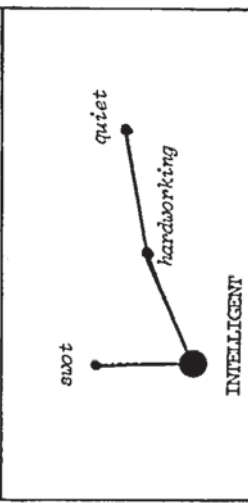
Jill L.



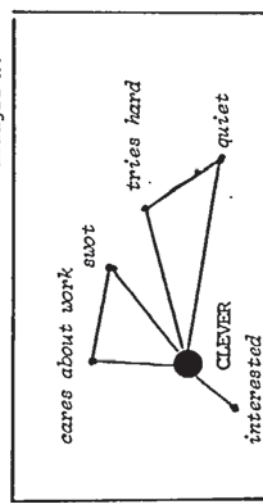
Sharon L.



Lisa G.



Bridget H.



Debbie G.

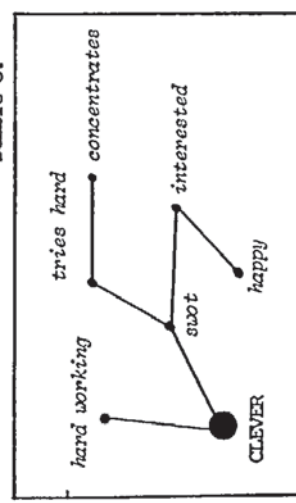


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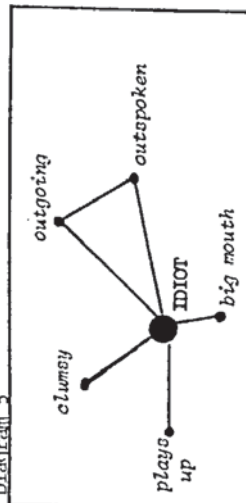


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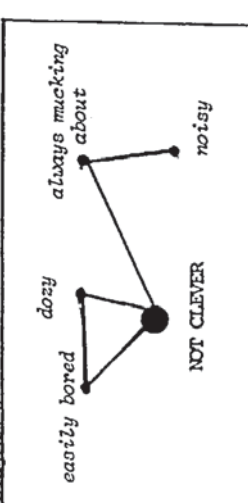


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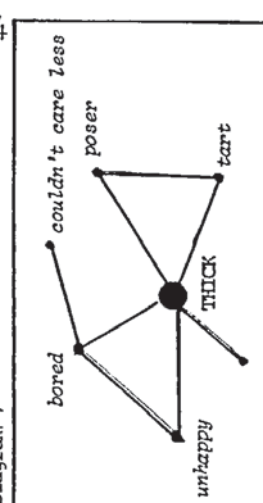
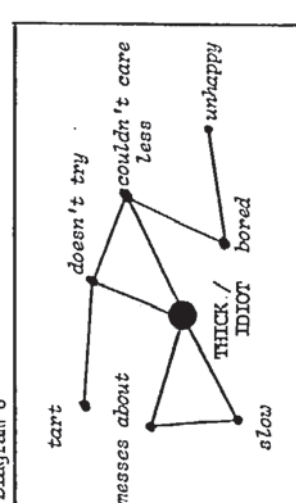
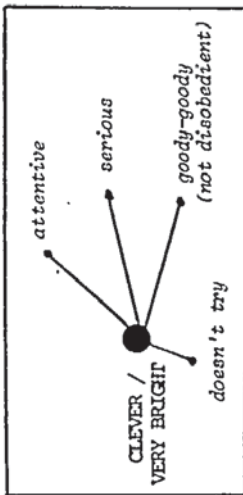


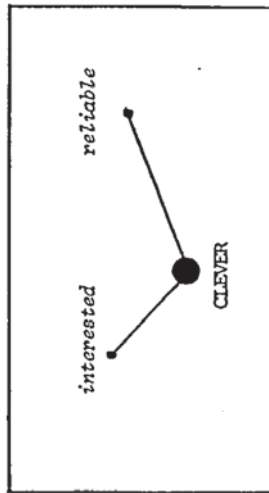
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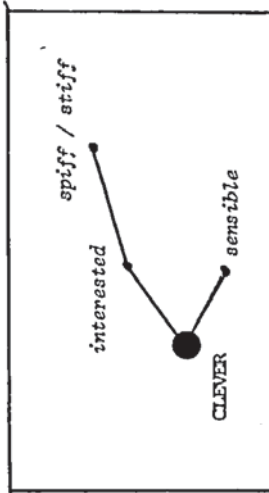
Martin F.



Sarah M



Karen



Christine

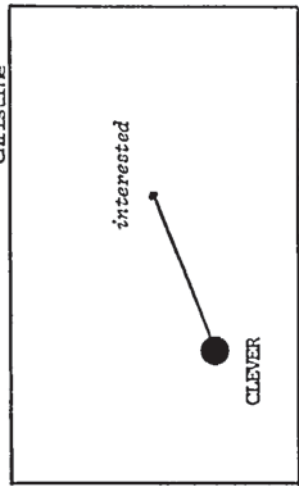


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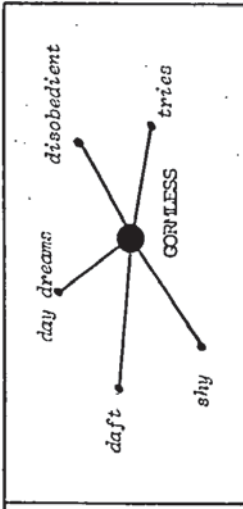


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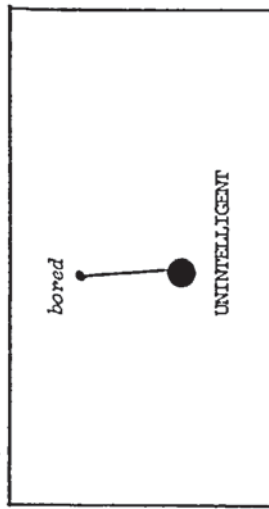


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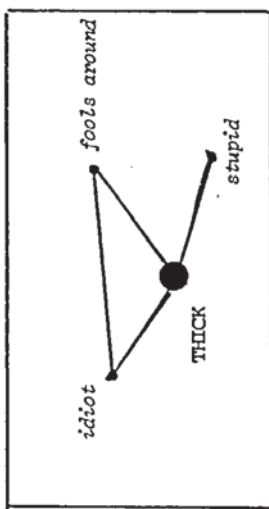
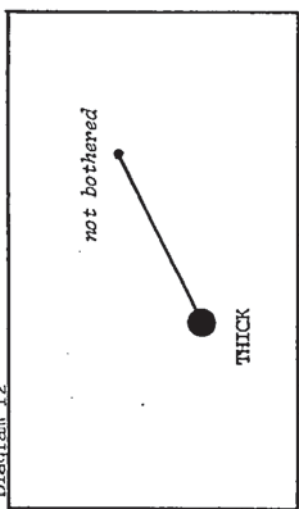
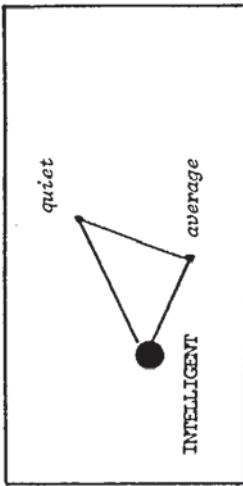


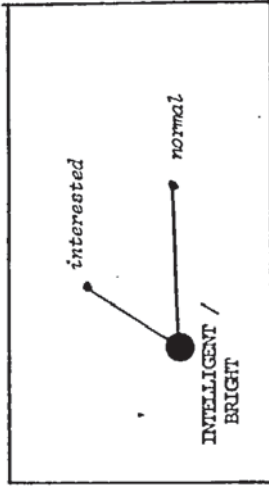
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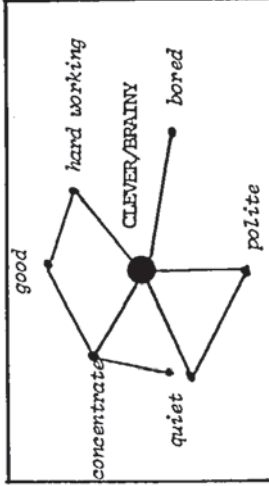
Paul M



Wendy K.



Nicholas C



Julie B.

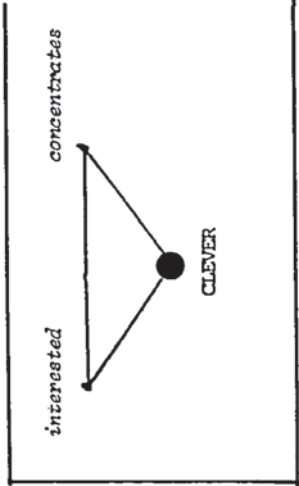


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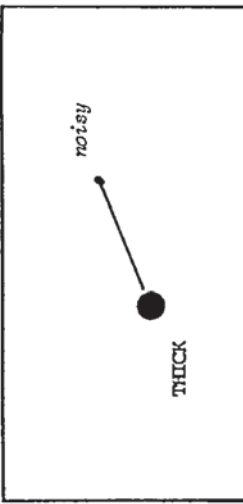


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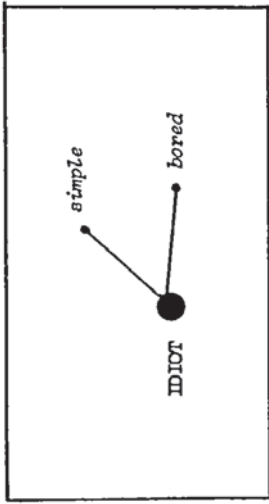


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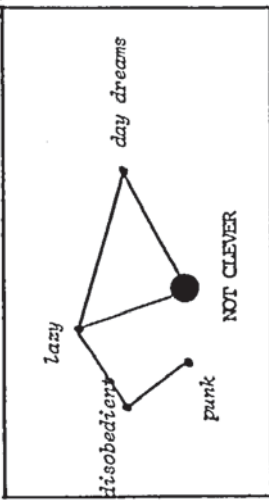


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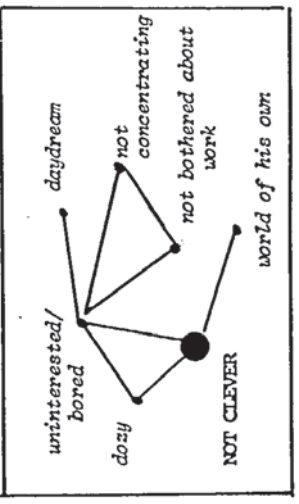


Diagram 17

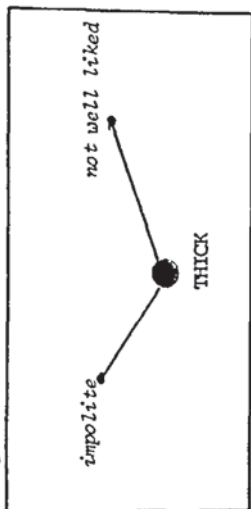
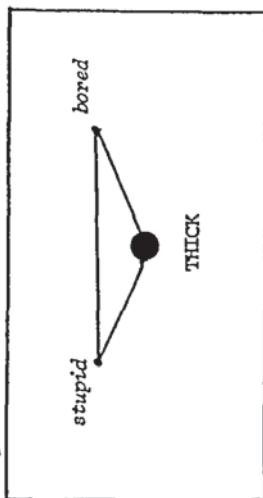
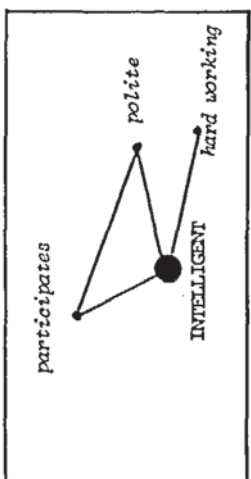


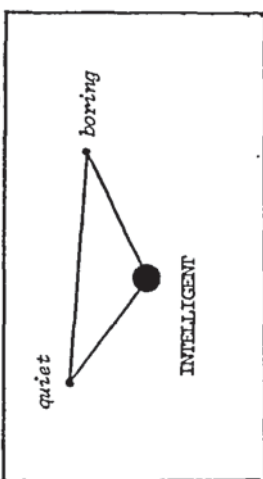
Diagram 18



Rachael S.



Becky H.



APPENDIX 16

Derived bi-polar intelligence/thinking constructs related to teachers' favourable (+) or least favourable descriptions of pupils.

INTELLIGENCE/ THINKING CONSTRUCTS	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES				BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES			
	+		-		+		-	
	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B
Clever, intelligent/ Thick, not bright	24 (92%)	2 (8%)	2 (17%)	10 (83%)	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)	12 (100%)
Thinks, imagin- ative/ Doesn't think	20	3	1	2	14	1	0	2
Understands / Doesn't under- stand	1	0	3	8	1	0	1	15
TOTALS	21	3	4	10	15	1	1	17
% OF TOTALS	88%	12%	29%	71%	94%	6%	6%	94%

Source: 4th year (Cohort 2) descriptions on pupil drawings (Appendix 4)

APPENDIX 17

Derived bi-polar personality constructs related to teachers' favourable (+) or least favourable (-) descriptions of pupils.

PERSONALITY CONSTRUCTS	BAND A PUPILS' RESPONSES				BAND B PUPILS' RESPONSES			
	+		-		+		-	
	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B	Band A	Band B
Awake / Sleepy	0	0	2	9	0	0	0	12
Quiet / Talkative	3	0	0	4	3	0	0	2
Alert / Day dreams	0	0	6	28	0	0	0	0
Serious, worried/ Enjoys himself	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Not Vain / Vain	0	0	0	11	0	0	0	2
Mixes / Snob	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	1
Polite / Not Polite	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
TOTALS	3	0	10	52	4	0	5	17
% of TOTALS	100%	0%	16%	84%	100%	0%	23%	77%

Source : 4th year (Cohort 2) descriptions on pupil drawings (Appendix 4)

APPENDIX 18

Analysis of 4th year (Cohort 1) pupils individual perceptions of themselves, data obtained from pupil drawings (Appendix 4).

Analysis of 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils self concept related to intelligence

	Most like	ideal	Least like
BAND A	brainy 1 clever 1 quite clever 3	clever 1 smart 1 brainy 2 intelligent 1 quite clever 1	smart 1 dense 1 thick 1
TOTALS	5	6	3
BAND B			clever 2 brainy 1
TOTALS			3

Analysis of 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils self concept related to thinking

	Most like	Ideal	Least like
BAND A	thinking about work 6 thinking deeply/ hard thinker 3 good thinker 1 tries to under- stand 1 not under- stand 1	thinking 4 thinking hard 3 deep in thought 1 understands 1	thinking about what to wear at disco 1 doesn't under- stand 2 confused 1
TOTALS	12	9	4

APPENDIX 18 - continued....

BAND	Most like	Ideal	Least like
BAND B	thinking of girl-friend 5 thinking of clothes 2 or disco in a daze 1	thinking hard about work 1 thinking of clothes 1	thinking about work 3 thinking hard 1
TOTALS	8	2	4

Analysis of 4th year (Cohort 2) pupils self concept related to personality

BAND	Most like	Ideal	Least like
BAND A	daydreams 6 quiet 3 shy 1 no sense of humour 1 doesn't mix 1 dozy 1 sleepy 1	daydream 1 vain 1 popular 1 doesn't mix 1	daydreams 11 sleepy 6 vain 4 talks in class 1 thinks they're funny 1 doesn't mix 1 dopy 1 goes to bed late 1
TOTALS	13	4	26
BAND B	daydreams 8 tired, too many late nights 3	daydreams 1	sleepy 1 stuck up 2 bitchy 2 thinks they're something special 1
TOTALS	11	1	6

Source: 4th year pupils' descriptions on pupil drawings (Appendix 4)

APPENDIX 19

English pupils' grades across all subjects at GCE and CSE levels

NAME	'O' LEVELS					C S E				
	Entry	Pass	Grades		Fail	Entry	Pass	Grades		Fail
			A-C	D-E	U			1	2-5	U
Pamela J	7	5	3	2	2	1	1		1	
Wendy K	9	8	6	2	1	1	1	1		
Karen L	8	8	6	2						
Lisa P	7	6	5	1	1	1	1		1	
Emma P	9	9	9							
Janet S	6	4	2	2	2	2	2		2	
Sammy C	9	3	2	1	6	1	1		1	
Jane C	6	6	6			2	2		2	
Gillian D	9	9	9							
Lisa G	2	2	2			3	3		3	
Julie H	9	9	7	2		1	1	1		
Bridget H	7	7	6	1		2	2		2	
Susan A	3	3	1	2		4	4		4	
Heather A	5	2	2		3	3	3		3	
Debbie G	7	5	4	1	2	2	2		2	
Catharine	7	5	3	2	2	3	3	1	2	
Rachael S	8	7	5	2	1					
Nicholas C	8	6	6		2					
Michael P	8	8	8			2	2	2		
Charles S	9	8	7	1	1					
Stuart H	5	5	1	4		2	2		2	
Mark H	9	9	9							
Andrew L	5	5	2	3		3	3		3	
Russell W	7	7	7			1	1		1	
Ian Mc.	8	6	4	2	2	2	2		2	
Richard M	9	9	9			1	1	1		
Paul M	5	3	1	2	2	2	2		2	
Paul Mi.	0					4	4		4	
Matthew C	8	8	7	1		1	1	1		
Sharon C	8	8	8							
Paula S	8	8	6	2						
TOTALS	215	188	153	35	27	44	44	7	37	0
% of Totals		87%	71%	19%	13%		100%	16%	84%	0%
Av. Gain across pupils 6-7 passes										

Source: School records, examination results across all subjects, September, 1983 for 31 pupils.

APPENDIX 20

Analysis of English and life science pupils' grades across all subjects

Life science pupils' total grades across all subjects at CSE level

NAME	ENTRY	PASS	1	GRADES 2-5	U - FAIL
Paula P	4	4		4	
Paula F	4	4	1	3	
Debbie G	4	4		4	
Christina	5	5	1	4	
Collette	4	4	1	3	
Lynn	4	4		4	
Tracey	4	4		4	
Steven	1				1
Darren T	2			1	1
Malcolm	4	2		2	2
Mark	4	3		3	1
John	5	5	1	4	
Darren L	4	4		4	
Paul	5	5		5	
Jackie	4	4		4	
Martin	5	4	1	3	1
Karen	3	2		2	1
Michelle	5	4		4	1
TOTALS	71	63	5	58	8
% of Totals		87%	8%	92%	12%

Source: School records, examination results, September 1983 for 18 pupils.

Total number of CSE grades across all subjects for English and life science pupils.

GRADES	1	2	3	4	5
English Pupils	7 (16%)	11 (25%)	14 (32%)	10 (23%)	2 (4%)
Life Sc. Pupils	5 (8%)	6 (10%)	15 (24%)	23 (37%)	14 (22%)

44 N=22 pupils
63 N=18 pupils

Source: School records, examination results, September 1983

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