

Aspirations for Higher Education amongst
students in 16 - 19 education in three
London Boroughs.

GREGOR JOHN EGLIN, M.A. (BRUNEL), B.Sc.(ECON)
(LONDON), D.M.A., M.B.I.M., M.I.L.G.A.

Senior Lecturer, Education Management,
Anglian Regional Management Centre,
North East London Polytechnic.

A Thesis submitted for the Degree of Ph.D.
Brunel University,
Department of Government.
December, 1981.

<u>CONTENTS</u>		<u>PAGE NO.</u>
<u>Chapter</u>		
1	INTRODUCTION	1
2	THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	27
3	INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS	46
	3:1 16 - 19 Education in schools	47
	3:2 16 - 19 Education in further education	59
	3:3 16 - 19 Education and the Careers Service	74
4	ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS	83
	4:1 Demographic	84
	4:2 Neighbourhood	116
	4:3 Gender	129
5	METHODOLOGY	142
6	BAMFORD L.E.A.	177
	6:1 Bamford	178
	6:2 Bamford Careers Service	186
	6:3 Bamford Schools	194
	6:4 Bamford F.E.	210
7	NEWTON L.E.A.	217
	7:1 Newton	218
	7:2 Newton Careers	233
	7:3 Newton Schools	242
	7:4 Newton F.E.	260
8	RISHWORTH L.E.A.	275
	8:1 Rishworth	276
	8:2 Rishworth Careers	284
	8:3 Rishworth Schools	292
	8:4 Rishworth F.E.	305
9	THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR	307
10	INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS DATA ANALYSIS	320
11	ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS, DATA ANALYSIS	363
12	CONCLUSIONS	403
	APPENDICES	436
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	478

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following, without whom this thesis would not have been possible:

The Chief Education Officers of Bamford, Newton and Rishworth for allowing me to research in their authorities.

All those Councillors, L.E.A. administrators, inspectors/advisors, careers officers, teachers, lecturers and students who took part in the research.

Patrick Hare, Senior Lecturer, Anglian Regional Management Centre, North East London Polytechnic, for guidance with the computing.

Brenda Higbee for translating my writing into typescript.

Dr. Barrie Long, Head of Division, Education Management, Anglian Regional Management Centre, North East London Polytechnic, for his guidance and editing of the penultimate draft, and last but by no means least,

Jean Hardy, my supervisor, for her guidance and encouragement.

DECLARATION

Except where stated otherwise, the material contained in this thesis is the authors own unaided work.

COPYING OR QUOTING

Because of the confidential nature of this thesis, place names have been changed in order to maintain anonymity. When quoting from this thesis anonymity must be maintained.

SUMMARY

This study is of the higher education aspirations of a group of students in 16 - 19 education. Data was collected from students in three London boroughs, Bamford, Newton and Rishworth. These students were in the final year in either sixth forms or colleges of further education and taking courses that would enable a successful candidate to gain access to higher education. Both local authority and independent sector institutions were represented in the study.

The research began by developing a conceptual framework within which an analysis could be made of the above mentioned students higher education aspirations. Two main types of research was used. Interviews were held with those involved in the provision of 16 - 19 education and with the counselling of students as to higher education entry. A questionnaire was distributed to the above mentioned group of students, requesting information as to various aspects of their background and their aspirations.

Some 100 + interviews were carried out with borough councillors, L.E.A. administrators, careers officers, school teachers, and college lecturers. Some 1,500 questionnaires were distributed to students at 31 schools and three colleges of further education. There were 952 replies. The information received was computerised and processed using a prime computer and application package S.P.S.S. An analysis was made in terms of higher education aspirations and L.E.A. area,

type of institution, type of course, mode of attendance, socio-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of housing and gender.

The findings of this analysis were compared with the original hypothesis and conclusions drawn.

<u>LIST OF TABLES</u>		<u>PAGE NO.</u>
FIG.3/1	L.E.A. Systems of 16-19 Education.	72
FIG.3/2	Modes of progression through 16-19 Education.	73
FIG.4/1	Achievement of grammar school pupils.	87
FIG.4/2	Entrants to university in percentage by social class 1970/75.	91
FIG.5/1	Analysis of questionnaire returns.	161
FIG.5/2	Analysis of response rates L.E.A. and Institution.	164
FIG.10/1	Reasons for taking a sixth form course by L.E.A.	321
FIG.10/2	Aspirations for higher education by L.E.A.	324
FIG.10/3	Attitudes towards non-university higher education by L.E.A.	325
FIG.10/4	Proposed area of study by L.E.A.	326
FIG.10/5	Extent of knowledge of higher education by L.E.A.	328
FIG.10/6	Reasons for choice at 18+ by L.E.A.	331
FIG.10/7	Why college 'A' level students chose a college 'A' level course.	333
FIG.10/8	Reasons for taking an F.E. course.	334
FIG.10/9	Reasons for taking a sixth form course by type of school.	336
FIG.10/10	Higher education aspirations by type of institution.	337
FIG.10/11	Attitudes towards non-university higher education by type of institution.	340
FIG.10/12	Proposed area of study by type of institution.	343
FIG.10/13	Extent of knowledge of higher education by type of institution.	345
FIG.10/14	Reasons for choice at 18+ by type of institution.	355
FIG.11/1	Reasons for taking a sixth form course by socio-economic grouping.	364
FIG.11/2	Higher education aspirations by socio-economic grouping.	366
FIG.11/3	Proposed area of study in higher education by socio-economic grouping.	367
FIG.11/4	Extent of knowledge of the higher education system.	368
FIG.11/5	Reasons for choice at 18+ by socio-economic group.	373
FIG.11/6	Reasons for continuing education (sixth form) by family circumstances	375

FIG.11/7	Higher Education by family circumstances.	376
FIG.11/8	Knowledge of higher education system by family circumstances.	378
FIG.11/9	Reasons for choice at 18+ by family circumstances.	379
FIG.11/10	Reasons for continuing education (sixth form) by type of dwelling.	382
FIG.11/11	Higher education aspirations by type of dwelling.	383
FIG.11/12	Proposed area of study by type of residence.	384
FIG.11/13	Knowledge of the higher education system by type of dwelling.	385
FIG.11/14	Reasons for choice at 18+ by type of dwelling.	386
FIG.11/15	Reasons for continuing education (sixth form) by gender.	387
FIG.11/16	Higher education aspirations by gender.	389
FIG.11/17	Proposed area of study by gender.	390
FIG.11/18	Knowledge of the higher education system by gender.	392
FIG.11/19	Reasons for choice at 18+ by gender.	394
FIG.12/1	Socio-economic grouping by institution	405
FIG.12/2	Socio-economic grouping by type of course, and mode of attendance.	406
FIG.12/3	Socio-economic structure of the survey by type of institution.	406
FIG.12/4	Socio-economic grouping, type of course, and mode of attendance.	407
FIG.12/5	Socio-economic structure of survey by L.E.A.	408
FIG.12/6	Higher education aspirations by socio-economic groupings.	410
FIG.12/7	Higher education aspiration by type of institution.	411
FIG.12/8	Higher education aspiration by type of course and mode of attendance.	412
FIG.12/9	Socio-economic background by type of dwelling.	416
FIG.12/10	Socio-economic background of one parent and large families.	417
FIG.12/11	Type of institution attended by students from one parent and large families.	418
FIG.12/12	Family circumstances by type of course and mode of attendance.	418
FIG.12/13	Type of institution by type of dwelling	419
FIG.12/14	Type of dwelling by type of course, and mode of attendance.	420
FIG.12/15	Gender by socio-economic group.	422
FIG.12/16	Gender by type of institution.	423
FIG.12/17	Gender by type of course and mode of attendance.	423

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(1) USED IN THE TEXT

'A' Level	Advanced Level, General Certificate of Education Examination.
A.E.O.	Assistant Education Officer.
A.P.R.	Average Participation Rate.
B.E.C.	Business Education Council.
C.E.O.	Chief Education Officer.
C.G.L.I.	City and Guilds of London Institute.
C.N.A.A.	Council for National Academic Awards.
C.S.E.	Certificate of Secondary Education.
D.E.S.	Department of Education and Science.
F.E.	Further Education.
G.C.E.	General Certificate of Education.
H.E.	Higher Education.
H.M.I.	Her Majesty's Inspector(ate).
I.L.E.A.	Inner London Education Authority.
I.S.O.C.	Independent Schools Careers Organisation.
I.T.B.	Industrial Training Board.
L.E.A.	Local Education Authority.
L.B.N.	London Borough of Newton.
M.S.C.	Manpower Services Commission.
N.A.T.F.H.E.	National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.
N.E.L.P.	North East London Polytechnic.
N.U.T.	National Union of Teachers.
'O' Level	Ordinary Level, General Certificate of Education Examination.
O.N.C.	Ordinary National Certificate.
O.N.D.	Ordinary National Diploma.
P.T.A.	Parent Teacher Association.
Q.L.R.	Qualified Leaver Rate.
Q.P.R.	Qualified Participation Rate.
R.C.	Roman Catholic.
R.O.S.L.A.	Raising of School Leaving Age.
S.E.O.	Senior Education Officer.
S.P.S.S.	Statistical Package for Social Scientists.
T.E.C.	Technical Education Council.
U.C.C.A.	Universities Central Council on Admissions.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

(2) USED IN DIAGRAMS

A.F.T.	Full time, Advanced Level, General Certificate of Education Examination Course.
A.P.T.	Part time, Advanced Level, General Certificate of Education Examination Course.
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEY	Architecture, Planning and Surveying Courses.
BAM	London Borough of Bamford.
COLL	College(s) of Further Education.
COMP	Comprehensive School(s).
DSD	Detached and Semi-Detached Housing.
F.T.	Full Time.
GS, GRAM	Grammar School(s).
IND.	Private Sector Schools.
NEW.	London Borough of Newton.
NOS.	Number(s).
OPF.	One Parent Family(ies).
OWN.	Owner Occupied Housing.
P.T.	Part Time.
RIS	London Borough of Rishworth.
RENT	Rented Accommodation.
SCL.	School(s)
THF, TFM.	Terraced Housing, Flats and Maisonettes.
VOC.F, VFT.	Full Time Vocational Course.
VOC.P, VPT.	Part Time Vocational Course.
5+	Families with five or more children.

CHAPTER ONE.

INTRODUCTION.

The main aim of a social science thesis is to search for, and establish, generally valid explanations of regularly recurring social phenomena. In order to establish these explanations in a convincing manner it is important that a number of procedures are followed. These are; (1) observation; (2) problem definition; (3) statement of hypothesis; (4) testing the hypothesis; and (5) drawing conclusions from these tests in relation to the original problem.

The purpose of observation is to identify problems, and this process can be as short as a casual glance or alternatively a concentrated detailed lengthy analysis. This thesis is concerned with the phenomenon of the shortfall in uptake of higher education by those in the post-compulsory sector of education, both in school sixth forms and further education.

Once the particular item, object, situation, process or fact in question has been observed, the next step is to clarify the nature of the problem and to define it in specific and detailed terms. The phenomenon of the shortfall is immediately contained within a number of circumstances, namely; the expansion of higher and further education since the war; the cutbacks in educational expenditure as a result of economic difficulties; the increase in youth unemployment; the national peak in the number of sixteen year olds in 1980; and the expectation of a decline each year until 1994.

The first observable phenomenon is the growth of higher and further education in the fifties, sixties and early seventies. In spite of the recent need of successive governments to cut public expenditure on education, as Wilby (1) points out:

"The mighty apparatus of education is one of the most striking creations of the twentieth century."

For example, the period between 1951 to 1975 saw expenditure rise from £2,360 million (1975 prices) to £6,840 million, which represents respectively 3.10% and 7.27% of G.N.P. While some of this expansion was determined by sheer numbers i.e. wider age groups within the span of compulsory education, the main reason for the increased expenditure was a rising demand for access to further and higher education. This demand, as Levitas (2) points out, has two great elemental sources in industrial society; the needs of the economy; the aspirations of the young and their parents.

The economy needed the expansion of post school education for a number of reasons. Firstly there has been an increasing application of specialised knowledge which means that training for most occupations is now no longer via 'on the job' methods but through concentrated systematic education over long periods of time. Secondly there has been an increasing number of occupations which require high academic attainment for entry. Finally, there has been an increase in the educational threshold. Thus while in the early part of the century it was possible to begin work in most professions at the age of fourteen,

now a degree plus professional training is necessary.

The social relationships that have arisen from these developments have created an occupational structure in which different occupations have attached to themselves different status and reward hierarchies. Recruitment to such occupations is, in turn, becoming increasingly based on the possession of degrees, certificates and diplomas.

Husen (3) claims that:

"the expedience value of educational credentials to employees also refers to the need for a device that objectively justifies the selection that is made."

He also adds that:

"selection according to credentials is regarded as a fair system with wide acceptance among both employers and employees."

The net result is that:

"the credentials determine the level of employment and this, in turn, the salary."

The result of these developments has meant, as Shipman (4) points out, that:

"peoples ambitions and aspirations for their children are unlimited and concentrated on the main means for fulfilment, the education system."

Therefore, the education system either meets or frustrates an individual's ambitions and in an industrial society becomes the main determinant of adult status. Education, therefore, has become the mechanism by which occupational aspirations are matched with ability and selection for the more desirable occupations takes place.

Halsey (5) claims that in an advanced industrial society it is inconceivable for such a selection mechanism not to exist.

Musgrove (6) points out that:

"if the education system is undertaking the selection function well, then the country will make the full use of the personal and intellectual qualities of the people."

Therefore, the existence of education as a method of selection has led to the development of an orthodoxy where education is seen as an instrument both of social mobility and of providing a means for rectifying social disadvantage. It should be noted, however, that there have always been routes by which the exceptionally able could move out of their strata, though often with considerable concomitant disadvantages, as for instance the Church in mediaeval western society.

Mobility through the education system is called 'inter-generational mobility' and occurs when a child from the working class achieves an extended education, and enters higher education. Inter-generational mobility is the main means of social mobility in Britain, replacing

the former method of intra-generational mobility, for example Clements (7) found that in the 1950's over 50 per cent of managers had worked their way up from the shop floor, but that since the start of the sixties most managers have entered first line management with high academic qualifications in both the private and public sectors. There is a connection, therefore, between the expansion of educational qualifications as a means of allocating roles and the decline of intra-generational mobility. What is arguable, however, is which one is cause and which is effect.

It must be pointed out that mobility does have its limits. These are; (i) the range setting the limits, i.e. one third have non-manual jobs, two thirds manual jobs, and not every one can move up; (ii) the difference in fertility rates; and (iii) the criteria for selection. With the range setting the limits, one direct result of the development of technology has been the creation of a wide range of tasks in the economy of a non-manual nature and a corresponding decrease in manual jobs. Donovan (8) showed that the numbers of white collar jobs had risen from 18.7 per cent in 1911 to 35.9 per cent in 1961, while conversely the number of blue collar jobs fell from 74.6 per cent to 59.3 per cent.

With reference to different fertility rates, it may be shown that manual workers have a tendency to have more children than non-manual workers. Thus even if there was no downward movement, and every child born to non-manual workers eventually occupied a non-manual

job, some children from the manual working class would have to become upwardly socially mobile. It must be noted, however, that there is a break in the social class gradient. Banks (9) found that the average number of children per family, in each socio-economic grouping, born to women married between 1920 - 1924 was as follows; Prof/Managerial 2.10; clerical workers 1.66; skilled manual workers 1.92; semi-skilled workers 2.16; and unskilled 2.55. However, a recent survey of the Office of Population, Censuses and Surveys has shown a significant change in the demographic pattern since 1970. The survey demonstrated that the annual rate of decrease in legitimate live births varied with social class. Live births, in thousands by social class of father, fell between 1970 and 1975 from 148 to 142 for social classes I and II but from 545 to 383 for social classes III, IV and V. This fact is important for any policy decisions on further and higher education.

These factors govern the amount of mobility and this, it must be noted, is largely independent of education. The importance of education is its function as an agency of social mobility. Thus the method of selecting whom should be upwardly mobile depends to a large extent on the education system. This has led to the concepts of social mobility and equality of educational opportunities being seen as a key problem of social policy for some considerable time. MacClure (10) has outlined some 52 Acts, Reports, Commissions and Codes on education from 1816 to 1968. The major purpose of these, from whichever source they originate, has been to give greater access to

a larger number of individuals to as extended an education as possible.

Prior to 1828, the only formal higher education available in England and Wales was offered by the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, and this was available only to male members of the Church of England. There were, of course, large numbers of 'non-conformist' institutions but these lacked any formal recognition. In 1828 the University College London was set up by the increasingly powerful 'middle class' of free church industrialists and, as a result of the Royal Commissions on Oxford and Cambridge (1852) (11), first Oxford (1854) and then Cambridge (1856) removed religious restrictions on entry. In the meantime, the first women's college, Bedford, was set up (1840) with training colleges in North London (1850) and Cheltenham (1858) following. Girton College, Cambridge was founded in 1869 (although it was not until the 1920's that they were able to award degrees) and Bedford achieved university status in 1878. As the twentieth century progressed more and more university colleges were opening their doors to women.

Allowing for World War Two, university education continued to expand during the thirties and forties. Student numbers rose from 1.7 per cent of the age group in 1938 to 4.1 per cent in 1963, occasioned by the expansions of existing universities and the opening of new ones. In 1963 the Robbins Report (12) was published which advanced what

came to be known as 'the Robbins Principle', namely;

"Higher Education should be available for all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so."

Robbins envisaged a rise in student numbers from 8 per cent of the age group in 1963 to 17 per cent in 1980. Both major political parties were committed to the proposals contained in the report but as the Labour Party won the 1964 election and held power until 1970 it became responsible for implementation.

However, the Wilson administration did not follow all the recommendations of Robbins and on April 27th, 1965, the Secretary of State for Education and Science announced the 'dual' system of higher education. The Teacher Training Colleges were kept under L.A. control (Robbins recommended their transfer to universities) although they were given the Robbins title of 'Colleges of Education'. Also, the colleges, where numbers of students had doubled from 1955 to 62,000, were to be able to award the degree of B.Ed., validated by local universities. Furthermore, the proposal that ten Regional Colleges of Technology be given charters was turned down and instead the local authority sector was to be strengthened and degree work validated by the newly formed Council for National Academic Awards (C.N.A.A.). This policy has led to the development of the so called 'binary' system. On the other hand, new universities were built,

the Colleges of Advanced Technology (C.A.Ts.) given charters, and the 'Redbrick Universities' expanded. However, it should be noted that with reference to Universities, Robbins accelerated rather than instigated the expansion - in 1953/4 there were 80,602 university students, in 1961/2 pre Robbins 113,143 and in 1967/8 200,121 (13). There are now 45 Universities in Britain, including the Open University (O.U.), compared with 17 in 1954. In England and Wales higher education provision outside universities is concentrated within 30 polytechnics and some 50 plus institutes and colleges of higher education (formed mainly from the ex-colleges of education after the mid seventies).

The Robbins Report predicted 390,000 full time students by 1973/4. There were more than 480,000. The 1970 education planning paper No.2 estimated 648,000 by 1976 and 844,000 by 1981. In December 1972 the White Paper 'Education for Expansion' (14) still included provision for a continuing expansion of higher education which would bring the total of places to about 750,000, despite a downward revision on the 1970 estimates. In the mid 1970's, however, the climate began to change, and three separate, but related, phenomena could be observed; firstly a levelling off of demand for higher education places; secondly cutbacks in education expenditure; and thirdly the development of an ideology opposed to mass higher education.

In 1976, 516,000 students actually enrolled in higher education c.f. the 648,000 forecast by the 1970 paper (15) and the public expenditure

White Paper of 1978 (16) envisaged 560,000 for 1981. Furthermore, this modest rise in total numbers masked a fall in the percentage of the age group because the numbers of eighteen year olds in the population rose as a result of the 'bulge of the late fifties'. Predicting that the total number of eighteen year olds would decrease after 1982 the 1975 Government Expenditure Paper (17) advanced the following reasons for the decline:

"First the birth rate projections are lower. Secondly, the latest evidence shows that earlier forecasts of the number of children staying on at school beyond the statutory school-leaving age were too high. Thirdly, the numbers of pupils qualified to enter higher education is now expected to increase less rapidly than in earlier projections and, of those who are qualified, fewer seem likely now to enter it so that the continuing expansion of higher education will be at a slower rate."

This same White Paper envisaged that after the fall in expenditure (in real terms) between 1975/6 and 1977/8 (occasioned by the oil crisis of the mid-seventies) public expenditure overall would resume a pattern of extremely modest expansion in real terms from 1978/9 onwards ($2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent in 1978/9, 2 per cent in 1979/80 and below 1 per cent in 1981/2). However, it was significant that, in spite of the projected increase in education expenditure it would not return to the level of 1976/7 and by the end of the period under consideration, 1981/2, capital expenditure would be running at a greatly reduced level.

At the same time as the cutback in education expenditure, and the falling off of student numbers, there developed an ideological stance against mass higher education. As T.E. Chester (18) argues:

"Nobody would wish to see developments in education solely concerned with preparing people for remunerative employment and doubts are beginning to be voiced when school leavers are advised to choose higher education if they are merely seeking in this way to get a better paid job. Already in 1971 higher degrees were offering extremely little in the way of any 'economic rate of return.'"

In 1974, the Unit for Manpower Studies of the Department of Employment (19) concluded that over the last ten years the salaries of first degree graduates had also slumped in relation to lesser qualified employees, and that in the long run, more and more people with higher education would have to take less attractive jobs than graduates in the past. Furthermore, in 1975 the Central Services Unit for Careers and Appointments Services reported that approximately 6 per cent of the total graduates with a first degree were still unemployed, compared with 3 per cent in 1974.

Government policy in 1980 appeared to require a cut back in education provision to meet the predicted lower level of student members.

The Government attempted to achieve this by means of monetary policies, including a 'level funding' policy for universities, the 'capping' of the further education pool, cash limits for education spending in local authorities, and 'full economic' fees for overseas students.

This latter case is important and continues the policy established by the previous Labour government. Overseas student numbers increased significantly during the seventies. In 1966/67 the number of overseas students in higher education was 24,900 (17,200 in Universities, 7,800 in local authority higher education). This had risen to 55,400 in 1976/77 (34,100 Universities, 21,300 local authority). However, over the past four years, in response to government policies on quotas and fees, the numbers of overseas students in higher education has been falling steadily.

There is, however, an opposing theory to that of ever decreasing numbers of students in higher education. Firstly a major factor in the relative recession is the deliberate curtailment of teacher-training, and it is optimistic to suppose that there could be an automatic shift of teacher-training recruits into other forms of higher education since many of them did not have the minimum qualifications for entry to degree courses. The rest of the system has actually been expanding very steadily at a rate of about 4.5 per cent per annum, compounded right up to the date of the latest statistics. Secondly, the Universities Central Council for Admissions (U.C.C.A.) reports an increase of 5 per cent in applications from women this year (1980). Thirdly, the demand from mature students for higher education has been rising, and as the proportion of school-leavers going directly into higher education has dropped during the late seventies, the pool of people in the population who are, or who could easily become, qualified for higher education, but

have not yet applied, has been increased.

Finally, there is the question of differential social class entry into higher education. Examination of the social statistics shows that higher education expansion from 1955 to 1975 was due largely to an unprecedented rise in the participation rate of the professional and managerial class. The participation rate of manual workers has remained relatively constant over the last ten years. In 1967 the percentage of students from professional, technical and managerial homes at university was 44 per cent, by 1969 this had risen to 46 per cent, by 1975 it was 51 per cent and by 1978 53 per cent. The comparable percentage for children of manual workers are 28 per cent, 27 per cent, 25 per cent and 23 per cent.(20). Thus it might be assumed that the pool of untapped working class talent is far larger than the expansionists of the 1960's believed. All that remains is the method of tapping that talent, which is one of the major concerns of this thesis.

This theory claims that the decision to forgo higher education is not a sensible one for able youngsters. It claims that such a decision depresses their future earnings, restricts the personal satisfaction that they will derive from their jobs in terms of promotion and responsibility, and reduces the contribution they are able to make to the economy and the community. Furthermore, there is a danger that the higher education system may be manipulated to fit the mould of a decaying industrial society, instead of being reformed to play a

central role in the post-industrial society of the future.

The effects of this latter possibility are already being felt.

Sir Richard O'Brien, Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission (21), has warned that unless Britain transforms the way it trains its workers, it will cease to be an industrial trading power of any importance by the end of the eighties. Apart from Ireland, Britain has the highest proportion amongst Western countries of school leavers receiving neither an apprenticeship, nor any full time vocational education as a preparation for a job, and it has the lowest proportion of apprentices in the working population. In this country as many as 44 per cent of young people go on to the labour market or unemployment straight from school with no training at all, while 14 per cent win an apprenticeship and 10 per cent go into full time vocational education. This compares with only 6 per cent going into the workforce without any training in Germany and 19 per cent in France. In the U.S.A., 66 per cent of school leavers proceed to some form of post secondary education.

This relationship between the economy and the education system is complex but two tendencies are discernable: (i) a demand for more prolonged education of a general nature for everybody and; (ii) a move towards emphasis on technological education. The first trend rests on the argument of educating the whole man. The object of employment is the product; in education it is the process that matters. The second trend rests on the fact that in a materialist society the

survival of that society is largely dependent upon transfer of skills, knowledge and techniques of manufacture, agriculture, medicine, transport, etc. Also, in a materialist society, occupational training is a very important part of education if a person's standard of living is almost entirely dependent upon his or her earnings.

A crucial factor in this respect is the level of technical education. In Britain this availability has traditionally been either too little or generally problematic, with technical education being seen as the poor relation of the system. However, post war Britain saw the growth of the use of technical colleges to meet the shortfall created by the universities inability to meet current needs and the Percy Report (22) of 1945 advocated the upgrading of the best technical colleges to university status. In 1956 Circular 305 (23) resulted in the creation of the previously mentioned C.A.Ts. It also resulted in a re-classification of Further Education which was used by Robbins (24) in his comprehensive survey of higher education published in 1963. Robbins proposed expanding the existing universities, the granting of charters to C.A.T's and Scottish Central Institutions and the creation of six new universities.

The following year a White Paper (a Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges) announced the Government's intention to designate 30 institutions formed from Regional Colleges of Technology, Colleges of Art and Colleges of Commerce, as Polytechnics. However, in most respects this (like previous technological educational developments)

has been merely cosmetic and has done little to revise attitudes and change views about the status of different curricular areas. Furthermore, it is clear that the status of the technological (usually public) sector has been, and still is, lower than the 'classic' based sector.

Some of the consequences of this for the economic and vocational needs of the country, have been a hierarchy of subjects in schools, separate (usually meaning second rate) institutions for technical education with a class-limited, narrow and intellectually inferior quality of intake and curriculum and less pay and fewer promotion opportunities for teachers of technical subjects. Other European countries, notably France and Germany, though heirs to the same classical-humanist tradition as the U.K. and, therefore, subject to similar constraints on the school curriculum, have, nonetheless, managed to fit more closely some of the socio-economic and vocational needs of society, to give prestige and high material rewards to engineers, technologists and technicians at different levels. The greater industrial and technological advance made in these two countries is proof of the different attitudes they have towards education and the increased opportunities they provide for it.

One other point needs to be mentioned here. The discussion has been mainly about production. Education, however, can also relate to the economy on the consumption side. Education can help children become more discerning consumers as the most efficient allocation

and usage of scarce resources is based upon knowledgeable and rational choice.

Arising out of the weakness of the economy is the question of youth unemployment. This is closely tied up with 16 - 19 education.

Lord Alexander of Potterhill, (25) former secretary of the Association of Education Committees, speaking at the North of England education conference (1979) claimed that teenage unemployment would become a permanent feature for Britain, because there was less need for unskilled 16 to 19 year olds.

In some areas as many as one in four young people are without a job. In January 1979, according to the Manpower Services Commission, some 55,300 boys and 52,500 girls under the age of twenty were registered as unemployed, and these numbers have increased steadily since that date. The main reasons for the current high level of youth unemployment is that economic recessions hit young people harder than the rest of the working population. There are numerous causes of this; for example young people are often the first to be made redundant; and measures, such as the Employment Protection Act, have had the effect of strengthening employee rights at the expense of younger workers. Today many young people fall foul of the 'last in - first out' rule and find they are the cheapest to make redundant as they do not warrant large compensation awards.

However, the main problem, as Lord Alexander pointed out, is that

young people are adversely affected by the structural changes taking place in the Labour market. These changes mean that even if the British economy picks up, the level of youth unemployment is unlikely to slow and appreciably drop. One factor in this has been the decline in the demand for unskilled labour, particularly in manufacturing industries that are a major source of employment for young people, especially those with few qualifications. New plant shows a tendency to be capital intensive and demand for manual labour is dwindling each year. Furthermore, the shrinking number of jobs for young people in the private sector has been accentuated by recent government cutbacks which have reduced opportunities for young people in the public sector.

A further problem for young people is the change in employers' recruitment policy. In the past, many employers took on young inexperienced workers because they were less expensive to employ than older workers. However, several factors, including the raising of the school leaving age, government pay policies and legislation to give women equal pay, have made young people more expensive to employ.

This fall in the demand for young workers will be accentuated by the increase in the number of 16 year olds entering the labour market. The government's Actuary Department estimates that not until 1988 will the number of 16 year olds in the population return closer to present levels. In 1976 there were 756,000 while the estimate for

1984 is 789,000 and for 1988, 753,000. Furthermore, the National Youth Employment Council in its 1975 report stated that 'young people who leave school at sixteen without examination successes are less likely to find, or to keep, jobs at times of rising unemployment.' This can be contrasted with figures for university graduate employment published by the Central Services Unit in Manchester in July, 1979 which showed a fall in unemployment among new university graduates from 5.6 per cent in 1977 to 4.7 per cent in 1978. The survey also showed the highest ever percentage of new graduates going straight into jobs last year (1980) although the total number of new graduates had increased by 3,000 to 63,056.

This diminishing need for unskilled 16 to 19 year olds is part of a general decrease in demand for unskilled labour. An analysis of the 1,896,634 unemployed in July, 1980 shows that for males 396,676 were general labourers or similar, 131,011 were craft or allied occupations and only 71,564 managerial and professional. The evidence suggests that manual workers without a skill are the primary victims of the slump. These figures reflect a significant change in employment patterns during the seventies with vacancies that might be filled by the unskilled and semi-skilled males drying up. The pattern is the same for women workers. Of 397,407 registered unemployed females as many as 120,259 were classified as clerical (or related occupations) a category of occupations female school leavers seek. At the same time graduate unemployment has not noticeably worsened and may even be improving. Certainly, relative to general unemploy-

ment, graduate unemployment is negligible. Furthermore, in 1977, over half of all males aged 20 - 64, with a university education, reported gross annual earnings exceeding £5 thousand, compared to a quarter of those with other forms of post-school full time education and only about 10 per cent of those whose full time education ended at the minimum leaving age (26).

Yet, in spite of these considerations, there is an apparent decline in enthusiasm for higher education amongst potential customers. The most visible manifestation of this decline has been the fall in the Age Participation Rate (APR) - an indication used by the D.E.S. in monitoring and planning higher education policy, which, broadly speaking, measures the proportion of people aged 18 in Great Britain in any one year who enter higher education. According to Roweth (27) who has analysed latest D.E.S. statistics the APR rate has been steadily falling since 1972/73.

However, the method of calculation used to obtain the APR is somewhat limited by the student categories used in the D.E.S. records. For example, the APR as defined above is not strictly consistent with the Robbins concept of those qualified for entry to courses of higher education i.e. those with two A levels or equivalent, since the number of young home initial entrants include entrants to teacher training courses, many of whom, during the sixties and early seventies, had less than two A levels. However, a modified APR produced by the D.E.S in September, 1980 does take account of this anomaly and has excluded those entrants to teacher training courses with less than two A levels.

The pattern shown by this modified APR is somewhat different from that of the traditional APR in that it has not declined since 1972/3, but has remained more or less level. Thus, the decline in the APR on the old definition can be completely accounted for by the declining numbers of entrants to teacher training with less than two A levels and is largely attributable to the Government's planned reduction in teacher training.

However, the fact remains that even on the modified APR the numbers have remained static whereas they may have been expected to rise given the circumstances previously mentioned. Furthermore, within the aggregate APR figures entry to different categories of higher education exhibited different trends.

The rate at which young people entered university courses rose from approximately $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent to approximately 7 per cent from 1966 to 1970, but then more slowly to approximately $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by 1977, since when it has remained stable. Within this total the figures for male and female university entrants differ. For men the rate has remained stable at just over 9 per cent since 1970, while the rate for women has continued to rise from about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the 18 year old age group in 1966/7 to just under 6 per cent in 1978/9. Rates of entry to other courses showed a steady increase for both men and women, both levelling off at just under 5 per cent for men and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent for women in 1966/7. It is only teacher training which has suffered an actual fall in its participation rates. It should be noted that the average European APR is 14 per cent.

However, the APR only makes sense if it is analysed on the basis of its being the product of two separate rates which measure different processes within the education system. These are the qualified leaver rate (QLR) i.e. the percentage of people who leave school or further education college with two or more A levels, and the qualified participation rate (QPR) which is the percentage of qualified leavers who proceed to higher education. An analysis of the behaviour of these rates shows that the stability of APR since the early 1970s is the product of opposite trends in these rates. The percentage of qualified school leavers increased steadily throughout the seventies, but the percentage of qualified leavers who entered higher education decreased by 9 per cent between 1970 and 1979.

As with the APR there are differences between male and females with reference to QLR and QPR. The QLR rate for females stood at only two-thirds of that for men in 1966/7. Both rates rose rapidly during the late sixties, but during the seventies the QLR for men changed very little whilst that for women went on rising. The QPR rate for qualified women shows the opposite trend however. After reaching a peak of almost 83 per cent at the end of the sixties, the QPR for women fell throughout the seventies to under 73 per cent. The QPR for men rose from 88 per cent in 1966/7 to 94 per cent in 1969/70, falling back to 86.5 per cent in 1978/9. There is evidence to suggest both male and female rates were beginning an upward turn in 1979/80.

The fact that the overall APR for females continued to rise, albeit slowly, during the seventies, was entirely due to the increased proportion of females acquiring two or more A levels, which just counter balanced the decline in participation by qualified women. For men, a very slight increase in the qualification rate and slower fall off in participation by qualified men produced an almost stationary APR of around 14 per cent throughout the 1970s.

These figures show that one in nine males and one in four females out of those qualified to enter education do not take up that option. The QPR has been called the opportunity/willingness rate because it reflects both the availability of places or opportunities and the willingness of those with the necessary qualifications to enter higher education. Thus, there would appear that there is a decrease in the 'willingness' part of the equation at a time when it would seem logical for a large increase.

In the light of all these factors, this thesis looks at the aspirations of students in 'sixteen to nineteen' education in three outer London boroughs. It enquires why they have chosen to continue their education, whether they aspire to higher education or work and why, and the various factors that influenced them in their decision. Analysis is made in terms of L.E.A. area, type of institution attended, mode of attendance and type of course, socio-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of dwelling and gender.

The population of the study is drawn from three local authorities in north east London. It is essentially a local study. As Byrne and Williamson (28) point out:

"The study of (educational achievement) has fruitfully concerned itself with the influence of family, language, culture and national policy, but the crucial local level has been almost entirely neglected."

This thesis attempts to remedy this situation and to investigate the nature of the problem stated and its possible solution by testing the following hypothesis:

"Aspirations for higher education are constant with regard to:

- (1) L.E.A. Areas, educational institutions, type of course and mode of attendance, and
- (11) socio-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of residence and gender."

The nature of social problems such as the non-uptake of post-compulsory education cannot, however, be investigated without regard to the various theoretical standpoints that purport to explain such problems. The next chapter analyses these various standpoints.

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CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The phenomenon of non take-up of post-school education has been diagnosed by educators, politicians and social scientists as a "social problem" and it is a basic assumption of this thesis that: both the process of definition of social phenomena as social problems, and the resultant social policy, is not neutral, but value based. The way an individual, or group of individuals, view the economic, political, and social environment in which they live affects both their views on what constitutes a social problem and what should be society's response to that problem. This thesis, therefore, posits that theories of society, of the state, of social problems, and of social policy are inter-related and, that the view a person has about societal organisation and the distribution of economic and political power will affect explanations of the nature of social problems.

There are two basic views about the nature of society which can be categorised as (i) conflict and (ii) functionalist.

The conflict theorist sees social problems as primarily the product of social conflicts involving the economic interests and the value systems of competing population groups and social classes. Goldthorpe (1) claims that social problems arise out of social inequality, which can be thought of as:

"Involving differences in social power and advantage: power being defined as the capacity to mobilise resources (human and non-human) in order to bring about a desired state of affairs; and advantage as the possession of or control over whatever in

society is valued and scarce. Power and advantage are thus clearly related. Power can be used to secure advantage, while certain advantages constitute the resources that are used in the exercise of power."

Townsend (2) claims that a capitalist society is by definition unequal, therefore there is conflict because peoples' expectations can never be fulfilled. There is also a whole industry, advertising, geared to raising expectations, which means that a set of goals are given to society's members with an unequal distribution of the means of obtaining them, because power and advantage are unevenly distributed. Westergaard (3) calls this 'the built-in potentiality for conflict'.

The functionalist theory, in comparison, emphasises stability, order, equilibrium, the functional relationship of the various parts of the social system, the pluralistic view of the distribution of power in society, and the notion of the impartial state. There is thus a collectivity of culture and patterns of social behaviour with problems being caused by deviant groups or social disorganisation.

Social disorganisation is caused, according to Nisbet and Merton (4), by three phenomena; (i) breakdowns in channels of effective communication between people in a social system; (ii) defects in the process of socialisation; and (iii) faulty arrangements of competing social demands upon people. Deviant behaviour is divided into non-conformism (not normally a problem) and aberrant behaviour (which is),

although what is non-confirmist and what is aberrant will largely depend on societal definition and is not inherent in the deviance. There is, however, a link between social disorganisation and deviance. As George and Wilding (5) put it:

"It is acknowledged that disorganisation and deviance are related and under certain circumstances they can induce each other."

The key concept for the functionalist theoretician is deprivation. The main theorists of social deprivation are Talcott Parsons (6), who claims that there are societally approved goods and societally approved means of obtaining them, and deprivation occurs when people are denied the means of obtaining the goals, and Merton (7) who describes deprivation as any and all the ways that an individual or group may be, or feel, disadvantaged in comparison either with other individuals or groups or with an internalised set of standards. As Holman (8) points out, a deprived person is any person living in a material or emotional situation,

"generally regarded as causing hardship by comparison with the rest of the community."

The discussion paper "The deprived Child" (9) points out that social deprivation is concentrated in three main areas; income; housing; and family/home circumstances. However, it is not just the existence of these (three) conditions that is most significant,

it is their concentration. This leads to 'multiple-deprivation':

"For instance children who live in poor housing tend also to come from overcrowded accommodation in depressed inner city areas and have a father doing unskilled or semi-skilled manual work."

The connection between the three areas of deprivation is well documented. Bromley has an infant mortality rate of 12.4 per 1000 for example, compared with Lambeth's rate of 20.8 per 1000. As Wedge and Prosser (10) point out:

"one in sixteen (children) suffered adversity after adversity heaped upon them before birth; their health was poorer; the school attainment lower; and their physical environment worse in almost every way than that of ordinary children."

For the conflict theorist the place of the education system within post-industrial society is crucial but anomalous. As well as being the means by which a society transmits its culture and places individuals creating mobility the education system can also be used to reinforce the power structure, since within a social structure there will be a complex of interest groups and sub systems, and those who benefit from the structure are likely to wish to maintain their advantage. Thus they will try and maintain it by ensuring that the means by which the individual is socialised are not destructive to their position. Thus as Worsley (11) states:

"The growth of education is linked, not only to economic rationality, but also to the way power is distributed in society. Education becomes increasingly important for determining entrance into occupation (hence) education is one means of social stratification and of social mobility. This being the case, those that enjoy a favourable position in society are likely to maintain it for their children through securing them a privileged education."

Swift (12) agrees with this argument. He points out that one important aspect of maintaining the established order is the preservation of the social class system. He argues that education does this in two ways. In the first place particular kinds of schools can be reserved for children from particular sectors of the population who are then given special access to the occupational structure on the basis of having attended these schools. For example, an Institute of Directors survey in 1966 found that 20 per cent of all managers, 40 per cent of senior managers, and 50 per cent of top managers had been to public school, and Glennester and Pryke (13) found that the majority of 'top people', Judges, Bankers, Military, etc., had been to public school. In 1966 the percentage of public school educated recruits to the Administrative class of the Civil Service was 70 per cent compared with 58 per cent in 1957-63. The second method of maintaining the social order is through the selection process by schools on the basis of social class attitudes that children bring with them. The role of the educational institution, therefore, can be stated as: (i) the transmission of non-vocational knowledge within a

particular ideological framework which serves to perpetuate existing social relationships; (ii) the construction of new knowledge via research within the same framework; (iii) the training of a selected few for leadership and authority in the main spheres of state and civil society and; (iv) the training and reproduction of a large body of technical, scientific and administrative wage labour. The exercise of these functions has been the responsibility of particular institutions within the education system. Although the situation is more complex than various institutions performing just one role the following pattern can be discerned. All institutions are involved in the first role but this is mainly the role of the schools and universities; the second role belongs to the universities; the third role is mainly the province of the 'public' schools and Oxbridge; and the fourth role is mainly the province of technical colleges, further education colleges, institutes of higher education and polytechnics.

Despite the variety of institutions which compose the education system there are certain general features which characterise it in Britain. These are, according to Bloomfield (14):

- (i) restrictive access to post-school education with a class bias which mitigates against working class children at all stages and a sex bias which mitigates against women;
- (ii) an internal and external organisation which is hierarchical and undemocratic;
- (iii) a pedagogic style of which the major feature is authoritarianism, and

- (iv) given that the transmission and extension of knowledge within a given ideological framework forms one of the primary purposes of education, theories which transcend or challenge this framework are rarely presented.

However conflict theorists, in the main, would also argue that although established through the medium of the state, the educational system cannot be equated with the armed forces, police or judiciary as an oppressive weapon of the state, even if it contains such an element. The organised labour movement has consistently fought for universal compulsory education, and once established, has sought consistently to transform it - to render it more democratic, more open, more appropriate to the aspirations of working people. Thus, while those with economic and political power see (and historically have seen) education as a means of social control, the labour movement sees education (and has done so historically) as one means of economic and political emancipation. Furthermore, the labour movement, and its allies, such as progressive educationalists, see education as formative i.e. as the means by which the younger generation may develop their personality, abilities and skills to the fullest potential. Education can therefore, be seen as embodying opposing objectives and conflicts will necessarily arise within it.

Within the conflict paradigm the pressure to develop mass education was seen as dangerous but necessary as long as the education system could be controlled by those with political and economic power.

During the 19th century there was a continual consciousness of the 'dangers' and numerous reports such as the Schools Commission of 1868 (15) emphasised the need for a class basis for education, so that individuals should not be educated beyond their expectations. The 'poor', according to a Parliamentary debate of 1820 quoted in Cotgrove, (16):

"ought to be made sensible and for this purpose the humble schools prepared for him are sufficient."

At the same time there existed the private sector of education in which the elite were trained, namely the 'public schools' and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

The change, therefore, to universal education started and received impetus outside the system and education expanded warily and tightly controlled. Jules Henry (17) would argue that this is necessarily so.

"The function of education has never been to free the mind and spirit of men but to bind them Throughout most of his historic course homo sapiens has wanted from his children acquiescence not originality."

The pressure for mass education did, however, result in the development of a distinct education system disposing of a significant proportion of the Gross National Product (G.N.P.). The class distinction was maintained throughout this development by the

continuing system of public schools and separate training for teachers of various sectors of education.

It was not until the present century that free and compulsory education was finally achieved, a process that started with the 1870 Act (18) and reached fruition with the 1944 Butler Education Act (19). Until this Act came into force the vast majority of children were restricted to elementary school education and research carried out in 1931 by Carr-Saunders and Jones (20) showed that of the population aged 11-14 less than twenty per cent succeeded in obtaining secondary school education. During the twentieth century, however, both technological and economic structures had grown increasingly complex. In addition, the changing political structure had meant that the 19th century certainty about the necessary inequality of education provision was no longer a tenable position. Thus the development of the economic structure led to increasing political power for the working class who, allied with progressive educationalists, were able to obtain concessions from the ruling elite, normally in the form of expansion of provision.

The impact of this expansion has been an increase in the absolute numbers of working class pupils in post compulsory education. However, the working class may be relatively worse off than in the 1930s, and it is argued by Bourdieu (21) and Willis (22), amongst others, that in practice the system operates as a selective winnowing device, distributing life chances, allowing a strictly controlled

degree of social mobility, fitting the new generation into the existing occupational structure or ensuring the reproduction of social relations. A typical example of this situation can be seen by a reference to medical education.

Recruitment into the medical profession has always been from a tiny privileged minority. A significant proportion of students admitted to medical schools come from families in which at least one member is a doctor and the vast majority come from professional backgrounds. The Royal College of Surgeons in evidence to the Pilkington Commission (23) stated:

"There has always been a nucleus in medical schools of students from cultured homes This nucleus has been responsible for the continued high social prestige of the profession as a whole and for the maintenance of medicine as a learned profession. Medicine would lose immeasurably if the proportion of such students were to be reduced in favour of the precocious children who qualify for subsidies from local authorities and the State purely on examination results."

Evidence produced in 1968 (24) purported to show that recruitment, if anything, has become less democratic and open and the study of the social background and academic performance of students at a major London teaching hospital in 1971 revealed that only 5.6 per cent of students come from social classes C, D and E (82 per cent of the total population) and 33 per cent had one parent in medicine (0.1 per cent of the population). 57 per cent of doctors' offspring were asked to obtain less than three 'C' grades at 'A' level

compared with only 29.5 per cent of other students. Finally, Cruickshank and McManus (25) demonstrated that, in the early seventies, at Birmingham University, entry into medicine was increasingly non-meritocratic.

Conflict theories, however, tend to err on the side of generality. For example broad bands such as 'middle' and 'working' class tend to obscure the particular circumstances of particular individuals within these broad based categories. Also, there are problems in using social class as a measure of educational achievement. The first problem is obtaining a definition of social class. Most classifications are based on occupational categorisation which in turn are derived from occupational titles. There are, however, disparities such as differences in formal education, consumption patterns, and attitudes within occupational categories and even within occupations. Also a family's class is often defined by the fathers occupation, the mothers is not mentioned, although it may well be crucial in educational attainment as pointed out by Jackson and Marsden (26) in their study of Huddersfield.

The functionalist argument is that the lack of take-up of post-sixteen education is the result of a complexity of factors distinct but inter-related. Class is an important factor, although only one. Other factors include housing conditions, family deprivation and low income. Also, some functionalists advance the argument that it is the quality of the school which is important in determining children's

educational success or failure and not necessarily the home. The argument continues that each factor 'feeds' on the next causing multi-faceted deprivation.

The functionalist explanation for the growth in education acknowledges the role of the labour movement and progressive educationalists but claims that the main reason for the development is considerations of stability, order and equilibrium. If an industrial society's occupations are arranged in an order of worth, then any investigation of the educational process must take account of the fact that the social division of labour, as distinct from the technical division, extends the term "occupation" to include the various social classes or strata. One complication arising from this, is that some positions emanating from a division of labour in a society, carry with them considerable "power" which can be defined as a social practice in which the characteristics of some roles enable their actors to manipulate and control actors in other roles. Another complication is that this power is associated with claims to wealth and privilege at the expense of the rest of society. Thus one position or occupation is more or less desirable than others.

This raises a problem for any society. As Turner (27) points out:

"Every society must cope with the problem of maintaining loyalty to its social system the most conspicuous control problem is that of ensuring loyalty of the disadvantaged classes toward a system in which their members receive less than a proportional share of society's goods."

This is achieved, according to Turner, by a combination of futuristic orientation, the norm of ambition and a general sense of fellowship with the elite. A futuristic orientation cannot, of course, be inculcated without the means for possible achievement of an elite position. Hence the concepts of 'social mobility' and 'educational opportunity for all' become so important. Turner says there are two methods of selecting children for an elite status; contest and sponsored. In a sponsored system recruits are selected and allocated as early as possible to elite positions so that they may be exposed for as long as possible to the socialisation processes necessary to develop elite qualities. In a contest system elite status is acquired by contestants using a wide range of strategies over a range of time. In functionalist terms this is the basis of the debate about comprehensive education.

Swift (28) points out that education is one of the main methods by which society maintains the established order, via socialisation, and Durkhiem (29) discussing the transition from traditional to industrial society says that education has become the main integrative institution. Thus there is a need to expand education and give all the equal opportunity to benefit from it. The means of reinforcing social cohesion, therefore, is to make entry into the higher occupational status more meritocratic and in terms of the deprived this means breaking the cycle of deprivation.

The deep rooted belief that deprivation is transmitted has led to

some attempts to interrupt the cycle, particularly in schools and the question of educational opportunity is considered crucial in any policy concerned with breaking the cycle of deprivation. Rutter and Madge (30), however, cast considerable doubt on the present policy of positive discrimination in favour of certain educational priority areas (E.P.A's). In Inner London schools, for example, most disadvantaged children are not in the priority area schools and even within such schools most children are not disadvantaged according to one study by Barnes and Lucas (31). They also found that, although there have been marked continuities in disadvantage over time, e.g. regional continuities, and these patterns constitute a form of cycle of deprivation, in no case is continuity through families as such. Even in regions where continuity is strongest many individuals break out of the cycle and furthermore many people have become deprived without having been reared by disadvantaged parents.

Rutter and Madge (32) concede, however, that there are undoubtedly continuities over time.

"Over a decade at least, variations between schools in delinquency rates have shown to be remarkably persistent, (and) there are moderate continuities over two generations."

The main criticism of the functionalist theory is, that the measurement of need by broad categories brings whole sections of the population within the orbit of official definitions simply by virtue

of their age, status or nationality, e.g. primary school children, the handicapped, or immigrants. These are more often defined as 'client groups', 'in need' or 'at risk' than as 'citizens' with 'rights'. Thus they can be labelled as lame ducks in need of help. This can become self-fulfilling. This leads to the process of 'blaming the victim' as Ryan (33) puts it:

"(The functionalist theoretician) can concentrate his interest on the defects of the victim, condemn the vague social and environmental stresses that produced the defect It is a brilliant ideology for justifying a perverse form of social action designed to change not society, but rather society's victim."

This present thesis attempts to synthesise the two approaches by attempting to ascertain which factors affect the decision of individuals to stay on into post compulsory education and which factors would appear to be significant in the decision to enter higher education. The population of this study is therefore, not a group of people with particular characteristics, but rather all those people attending sixth forms and further education colleges, both full and part-time, within a defined geographic area. Furthermore, the approach is a dialectical one positing analysis by one theory against analysis by the other.

The differences between the conflict and functionalist approaches and in particular the key concepts of inequality (conflict) and

deprivation (functionalist) are used throughout the thesis. It was also of crucial importance in deciding the research methodology, both in the structure of the thesis and in the organisation of the questionnaires and interviews.

Having established the theoretical background to the problem of non-take up of post compulsory education, the next stage is to analyse the institutional structure of sixteen to nineteen provision.

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CHAPTER THREE

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS.

3.1 16 - 19 Education in Schools.

In 1959 The Crowther Report (1) urged continued expansion of sixth forms, the provision of grants for school post 16 students and the broadening of the curriculum away from the traditional 'A' level course. However, the report was not immediately acted upon, mainly because of resource implications. In 1964 an attempt was made by the Schools Council to rationalise sixth form curriculum and examinations. Two working parties were established which reported, in Working Papers 45 and 46, on two schemes; the N. & F. proposals and the C.E.E. proposals (2), (3). To date neither of these has had Ministerial approval, although the latter has been run experimentally since 1974. Similarly, grants for the 6th formers still have not been ratified on a national basis.

The Crowther report was followed by the Robbins Report (4) on Higher Education in 1963, with its expectation of ever increasing numbers and higher education as a right for all students who could benefit. It was expected that the proportion of the age group continuing in full-time education after 18 would rise from 8 per cent to 17 per cent by 1980. This expansion had its effect on schools 6th forms with an increase in numbers and change in type of student. By 1975, 23.6 per cent of students in first year sixth were not studying any 'A' levels (5) and the Schools Council was urging that the needs of these students warranted recognition.

Even in the 1960's, however, the pattern was not uniform in the U.K. The Inner London Education Authority (I.L.E.A.) for example, was already meeting trends against those found nationally. A survey (6) in January, 1968 found that there were 15,092 students in the Lower Sixth forms, of whom 65 per cent were studying for 'A' level G.C.E.s. These students were concentrated in 208 schools with 25 per cent having more than 100 students and 25 per cent less than 30 students. The I.L.E.A. was concerned about these small groups in their 11-18 comprehensives. They suggested the co-ordination of non-selective schools with small numbers with Colleges of F.E. or Grammar Schools with larger numbers. Indeed, this report stated that:

"several schools might form a consortium for sixth form courses".

thereby introducing the consortium principle.

The problems found by I.L.E.A. are a microcosm of national problems. These problems stem from the mid sixties and the belief that post school education would expand dramatically. Harold Wilson speaking at the 62nd. Annual Conference of the Labour Party in October 1963, saw three developments helping to increase a wider spread of educational opportunity; (i) comprehensivisation of secondary education; (ii) the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen (ROSLA); and (iii) the expansion of higher education. The expansion of higher education helped on by the Robbins Report gave a larger

number of pupils something to aim at, and ROSLA forced all children to stay on till sixteen. Furthermore, the introduction of the C.S.E. gave a high proportion of students the opportunity to sit some sort of qualifying examination. However, it was the contentious issue of comprehensivisation that held the long term implications for 16 - 19 education.

Some L.E.A's had already given a comprehensive bias to their secondary provision, notably the London County Council (the forerunner of I.L.E.A.) when it rebuilt its schools during the war, and in July 1965 the Secretary of State issued Circular 10/65 announcing the Government's intention of ending selection at 11+ and introducing a comprehensive form of secondary education. By the end of 1969, 129 of the 163 L.E.A's in England and Wales had comprehensive systems either implemented or approved for the whole or part of their areas. Many Conservative controlled L.E.A's, however, refused to implement circular 10/65 and many disputes took place involving not just councillors and central government, but also teachers and parents, on both sides. In June, 1970 the newly elected Conservative Government issued circular 10/70 withdrawing 10/65 and reversing Labour Party Policy and inviting L.E.A's to reconsider once again the shape of secondary education in their area.

By 1969, however, 129 of the then 163 L.E.A's in England and Wales had comprehensive systems either implemented or approved for a whole or part of their areas, and when in 1973 compulsory schooling in the

United Kingdom was lengthened from 5 to 16, 57 per cent of all secondary school pupils were being taught in comprehensives. This rose to 74 per cent by 1978.

With the introduction of ROSLA, comprehensive schools and the C.S.E., the number of pupils taking and passing exams increased dramatically. Furthermore, the numbers staying on at school after 16 increased between 1965 and 1970. However, the numbers taking and passing exams began to level off in the 1970's and the numbers staying on past 16 increased at a slower rate after 1970 and went into a decline in 1974.

This fall off in numbers, both of those staying on at 16+ and of the percentage of the age group obtaining 'O' and 'A' level G.C.E's, has been blamed on comprehensivisation by several critics e.g. the authors of the Black Papers (7), who claim that while comprehensives help the middle bands of intelligence, the highest and the lowest suffer. This process they have called the 'rise of the mediocracy'. However, the supporters of comprehensives claim that, as was pointed out at the 1966 Labour Party Conference, an education system could become genuinely comprehensive only if (i) the practices of selection and streaming was discouraged and (ii) there was an end to the large private sector of education. As Levitas (8) points out reorganisation on comprehensive lines will not result (necessarily) in comprehensive education.

Furthermore, Ford's work (9) has demonstrated the fallacy of concluding that changing from tripartitism to a comprehensive form of secondary education would necessarily mean a fundamental change in the relationship between the educational structure and the occupational structure, an example being the proposition that neighbourhood comprehensives reinforce the class positions of particular areas. Comprehensives in 'middle class' areas will get educationally motivated pupils, hence attract 'good' staff, develop a good reputation and be in demand. Thus, any parents who can buy a house in the catchment area of a 'good' comprehensive can effectively buy an education for their child. The converse is true for a comprehensive in a deprived area. Added to this is the problem that given falling rolls and an element of parental choice, comprehensives with 'good' reputations can then choose their pupils and become de facto grammar schools.

Also there is the large private sector of education and the existence in some authorities of grammar schools. The Labour administration of 1974/79 did attempt to separate the private/state system by giving the former direct grant schools the choice of opting eventually for the state system or for the independent system. By 1976 approximately 8 per cent of children were being educated in the private sector (10 per cent in the London Area) (c.f. 5 per cent in 1970.). The current Conservative administration (1979 to date) is likely to increase this by a policy of assisted places. In return for the fee these independent schools offer a considerably lower pupil-teacher

ratio and a much increased chance of going to university. According to the Statistics of Education 1974 Vol. 1, the pupil teacher ratios for England and Wales were; local authority 20.8; direct grant 15.1; independent unrecognised 13.7; and independent recognised 12.8.

A child at a fee-paying school has twenty-two times the chance of getting to Oxford or Cambridge than a child from a local authority school.

The L.E.A's that still have grammar schools also pose a problem for comprehensive schools in their area. These grammar schools 'cream off' the 'most intelligent' pupils from comprehensives. This problem area is well documented e.g. Rubenstein and Simon (10) and Batly, O'Brien and Parris (11) concerning the politics of the situation and Monks (12) and Halsall (13) concerning the organisational problems.

Professor Pedley (14), has attempted to show that the output, in terms of 'A' and 'O' level successes, of established comprehensive schools (as opposed to new comprehensive schools) is as good as results obtained under the tripartite system. However, the validity of his conclusions, given a restricted sample, has been questioned. The N.F.E.R. maintains that neither side in the debate has appeal to definitive figures indicating superiority. At least some ground can be conceded to Professor Pedley, however, in that Britain's experience of comprehensive schools is limited and many problems in the secondary school system could be explained by other factors, for

example the quantity of pupils the secondary school system is required to accept is the largest it has ever taken. (The 1960's birth bulge reached its peak in 1978/79). Furthermore, the school leaving age has been raised and local authorities, in the main, have reorganised on comprehensive lines without the necessary capital outlay.

There is also the argument advanced by Ford (15) and Himmelweit and Swift (16), amongst others, that the nature of comprehensivisation is not itself a plus or a minus, but that the school ideology and orientation is important.

Thus the situation that was becoming apparent in the 1960's in I.L.E.A. began to effect the rest of the country. The comprehensives set up in the 1970's envisaged large sixth forms based on increasing numbers of sixth formers, but they did not come forward. Furthermore grammar schools and independent schools were 'creaming off' sixth form material, and comprehensive schools in different neighbourhoods have also developed their sixth forms at differential rates.

The I.L.E.A. Report (17), previously mentioned, proposed limits for a viable sixth form as a minimum of 10 'A' level subjects staffed at a ratio of 1:12 with no groups having less than 5 students. This would give a minimum size of 50-60 students in sixth form centres.

Their conclusion was that in urban areas feeder schools for 11-16 plus sixth form centres was an ideal arrangement for rationalisation using resources of buildings and specialist staff. However, these arrangements had their critics, notably Benn and Simon (18), who found that the concentration of sixth forms in former grammar schools with the feeder schools centred on the former modern schools perpetuated the disparity already existing.

In 1968 a N.F.E.R. report (19) found that the average size of sixth forms was 68.5 and one third of the schools studied had less than 50 pupils. In 1970 Benn and Simon (20) found that 77 was the average size. Halsall (21), however, felt that in a sixth form 80 pupils would be needed to provide a minimum of 18 subjects at 'A' level without borrowing from the lower school or having joint teaching between upper and lower sixth. Centrally, however, the D.E.S. had not yet officially recognised the problems. Indeed in "Education - A Framework for Expansion" (22), published in 1972, the ten year strategy planned for increases in provision for the under fives, teacher training and in higher education. Even though the 16-19 age group was not specifically referred to there was no indication of the demographic changes then in force.

Outside I.L.E.A., other parts of the country were meeting the problem in different ways and the uneven pace of secondary reorganisation meant that other types of comprehensive patterns were being adopted

which had alternative methods of dealing with 16-19 education. As early as 1954, Croydon Authority produced a sixth form college plan which, although finally rejected by Croydon, was taken up by the Stoke-on-Trent Authority. By 1965 a number of authorities had 11-16 schools and sixth form colleges. Other areas produced local variations, such as Mexborough where an 11-18 school was fed by surrounding 11-16 schools to produce a "mushroom" sixth form.

The most significant development, however, was by Mumford (23) who outlined his ideas for junior colleges - now named tertiary colleges - where sixth form students and F.E. College students would be taught in the same institution. The idea was adopted in Devon where tertiary colleges were set up in Exeter and North Devon to provide:

"the adult atmosphere of a technical college,
but with a wider range of curriculum."

which was in line with the original Crowther proposals.

A growing percentage of children (currently about 8 per cent) at school are being educated independently of the state system, and these children appear to have a greater chance of proceeding to higher education than the equally able, sometimes more able, children in state schools.

The conflict explanation of this phenomenon is indicated by T.B. Bottomore (24):

"The pattern of events does conform broadly with Marx's scheme; in England the Reform Act of 1832 gave political power to the bourgeoisie and the development of public schools created new opportunities for children from the newly created rich industrial and commercial families to be trained for elite positions."

and by G. Baron (25):

"the boarding and public schools form a highly distinctive feature of the educational and social landscape of England. The implications of (this) are considerable (and) include the acceptance of the most influential groups being (educated) within exclusive institutions, expressing attitudes subtly different from those characteristic of the mass of the population (and) the acceptance of the assumption that boys who have passed through them are especially fitted for positions of leadership in all the major institutions of national life."

Thus in conflict theory the aim of the public school is seen as preparing their pupils for expected positions of dominance in the economic, political and legal power structure of capitalist society. This can be demonstrated by evidence presented by Glennester and Pryke (26) and Wakeford (27). However, while a close relationship can be shown between holding positions of power and attendance at a small number of schools, the exact nature of the relationship between a public school education and the attainment of a powerful position in British society is certainly complex and not easily examined.

What is certain, however, is that power-holders have generally been

educated at public school, and as 'The Public Schools Commission' (28) shows, these schools are attended almost exclusively by the sons and daughters of the professional and managerial classes and the armed forces, and Lupton and Wilson (29) suggest that the network of relationships between decision makers is built on an informal system based on a shared social background. Guttsman (30) develops this argument by illustrating the significance of the 'pluralists of power' who exert influence through their membership of several powerful bodies.

The functionalist analysis of the phenomenon of the public school and educational and occupational success is outlined by Wilkins (31).

"This (success) is partly due to the fact that there has always existed a special relationship between the public schools and, in particular, the older universities. Traditionally, it has been generally expected that children in public schools would proceed almost as a matter of course to a university and, therefore, there is a very strong sixth-form element within the public schools."

Wilkins claims that members of elites, whether political, financial, legal or industrial, are still largely recruited from the older universities, and thus indirectly from the public schools, and concludes that these schools have a significance within the society out of all proportion to the numerical importance of their pupils in the educational system as a whole. She considers that the prestige of the public schools is such that even their less able pupils acquire

a social status generally denied to children educated in state schools. Furthermore, the functionalist analysis, while admitting that those who can afford it can obtain for their children a greater opportunity to enter elites, also includes the observation that scholarships are often available and in some cases local education authorities are prepared to assist in sending children from their area to a public school. Kalton (32) found that at least 25 per cent of the boys in independent boarding schools, and 48 per cent of those in independent day schools, were receiving some financial assistance.

3.2 16-19 Education in Colleges of Further Education.

A tertiary college, mentioned in the previous section 3.1, combines traditional sixth form work with the part-time and full-time courses in vocational skills that are offered in further education colleges. The 1944 Education Act gives the L.E.A's practically unlimited legal powers in the provision of further education, and as further education is both highly developed and diverse the result is a flexibility which permits anyone to acquire whatever standard of qualification his or her capabilities and available time allow. There are no upper age limits and qualifications can be acquired for their own sake or as a step towards more advanced courses.

This wide and flexible range of courses creates administrative problems as well as difficulties in understanding the system. This problem is compounded by the fact that there has been no progress towards a state-planned system of further education (similar to that of schools) and historically there has been both a confusion and a multitude of local provision. Various committees had deliberated and reported on the problem prior to the war but it was the Percy Committee (33) Report of 1945 that perhaps had the major impact. This committee recommended that engineers should be university graduates and that technicians, draftmen and craftsmen be trained at technical colleges.

The result of the Percy Committee was the setting up between 1945 and

1950 of Regional Councils and a National Council for Education, Industry and Commerce. Following this, in 1956, Circular 305 (34) classified colleges into Colleges of Advanced Technology (later to become universities), Regional Colleges (the basis of Polytechnics), Area Colleges (Institutes of Higher Education) and Local Colleges. In 1961 the D.E.S. produced 'Better Opportunities in Technical Education' (35) which accepted the dual technician training system of City and Guilds and National Diplomas and Certificates. However, the rapid changes that were taking place in the academic side of 16 19 education were echoed in the vocational side. In 1969 the Haselgrave Report (36) was published and was sharply critical of existing provision. It proceeded to make recommendations, which because of their radical nature were not adopted until 1976.

The Haselgrave Report constitutes the first serious attempt to identify and define a 'technician'. The committee even strayed outside its brief to define the 'status' of technicians.

Haselgrave recommended a change in the immediate statutory environment which he claimed had been largely ignored by those responsible for technician training. These include the Industrial Training Boards (I.T.B's) which were very effective in some industries, e.g. engineering, but had a minimal effect on others, e.g. construction. The Newsom Report (38) on vocational education in schools was also cited, as was the Robbins Report (39). It was claimed that technician education had failed to react to these major

changes and was in grave danger of becoming inept. Other criticisms related to fragmentation, diversification and duplication of courses and the lack of co-ordination among the many bodies monitoring and controlling different aspects of technician education.

Industry, it was claimed in Haselgrave,

"made a plea for simplification and standardisation."

and the Report's principal proposal was the setting up of the Technician's Education Council (T.E.C.) and its sister organisation the Business Education Council (B.E.C.) with the following terms of reference:

"To plan, administer and keep under review the development of a unified national pattern of courses of technician education for technicians in industry and in pursuance of this devise or approve suitable courses, establish and assess standards of performance and award certificates and diplomas as appropriate."

T.E.C. was to be 'a relatively small policy making and co-ordinating body'. The Haselgrave Committee recommended that the City and Guilds of the London Institute (C.G.L.I.) should be invited to undertake the administrative work of T.E.C. and B.E.C. While this met with some dissent on the Haselgrave Committee (W.F. Cruck representing the Business Studies Board of C.N.A.A.) and with some reluctance on behalf of the Institute agreement was eventually agreed. This guaranteed the

new organisation an experienced administration, and the C.G.L.I. withdrew certain of their technician examination schemes so that the new organisation would not face competition. With the transfer of its technician work to T.E.C., the C.G.L.I. are left with craft examinations in most fields, post experience qualifications, a small range of professional examinations and a range of foundation courses. The C.G.L.I. is currently re-organising its structure from 110 advisory committees to 15. High levels of co-operation exist between the C.G.L.I., the D.E.S., the H.M.I's and the Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.).

T.E.C. was set up in 1973 and the first schemes for the new T.E.C. awards were introduced in September 1976, amidst mounting concern amongst the teaching profession. It was felt that more resources needed to be made available for the proper introduction of the scheme, but, because of public spending cuts, none had been forthcoming. The full process of take-over is unlikely to be complete before 1983. Members of T.E.C. are appointed by the Secretary of State and the Council works through a variety of committees, including 25 programme committees, to provide broad parity of educational and industrial interests.

Each F.E. college has to submit its intentions for a technician scheme to a 'programme committee' for approval, and schemes are unit based or modular in construction. Colleges may write their own units, or use standard units from T.E.C., or a combination of both and are required

to consult local industry before drawing up their scheme. Colleges are responsible for their own assessment schemes but these have to be approved and are monitored by T.E.C. appointed moderators. T.E.C. awards are at Ordinary, National and Higher National level and may be achieved by part-time, full-time or (occasionally) correspondence study. Diplomas require more credits than certificates.

B.E.C. was established in 1974 to develop schemes of education at non-degree level for persons employed in business occupations. The first schemes for the new B.E.C. awards were introduced in September, 1978: the last examinations for the old schemes were held in June, 1980. The Board's main task is to approve schemes in the following sectors; Business Studies; Finance; Distribution; and Public Administration. Each sector has its own studies board and like T.E.C. makes awards at general, national and higher levels. B.E.C. schemes are set and examined at local colleges but are moderated by B.E.C. appointees and the syllabus and curriculum of schemes are more centrally controlled than T.E.C. Diplomas and Certificates are awarded at all levels, by all modes of attendance, with Diplomas requiring more credits than Certificates.

In both B.E.C. and T.E.C. the higher certificates and diplomas are run by Polytechnics and Institutes of Higher Education, and taken normally at 18+. They require a good national level pass or one 'A' level G.C.E. and a number of 'O' levels. Both the ordinary and national certificates and diplomas are taken at 16+, the national

being a more demanding course of two years duration c.f. the ordinary level which is one year. The national level entry requirements are a number of 'O' levels or good C.S.E's, or a good pass at ordinary level. National and Ordinary courses are the province of colleges of Further Education, although some are held in Institutes of Higher Education.

Other examining bodies are, however, involved in the F.E. sector such as professional bodies e.g. National Nursery Examining Board (N.N.E.B.); the Royal Society of Arts (R.S.A.); the Association of Linguists; and various management studies bodies e.g. National Examination Board for Supervisory Studies (N.E.B.S.S.).

During the 1960's there was a strong climate of opinion that F.E. should grow. This was given substance in the Burnham Technical salary structure, which provided college staff with a strong vested interest in growth. However, in the 1960's the number of courses expanded more rapidly than the number of students and in the middle of the decade the Pilkington Report (40) suggested that minimum student numbers should be achieved before new courses could start. This had a restraining effect on the growth of F.E. courses and it has intensified the competition for students between colleges. The public spending cuts of the mid and late seventies, however, have curtailed both expansion and competition.

In spite of all this activity concerning technician training the most

significant development in the seventies in further education has been the growth of non-vocational courses. This is partly due to the fact that Further Education colleges have developed against a background of selective secondary schools, where numbers of children who underachieved at the 11+ examination or who developed later were deprived of appropriate education at schools. After leaving secondary modern schools many of them found their way into further education colleges and achieved success there. There was also 'slippage' from grammar schools. The role for further education in academic work was thus highly favoured by both sides of the 11+ debate and by further education staff. The critics of 11+ selection valued F.E. courses because they provided a second chance for 11+ 'failures' and at the same time provided evidence to be used against early selection. The protectors of the grammar schools, on the other hand, valued F.E. courses because they acted as a safety net moderating the errors of selection and encouraging a continuation of the system. Finally the college lecturers derived great satisfaction from the success in F.E. of the 'casualties' of 11+ selection, many of whom went on to achieve positions of distinction. This satisfaction is enhanced by the fact that many college staff were themselves deprived of educational opportunity and had gained professional status through F.E. study and work experience.

This second chance education has become a cherished tradition of F.E. and colleges have become proud of their comprehensive nature. Indeed some college staff see their work in political terms and view the F.E.

colleges as instruments of emancipation. However, while G.C.E. work produced some compensation for 11+ 'failures', it was in the sphere of vocational education at the lower and intermediate levels that the volume of second chance work took place. Yet, during the period 1967/77, the industrial and commerce based vocational courses could be expanded little if at all and only then by the greatest exertion on the part of college staff. One result of this was that the emphasis changed to full-time courses where a large student volume was available for a small amount of college effort.

The courses which were the easiest to expand were G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels, mainly because facilities were easy to provide, the demand for places was high and there was no formal criteria for entry.

The following sources contributed to this demand; (i) leavers from secondary modern schools which had few or no G.C.E. classes; (ii) leavers from grammar schools who could not reach the standards demanded for entry into exam classes; (iii) overseas students wishing to enter higher education; (iv) students who rejected the type of discipline of school; (v) mature students returning from employment and wishing to improve their prospects through higher education; and (vi) students who could not get their subject choices in their schools.

There are a number of factors which influence the demand for G.C.E. courses rather than vocational courses. Higher education courses, some professional institutions, and certain traditional employers, (e.g. banks), define their entry conditions in terms of G.C.E. results

and have been slow to recognise vocational courses as alternatives. Teachers also tend to be particularly ill-informed of the pattern of vocational courses in F.E. since they themselves are mainly the product of grammar schools, universities or training colleges. Hence the school emphasis on G.C.E.'s is transmitted to the pupils and to the parents who, if they are ambitious, frequently develop a fixation about it and will not be diverted to more appropriate courses in the F.E. colleges.

These influences and the factors mentioned above have led colleges of F.E. to establish courses broadly similar to those available in the schools. Hence the Further Education colleges were competing with the school sixth forms for G.C.E. students, thus adding to the problems of small sixth forms in some comprehensive schools caused by the counter-attraction of grammar schools, independent schools and other comprehensives with grammar school traditions. In recent years, however, the D.E.S. has started to bring the problem into the area of public debate. In 1976 the then Prime Minister, Mr. Callaghan, introduced the public debate on education which resulted in the 1978 Green Paper (41) proposing a 2.4 per cent cut in educational spending, core curriculum to 16 and changes in the examination structure for the 16-18 group. All these reflected the new population trends showing that falling rolls were affecting the secondary sector. Indeed, these problems were very clearly outlined by the Secretary of State for Education in 1977 (42) who stated:

"as falling numbers reach the higher age groups, local authorities will have to give serious thought to their disposition for sixth-formers if they are to make reasonably economic use of highly qualified teachers and expensive equipment and buildings and at the same time provide an adequate choice of courses and subjects. The further development of sixth form and tertiary colleges may well be an important part of this process."

The availability of qualified staff has not changed radically since Egner (43) calculated that each comprehensive school could have two-thirds of a graduate mathematics teacher, one third of a physicist, and one-quarter of a chemist, in spite of the so called surplus of teachers. Indeed at the North of England Conference, January, 1980 it was stated that there was at present a shortfall of 4,600 science teachers, (although with falling rolls this would become a surplus of 7,500 by 1992), (44).

There are now more than 100 sixth form colleges and 14 tertiary colleges. The crucial characteristic is that they are not just another option at 16, but the sole State providers of education for the age group in the area. It should be pointed out that as tertiary colleges have become established, they have become increasingly popular and successful. Nationally their 'A' level results are above average in the terms of both pass rates and grades, and their share of Oxbridge awards have been steadily rising, so that they now attract 10 per cent of their entrants from private secondary schools. In Surrey some sixth form colleges draw 40 per cent of their pupils from private schools.

A number of major authorities are currently putting forward proposals. Manchester's education officer for example has proposed the closing of all the city's sixth forms with all sixth form work and further education work being brought together in a series of tertiary colleges across the city. In Manchester they have 29,500 pupils (1980) but by 1990 this will have fallen to 18,500. Birmingham will experience a 35 per cent fall in the numbers of sixteen year olds by 1990 and they too might adopt the Manchester pattern with tertiary colleges being one of the options under consideration by working groups of teachers and councillors in the city. This development is likely to continue as MacFarlane, (Parliamentary Under Secretary of State, D.E.S.) speaking at the 1980 National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (N.A.T.F.H.E.) Conference said:

"Because we are aware of the importance of non-advanced further education to the future of this country we have provided for increased expenditure on it this year and next and then for it to remain at this higher level."

He continued to argue that for the foreseeable future many L.E.A's will choose to retain sixth forms as the best means of using existing resources in response to the demand of young people. Where facilities for non-advanced further education do not exist, a provision of this kind may be offered in schools where they have spare capacity. He did, however, add:

"in many cases the L.E.A's will have to seriously consider the prospect of closure. Some will look to major institutional change and will contemplate establishing sixth form or tertiary colleges." (45).

Furthermore Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education, stated at the North of England Conference in January 1980 (46),

"all schools can no longer expect to have a sixth form and that some schools would have to be closed in order to keep the variety and range of courses for pupils."

The Government is hampered in its somewhat tentative enthusiasm for the colleges since reorganisation schemes of this kind are often strongly opposed by Conservatives fighting to defend grammar schools, or former grammar schools with strong sixth forms. Furthermore, many authorities are not, as yet, prepared to unscramble systems of re-organised comprehensive schools which are still in their original throes of structural change. Also, reorganisation schemes based on tertiary colleges have often run into resistance from parents familiar with academic school work. One outraged parent is quoted in the Sunday Times (47) as saying:

"Do you really expect my daughter to go to the same school as a girl doing hairdressing?"

Finally there is the problem of school teachers who fear the loss of

sixth form teaching, and during the 1979/80 Academic year all three major teaching unions pronounced on 16-19 policy advocating the maintaining of sixth forms. A common feature of these pronouncements is the acceptance of the "consortium principle."

However, while there are examples of school/college co-operation systems on a unitary or consortium basis, such as at Witney and Henley in Oxfordshire, in these schemes school students attend the college for non 'A' level courses, vocational subjects or less popular 'A' levels there is little evidence of existing movement in the other direction. Furthermore, fears have been expressed by head teachers (48) of 'body snatching' and poaching by the colleges from the schools. Problems also arise out of lack of physical proximity and the need for joint timetabling. On the other hand a recent study of a scheme at Trowbridge (49) claims that there is a greater variety of 'A' level provision, flexibility of choice amongst 'A' levels, a breakdown in social barriers between students and a more economic use of resources. Nevertheless, the problems of having different minimum numbers in schools and colleges had not been solved. Interestingly, another school that had not voluntarily joined in the group arrangements in Trowbridge was subject to eventual inclusion at the L.E.A's insistence, an indication that the process is becoming more directed and less voluntary at L.E.A. level.

Needless to say, F.E. College lecturers are in full support of the tertiary college system. At the 1980 Conference of N.A.T.F.H.E.

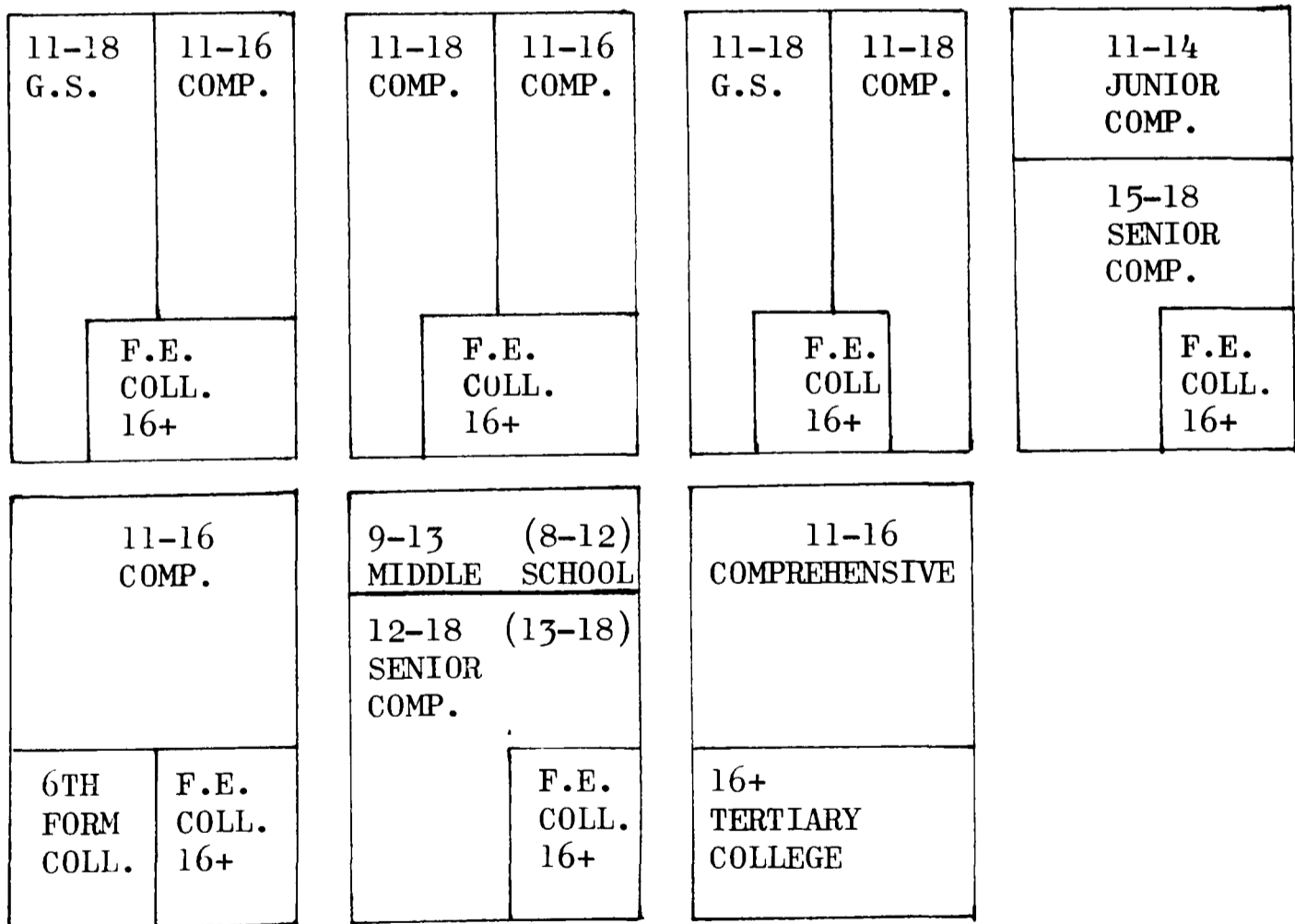
the following resolution was carried:

"Conference resolves, that Association policy for the education of post sixteen (excluding higher education) should be that of a tertiary system based on Colleges of Further Education, provides the only truly co-ordinated and comprehensive solution. Conference instructs the National Executive Committee to campaign for the establishment of a tertiary system based on Colleges of Further Education on a much wider basis than at present."

The result of the current uncertainty is a multitude of L.E.A.

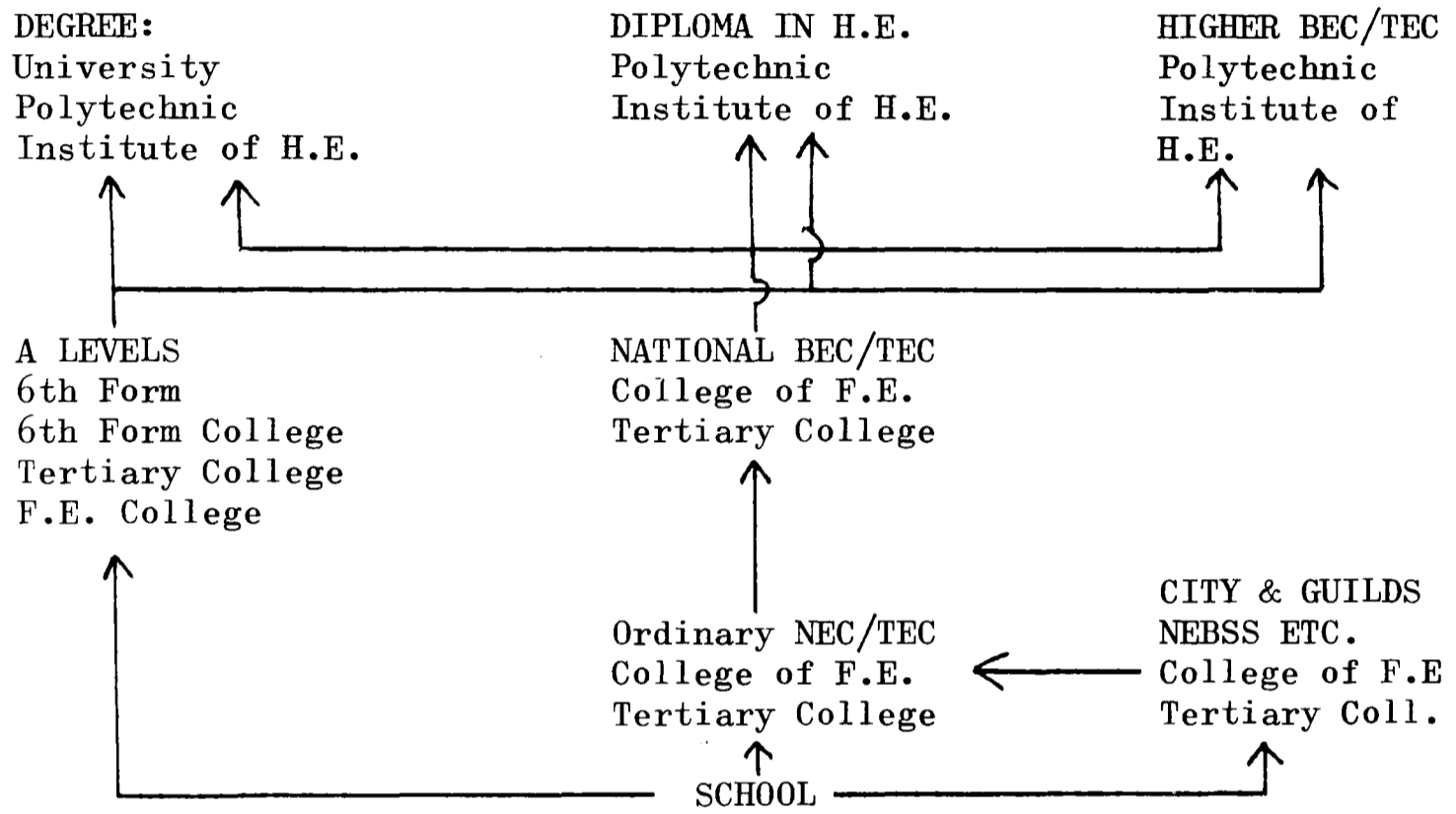
16 - 19 systems:

FIG.3/1 L.E.A. SYSTEMS OF 16-19 EDUCATION.



The patterns of transition from school to higher education are also complex:

FIG.3/2 MODES OF PROGRESSION THROUGH 16-19 EDUCATION.



3.3 16-19 Education and the Careers Service.

For those with 'O' levels there is a choice of staying on in school and taking 'A' levels, or of going to a college of further education. There the choice is either taking an 'A' level course, or taking a technicians course. At the end of either an 'A' level or a technician course the choice is either to leave the education system and obtain employment or to continue on to higher education. In analysing this choice it is useful to use Ashton and Field's (50) typography of Careers. These are:

(1) Semi/unskilled work or "careerless" work.

"These jobs provide little security and an earnings profile which quickly levels off after the early years at work and eventually declines. As they do not offer any chance of advancement or promotion we refer to them as careerless jobs."

(2) Skilled Manual/Lower Grade Technical/Clerical Work, or "short-term career" work.

"Such jobs provide more security and higher levels of salary than do careerless jobs. We refer to them as providing short-term careers due to the rather 'flat' career ladder of only two to four positions which they provide."

(3) 'Middle Class' occupations or 'extended career' Work.

"Such jobs are characterised by high levels of security, and salaries that increase progressively throughout most of the working life. Because of the lengthy career ladder which such jobs provide we refer to them as providing extended careers."

There are, however, two main types of entry pattern into occupations

which provide extended careers, each of which is related to differences within these occupations. One group consists of the 'early' school leavers who tend to enter managerial, administrative, and certain commercial occupations. This group needs 'O' and 'A' levels as the immediate qualification aim, and then they may leave the education system and embark on an extended career, often accompanied by part-time education. The second group entering extended careers are those who continue with some form of full-time higher education before entering work, and tend to either enter the 'higher' professions or enter managerial and administrative positions at a higher level than the former group.

The responsibility for providing help and information to young people in their last year at school formally rests with Careers Officers employed by the local authority. The Employment Training Act of 1973 imposed a mandatory duty on every L.E.A. to provide, from 1st April 1974, a vocational guidance service for people attending educational institutions and an employment service for those leaving them. This Act was passed partly as a result of increasing youth unemployment and partly because of continuing occupational diversification.

Therefore, the Careers Service has an important bearing on whether pupils stay on into post-compulsory education and what form of education they take. The position of Careers Officers is, however, ambiguous and they operate within a number of constraints. The most

important of these is that they do not have authority within schools to implement their objectives. While they have an obligation to interview students, and for this purpose the school must provide facilities, the success of such interviews depends to a large extent on the nature and quality of the information provided to them by the teachers. Furthermore, any work undertaken by careers officers as careers guidance, depends on the co-operation of the teachers. It is the head-teacher's task to decide how much time, if any, is spent on careers work and careers officers have to rely on the head-master for co-operation in performing their tasks.

Another problematic area is that of relationships with careers teachers. Where schools have careers guidance teachers there can be a conflict of responsibilities. Both may claim the same area of work, namely contact with the student as their role, and both may see other areas of work, normally administrative and support services, as the responsibility of the other.

In many respects the careers guidance system, both in the school and the careers service, works best for those students with an extended career perspective, because they are likely to share the same perspective as the representatives of the various agencies with which they come into contact. This perspective is usually better served for those who see their extended career in terms of higher education if only because part of the prestige of a school is measured by the

proportion of its students that are successful in examinations, and in particular those leading to entry into higher education. There is a built-in pressure upon teachers to encourage those who wish to continue in higher and further education and a tendency to neglect those who intend to leave it. Thus, those students who do not wish to pursue higher education and who seek direct entry into an extended career are often seen as 'second best' and the school puts most of its effort into ensuring the maximum entry into higher education. The same situation is often found amongst careers officers who can see the advantages of higher education for those students capable of it, and who aim to maximise the higher education potential of the students in their area.

In spite of the desire of some 'A' level students for direct entry into an extended career at eighteen, the pressures of teachers and careers officers directing them into higher education is, in many respects, justified. Returning to Ashton and Field's typography of careers, it can be argued that the social relationships entered into at work directly affect and are directly affected by the social relationships entered into elsewhere. Thus those whose occupations are 'extended career' will develop a culture based on that occupational style, as will those in short-term career occupations and the 'careerless'. Thus people from one occupational group will marry people with similar backgrounds, and have children who will work in the same type of organisations and in the same positions within them, occupy similar positions in the education system, and live in the

same type of community.

Glass (51), amongst others, has pointed out the high level of self-recruitment within social strata and this can partly be explained by the above. It is partly with this in mind that Careers Officers and teachers try to persuade those intent on early leaving to continue on to higher education, as they are normally those who have been upwardly mobile, and have no perception of an extended career based on higher education because of the particular culture to which they belong. Thus these students are being persuaded to inherit what is theirs by nature of their ability, although this is not always understood by the students concerned.

There has been a good deal of attention paid in recent years to the process by which young people come to choose a particular occupation. Earlier theories were developed in America by Ginzberg et al (52) and Blau et al (53). However in the British context, Musgrave (54) has put forward a conceptual framework as a first approach to a theory of occupational choice. The central focus of this is the process of socialisation, which is seen strictly as learning to take roles, i.e. anticipatory socialisation. At each stage of socialisation roles may be rehearsed in such a way that transition to the next stage is more easily accomplished. By getting to know role prescriptions associated with particular occupations the young person is, according to Musgrave, more able to choose an occupation that more or less matches his wishes from among the limited range available to him.

However, Musgrave's approach has been criticised by Coulson and her associates (55) for ignoring the significance of conflict and implying a value-orientation towards a static social order. It is an:

"attempt to explain social behaviour in terms of an over-simplified functionalist theory which rests on a consensus model of society."

While Ford and Box (56) make a more fundamental criticism of the use of the term 'choice' in connection with employment saying that in most cases the transition from school to work cannot be described as choice at all.

"These children do not know the full range of jobs open to them and have no efficient criteria for differentiating one job from another."

Two other theories stress entry into employment as a process, those of Ginzberg (57) and Super (58). However, while Ginzberg attaches prime importance to the individual's growing awareness of his own interests and capacities, Super places greater stress upon the role of the individual's own social environment in structuring the individual's conception of his interests, abilities and capacities. Roberts (59), however, believes that both these and similar theories, collectively known as individual ambition models are inadequate. He proposes an alternative theory with 'opportunity structure' as the key concept. Careers, according to Roberts, can be regarded as developing into patterns dictated by the opportunity structures to which individuals

are exposed, first in education and subsequently in employment.

Having discussed the effects of institutional factors in 16-19 students aspirations for higher education the next stage is to consider the effects of the wider social environment.

The effects of the wider social environment on the career aspirations on students may be classified as demographic, i.e. socio-economic grouping, family circumstances and gender; and neighbourhood i.e. area of residence and type and ownership of house. These areas are discussed in the next sections, with gender being allocated a separate section from socio-economic grouping. This is because an examination of occupational distribution reveals significant differences in the structure of opportunities facing males as opposed to females. In non-manual occupations males are mainly found in managerial, administrative and professional occupations, while within manual occupations, they are mainly found in the 'skilled' category. For females the opposite is the case. Within the manual occupations a majority are found in the least skilled jobs, and within non-manual occupations the majority are in low grade clerical and secretarial work. What this means is that for females, early school leaving largely precludes the chance of an extended career. Difference in gender is, therefore, treated in this thesis as a third dimension to environmental factors affecting the choice of 16-19 education and aspirations for higher education.

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Chapter Four

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

4.1 Demographic Factors

One of the main aims of the 1944 Education Act (1) was to provide the framework whereby anyone, regardless of social origin, could obtain a higher education if they had the academic ability. This in turn, it was hoped, would open the higher status occupations to a greater number of people. This Act may be seen as the culmination of a process that had been developing since Hadow (2) if not the 1902 Act (3).

The numbers entering upon an extended education, however, have always fallen below the potential maximum. Doubt about the success of the educational reforms brought about as a result of the 1944 Act was first voiced with the publication of the Central Advisory Council's report 'Early Leaving' (4), published in 1954. The council found that in its grammar school sample there were only 436 children from unskilled working class family backgrounds. On the basis of their sampling frame there should have been 927. Of these 436, two thirds had left their various schools with fewer than three G.C.E. passes at Ordinary level, while only one in twenty entered for two or more 'A' levels. This represented only 1.4 per cent of those taking Advanced level courses. At a higher level, although grants were available, the proportion of working class students in university remained as it had been in the 1920s.

The Crowther Report (5) '15 to 18' published in 1959 reinforced the

findings of the 1954 report. Crowther discovered that of the top ten per cent of manual workers' children, in terms of measured intelligence, forty-two per cent had left school at sixteen, while of the next ten per cent, eighty-seven per cent had left. Crowther concluded that the prospect for survival within the educational system varied inversely with the lower the status scale and the higher the educational establishment. Crowther commented that:

"Premature school leaving at 15 years was almost non-existent amongst the children of professional and managerial fathers and the proportion who left school at 15 was highest amongst children of manual workers."

Crowther also found that at the age of eleven the ratio of children of professionals to children of unskilled workers in selective education at thirteen was 9:1, whereas at the age of seventeen it was 30:1. The numbers of professional families and unskilled families were, at the time of Crowther, of similar proportions in society.

It was shortly after Crowther that Jackson and Marsden (6) produced their research findings of a study of education in Huddersfield. They found instead of working class pupils achieving more 'A' level G.C.E. passes, relative to middle class pupils, as a result of the post 1944 Act reforms, the opposite seemed to be happening.

A variety of theories were posited as to the cause of this phenomenon.

These theories may be categorised as those relating to factors internal to the individual (nature), and those relating to the individual's environment (nurture). This thesis is concerned with the latter group of theories but because the two are often posited against each other it is important to give the former some consideration at this point.

There has been, since the war, considerable discussion as to whether intelligence is something that is fixed at birth or may be "acquired". Professor Jensen (7), for example, believes that the inheritable component is about eighty per cent of intelligence. Vernon (8), however, argues that the whole notion that any tests can reveal the innate components of mental aptitudes must be rejected as these are "non-observable and non-measurable", whilst King (9) points out that there is no evidence to suggest innate intelligence is distributed other than randomly across the population.

Crowther (10) stated that he could not find any evidence to prove that early leaving, or relative lack of working class achievement, was caused by lack of intelligence. This view was reinforced by Robbins (11) who found that if the nation's children were classed into groups on the basis of measured intelligence, about one half of the top two ability groups had left school by the time they were sixteen years old. Yet, as Robbins pointed out, these were the children who would have been expected to have achieved a higher education and eventually become absorbed into the professional and managerial occupations.

Robbins, in an analysis of achievers found an imbalance towards children of non manual workers caused to some extent by the early leaving of pupils from a manual working class background who had a high measured intelligence.

The year following Robbins saw the publication of Douglas' (12) The Home and the School. While Douglas found that the score for measured intelligence was higher for children of higher status groups than lower, he also found that the variation in measured intelligence within social groupings was greater than variations between them and the rates of educational attainments for pupils from different backgrounds with the same measured intelligence varied enormously.

FIG.4/1 ACHIEVEMENT OF GRAMMAR SCHOOL PUPILS

I.Q. at 11+	Fathers Occupation	5 or More 'O' Levels	2 or More 'A' Levels	Degree Level Course
130 +	Non-manual	73%	43%	37%
	Manual	75%	30%	18%
115 - 129	Non-manual	56%	23%	17%
	Manual	45%	14%	8%
110 - 114	Non-manual	37%	9%	6%
	Manual	22%	6%	2%

Source: J.W.B. Douglas : The Home and the School

Thus, from Douglas' work it would appear that educational achievement is associated with higher measured intelligence and non-manual backgrounds. The non-manual backgrounds seem to be the least

advantageous to the most intelligent and the most advantageous to those with a more modest intelligence. It would also appear that at all levels of measured intelligence pupils from a non-manual background tend to 'over-achieve' relative to pupils from a manual background. Furthermore, this gap tends to widen amongst the less able pupils.

What Douglas' work does demonstrate is, that even if it is accepted that intelligence is innate and can somehow be measured, there are factors over and above intelligence that determine educational success. What emerged from the various reports and studies conducted in this area in the fifties and early sixties, was that the post-Butler reforms had failed the working class in that it was not able to predict the outcome of opening grammar schools to the most able. Environment, parents and the very style of the grammar school education were never fully considered and the 'able' working class were unable to take full advantage. By the 1960s the middle classes, using a variety of strategies, e.g. buying a house in the catchment area of a 'good' primary school with a high 11+ rate, had once again become securely entrenched.

The sixties saw a resurgence in labour movement pressure aided by radical educationalists for greater 'equality of opportunity'. The culmination of this pressure was the adoption by the 1964 Labour Party Conference of a wide ranging policy of educational reform.

Harold Wilson speaking at the 1964 Labour Party Conference saw the ending of the tri-partite system (grammar, technical and modern schools) and its replacement by comprehensive secondary education as one of the methods by which the education system could be made to generate more equality of opportunity and enable it to meet the challenge of the 'white heat of the technological revolution'. The other reforms Wilson claimed would achieve these aims were the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen (ROSLA) and the expansion of Higher Education, as proposed by Robbins (13).

Robbins marked the start of 'mass' higher education. The committee was established following a growth in concern that the expansion of British higher education was inadequate to match the rise in numbers of those staying on into the sixth forms of schools and becoming 'qualified' for higher education by gaining two G.C.E. 'A' levels or the equivalent. The Robbins Committee envisaged a rise in student numbers from the then current 8 per cent of the age group to 17 per cent by 1980. Both major political parties were committed to the proposals contained in the report, but as the Labour Party won the 1964 election and held power until 1970, they had the responsibility for carrying them out. Both parties were also committed to the raising of the school leaving age and, in the education debate in the House of Commons on 18th November, 1971, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the then Secretary of State for Education, said that if there was one policy which ranked with primary school improvement in making a decisive contribution to greater social equality, it was the raising

of the school leaving age. However, while the Spens Report (14) of 1938 claimed that the raising of the school leaving age to 16 was "inevitable" and the 1944 Act included it in its provisions, it was not until 1974 that it actually happened. Comprehensivisation, however, did not attract a by-partisan approach.

With the introduction of ROSLA and comprehensivisation there was an increase in the numbers of pupils both taking and passing higher grade G.C.E. 'O' levels and grade one C.S.Es (introduced in 1965). A causal connection between the two has been posited but other factors may have caused or contributed to this increase, for example the provision of G.C.E. courses at colleges of further education. Whatever the reasons for the increase the rise has been quite significant and by 1975/6 only 16.1 per cent of female pupils and 18.0 per cent of males had neither G.C.E. or C.S.E. passes of some kind compared with 51.0 per cent of both male and females in 1965/6 (15). Furthermore, by 1975/6 29.2 per cent of the sixteen to eighteen group were in some form of full time education, including 14.2 per cent on courses leading to G.C.E. 'A' level exams in school sixth forms and 1.7 per cent taking 'A' level courses at colleges of further education.

However, in spite of the development of an orthodoxy whereby ROSLA, comprehensivisation and the extension of higher education, have been seen as instruments of social mobility and of providing a means of

rectifying social inequality, there is evidence to suggest that increases in 'A' levels and entry into higher education has been a result of a higher uptake by members of the middle classes. This trend in the 70s can be illustrated by statistics issued by the Conference of University Administrators (16).

FIG.4/2 ENTRANTS TO UNIVERSITY IN PERCENTAGE BY SOCIAL CLASS 1970/75

Social Class	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
III, IV, V	56	56	54	51	51	49
I, II	44	44	46	49	49	51

Source: Conference of University Administrators Group on Forecasting and University Expansion - Interim Report, 1977.

Furthermore, figures from the Universities Central Council on Admissions (U.C.C.A.) (17) for 1976/77 showed university entrants from socio-economic groups III, IV and V, as 48% and for 1977/78 as 46%. Of these half were in the class IIIA, the sons and daughters of clerical workers and half from the manual working class. The manual working class accounted for 62% of male workers in the 1971 Census. Furthermore working class entry to the "prestige" universities of Oxford and Cambridge is getting less. Cambridge, for example, in 1979 received 70 per cent of its students from Professional, Managerial, Technical and Administrative classes, compared with the 54 per cent of all university places in the country. Interestingly, the increase in middle class students is a result of

working class boys being displaced by middle class girls (18).

Both functionalist and conflict analyses of the relationship between social strata and educational achievement involves the concept of cultural transmission. Every society requires the transfer of culture to the next generation in order for that society to survive, and the transmission of this culture is the main activity of the educational system. Culture, however, has two components, the instrumental, whose transmission prepares children for their occupational roles, and the expressive, whose transmission prepares children for their adult role in society. This expressive component of culture contains the values beliefs and roles of society and forms of behaviour appropriate to life in society. The transmission of this expressive component from one generation to the next is, however, accomplished through a variety of institutions, education being only one. Another important institution for the transmission of the expressive component of culture is the family.

With reference to child rearing, the Ingleby Report (19) stated that the primary responsibility for bringing up children was parental and that this was essentially a positive responsibility, and the Finer Report (20) stated that the family is the basic institution which ensures in the course of socialising the young; the transmission of ethical and cultural values across generations. Thus, in the transmission of culture, the education system does not exist in isolation but it is influenced by other social institutions. As Levitas (21)

points out:

"because we often refer to education in its wider sense of all the pressures on the child to understand his environment in the way adults understand it, the culture concept is a topic of primary importance in education."

The role of the education system in transfer of culture is thus conditioned by the inter-play of environmental factors which can affect the understanding of the formal education process of individual pupils. As Marx (22) comments:

"It is not consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence which determines their consciousness."

The functionalist approach to under-achievement in education, on the basis of social strata, is to posit a collectively agreed cultural norm from which various groups 'deviate'. Hence under-achievement can be explained partly in terms of disadvantaged groups who do not fully know or understand this common culture, e.g. unskilled workers, and partly in the nature of the methods of transmitting culture. If the family, one of the main societal institutions for the transmission of culture, does not share, for whatever reason, the common culture as perceived by the school, another main institution, then the transmission of instrumental culture may be impaired. This, in turn, will often lead to an inability to achieve a high occupational status.

The relationship of family to education has been the subject of numerous studies and has been mentioned in many official reports. Many of them claim to show the family as the prime determinant of who gets what education. For example 'Early Leaving' (23) in 1954 stated:

"the figures clearly show the extent to which a child's home background influences his performance at school."

and Douglas (24) concludes that parental interest is of crucial importance for educational achievement.

Musgrave (25) concurs with Douglas over parental interest saying that it comprises of two factors, motivational environment and child rearing practices. Motivational environment, he says, comprises both the home facilities for, and the parental attitudes towards, education.

The role of home facilities, it has been argued, can be seen from Floud, Halsey and Martin's study (26) of 11+ results in South West Hertfordshire and Middlesborough. They found that in Hertfordshire, with adequate basic incomes and good housing, the material environment of the home is of less importance in differentiating between the successful and unsuccessful child than differences in the size of family, and in the education of parents. In Middlesborough, however, where incomes were lower and housing conditions less favourable, the

successful children at each social level were distinguished by the relative material prosperity of their home. (This point is taken up again in some detail in the next section, 4.2).

Dale and Griffiths (27) concur with these findings. Their research showed that lack of proper facilities for, and laissez-faire parental attitudes towards, homework resulted in children deteriorating academically within grammar schools. Lack of facilities and laissez-faire attitudes were associated with working class families. The most important factor that they found, however, in deterioration was emotional disturbance and they found that children from lower class homes are more likely to be subjected to emotional disharmony than children of parents of a higher class. It must be noted, however, that they do not suggest that middle class parents do not quarrel, it is just that they are less likely to involve their children in their disputes, or have more room to have quarrels privately.

With reference to parental attitudes towards education, the Schools Council (28) enquiry into the young school leaver found that one third of the parents of young leavers had had no discussion with the staff of their child's school. They also found there was a degree of mistrust towards book learning and few had respect for the scholar, therefore, they were not prepared to encourage their children. Middle class parents, however, generally had had an extended education

themselves, and made sure their children did homework. In this way they kept in touch with the school. It was also found that in the middle class help with school work was given and interest shown. Working class parents, on the other hand, who may well have been generous materially to their children, were not necessarily generous in the giving of time for schoolwork.

The Schools Council survey also found that the main objective of the school, as seen through the eyes of a working class parent, was to help the child get as good a job as early as possible. This view was constantly mentioned by the local authority officers, careers officers and teachers who were interviewed during my research. The problem on low take up of higher education, as seen through their eyes, extensively documented in Chapters 6, 7 and 8, was one of "working class culture of the area", "the families in this area are not interested in higher education", "the pupils want to get out and earn as soon as possible."

The functionalist theory also explains away working class early leaving of the education system in terms of the transmission of culture. As language is the main method of transmitting both the expressive and instrumental components of socialisation, both within the family and the educational system, and as languages, which are codes for the transmission of culture, differ from culture to culture, then it is possible that sub-cultural differences within a complex society may be associated with sub-cultural codes. Bernstein (29),

for example, provides very strong evidence to indicate that social class sub-cultures of British society are associated with the use of different codes. This is not a case of dialect or accent but of structural differences in the codes in terms of; (i) lexicon (use of words); and (ii) syntax (arrangements of words). Bernstein distinguishes between two kinds of code used to transmit messages in the use of language in Britain; (i) restricted; and (ii) elaborate. As the nature of the message transmitted is related to the structure of the code used to transmit it, the two codes differ in both structure and function.

All adults use restricted codes and the aim is to reinforce existing relationships and confirm understandings. It also excludes outsiders and promotes cohesion within the group. The greater the number of restricted codes a person knows, the greater the number of roles they can play as the ability to switch codes equates the ability to switch roles. The structure of the restricted code is simple and rigid and the meaning of the message is generally implicit.

Elaborate codes are used mainly to communicate ideas and precise information. It is a medium for the transmission of facts and the accurate description of processes and its structure reflects these functions. The meanings transmitted are explicit and nuances are expressed verbally. The speaker does not orientate his transmission of the code to the listener as in the restricted code but to the content of the message he wishes to convey. Bernstein found that

the working class were largely confined to the use of restricted codes in dealing with children, and while the middle class families also generate a restricted code they can supplement this with the elaborate code. The middle class mother is thus in a better position to offer explanations of phenomena to her child. This is not just a matter of having the knowledge, but being in possession of the code necessary to transmit such knowledge.

Because a middle class child learns a greater variety of codes, it is more likely to ask for meanings and explanations from its parents and more likely to get them answered. The middle class child's socialisation process not only leads to the greater development of measured intelligence, but also generates educationally favourable attitudes and norms of behaviour.

Both Bernstein and Lawton (30), in separate works, claim that a chasm occurs because of these language differences. A child with an understanding of only his own language (as opposed to the schools) finds it increasingly difficult as he/she progresses through the school. Middle class families tend to provide a more stimulating language environment and the child from the 'better' home merely develops the language he already knows whereas the poorer child has to learn a complete new language for use at school. This is important when interaction between the school and the pupil is discussed.

Thus the functionalist argument turns on the expressive component of

culture and the way in which society teaches individuals the values, beliefs and roles of the social system and the forms of behaviour appropriate to adult life. It also makes assumptions about a collectivity of culture and patterns of social behaviour which the conflict theorist would question.

The question of collectivity of culture arose when it was considered by some authorities that the social reforms of 1945/50 had removed the inequalities described in the Beveridge Report (31). Economists such as Galbraith (32) and Lydall (33) claimed that problems were now ones of affluence and politicians such as Crossland (34) argued that the Labour Party had achieved its economic aims and that the good life was to be brought about by Welfare and Keynesian economics.

Socialism had now to be brought about by increasing the amount and quality of access to the management class. Dahrendorf (35) claimed that since the start of the sixties there had been a separation of ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Shareholders were no longer powerful, he argued, and in any case trade unions, pension funds and the Government were large shareholders. The real power was wielded by managers. There was also visual evidence of working class wealth and sociologists such as Lewig (36), put forward theories of the embourgeoisement of the working class, a phenomenon first observed by Engels (37) in the 1850's.

The embourgeoisement thesis claims that as the number of manual occupations is declining relative to non-manual of white collar jobs, and that as this is leading to the decimation of the working classes, gradually more people will gain the degree of affluence hitherto enjoyed by a small number.

Goldthorpe and Lockwood (38) however, have critically analysed the embourgeoisement thesis in terms of its economic, normative and rational elements. Concerning the economic element they found that income differentials had narrowed but the middle class had more non-financial rewards, e.g. company car. Furthermore the working class were less likely to be happy with their work and had less prospect of promotion. Concerning the normative element they found that the working class had become privatised and were instrumental in their attitudes, an attribute they designated middle class. However, the working class tended still to vote Labour and join a trade union and even the incidence of house ownership did not have any significant effect. Finally, concerning the relational element, Goldthorpe and Lockwood claim that the working class did not want to become middle class, neither did the middle class want them. Culturally they maintained a separate identity. However, it was noted that the lower middle class were adopting working class attitudes.

With regard to income equality in 1965 Abel-Smith and Townsend (39) queried the fact that Britain was a more equal society. They found

that:

"On the whole the data we have presented contradicts the commonly held view that a trend towards equality had accompanied the trend towards greater affluence."

They also found that:

"Between 1953 and 1960 the Ministry of Labour surveys suggest that the number of persons living at low levels increased from 7.8 per cent to 14.2 per cent."

This work of Abel-Smith and Townsend was followed by Ken Coates' (40) study of the St. Anne's district of Nottingham in 1970 and a whole series of works in the early seventies on the 'new' poverty. Abel-Smith and Townsend (41) point out that nearly a third of these new poor were children.

Although the 1973 Conservative Government introduced family income supplement (F.I.S.) in response to this, as Frank Field (42) pointed out, only 50 per cent of those eligible actually received the supplement and Lynes and Young (43) added that there was a sliding scale and the F.I.S. operated a wages stop. Furthermore, during the seventies, Trinder (44) found that over the post war period the top 40 per cent actually improved their position and at the same time the bottom 30 per cent lost ground, and Atkinson (45) pointed out that what changes there were in income distribution in the post war era

were in the top 10 per cent of the scale. Frank Field (46)

concluded:

"The first official study on wages was made in 1886. It showed that the lowest male decile earnings were 68.6 per cent of average earnings. The information for 1973 shows that the poorest 10 per cent of male manual workers' earnings were at 67.3 per cent of average earnings. So although wages have risen considerably since 1886, the share going to the very poorest has remained almost unchanged since then."

Thus a strong argument can be made that inequalities have remained the same and that the 'two cultures' also remain. Furthermore, it can also be argued that there is no collectivity of culture in Britain but a plurality of life-styles and sub-cultures within British society. The education system, however, transmits images of behaviour that relate more closely to some life styles than to others. This is because success in learning depends upon the acceptance of values which are characteristically 'middle class'. This acceptance requires both acceptance of the values themselves and the vehicle for their transmission. As Jackson and Marsden (47) point out the process and content of the transmission of the expressive component by the education system is middle class and is easily assimilated by children from middle class homes, but less readily by children from working class homes.

In considering the process of transmission, it should be noted that Bernstein's linguistic deprivation theory has been challenged from

a conflict perspective. Rosen (48) for example states:

"Working class speech has its own strengths which the normal linguistic terminology has not been able to catch. There is no sharp dividing line between it and any other kind of speech, but infinite variations in the deployment of the resources of language."

According to Rosen much of Bernstein's work is based on an inadequate concept of class which lacks theoretical support resulting in a stereotyped view of working class life in general and its language in particular. Further, he attributes to middle class speakers in general certain rare and remarkable intellectual virtues, but there is an inadequate examination of the way in which their language is affected by their class position.

The problem for the working class as argued by Barnes, Britten and Rosen (49) is that, despite the vast potential of its language, expressive language is outlawed in schools, especially in those areas of the curriculum which supposedly demand the elaborate code - history, science, etc., in which school pupils are obliged to undergo a strange linguistic apprenticeship. The question is not that there is linguistic deprivation but linguistic discrimination. Labov (50) talking about Negro children in the U.S.A. sums it up precisely:

"They have the same basic vocabulary, possess the same capacity for conceptual learning and use the same logic as anyone else who learns to speak and

understand English But the myth of verbal deprivation is particularly dangerous, because it diverts attention from real defects of our educational system to imaginary defects of the child."

It is important also to note the role of the mass media. There is some debate as to whether the mass media deliberately reinforce the limitations of the working class to the restricted code or acts in response to the existence of such codes i.e. are the 'Sun', 'Mirror', and I.T.V. responses to this situation or are they one of the reasons why the working class are so restricted?

Hoggart (51) claims that working class culture is destroyed, trivialised and forced into conformity by pop songs, magazines and the 'working class' press. Blumen (52) on the other hand claims the opposite, that people choose papers that reflect their views, and Williams (53) puts forward the hypothesis that the mass media reflects peoples taste. As for television, more women watch than men and mass audiences seek entertainment, shunning 'cultural' programmes. Interestingly, television sets are the one consumer good where ownership decreases the higher up the social scale.

Crowther (54), however, found that 75% of working class parents wanted their children to do well, and concluded that the reason the majority of working class children did not stay on after 16 was sheer lack of knowledge of the system. Jackson and Marsden (55) verified

this and quoted the choice of primary school as a method of the middle class using their knowledge of the system.

However, the main problem for the working class pupil, according to Jackson and Marsden, was that the school is basically a middle class institution and that non-manual or middle class determined standards of behaviour are necessary in order to succeed academically. This tends to cause conflicts between the middle class school and the working class home, and Jackson and Marsden found a great wastage of the working class at 16 mainly as the result of conflict between parents, child and school.

In this respect the attitudes of the teacher should be analysed. A major factor in this respect has been the professionalisation of teachers. There is some disagreement as to what exactly constitutes a profession, but one certain criterion is that there is a body of knowledge involved. Therefore, the professionalisation of teachers derives from the assumption that there is increasing knowledge about the educational process. The emphasis here is on developmental psychology which may well conflict with assumptions derived from social engineering. Few teachers, however, believe that the school can, or should, perform its function without taking home background into account, and the desire to improve liaison between home and school is shared by many educationalists, especially those concerned with the early leaver. The child, however, may come to school ill-equipped

for, and hostile to, learning under any educational regime; but for the most part his educability depends on assumptions, values and aims personified in the teacher and embodied in the school organisation into which he is supposed to assimilate himself.

Teachers, themselves, come from a wide variety of backgrounds, but increasingly more and more are coming from the middle class and most will have learned middle class values anyway. This affects working class chances in a number of ways. Firstly there is a convergence between the social origins of teachers and the schools in which they teach. In general terms this means that the higher the status of the school the higher will be the social origin of its teachers. For example Kallon (56) found that teachers in boys public schools were predominantly ex-public school boys and Floud and Scott (57) found the higher the status of the school the more likely the teachers were to have come from an upper middle class background.

Although teachers do take background into account it is not always to the pupil's benefit. Children of the same ability are often treated according to their home background, the middle class tending towards the upper streams and the working class towards the lower streams. 'Dirty' children from large families are often placed in lower streams regardless of their ability. It is common knowledge that the process known as the 'self fulfilling prophesy' can operate and a child in an upper stream improves, whilst those in the lower deteriorate. For example at Woodlands School, Coventry, the

Headteacher, David Thompson found that by slipping a few 'less able' boys into the top streams (without telling the staff) he could 'miraculously' improve their exam performances. Even more 'astonishing' when the school introduced unstreamed classes in the first year it continued to name them 1A to 1D with the result that the boys in 1A, 'though no cleverer than the others, achieved an average exam position of fifth and the boys in 1D an average exam position of 101st. Streaming based on environment can lead to measurable differences which previously did not exist.

As well as pupils being streamed (or banded, or setted), so are teachers. The 'able' children who are well behaved (i.e. adapted to the school norms, so their teachers have few control problems and, therefore, emphasise the cultural transmission aspect of their role, which is often specific in that they are likely to be specialists) get different teachers than the 'less able' i.e. unruly. Less able children often present a greater social control problem for teachers, therefore, their teachers often function solely as agents of social control. As a result teachers tend to get streamed as well as children. More able children get more able teachers and conversely less able children get less able teachers. It must be noted, however, that definitions of ability in children often equates ability to understand and observe the discipline of the school organisation.

Hence it is generally the middle class child who benefits when choices

are made as to who goes up or down because the teacher knows that the middle class child will have parental backing, somewhere to do homework and will probably continue on to the sixth form. The working class child in the teachers eyes, has less interested parents, probably comes from a large family, has not the facilities ideal for homework and, due to economic pressures, or a failure to appreciate the value of education, will leave as soon as possible.

The very bright working class child can, however, work out what is required, whereas, the less bright have problems. Jackson and Marsden (58) say that there are three sub-cultures in the working class culture. The first is the solid working class, where the dominant ethos is pro-working class solidarity both within the community and the family. To achieve in education is contrary to the ethos, therefore, the working class child will deliberately not achieve in order to be accepted by his family, peers and community. The second sub-culture is the deprived working class, about 10% of the population. This group contained a few successes at 11+ but the lack of organisation within the family and its deprived state will mean that the child leaving school at the earliest opportunity. Finally there are the aspiring working class i.e. those working class families that aspire to middle class status.

Most working class achievers come from this last group, and Jackson and Marsden found at least one of the following factors was normally

present when a working class child achieved tertiary education; (i) an ambitious working class mother; (ii) a father active in the trade union or labour movement; or (iii) one or both parents 'sunken' middle class. Looking at the children themselves, Jackson and Marsden found that working class achievers could be put into two groups; (i) school orientated, (the largest group) that rejected the working class culture of the family and accepted the values of the school; and (ii) school dislikers, who rejected the values of the school but used it instrumentally to attain tertiary education.

Success in the education system is not without its attendant difficulties. The members of the working class that do make it into higher streams face all manner of problems. It is difficult for a child to be different within his own community. He is the odd one out who has gained a top stream of a Comprehensive. He will have few friends among his middle class form mates and may well be ashamed of his home and perhaps the ignorance of his parents, who will probably have left school at 14 or 15. The less able the child of a manual worker, the more difficulty it is to overcome the resultant culture conflict. As Halsey (59) states,

"The direct effect of the class hierarchy of families on educational opportunity has risen since the war."

The functionalist theoretician would counter that there is a high

proportion of students of working class origin in higher education, and Payne and Ford (60), amongst others, claim that there is a large degree of upward and downward mobility especially within the middle ranges. The main problem area is the socially deprived unskilled and semi-skilled group of workers and deviant sub cultures that arise from this deprivation. Merton (61), for example, claims that there is a problem with those who fail to achieve goals determined by society. These reactions can be; crime, i.e. attaining goals determined by society by non approved means; apathy; religion; or, retreat into private lives.

Cohen (62), developing Merton's theories, claims that there is a delinquent sub-culture which arises out of the unequal access to societal goals. The dominant societal, i.e. "middle class", values are imposed on the working class boy. He has to achieve in terms of these values, he cannot ignore them. Because of low educational performance when they attempt to achieve status in academic terms this leads to frustration and anxiety. The reaction to this stress situation is to replace middle class norms by a collective sub-cultural solution. The boys gain status through behaviour they can achieve. The stress is on the antithesis of school values, i.e. malicious, non-utilitarian, negative. The main aim is short run gratification and the sub-culture provides a group solution for 'status frustration'.

This theory does have its opponents, e.g. Cloward and Ohlin (63), who claim that the 'delinquent' youth sub-culture is not as described by Owen, but rational and utilitarian. It is the normal response of those making the transition from school to work who are faced with two

alternatives. The first is the college boy situation, where the working class boy succeeds in the middle class education system. This is difficult and involves a break from working class culture. The second solution is to accept the situation and, after a period of rebellion, revise aspirations downwards and achieve what is possible.

Furthermore, besides the internal structure of schools as middle class institutions there is also the case of the structure of the education system per se. Halsey, Heath and Ridge (64) state that the struggle by working class children to climb the educational ladder is as difficult now as it was 30 or 40 years ago, leading one commentator to assert that Britain is as much a "two-nation" state today as it was in Disraeli's time. Halsey concluded that the education system fails to provide equal opportunities for children from all backgrounds and that a major factor in this is the public school system, whereby bright children and well qualified teachers are creamed off by what he calls "the commercial sector".

The effects of this can be seen from Oxford and Cambridge entry. Only 42 per cent of undergraduates going to Cambridge and 47 per cent of those going to Oxford in 1980/1 were from state schools. (Interestingly state school girls gain a higher percentage of places at both universities than state school boys, but this could be a reflection of the fact that twice as many boys as girls are privately educated.) It has been suggested by some authorities that state

school pupils do not get into Oxford and Cambridge because their standards are not good enough. However, an analysis of the 'A' level results of 1979/80 Cambridge finalists shows that almost half of the state school and direct grant school pupils had three A grades at 'A' level compared with about a third of the independent school pupils. This would suggest that entry requirements for independent school pupils to Cambridge is less academically demanding than for State schools.

In terms of social class Oxford and Cambridge remain strongholds of the higher strata. Cambridge figures for 1979 show children of professional people, managers, technicians and administrators taking 70 per cent of all places compared with 54 per cent of all university places in the country. The Cambridge figures also show, over a period of years, a decline in the proportion of lower social class boys getting places.

Private school education in the United Kingdom, it should be noted, is attracting more pupils despite rising fees. In June 1979 over 318 thousand pupils were attending just over one thousand fee-paying schools, an increase of more than 13 thousand over June, 1978 (65). Four-fifths of the children who did go to independent and direct grant schools were from 'non-manual' families and their mean ability level was far above the average. Furthermore, as the National Child Development Survey (66) points out, those areas which still have local authority grammar schools are areas with a high concentration of

higher class families and high academic ability. Hence the middle class children who are not at independent schools tend to have access to state grammar schools. As a result, comprehensive schools, taken together, have been virtually indistinguishable from secondary modern schools in terms of their pupils' social class and intellectual ability (this point is analysed in depth later in the thesis).

When it comes to measuring social class, there is, however, a variety of problems. Social classes may be described, according to Ginsberg (67), as:

"portions of the community or collections of individuals, standing to each other in the relation of equality, and marked off from other proportions by accepted or sanctioned standards of inferiority and superiority. Within each class there is a fundamental equality which overrides minor differences and subgradations but between them there is a gap which can only be bridged with difficulty."

There are a number of factors involved in any definition of class such as education, speech, family structure and so on, but the backbone of the class structure of any Western Society is the occupational order. Other sources of economic and symbolic advantage do coexist alongside the occupational order, but for the vast majority of the population these tend, at best, to be secondary to those deriving from the division of labour. As Blau and Duncan (68) point out:

"The hierarchy of prestige strata and the hierarchy

of economic classes have their roots in the occupational structure; so does the hierarchy of political power and authority, for political authority in modern society is largely exercised as a full time occupation The occupational structure also is the link between the economy and the family, through which the economy affects the family's status and the family supplies manpower to the economy."

As Parkin (69) states, as far as Western capitalist societies are concerned, we can represent the backbone of the reward system as a hierarchy of broad occupational categories. This runs from high to low as follows:

- (1) Senior Professional, directors of large and medium size firms, managerial, and senior administrative.
- (2) Semi - and Junior Professional, directors of small firms, and lower administrative.
- (3) Routine white-collar.
- (4) Skilled-manual
- (5) Semi-skilled manual
- (6) Unskilled manual

Cutting across the division of the population into socio-economic groups is the question of family circumstances. It is argued that chances of survival in the education system depends to some extent on family size, either one parent families, or large families. Wedge and Prosser (70), for example state that:

"Children with only one parent at seven or eleven years of age are likely to have less help or attention than children with two parents."

They add that children in large families are also more likely to have less attention from adults and that:

"We found that at the age of seven or eleven more than one child in every six children (18%) lived in a family where there were five or more children."

They also noted that the proportion of eleven year old children who came from a large family or a one-parent family was one in four (23%). These families had less money to spend on each child and so they tended to leave education as soon as possible. Field (71), however, found that large middle class families did not show any difference in educational attainment when compared with small families and concluded that large families are not a cause of educational failure in themselves and failure is confined to working class large families.

Jackson and Marsden (72), in their Huddersfield study also found that those working class children who succeeded in reaching higher education tended to be either a single child, or an eldest child, or the youngest child from a large family. The Crowther Report (73) verified Jackson and Marsden's findings in this respect.

4.2 Neighbourhood Factors

Neighbourhood environment plays an important part in educational opportunity. Taylor and Ayres (74) point out that the educational opportunity available to a child is dependent partly on the variety and quality of the education provided in the area in which they live and partly on a number of non-educational factors in the environment. Rutter and Madge (75) drawing on evidence from Field (76) and Wells et al (77) point out that:

"(For example) the level of illiteracy remains high and there are marked differences between geographical areas in reading standards. Low attainments are especially marked in inner-city areas."

The conflict theory of environmental factors in educational inequality rests on the development of socio-geographical areas which have been achieved, according to Field (78), in three ways; (i) there has been a migration from the inner city; (ii) planning policies have creamed off many of the more able inner-city inhabitants; and, (iii) regional development policy has meant fewer capital resources have been available for inner city areas.

With regard to migration, a Department of the Environment (79) research project, published in 1976, found two significant trends in urban areas for the preceding twenty years; firstly a high proportion of the total population live in, or close by, Metropolitan economic

Labour Areas, (Cities or Urban Areas), 95.2% in 1951, 95.7% in 1971; and secondly the larger urban areas are loosing both populations and jobs. There has been a movement away from city centres. Some people have moved to locations on the periphery of the urban areas away from the core, while others have moved to medium sized towns. This movement has been of the more skilled, more socially mobile, salaried and professional workers with their progressive incomes, resulting in a high proportion of poor, old and handicapped in the urban centres.

With regard to planning policy, successive governments have concentrated on the movement of industry to assisted areas and out of London and other conurbation centres. This has contributed to high unemployment in these areas and is exacerbated by the decline of heavy industry, which is largely situated in these same areas. Much of the lost manufacturing industry where it has been replaced, has been by firms operating at lower worker densities. With an increase in commuting, migration, de-skilling and unemployment follow.

Finally, regional development policies e.g. the creation of new towns, new cities and expanded areas, mainly as a result of forecasts of ever increasing population made in the 1950's and 1960's, caused problems, particularly in the 1970's when the increase began to decline, and in 1975 the birth rate fell below replacement level. The effect of this policy on education has precluded the replacement of old schools in

areas of shrinking population because there were sufficient school places to accommodate the diminished number of school children; available capital was devoted to expanding areas.

This latter problem is expanded by Taylor and Ayres (80) who show that there is a variation amongst local authorities of the rate income spent on education.

"..... because the bulk of education expenditure - on teachers salaries, or student grants, or debt charges, on fuel, light and cleaning is fixed by national scales, the only way open to them to match income and outgoings is to economise precisely where the need is greatest - on repairs, maintenance and minor improvements of buildings; on books, equipment and other learning materials; and on supporting out-of-school activities for those children unable to afford them."

This disparity of provision amongst L.E.A's is well documented. Vaizey and Sheehan (81), for example, looking at education expenditure between 1920 and 1965 and Pratt (82) looking at comparative local authority spending in the late 1960's, all came to the conclusion that there were wide variances in spending per head of population between L.E.A's. These findings were verified by Byrne, Williamson and Fletcher (83) who looked at socio-spacial aspects of educational achievement, and found that in the case of North-East England:

"While, as one might expect, there is a negative relationship between available wealth of an L.E.A. and the proportion of its constituents in the

lowest social classes, there is a strong positive relationship between the proportion in the social classes D/E and the proportionate financial importance the L.E.A. attaches to education."

They further point out, that the above phenomenon occurred independently of the size of the authority.

The effect of this disparity is compounded by variations within authorities. The Centre for Independent Studies of North East London Polytechnic has produced a report (84) which demonstrates that not only do authorities have a mal-distribution of resources between selective and non-selective schools, but differences between schools of the same type, even within nominally non-selective systems, are occurring. The report looked at one metropolitan L.E.A. and found that there was a significant difference in terms of the provision of resources amongst the Comprehensive Schools in the L.E.A's area, and that there was a negative correlation between the amount of resources that the school got and the amount of deprivation in the catchment area. The report concluded that "public provision in education is positively helping to maintain what is crudely called 'social deprivation'."

This variation of provision in education is reflected in both government thought and action. The Government still retains control of building programmes and money has been allocated to areas of increasing population, of new housing developments and where local

authorities had high expectations of growth in demand for education. In older inner city areas, where children have been taught in old and inadequate buildings the authorities had projected a low estimate of demand. The variations in the provision between the schools of higher income suburbs and those of inner cities or council estates are largely confirmed by the official reports of the Department of Education and Science. For example the Paper 'A Policy for Inner Cities' (85) states that in many inner areas schools are old, on cramped sites, and lacking in essential facilities.

The net effect of such problems is cumulative. Such facilities do not attract or retain the best teachers, neither do they gain parent or pupil support. Also the previous described out flow of skilled workers has compounded the problem. Finally, cuts in public expenditure since 1973 have affected the provision of facilities in inner urban areas. The 1973 public building moratorium hit inner-areas particularly badly.

However, these theories are contested. Elaine Potter (86), for example, discussing the works of Rutter and Madge (87), claims that:

"..... for example, the state of repair, age of building and provision of resources as reflected in the amount spent per pupil are of negligible importance for educational attainment. Class size and even school appear to be irrelevant ..
.... Children in streamed and unstreamed schools also appear to make much the same progress on average."

There is also evidence that some schools produce better results than others, particularly with regard to the prevention of delinquency, when the social class intake is similar. Power (88) in 1967 followed by Rutter (89) found that there is something about certain schools that makes a difference to the amount of pupil delinquency, although this is questioned by Farrington (90). Current research by Reynolds, Jones and St. Leger (91), however, reinforces the Power and Rutter argument that the quality of the school is important in determining childrens' educational success or failure and not necessarily the local environment.

According to the functionalist theory there are three factors involved in the quality, or otherwise, of the neighbourhood environment, namely physical decay; economic decline; and adverse social conditions. However, normally a combination of the three is found. Pearson (92) claims that economic decline is at the heart of the problem but that one problem leads to another. He states that in the first place, there has been a sharp decline in the number of inner city jobs and high levels of unemployment, partly consequential on the loss of jobs and partly because the jobs available and skills of the people in these areas do not fit. Added to this is the fact that people in these areas are badly served in terms of education, health, social service, community and recreational provision, and there are heavy concentrations of ethnic minorities with the attendant race relations problems. Furthermore, Pearson adds, housing in these areas is poor and the physical environment is bad with dereliction, vandalism,

unwelcome traffic and a worn out infrastructure. As Pearson points out, the conclusions of the White Paper 'Policy for the Inner Cities' (93) differs very little from those of Engles (94) in 1844.

Housing conditions are obviously important and the Department of the Environment Survey of 1971 (95) showed that 12% of dwellings had no private W.C., 10% had no fixed bath in a separate room and 12% lacked a washbasin. In all, one sixth of dwellings lacked at least one of the basic facilities. This represented about four-fifths of unfit houses and over one eighth of those not unfit. These houses were mainly found in the centre of conurbations, and Stevens and Ferguson (96) suggest, that from the results of a survey they conducted, dwelling and environment broadly reinforce social class in providing conditions conducive or unconducive to successful study and a positive outlook. Douglas (97) also found a correlation between unsatisfactory housing conditions and underachievement.

Two examples of how housing environment effects educational opportunity are given by Professors Eggleston (98) and Mays (99). Eggleston's work discusses the distinctive social climates of the various types of urban locality and how these influence school achievement. Eggleston believes there are recognisable communities which provide an illuminating guide to the expectations and requirements of the population of the school catchment area. May's work, in contrast to Eggleston, deals with an urban area and emphasises the importance of the neighbourhood way of life, its patterns of norms and values.

According to Mays, life in these localities appears confused and disorganised.

"In and about the squalid streets and narrow courts, along the landings and staircases of massive blocks of tenement flats which are slowly replacing the decayed terraces the young people gather at night to follow with almost bored casualness the easy goals of group hedonism."

Thus social deprivation causes social disorganisation which causes deviant sub cultures to appear. This line of thinking owes much to the 'Chicago School' of the early 30's and late 40's, and has been developed by people such as Thrasher (100) who sees delinquency as a natural progression from, and a consequence of, a childhood search for excitement in a frustrating and limiting environment. Morris (101) on Croydon, and Jephcott and Carter (102) on Radby (an English Midland Town) say that delinquency is caused by pockets of problem families with little social control over their children, low standards of child care and lack of emotional stability in the home. In this situation the young adolescent joins a deviant sub-culture by a process described by Sutherland (103) as differential association. The problem of urban deprivation is complicated by the existence of ethnic minorities.

The 1971 Census shows that a majority of ethnic minority families are concentrated in the areas of worst housing. The P.E.P. Report (104)

showed that 88% of a national sample of minorities lived in pre-1939 dwellings, compared with 48% of the whole population and that 30% of West Indians shared their dwellings compared with 3.8% of whites. The P.E.P. Report also showed that 34% of West Indians lived in conditions of two or more people per bedroom compared with only 11% of whites.

According to the 1971 Census, 51% of white women of child-bearing age were working, whereas 60% of West Indian women in this age group were at work. Furthermore, there is evidence that minority group mothers of children under five are likely to work longer hours than white mothers. Also a higher percentage of ethnic minority men were employed as unskilled labourers than were indigenous men, with consequent lower incomes.

The class dimension is propounded by, amongst others, Little (105) who claims that there is prejudice and discrimination arising out of a class/colour continuum. Blacks are thus consigned to the lowest socio-economic class as a result of Britain's Imperial/Colonial past. However, where comparisons between white and black working class children can be made e.g. Redbridge (106), although there was no appreciable difference in economic circumstances, there was a significant difference in educational achievement.

The special racial dimension to deprivation has been analysed by the

Community Relations Commission (107) as comprising;

- "(A) A greater degree of deprivation: ethnic minorities are disproportionately represented in the categories of those experiencing urban deprivation and social disadvantage, compared to the general population; and they experience a greater degree of deprivation than white groups of the same socio-economic groupings;
- (b) special clusters of multi-deprivation; there exists for ethnic minorities particular clusters of deprivation and need, such as are not experienced together by the white population; and
- (C) distinctive causes of deprivation; the factors that cause ethnic minorities to experience urban deprivation and social disadvantage differ from the causes of indigenous deprivation; a major cause of deprivation for minorities is social discrimination."

There is also a problem of unequal distribution of resources as the C.R.C. (108) points out;

"At present, local authorities tend to by-pass the issue; the special needs of ethnic minorities are rarely discussed in local government committees and policies are determined on the basis of a definition of 'need' which overlooks racial dimensions. The practitioners (teachers, social workers, etc.) providing services are aware of the special needs of minorities and endeavour within their limitations to adapt their professional efforts to meet such needs, but leaving it to the practitioners has the effect of providing ad hoc adaptations"

Most research work on educational under-achievement has been undertaken as if differences in life chances between ethnic groupings

do not exist.

Concerning differences in educational achievement, available evidence (109) suggests that under-achievement, relative to the population as a whole, is particularly significant among West Indian children.

There is, however, a lack of statistics due partly to a debate as to whether ethnic minorities should be classified as such.

According to the Commission on Racial Equality, racial groups should be classified;

"We recognise the delicacy and complexity of this subject but take the view that L.E.A's and schools should make a firm decision in favour of such classification as a basis for assessing achievement, locating need and ensuring equal opportunity in education for minority groups."

Urban deprivation according to the paper "The Deprived Child" (110) is concentrated in three main areas; income, housing and home circumstances. However;

"it is not just the existence of these (three) conditions; it is the concentration that is most significant."

This leads to 'Multiple-Deprivation';

"For instance children who live in poor housing tend also to come from overcrowded accommodation

in depressed inner-city areas and have a father doing unskilled or semi-skilled manual work."

The connection between the three areas of deprivation is well documented. Bromley has an infant mortality rate of 12.4% whereas Lambeth has an infant mortality rate of 20.8%. As Wedge and Prosser (111) point out;

"One in sixteen (children) suffered adversity after adversity heaped upon them before birth; their health was poorer; their school attainment lower; and their physical environment worse in almost every way than that of ordinary children."

The result of theories of urban deprivation has led to the development of social policies based on 'objective' definitions of subsistence developed by social scientists and administrators, or on subjective definitions of need as advocated by Pinker (112) and Runciman (113). The net result has been to try and identify problems e.g. large families which result in the 'cycle of deprivation' and to formulate policies to overcome these problems and enable the person concerned to break the cycle.

The hope was that ways could be found of breaking this cycle. As the 'Deprived Child' (114) pointed out:

"(Social deprivations) feed upon one another, so that the individual becomes trapped in a total situation from which there seems to be no escape."

Thus, discussion tends to revolve around the best policies for breaking this cycle, e.g. the universalist/selectivist debate, and to the exact nature of deprivation, e.g. the economic analysis of Atkinson (115), or the socio-cultural analysis of Valentine (116). Other disputes have centred around the nature of urban development and poverty, resulting in disputes between planners and geographers tied down to an analysis of geometric and/or technical problems and sociologists who have denied that fundamental social processes have a spacial expression at all. The major attempt to make a theoretical bridge has come from David Hanway (117) who comments:

"The rich command space while the poor are trapped by it."

4.3 Gender Factors

Most research work on educational under-achievement has been undertaken as if differences in life chances between the sexes do not exist. Although it is true that women have generally acquired their social position based on their father's or husband's status, it is more and more the case that they contribute significantly to a joint status through their occupations outside the home. In addition a sizeable number of women are striking out on their own, remaining single, and, through their occupations, determining their own social position.

What evidence we have from pre comprehensivisation shows that the same number of girls achieved grammar school places as boys but that many fewer got to university. What emerges from research on this topic is that cultural, psychological and economic resources are rarely expended on a girl in the same way as a boy and that working class girls are doubly disadvantaged in this way. The main research in this field was undertaken by Kelsall (118). She found that male graduates exploited their degrees more than women. Half the women were not working and most of the rest were teaching. Only 12% expected to have a satisfactory career.

The proportion of women in the workforce, however, has rapidly increased in the last decade. In the first place declining family size and hence the shorter period of child rearing has left women with

more time to devote to work, for, as Mydral and Kline (119) point out, in 1900 a woman of twenty had a life expectancy of forty-six years, of which one third was spent raising children. In 1958 a woman of twenty had a life expectancy of sixty-five years, of which, on average, eight years were spent bearing and raising children to school age. Also, eighty per cent of middle class women were found to work through pregnancy and return to work as soon as possible.

It is now generally accepted that a marriage and family are no longer an end to paid employment, merely an interruption. The Department of Employment (120) in August, 1971, forecast that by 1986, 71% of working women will be married compared with only 42.9% in 1951.

The position at school level is that the distinction between 'boys' and 'girls' subjects, i.e. maths/science c.f. arts, is tending to diminish (121). Furthermore, the number of girls taking both 'O' and 'A' levels over all subjects is growing proportionately much faster than the number of boys. Figures in a NATFHE policy statement (122) about women's education show that while the Robbins Report (123) in 1963 predicted that 6.3% of girls would get two or more 'A' levels in 1963, the actual figure in that year was 8.6. The predicted figure for 1970 was 6.6 and the actual 11.3.

With reference to further education, D.E.S. statistics (124) establish that more girls than boys enter full-time F.E. on leaving school. However, by the age of eighteen male full-time students have

begun to overtake females and the disparity grows for the older age groups. Furthermore, further education statistics for 1979 (125) demonstrate the nature of further educational opportunities for women. The female full-time students in F.E. include a high proportion taking secretarial, clerical or similar courses. The statistics also reflect the disadvantage of women in employment generally with only a small number of females obtaining their employers' co-operation to take sandwich or day-release courses. This is particularly evident when it is recognised that the majority of girls in this age group obtaining day release are in a single industry - hairdressing.

However, some progress has been made in terms of the numbers of women entering higher education and in the range of subjects studied. It should be noted, on the other hand, that in engineering and technology, while the numbers of women students grew from 297 in 1969 to 1,200 in 1975, the numbers of men grew even faster, from 2,426 to 9,499. Furthermore, while the numbers of females staying on at school and taking 'A' levels would seem to demonstrate an equalisation of education chances between males and females, the figures for the destination of school leavers shows that post-school education has an uneven distribution between the sexes, with a higher proportion of males taking University or Polytechnic degrees, and a higher proportion of women taking teacher training or other courses. (126).

Women continue to provide the majority of students in the fields of

languages and literature, health and welfare and education. This latter case has a particular importance, as historically teacher education has been a major provider of higher education opportunities for women and girls. The massive cutback in teacher education in the mid seventies reduced initial teacher education places from 117,000 at the point of maximum growth in 1972 to 47,600 by 1981. The scale of the problem is highlighted by the fact that while the number of women teacher education students fell by 10,000 between 1975 and 1976, the number of women on other advanced courses rose by only 7,000 in the same period (127).

Finally, professional and vocational education at advanced levels is still mainly a male reserve. A survey of 19 major professional bodies in 1972 (128) indicated that in only 4 bodies (law, town planning, medicine and dentistry) did womens' membership reach 5% with none reaching 18%. This reflects the limited opportunities for women to study and enter the professions and is equally true of most careers involving lengthy training.

The problem, according to Wolfe (129), lies in the relationship between the education system and the labour market i.e. between the type of education and the level of attainment on the one hand and position in the occupational structure on the other. Women comprise a significant proportion of the working population and the trend now is towards an overall increase in the number of gainfully employed women. It would

appear, according to the latest census, that more and more families are dependent on the earnings of women and the phenomenon of the mother as a major, or sole, breadwinner of the family is no longer an isolated one.

However, by looking at the three main sectors of the occupational hierarchy, i.e. the elite, the skilled workers and the semi-skilled/unskilled, it can be seen that women are in an extremely disadvantaged position. Irrespective of an increasing band of girls taking 'A' levels, there are proportionately far fewer women than men in the universities and those few who do obtain professional qualifications are unlikely to reach the top of their professions, nor receive equal pay commensurate with that of their male colleagues. Girls with lower attainment and qualifications are pre-empted in the main from entering skilled occupations. This is achieved, according to Wolfe, in three ways; (i) lack of basic requirements throughout schooling; (ii) the operation of the apprenticeship system; and, (iii) further education on a full-time basis being restricted to the areas of hairdressing, secretarial and business courses, and she quotes Newsom (130) in support.

The remainder, girls without exams or with the minimal levels of attainment, are destined to work in all sectors of manufacturing, industrial and service areas of the economy in jobs that require minimal skills and it is in such jobs that a very large proportion of women work.

However, not withstanding the occupational roles they may fill in the future, much of the emphasis of the education (and particularly for the last group of girls) is not on their working lives but on their roles as wives and mothers. It can be said that this latter role is the one which is viewed as the most significant function of women in society and this role is reinforced by other agencies such as the family, the mass media and by peer group pressures. Thus women provide semi and unskilled labour and constitute a reserve army of labour in times of boom, but their main function in life is the reproduction of labour power and their education reflects this. This position is argued by, amongst others, Sparrow (131).

This conflict interpretation of the phenomenon is disputed. Some authorities take a historical approach e.g. Sharpe (132) and Deem (133), others take a feminist approach, e.g. Kagen (134) and Millett (135).

Deem claims that girls are caught in a vicious circle, because their initial socialisation, and subsequent adoption of home-based cultures, predisposes them towards certain kinds of school subject, particularly those which utilise the verbal skills which develop more quickly in girls than in boys at primary school. Thus, on entering secondary school, instead of trying to develop new skills in numeracy and spatial and mechanical ability, girls concentrate on those verbal skills already established.

Furthermore, they may be encouraged to do this by teachers and parents precisely because they are good in some subjects and weak in

others. If in addition sciences and maths are perceived by many girls to be 'masculine' subjects, and where pre-emptive patterns of curricula or blocking together of specialist options effectively prevent, or make difficult, girls' opportunities to take technical subjects, then girls are pushed more and more towards the arts, or biology as a suitable 'feminine' science.

Once these patterns of subject choice are established public examination entries and pass rates reflect them, and may serve to stop girls from ever going beyond the narrow occupational confines of arts discipline. Furthermore, whilst entry to jobs and H. or F.E. remains heavily dependent on having obtained passes in particular subjects at C.S.E. or G.C.E., specialisation in certain subjects, to the exclusion of others, means that girls are deprived of the chance for certain types of higher and further education and occupations. All commentators on the phenomenon, however, agree that the curriculum within the school, both the manifest and the hidden, are normally organised to reinforce the position of women and restrict both their desire to enter post compulsory education and their opportunity to do so. This point was emphasised by Wilby (136) who, in an article in the Sunday Times, pointed out that evidence from G.C.E. examination boards showed that new style 'O' level exams were damaging girls' chances of passing. The latest research, presented to a Cambridge conference on sex prejudice, suggests that boys usually do much better than girls on multi-choice questions (whereas girls are better at

essay questions). Multi-choice questions are being more and more used in G.C.E. exams.

Finally, the Equal Opportunities Commission have suggested that bias against girls and women in higher education was bound to increase because of the current expenditure cuts. This, they argue, was because women rely more on discretionary than mandatory grants and were, therefore, particularly affected by cuts being made by local authorities. This, according to the then Education Secretary, Shirley Williams, speaking in 1979, was being compounded by the reinforcement of local prejudices notably in the North.

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Chapter Five.

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters analysed some of the theories concerning the phenomenon under consideration. Theory, as the ultimate aim of science, has acquired a variety of definitions, but perhaps Kerlinger's (1) definition seems to be useful for social science.

"A theory is a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations among variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena."

The bridge between theory and research is the hypothesis. The hypothesis is a conjectural statement that indicates a relationship between at least two variables, which provides a means to test the theory objectively against reality. The hypothesis of this thesis, as stated in chapter one, is:

"Aspirations for higher education are constant with regard to:

- (1) L.E.A. areas, type of educational institution, type of course and mode of attendance, and
- (2) Socio-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of residence and gender.

Once the hypothesis has been posited the next stage is to test it, which involves the collection of data in such a way as to allow the hypothesis to be disproved as well as proved. No research results,

however, are better than the methods by which they are obtained, and between the original problem formulation and the final application of research results to that problem there are many different choices of approach, and within choices of methods there are even more diverse criteria to be taken into consideration.

According to Bazun (2) any research must meet the demands of two sets of questions; is the account true, reliable, complete? Is it clear, orderly, easy to grasp and remember? This involves empirically checking theory by the development and testing of hypotheses deduced from theory and the provision of data for accepting, rejecting, reformulating or refining and clarifying the basic generalisations of the theory.

LITERATURE SEARCH

The first strategy in any research is a review of the existing literature on the subject matter. This strategy can be broken down into; initial reading; and the analysis of existing written data. Initial reading includes the relevant books and articles which already exist on the problem being looked at and this can help refine the project and clarify the question asked. In addition to these books and articles, however, there is also much published information, frequently in the form of statistics, which can be helpful, as can reports and returns of professional bodies and other relevant written records such as newspapers, periodicals and popular journals which

contain articles about the problem being investigated.

The process by which material has been collected for some other purpose which is re-interpreted and analysed in terms of the hypothesis and the concepts of the thesis is known as secondary analysis, and in most areas of research there is an almost inexhaustible supply of material. The interpretation of this material, however, is only meaningful in terms of its broader implications for an understanding of the particular social phenomenon under investigation. To arrive at such understanding the researcher often has to apply statistical analysis when dealing with mass phenomena of contemporary social life. This thesis uses statistics drawn from government and other official sources to a large extent. When using official statistics it is important to bear in mind the three points outlined by Margaret Stacey (3), to be taken into consideration; (i) they only exist where some area of social life is controlled; (ii) it is essential to know the conditions under which the figures were collected and the definitions which were used; and (iii) the reorganisation of government departments leads to certain changes.

Statistical data is sometimes described as an unobtrusive measure, as opposed to questionnaires and interviews. Unobtrusive measures can be very misleading because of their seeming completeness and representativeness. However, perhaps the main problem in the use of statistics as data is pointed out by Halsey (4):

"In practice the problem remains largely that of adapting to social science ends statistics, which, from the point of view of the researcher, are a by-product of administrative and organisational activity."

Furthermore, the theoretical inadequacy of available data can be serious, for example the Registrar General's concept of social class, may not correspond with other definitions.

Statistical data does, however, have its advantages and supporters.

Blumer (5) points out:

"..... their advantages are clearly considerable. In coverage and representativeness the data is often much better than an individual researcher can achieve. Registration data and some census data are available on a hundred per cent basis, other census topics are available for a ten per cent sample of the population. Compared to most other surveys, the F.E.S.* and the G.H.S.* have very much larger samples and, therefore, permit finer analysis of particular inter-relations of variables."

The following sources of data for secondary analysis were used in this thesis:

- (1) text and other books concerning the subject matter of the thesis. A bibliography is appended,
- (2) administrative, educational, political, social, sociological and other relevant periodicals,

* F.E.S. = Family Expenditure Survey.
G.H.S. = General Household Survey.

- (3) the educational press, particularly Education Guardian, T.H.E.S., T.E.S., and the educational correspondents and articles from the national press.
- (4) the local press, mainly the East London Guardian and Observer groups.
- (5) material produced by the three local authorities where the research took place in the form of reports, leaflets, minutes of meetings, etc.,
- (6) material produced by national and local pressure groups such as N.A.T.F.H.E., N.U.T., C.R.C., Redbridge Community Relations Council, etc.,
- (7) miscellaneous items in reference sections of the local libraries, and
- (8) statistical data from governmental, L.E.A., and other sources.

The above information was obtained mainly in the first two years of the thesis 1976-1978, and then regularly updated. The press references and some of the periodical reviews occurred later in the study. The information was obtained from Brunel University Library; North East London Polytechnic Library; Barking, Newham and Redbridge Borough Libraries; Barking, Newham and Redbridge Education Departments; Barking, Newham and Redbridge Town Clerks' Departments; and from various interest groups.

Pre-existing data has the advantages of already being collected and is non-reactive. Webb (6) emphasises that the reactive effects of survey research have important consequences for the validity of the data which they yeild. Unobtrusive measures are non-reactive, which argues powerfully in their favour. However, a major problem with

any secondary analysis is that most of the existing work is written from the viewpoint of particular commentators with particular value systems. This thesis, therefore, as well as using existing data and applying secondary analysis to it, also uses data collected with the specific hypothesis in mind and upon which primary analysis is conducted.

There are two methods of collecting data for primary analysis used in this thesis, the questionnaire and the interview. The purpose of these data gathering devices is to translate the research objectives into specific questions, with the answers providing the data necessary to test the hypothesis. The information obtained by these methods in this research is both quantitative and qualitative. With qualitative data the social scientist has a unique advantage over students of the natural sciences because, not only can he observe what happens, he can also ascertain why a particular actor behaves the way he does. Furthermore, whilst the basic framework of an institution remains constant, divergent perceptions of those within the framework may actually affect its policies and efficiency. This is particularly so where there are divergent and conflicting perceptions based on conflict and functionalist analyses. The effect of conflicting views and the perceptual differences of those involved in the provision of education are evaluated, and the effects of these on policy are discussed.

This area, that of political decision making is described by Michael Kirst (7) as:

"a new and still largely uncharted area of research concentration."

As Halsey (8) points out:

"We know surprisingly little about the process by which the structure of power influences the shape of educational systems. Even the decision-making approach, a staple of conventional political science, has been rarely applied to the study of the educational system..... given the large and growing state spending on education and the concern of political scientists with the politics of the budgetary process, the shortage of educational decision-making studies seems curious indeed."

CHOICE OF GEOGRAPHICAL AREA

The data was collected from three local authorities. The authorities chosen for the research were Bamford, Newton and Rishworth. These were chosen for their contiguity and their proximity to the author's place of work (North East London Polytechnic). They also provide a fairly comprehensive spread of social conditions within an urban metropolis, and in that context a fairly comprehensive cover of most of the problems contained in sixteen to nineteen provision.

Letters were sent to the Chief Education Officers (C.E.Os.) of the

three boroughs concerned in February, 1978 requesting research facilities. Affirmative replies were received on the 14th, 6th and 13th March, 1978 respectively. The initial research contact was with Bamford, resulting in several months being spent in the education offices, talking to the C.E.O. and senior members of his staff and the Principal Careers Officer and members of his staff. Further contact was made with the C.E.O. on 3rd December, 1979 when a draft of the questionnaire was sent with a letter requesting facilities to carry out research in Bamford schools and Bamford College of Technology. A reply was sent on 13th December to the effect:

"Thank you for your letter of the 3rd December and the copies of the final draft of the questionnaire.

I have discussed this with Head Teachers of the comprehensive schools in the borough and also with the Principal of Bamford College of Technology Head Teachers and the Principal are aware of the questionnaire which they will be receiving from you and will be pleased to co-operate."

Contact was made with the Comprehensive School Heads and eight of the twelve agreed to co-operate with the research. Three others wrote back to explain that although they would like to co-operate their sixth formers would not. A typical reply was:

"Thank you for your letter. Although I am very interested in your research, I am afraid that my sixth form tutor, after discussion with sixth form students at this school, and our Careers teacher,

said that they would not be happy to participate by answering your questions, etc.....

I must say that I have noticed in the past that my sixth form students as a group are not particularly willing to involve themselves in this sort of activity. The last occasion when I sought their assistance over a similar piece of research being conducted by post graduate students at a university, produced a similarly negative result. Whatever their reason, if they are opposed to answering these questions, it is unlikely that the research is going to be of any great validity."

A short correspondence was started with the Principal of Bamford College of Technology on 25th January, 1980 resulting in permission being granted for research to be carried out in the college.

After the initial contact with Newton, it was not until the beginning of 1980 when the questionnaire was completed that a follow up letter was sent to the Director of Education requesting permission to carry out the research. A letter was received from the Director stating:

"I readily give permission for you to approach schools and the Principals of Weston and Easton colleges.

I have today written to all concerned requesting their co-operation."

Letters were sent to the head teachers of Newton Comprehensive schools in February 1980. Twelve of the sixteen comprehensive heads gave an affirmative reply to the request for research facilities. The head

teacher of one school could not grant me an interview or questionnaire facilities because a major inspection was taking place, while another had someone undertaking a major piece of research in the school and felt unable to cope with a second research project.

Letters were also sent to the Principals of the two Newton Colleges. The Principal of Easton College replied in the affirmative but, after a meeting with the Principal of Weston College, a letter was received from the Vice-Principal to the following effect:

"Thank you for meeting the Principal on the 28th February to discuss the questionnaire.

As promised, we have shown and discussed your questionnaire with our Heads of Departments. Unanimously they express the view that as the departments have already completed so many questionnaires this year, this has produced an excessive workload on all staff and thus they must say 'enough's - enough."

The Principal of Easton College of Technology notified his heads of department of the research and requested their co-operation, and contact was made with the heads via the telephone during March, 1980.

The C.E.O. of Rishworth referred me to his Senior Education Officer (S.E.O.) for Further Education in the first instance. A discussion followed with the S.E.O. - F.E. on 20th April, 1979 which resulted in a number of discussions with members of his staff, and with the Principal Careers Officer and members of his staff. On the

11th February, 1980 a request was made to the Principal of Rishworth Technical College for research facilities which were granted after a discussion with the Principal later that month. The Principal informed the five heads of department who had students studying courses relevant to the research and requested their assistance. As with Easton College of Technology contact was made with individual heads of department during March, 1980.

The question of research within Rishworth schools, however, lay outside the province of the S.E.O. (F.E.) and so a letter was sent to the S.E.O. (Schools) on 7th February, 1980. Permission to carry out research in Rishworth schools was granted on 3rd March, 1980 after a discussion between the S.E.O. (Schools) and myself.

"Following our recent meeting, I am writing to confirm that I have no objection to your approaching the Head Teachers of secondary schools in the Borough to seek their help with your research on the above subject (pupils motivation for entering post compulsory education.)"

The head teachers of one of the two grammar schools in the borough and seven of the eleven comprehensive schools with sixth forms at the time of the survey agreed to provide me with research facilities.

Finally the four independent schools in the area were contacted during March, 1980 and all four agreed to co-operate in the research.

Copies of the letters sent to Heads of Bamford schools, Heads of Newton schools, Heads of Rishworth schools and Principals of Independent schools are contained in appendices I to IV.

INTERVIEWS

The purpose of the interviews was to obtain the perceptions of the various providers and recipients of 16 - 19 education in the three boroughs as to that provision, and to ascertain any underlying value assumptions of significant individuals, groups of individuals, professional associations and others. This qualitative data was used partly to test the hypothesis and partly to place in context and tentatively advance explanations of the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires.

Interviews took place during the 1979/80 academic year and some one hundred people were interviewed. These interviews can be categorised into the various groups in the provision of sixteen to nineteen education in the three boroughs, namely: politicians; L.E.A. administrators; L.E.A. advisors/inspectors; careers officers; teachers at L.E.A. schools; teachers at independent schools; teachers at the further education colleges; students at L.E.A. schools; students at independent schools; and students at further education colleges. A list of those interviewed is contained in appendix V.

At no time was I refused an interview by anyone and all respondents

were extremely co-operative. It should be noted that the purpose of this part of the research was to get individuals to put their own point of view rather than the official view of their employing authority. The two could, of course, coincide.

Interviews were unstructured, allowing maximum freedom for the interviewees to express their views on the subject. My role in the interviews was limited to keeping the conversation relevant and suggesting areas for discussion where necessary. While there are advantages in structured interviews, e.g. the standardised interview helps eliminate needless questions and formalised questions means simpler coding, computing and tabulation processes, there are also many disadvantages. One criticism comes from Warner and Lunt (9) who argue that a researcher cannot comprehend the complexities of social action or human motives merely by posing questions in a highly stylised formal manner. Another criticism is pointed out by Sjoberg and Nett (10):

"If as commonly happens, the interviewee takes exception to the manner in which the questions are posed the interviewer must either try to pass it off, or else hastily revise his carefully planned procedure. A more informal approach on the other hand allows the interviewer greater flexibility in phrasing and rephrasing his queries; he can watch the informants reactions and word his questions accordingly."

It must be noted, however, that the term 'unstructured' is deceptive as some form of structure is inevitable, no matter how informal, if

a social scientist is to clarify his goals. There is, none the less, considerable freedom in the questioning procedure compared with structured interviews. Characteristically, the emphasis is on the informant's world of meaning and his/her categories are used rather than those of the research. This is particularly the case where the research is looking at possible conflicts of perception based on different theoretical analyses. In the case of this research any prompting re class, family, area, etc., would have directed the respondent. As it was essential that the respondent's perception of what was causing the lack of potential take up of higher education (or even if there was such a problem) was obtained, it was left to respondents to define if there was such a problem, and if so, what was its cause. After the data has been collected, it can then be analysed within the researchers own frame of reference.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire was designed for the purpose of obtaining both quantitative and qualitative data from the recipients of 16 - 19 education in order to test the hypothesis.

The first draft of the questionnaire was a result of the secondary analysis mentioned earlier in the chapter. A number of pilot surveys were undertaken, using this draft, at West Ham College, Newham; Barking College of Technology, Barking; Hassenbrook comprehensive school, Essex; and West Hatch comprehensive school, Essex. As a

result of these pilot surveys the questionnaire was radically redesigned. However, the final design of the questionnaire used in the thesis was arrived at during the period 1979/80 in discussions with the Chief Education Officer of Bamford and members of his staff, although other academics and practitioners in the field of study with expertise either in questionnaire design or in the technicalities of the problem under investigation also contributed to the final product.

The questionnaire was specifically designed to meet the criteria set out at the beginning of the chapter for research techniques, to provide the data for accepting, rejecting, reformulating or refining and clarifying the basic generalisations of theory by means of testing hypotheses deduced from theory.

The questions contained in the questionnaire are thus constructed to provide the data by which the hypothesis of this thesis can be tested.

The basic questionnaire used in the research is contained in this thesis as appendix VI. However, there were five variants of the questionnaire used, one for 'A' level schools students, one for full-time 'A' level college students, one for part-time 'A' level students, one for full-time vocational course students, and one for part-time vocational course students. Some information was pre-coded on the questionnaires, namely:

- (i) type of questionnaire
- (ii) case number,
- (iii) L.E.A.
- (iv) type of school (where appropriate),
- (v) name of school (where appropriate),
- (vi) gender
- (vii) mode of attendance,
- (viii) type of course, and
- (ix) further education college department
(where appropriate).

All students were asked the following sets of questions:

- (i) date of birth, (Q1)
- (ii) G.C.E., C.S.E., and other exam successes,
(Q2, Q3, Q4),
- (iii) G.C.E. and other exams to be taken,
(Q5, Q6, Q7).
- (iv) Aspirations at the end of their course, as to
university, other higher education, or work,
* (Q13, Q14),
- (v) the reasons for their decision, (Q15, Q16)
- (vi) attitudes to non-university higher education,
(Q17, Q18),
- (vii) area of study of those aspiring to higher
education, (Q19)
- (viii) extent of information on higher education,
(Q20, Q21),
- (ix) home address, type of house and ownership
status, (Q22, Q23, Q24),
- (x) family circumstances, father and mother's
occupation, and position in and size of the
family (Q27, Q28, Q29, Q30, Q31, Q32, Q33)

School students were asked one extra question: 'Why did you stay on at school to take 'A' levels? (Q8), while all college students were

* Part-time students were not asked if they were aiming at work after their course.

asked the following sets of questions:

- (i) time of entry into the college, where students heard about the college, and why they were taking their particular course, (Q9, Q10, Q12),
- (ii) marital status, numbers of children, and current or previous occupation.

Full-time college students only were asked one further question: 'If you came straight from school why did you choose the college rather than staying at school?' (Q11). Finally, all students were asked an open ended question: 'If there is anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far, please state it here' (Q35). These questions relate to the criteria contained in the hypothesis, namely L.E.A. area, type of educational institution, type of course, mode of attendance, socio-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of residence and gender. The results of the questions are thus used as a means of testing the hypothesis. The information obtained from Q35 adds to, and compliments, the information obtained from the interviews with providers of service. It provides the views of the students in 16-19 education themselves, their perception of 16 - 19 provision and their underlying value systems.

The questionnaires were distributed and collected during the months of January to June, 1980 in one of three ways:

- (1) The most common pattern of distribution and collection was my explaining to a group of students at their school or college the purpose of the research and the completion of the questionnaires on the spot which were then returned to me.
- (2) After an interview with a sixth form tutor, or course tutor at a college, the tutor took away the questionnaires together with envelopes addressed to me (to preserve confidentiality). The tutor explained the purpose of my research to his or her students and organised the completion of the questionnaires which I collected at a later date.
- (3) The third method followed the same pattern as the second, but instead of my collecting the completed questionnaire, students were given a stamped addressed envelope by the sixth form tutor, with the request to complete it in their own time and post it on to me.

The type of distribution and collection pattern adopted in the schools depended entirely on the requirements of particular school heads and/or sixth form tutors, although the first pattern was preferred. When I spoke to groups of students it was pointed out that the completion of the questionnaire was not compulsory, but not one school student that I spoke to refused to complete. The type of pattern in the further education colleges depended partly on the requirements of particular Heads of Department, and partly on the type of course. For example, with evening only 'A' level courses and day/evening release technician courses it was not reasonable to take an hour or so of their time and so the postal system was used in these cases. The covering notes that accompanied the questionnaires are contained as appendices VII to X.

Questionnaires were distributed to all the upper sixth form students in those schools that agreed to take part in the research and who lived within the boundaries of the three local authorities. In the colleges of further education they were distributed to; final year full-time and part-time 'A' level students; final year full-time TEC, BEC, and OND students; final year part-time TEC, BEC, and ONC students; and students on equivalent courses, e.g. general education course and foundation course in art and design; who lived within the boundaries of the three local authorities.

A total of 952 questionnaires were completed and returned. An analysis of the total response is contained in Fig.5/1 below.

FIG.5/1 ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE RETURNS.

	SCHOOLS	FURTHER EDUCATION				TOTAL
		AFT	APT	VFT	VPT	
BAMFORD L.E.A.	111	22	16	-	51	200
NEWTON L.E.A.	179	44	33	99	54	408
RISHWORTH L.E.A.	213	-	3	9	17	243
INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS	101	-	-	-	-	101
TOTAL	604	66	52	108	122	952

KEY:

AFT ADVANCED LEVEL G.C.E. FULL TIME COURSE
 APT ADVANCED LEVEL G.C.E. PART TIME COURSE
 VFT VOCATIONAL FULL TIME COURSE
 VPT VOCATIONAL PART TIME COURSE

Bamford schools produced 111 replies from a potential of 156, a 71% response rate. The sixth forms in the three Bamford schools not

included in the research had approximately * 60 upper sixth form students, which means that respondents to the questionnaire represented 51% of all the upper sixth form students in Bamford. The response rates in individual schools are contained in appendix XI.

There were 287 Bamford college students who met the requirements of the survey. There were 88 respondents, a response rate of 31% .

The response rate by department is contained in appendix XI.

Unfortunately there was one department where the questionnaire was not distributed, the Department of Business and Management Studies. The Head of Department and his deputy were fully in support of the research but ran up against two problems; firstly this was the last of my visits and examination time was closely approaching; and secondly the senior members of the department has just finished one piece of research and were 'reluctant' to get involved in another just before examination time. Half of the students in other departments responded. The only deviation from this was the part-time evening only 'A' level course where there was a 25% response rate, a reasonable response rate for a postal questionnaire. If these latter students are removed the response rate of those in the four departments where the research was conducted rises to 60%.

* Actual numbers are difficult to ascertain as L.E.A. records show pupils registered at the beginning of the Autumn term which is often higher than the numbers towards the end of the year as pupils leave schools over the year for a variety of reasons.

There were a total of 182 respondents from Newton schools in the research out of a potential of 312, a response rate of 58%. Individual response rates by school are contained in appendix XI. The 182 respondents represent a response rate of 45% of all Newton upper sixth students. There were 226 respondents from Easton College of Technology, a response rate of 52%. Response rates varied from department to department, (individual response rates are contained in appendix XI), with the three engineering departments having high response rates and the science and building departments being quite low. If part-time day and evening 'A' level courses are omitted the response rate is 60%.

There was a response rate from the Rishworth schools which agreed to take part in the research of 79% which was approximately 38% of all pupils in Rishworth upper sixths. The response rate of 17% in Rishworth College was the only poor response rate of the entire research. This was mainly due to the college being small and new, yet undertaking an expansion in student numbers while the spending limits of the late seventies meant a corresponding increase in staff did not occur. The resultant pressures resulted in an 'unwillingness' to assist my research by some senior members of the staff. However, if 'A' level responses are removed the vocational courses provided a 50% response rate.

The response rate in the four independent sector schools was 89%.

The response rates on a borough by borough basis and type of institution basis are as follows:

FIG.5/2 ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE RATES L.E.A. + INSTITUTION.

	POTENTIAL RESPONDENTS	RESPONDENTS	% RESPONSE	% POPULATION
BAMFORD L.E.A.	156	111	71	51
BAMFORD COL. OF TEC.	287	88	31	31
TOTAL BAMFORD	443	199	45	40
NEWTON L.E.A.	312	182	58	45
EASTON COL. OF TEC.	438	226	52	50
TOTAL NEWTON	750	408	54	48
RISHWORTH L.E.A.	269	213	79	38
RISHWORTH COL. OF TEC.	185	31	17	20
TOTAL RISHWORTH	454	244	54	38
(INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS)	113	101	89	89
COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY	910	345	38	38
SCHOOLS	838(1318)*	607	72	46
SCHOOLS (EXCL.IND)	737(1205)	506	69	42
TOTAL	1748(2228)	952	54	43

It should be noted that, while it was necessary to obtain an adequate representative sample of students in the various groups being analysed, it was not necessary for these groups to be in proportion to

* Total potential respondents from the schools in the research -
 Figures in brackets are the total population.

their size in the population as the hypothesis was to be tested in terms of aspirations for higher education in each group. Thus testing the hypothesis was to be achieved by a comparison of the internal distribution of answers within each group not by any comparison of absolute numbers.

With reference to schools, some pupils lived in one of the boroughs but attend school in another. These are included in the statistical tables where appropriate. With reference to further education, because colleges tend to specialise in subject areas, some courses become 'regional' courses, e.g. the T.E.C. certificate in gas supply services at Easton College of Technology, which attracts students from all over the South East of England. There also tends to be a free market system for some part-time courses, e.g. B.E.C. certificate in Business Studies is offered at most colleges, which leads to a high degree of movement between authority of residence and the authority of study. Where this occurs the students concerned are included in statistical tables as appropriate.

In order to process and analyse the large amount of information obtained on the questionnaires the use of a computer was enlisted. There were 115 information variables (see appendix XII), with each variable having a number of pre-coded values (see appendix XII).

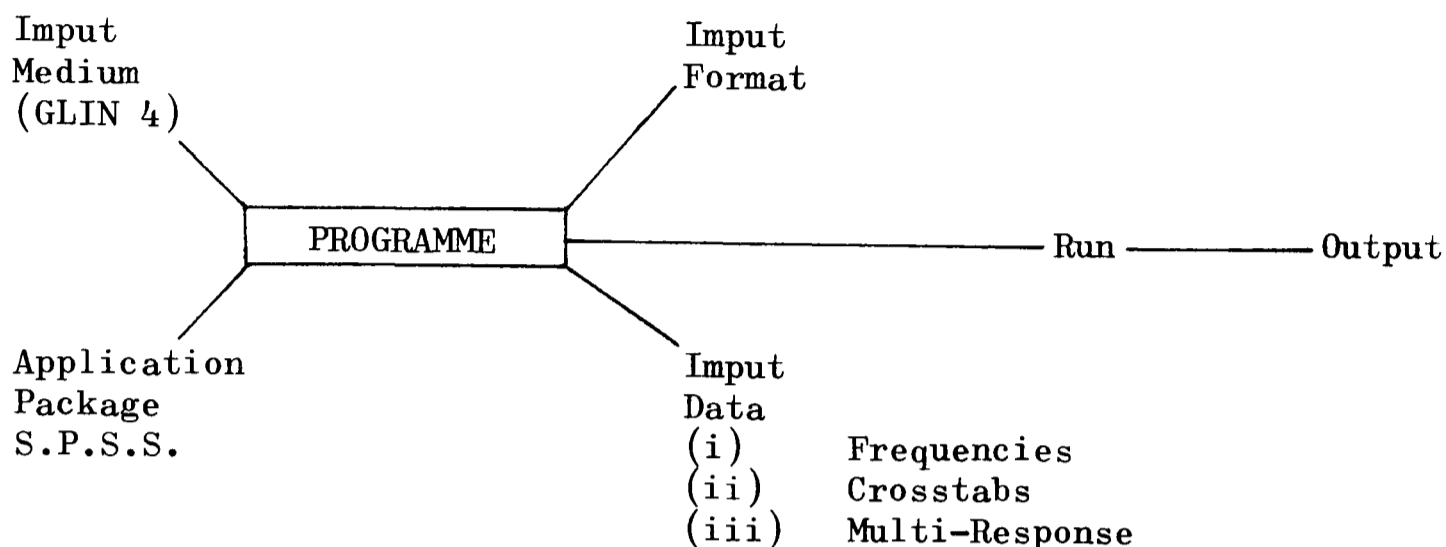
Each variable on each questionnaire was coded from information obtained from the respondents' answers and entered in the appropriate

box on the right hand side of the questionnaire. When this process was completed the information was transferred to general coding sheets (see appendix XIII). Each case required four lines of the coding sheet. Once the information had been transferred to the coding sheets they were forwarded to North East London Polytechnic's Computer Centre where the information was transferred on to computer cards. Once punched, the cards were loaded on to the Polytechnic's I.C.L. computer and then transferred to the Polytechnic's Prime Computer.*

Once the data or input medium had been 'cleaned' three more components of the programme had to be entered before the run could be started and the information obtained. The first of these components was the input data or basic commands for the programme. These were of three types; (i) frequencies - to ascertain the total numbers and percentages of each value within a variable; (ii) crosstabs, to measure one variable and its values with another and; (iii) multi-response to match one variable with another where one of the questions on the questionnaire involved a multi-response answer. The second component was the input format (see appendix IV). The third component was the application package, statistical package for social sciences (SPSS).

* The Prime Computer has no card access facilities, but is loaded with the application package needed to run my programme. Hence the need to load the information on to the one computer then transfer it across to the other.

Diagrammatically the programme can be shown thus:



The process of coding the questionnaires started in June, 1980 and the final print-out was received from the computer centre in January, 1981.

Analysis of the data commenced immediately. The first stage was to compare and contrast the aspirations of students from the three L.E.A's and the independent schools. There were 110 Bamford L.E.A. school students, 167 Newton L.E.A. school students, 211 Rishworth school students and 101 independent school students enabling a comparison to be made. Originally it was intended to make an analysis by ward also but the numbers of students from each ward were too small to make any meaningful comparison, and aggregating the numbers into constituencies only marginally improved the situation, so this was not proceeded with.

The second stage of the analysis involved a comparison of the

aspirations of those who took a further education course with those who took a sixth form course. The analysis involved a comparison of the aspirations of students of different types of schools - comprehensives, grammar and independent - and of students of different courses and modes of attendance at further education colleges. Represented in this part of the survey were 329 comprehensive school students, 111 grammar school students and 101 independent school students. There were also 309 further education students of whom 68 were on full-time 'A' level courses, 45 on part-time 'A' level courses, 105 on full-time vocational courses and 91 on part-time vocational courses allowing a comparison to be made.

Originally it was intended to make an analysis by; individual institutions; type of course; specific types of school e.g. Roman Catholic Single Sex comprehensives; and technical college department. The small numbers involved did not lend themselves to meaningful analysis and the attempt at this highly detailed analysis was abandoned. Also abandoned at this stage was the analysis of exam successes and ambitions as irrelevant to the testing of the hypothesis.

The above analysis of the institutional factors is contained in chapter eight. Chapter nine contains the analysis of environmental factors. The first of these factors is the socio-economic group. This factor is crucial to the thesis as it forms the basis of a large proportion of the analysis. However, definition of socio-

economic group, or class, or status is difficult and to an extent it may be argued that the definition of 'class' depends on the purposes for which that definition is used. When an attempt is made to differentiate classes on the basis of 'objective' criteria immediate problems arise. If occupation is taken as a basis, for example, at least three difficulties are immediately apparent. The first is obtaining agreement on rank order and while there is a large measure of agreement it is by no means total. Secondly, there arises a difficulty of classifying those who, for example, have inherited wealth who may have no occupation or take employment in a job which does not reflect their perceived position. Thirdly, there may well be a considerable lag between perceptions of order and changing social conditions. A similar criticism may be applied to using income as a basis. This is not to say that such categories may not be useful in, for example, advertising or for statistical purposes. These categories may well provide necessary but not sufficient conditions for class description.

Worsley (11), however, amongst others, suggests that occupation can validly be used as a principal indicator of a persons class, and both sociologists and government departments use 'occupation' as a basis of stratification for market research and other purposes. Johns (12) cites a seven class system in which people are graded from 'Higher Managerial and Professional' through 'skilled manual workers' (Class iv) to the State dependent (Class vii). It is clear that occupation is very important here, as it determines, or is determined

by, the other factors which are commonly used as indicators of a persons social class, for example income and wealth, are largely determined by a persons occupation, as is housing.

This thesis uses a seven class system similar to, but not the same as, John's. The upper class section includes directors of companies, the major professions, e.g., Doctors, Surgeons, Lawyers, those at the top of other professions, e.g., the Head Teacher of a large Secondary School or Chief Constable of Police and senior management, e.g. a Bank Manager. This group comprises 3-4 per cent of the total population and corresponds to socio-economic group A.

The middle class, some 11 per cent of the population, include those with a less prominent position in the business world, professions or civil service. In the professional field this would include ministers of religion, recently qualified doctors, teachers, university and polytechnic lecturers, or hospital matrons. In the business world this would include an owner of a company with under 10 employees, senior managers in commerce and qualified engineers. This group corresponds to socio-economic group B.

The lower middle class, some 18 per cent of the population, includes small trades people, non-manual workers with less important administrative, supervisory or clerical jobs, e.g., nurses, bank clerks, civil servants (clerical), self-employed businessmen with

1 - 3 employees, junior management, technicians, and corresponds to socio-economic group C1.

The skilled working class, some 34% of the total population, includes skilled manual workers (C2), the semi-skilled working class (D) includes, for example, all mates of the skilled workers, bus conductors, process workers and milkmen. The unskilled include labourers, caretakers and cleaners (E). The semi-skilled and unskilled account for some 28% of the population.

Finally, there are the unemployed, normally some 5% of the population but currently (1981) a much higher proportion.

For the purpose of the analysis socio-economic status was based on fathers occupation. Analysis on the basis of mothers occupation, or own current or previous occupation was not proceeded with. Owing to the relatively small numbers of students in group A these were amalgamated into an AB group. The same process was followed for groups DE leaving the comparing and contrasting to be carried out by reference to four socio-economic groupings, AB, C1, C2 and DE.

There were 232 students in the AB group, 155 in the C1 group, 291 in the C2 group and 117 in the DE group. This allowed for a meaningful comparison to be made.

The next stage of the analysis was that of family circumstances.

Analysis in this case was made between the higher education aspirations of students from one parent families, students from large families (defined as five or more children) and students generally. The general analysis is based on the work of Wedge and Prosser (13) and Field (14) as discussed in chapter 4.1. There were 88 students from one parent families and 183 from large families. A total of 905 respondents filled in the question re family circumstances. This allowed for a comparison to be made.

The next stage is a comparison of higher education aspirations between those living in various types of housing and between those living in owner-occupied and rented accommodation. In the first analysis, differences were ascertained between those students living in detached, semi-detached and terraced housing, flats and maisonettes. However, because of the small numbers of students living in detached houses, flats and maisonettes, and the fact that the majority of students lived in either semi-detached or terraced housing, two categories were eventually used - detached/semi-detached and terraced/flats/maisonettes. With reference to house tenure, it was originally hoped to compare the aspirations of students from owner-occupied, local authority rented and privately rented dwellings. However, because of the small numbers of students living in privately rented accommodation, the two rented categories were merged, leaving two categories - owner occupied and rented. There were 278 students living in either detached or semi-detached houses and 285 living in

terraced housing, flats or maisonettes, while 460 lived in owner-occupied housing and 120 in rented accommodation. This allowed for a valid comparison to be made.

The final analysis in the environmental factors section was that of gender. There were 622 male students and 330 female students in the survey allowing for valid comparisons to be made.

It should be noted, however, that survey data has its limitations as well as its advantages. Firstly, a survey cannot be expected to provide all the information relevant to the problem being investigated. Survey data should always be interpreted in conjunction with other considerations and related to other sources of information. Secondly, survey research can only explain views as they exist at present. The relevance of today's data for the future has to be interpreted and forecast. Thirdly, data cannot be used as a means of casting respondents as policy planners. Finally, survey data can rarely be taken at face value, it needs very careful interpretation.

In order to take cognisance of these points, and in particular the latter one, the findings of the survey are interpreted partly in conjunction with the views of those interviewed and partly in conjunction with the responses to the open ended question on the questionnaire (Q.35). A total of 432 respondents answered this

question, 41% of all respondents. Of these, 37 (4%) answered that they had no problems, whilst 395 (37%) had some complaint or constructive comment to make. These comments are used throughout the thesis, as are comments made during the interviews.

The constraints of survey data were articulated in the reply to Q35 by one Newton sixth form pupil who wrote:

"I hope you are not a statistician - dealing with so called facts and figures instead of real conscious decisions as that is what life is about, not how many 'O' or 'A' levels a person has or where he lives. People work (real work not a job with a pay day at the end of it) because they want to, not because it's expected or the 'thing to do' - people who tell you this are lying or cheating themselves. You have got to get out and meet people before the 'information' on this sheet will start to mean anything."

The answer to this reply to question 35 is that this thesis uses both the objective data of the questionnaires, the subjective data of the interviews and analyses both within a theoretical framework, thus using a variety of methodologies to extract the best possible analysis of the problem being studied, its causes and its solutions.

Having outlined the methodology the next stage in the thesis is a description of the three boroughs, outlining their demographic, economic and political structures. This is to enable the research to be placed in a social context. This stage also involves a description of the structures of the various education departments, careers offices, schools and colleges. This is to enable the research to be placed in an institutional context. The final aim of this next section, chapters six to nine, is to report the various interviews held, and the comments made in reply to Q35 on the questionnaire, and to compare and contrast the views of the interviewees and questionnaire respondents. There is also, arising out of these three aims, the drawing of connections between social context, institutional context and the various values evident in the replies of those interviewees and questionnaire respondents.

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Chapter Six.

BAMFORD L.E.A.

6.1 BAMFORD

The London Borough of Bamford was formed in April, 1965 under the London Government Act of 1963 by the merger of the larger parts of the Municipal Boroughs of Bamford and Dartmeet. It is situated on a fertile gravel terrace bordering the Thames which provides its southern boundary. It is bounded on the west, north and east respectively by the London Borough of Hartland, the London Borough of Rishworth and the London Borough of Newton. Bamford has over two-thirds of its workforce engaged in manufacturing (the highest in London). Local industries include car manufacture, the Bamford Power Station, chemicals, pharmaceuticals, paints, rubber, plastic and wood products, the Dartmeet Dock bulk storage complex and a freight container terminal.

The population of the borough is approximately 150,000 divided into two parliamentary constituencies and twelve local authority wards. The political composition of the council is predominantly Labour, with Labour receiving over seventy-five per cent of the vote in nine of the wards. From time to time the Rate Payers organisation wins seats in one of the wards. Both parliamentary constituencies are 'safe seats'. The majority of housing is council owned, with only three wards having more than one third of their homes in private ownership. Overcrowding and inadequate housing is not a significant problem.

Bamford London Borough has a mainly working class population. It has only 8.6 per cent of its employed population in occupations categorised as managerial and professional (AB), compared with 20.0 in Greater London as a whole. It also has 69.2 per cent of its employed population in manual occupations, either skilled (C2), or non-skilled (DE), compared with 51.3 per cent for Greater London. No wards contain more than 2 per cent of people of West Indian origin, while only one ward, Alton, contains more than two per cent of people of Asian origin. (1).

Bamford Education Committee consists of 32 councillors, three teacher representatives (primary, secondary, and further) and representatives from London University, the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, political parties and Bamford Trades Council. The committee has five sub-committees; General Purposes; Awards; Further Education; Youth and Community; and Schools. Some of these sub-committees have their own sub-committees and the careers service is the responsibility of a sub-committee of the Further Education sub-committee. The senior management of the Education Department has a Chief Education Officer, a Deputy Chief Education Officer, three Assistant Education Officers and a Chief Advisor.

The inspectorate and advisory service consists of two inspectors and nine advisors although the distinction between advising and inspecting is somewhat blurred. Responsibilities, apart from inspection and advice, include the teachers probationary service, curriculum

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development, in-service training courses for teachers and matters relating to the organisation, planning and equipment of schools. Amongst other matters they advise on health and safety.

The Assistant Education Officer (A.E.O.) (Schools) is responsible for 61 primary schools, eleven comprehensive schools, three special schools and a teachers centre. Nine of the comprehensive schools are secular and co-educational. The other two are Roman Catholic single sex schools with approximately 700 pupils in each. With the exception of the two catholic schools the catchment areas for comprehensive schools are on a neighbourhood basis. The Roman Catholic schools take pupils on a borough wide basis, together with some pupils from neighbouring boroughs.

The A.E.O. (Further Education) is responsible for Bamford Technical College with 1,200 full-time students and 4,800 part-time students, adult education, the Teachers Centre, and aspects of the operation of a local Polytechnic. He is also responsible for the careers service and youth and community work.

Both Bamford and Dartmeet municipal boroughs were given, by their County Council, delegated powers with divisional offices prior to the 1965 reorganisation. Bamford had made some progress towards 'comprehensivisation' with the introduction of some sixth form work in its secondary and bi-lateral schools, with 'O' and 'A' levels options. Dartmeet on the other hand tried to change to a

comprehensive system but their proposals were turned down by the County Council. Bamford and Dartmeet constituency Labour parties both fought the 1964 council elections on the policy of 11-18 comprehensive schools, and shortly after the issue of circular 10/65 the council requested the Chief Education Officer, in conjunction with the heads of schools, to reorganise secondary education in the borough on a non selective basis. The first scheme forwarded to the D.E.S. was rejected because the number of schools was considered to be too large, and the catchment areas correspondingly too small. A new scheme agreed one year later by members, officers, and teachers was accepted by the D.E.S. and the first comprehensive intake was in 1969/70. The Roman Catholic schools reorganised less rapidly and received their first comprehensive intake in 1971.

Further education, until 1971, was provided partly by Bamford Regional College of Technology and partly by Chale Wood College. The latter college originally undertook 'low level' work such as City and Guilds, but some Advanced and Ordinary level, General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) study was provided. With the creation of Polytechnics in the early seventies and the transfer of all higher level work from Bamford Regional College to the local Polytechnic, together with the buildings, Chale Wood College was expanded to take work such as Ordinary National Diplomas (O.N.D.) and Ordinary National Certificates (O.N.C.), and renamed Bamford College of Technology. Since then expansion has continued in both vocational and G.C.E. courses.

There have been discussions about 16-19 education more or less continuously since 1965 and during that time a number of councillors have expressed a desire to rationalise provision. This has become more apparent since it was realised that the predictions of sixth form numbers after comprehensivisation were, to say the least, optimistic. In fact, all the borough's sixth forms are small. In the early seventies there was an attempt to reorganise sixth form provision through a sixth form college, but this idea met with stiff opposition from the teachers in the schools and was not pursued. The problem of small sixth forms and hence the pressure to reorganise is, however, always present, because Bamford continues to display a low rate of entry into 16-19 education, and from there into higher education. In 1978/9 only 6 per cent of the age group entered higher education. This fact was uppermost in the thoughts of most of the people I interviewed in Bamford although the explanations for it varied.

The Chairman of the Education Committee has been a member of Bamford Council since its formation and a member of Bamford Municipal Borough Council prior to that. Concerning the low entry into higher education of Bamford students he commented:

"This (the low entry figures) has always concerned local authority members. The problem, as I see it is not with the pupils who have the ability to enter higher education but in the fact that they do not get enough encouragement. We want to encourage the youngsters to stay in the education system but this is difficult in our Borough. The

main problem is getting the parents involved, because although they don't mind their youngsters continuing their education they don't encourage them to do so.

It should be remembered, however, that although allegations have been levelled about the numbers of Bamford students at University this is not a complete picture. Many Bamford people gain part-time qualifications, for example taking Accountancy examinations at one of the city colleges. The over all picture, however, is certainly worrying for members."

The Chief Education Officer, who took up his post in 1978 saw the problem as being one associated with a "working class area". The solution to this problem was to develop a policy in accordance with the type of area. In his opinion making comparisons between L.E.A's about entry into higher education was not very helpful as socio-economic backgrounds varied enormously between L.E.A's. The policy necessary to rectify Bamford's low figures for higher education entry, was in the C.E.O's opinion, one of positive discrimination, with an improvement of both staffing and capital resources to compensate for the nature of the area.

The A.E.O. (Further Education), at the time I interviewed him, was also the acting A.E.O. (schools), a post he had held previously. He too was concerned about the problem of early leaving. He, like the C.E.O., saw the reason for the problem as being "the working class tradition of the area".

"This waste of ability has concerned heads, education officers and members for some time. While some pupils leave school to go to the College, (Bamford Technical College), the proportion of post sixteen year olds in the education system is small. Employment is fairly easy to come by in Bamford* and the expectation of the family is for the son or daughter to leave at sixteen and obtain employment. The schools have done a lot to counteract this attitude and so has the careers service but children in Bamford are influenced by what is the 'done thing' amongst their peer group and this acts against the schools and careers service as the 'done thing' is to gain employment. The parents have the same attitude, that the most important thing is to get as good a job as possible as soon as possible."

This point was taken up by the Chief Inspector. He stated that the first consideration of youngsters in the borough is to say:

"What is the rate of pay of the various types of employment offered? They then take the educational course necessary to gain entry to the type of employment they want. Sometimes a particular individual gets interested in a particular career, but if there is a clash between that and quicker access to well paid employment then the latter comes first. Those who stay on to increase their general education tend to come from Bamford's middle class minority."

A number of those interviewed mentioned the 'male dominated' culture of Bamford. For example, the Chief Inspector, when asked about curriculum bias against girls prefaced his remarks on the subject with the statement:

* This was the situation at the time of the interview (Spring 1980). The situation has changed somewhat over the last year, although how this will affect 16-19 education is difficult to predict.

"Let's talk practicalities."

For example he instanced the case of school K, a Roman Catholic girls comprehensive school, where he stated it would be impossible to run an engineering workshop course. He did, however, add that School A, a boys comprehensive, did offer courses in Catering and Home Economics and that most schools tried to accommodate youngsters curriculum requirements irrespective of sex. However, the A.E.O. pointed out, that there was an extreme shortage of teachers in technical subjects which often meant girls were difficult to accommodate.

Another factor mentioned in this respect was that according to the A.E.O:

"The culture of Bamford is male chauvanist.
This will take a long time to break down."

The C.E.O. also made this point stating that many of the attitudes towards curriculum equity for boys and girls were generated by Bamford parents as to 'maleness' and 'femaleness' which was transmitted to their children and reinforced by the peer group:

"In these circumstances there is little more we can do except bring the attention of head teachers to the provision of the equal opportunities and sex discrimination legislation."

6.2 THE BAMFORD CAREERS SERVICE.

Responsibility for encouraging those capable of higher education to fulfil their potential falls heavily upon the careers service.

Bamford careers service is provided from two offices, one at Bamford and one at Dartmeet. Each careers officer has two schools under his or her jurisdiction, with a specialist careers officer dealing with post sixteen pupils. Most schools have at least one teacher responsible for careers advice and the schools and the careers service liaise each year to organise an annual careers programme.

The borough also has a Careers Association. This Association has, according to the Principal Careers Officer:

"Done more to bring together the various people involved in careers work than any other facility."

It is the vehicle whereby all the borough's careers officers and teachers can get together to discuss common problems. It also involves representatives from F.E. and H.E., and many of its activities are training activities. For example, the Careers Association is responsible for providing in-service training for careers teachers.

The Principal Careers Officer, (P.C.O.), claims a positive attitude towards the lack of students continuing their education after sixteen.

"Bamford's record is referred to in reports of the Chief Careers Officer to the Careers Subcommittee. The response of the council members (to early leaving) has been that the youngsters don't want it, (further and higher education), they want to leave school and find employment as soon as possible. The members may be right from the view of social history, but one has to continue to spread the gospel because of the growth in unemployment, on one hand, and current technological changes requiring more technical qualifications, on the other. There are always more jobs available in Bamford at technician level than people to fill them and clearly this is an unsatisfactory state of affairs."

The P.C.O. thought that those students who did continue their education past the age of sixteen did so as a result of individual decisions influenced by parents and teachers and reinforced by careers officers. He thought this process could be encouraged by the continued education of both young people and their parents. The parental dimension was crucial, because in the P.C.O.'s experience, there was no point in suggesting a career to a pupil unless he could argue the case for it with the parents as well. That was why all parents in Bamford were asked to attend their offsprings careers interview and some 50 per cent did so.

Another problem encountered by the P.C.O. was that most parents in the borough did not want their children to move away from home and this caused difficulties if there was no suitable work in the area, or if pupils wanted to enter higher education.

Some 60 pupils at Bamford schools replied to the question on the questionnaire, "If there is anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far, please state it here:-" Some wrote at great length, but most contributions were pleas for more guidance.

"I feel that there is not enough personal contact, and the periods between careers advice are too large."

"I feel that, particularly in the earlier years, there should have been more individual guidance."

and

"I think there should be more careers interviews especially in the last year at school because leaving school is a very big decision and should be thought out very carefully."

Everywhere there was a need for advice on matters that students from middle class areas would probably obtain from their parents.

"More information about life ahead - how to handle bills, tax forms, insurance, etc. Problems which occur in daily life."

There was strong evidence of the culture clash between the 'norms' of the environment and the 'norms' of the education system as evinced by careers officers and teachers:

"I think pupils who are in the higher grades of classes up to the 5th year are persuaded far too strongly to stay on at school to 'A' level. Not

enough emphasis is put on jobs and standards which you will have reached had you left, joined a firm and done a T.E.C. course."

"I feel there is not enough advice given to those interested in going to work, it is geared towards those wishing to go to university, etc."

and

"Basically I think that the advice I have been given by the teachers has been heavily biased (etc.) towards staying on in to the 6th form. I wonder how much this has to do with their sincere belief as to what is right for me personally, or money or promotion opportunities. Is it not a fact that the Head gets a better pay the more there are in the 6th form?"

Others, however, who desired higher education, were aware of the limitations imposed on them by their environment.

"University applications and interview procedures are not given enough time or consideration, noticeably Oxbridge where advice and preparation are non-available. When one comes up against the Public School set and the old establishment, the lack of preparation is highlighted and can be a serious problem. Even at other universities the confidence which shines through the crest and the tie of the Public School boy cannot be met by a comprehensive student who has not had such advantages. I am not against public schools but I think that more preparations should be made for interviews and confidence boosting."

A number of students did express satisfaction with the service provided by the careers officers and some recorded specific instances of such service, an example of which is this student from Bamford Technical College.

"My former school (X) didn't advise me on college; they didn't even mention it. They wanted me to stay on in the sixth form. After six weeks I left school because of a disagreement with senior staff (I thought Art and Dance were my most imp. subjects but they didn't, my headmaster said that nobody could have a successful career in the Arts).

I didn't know what to do. I knew for definite that I didn't want to work in an office. So I went to my local careers office, where the careers officer told me of the course at college which I am now doing (G.C.E. in Performing Arts). I am now very happy at college but I am disgusted that my former school did not inform me about the college. They say they have our interests at heart regarding careers - but do they?"

This latter point was raised by a number of sixth form pupils who stated that they wished they had known about Bamford Technical College earlier. The question of giving such advice, however, in the current uncertain climate surrounding tertiary education is, in the words of The 'Older Leaver' Specialist for Bamford:

"an extremely delicate matter."

Generally those undertaking 'A' levels at Bamford College of Technology made the same points as 6th formers, but more telling points were made by those taking 'A' levels on evening courses and B.E.C. and T.E.C. courses by day release. Those undertaking 'A' level evening courses often spoke of missed opportunities at school which had occasioned them to have to take their current line of action.

"When I did my 'A' levels the attainment necessary for entry into university is not emphasised enough, and the results of not getting these attainments are not realised until failure actually occurs. When you are at school you do not realise how important education is. It is only when you have to make the effort yourself, that you realise the stupidity of time wasting."

Evening 'A' level students, like full-time 'A' level students, exhibited a need for advice on university entrance, but interestingly so did those taking day release T.E.C. and B.E.C. courses. Many expressed a desire for higher education, and complained that the only information they had been given was about higher T.E.C. certificates. A number had left school at 16 for financial reasons and saw a part-time T.E.C. or B.E.C. as a means of obtaining higher education and a grant.

For the P.C.O., probably the key area affecting choice of entry into higher education was geographical area and house type.

"Two small areas of the borough are different from the rest of the area. These are Bamford Town Centre and Chartham Heath which are two small areas of private housing. In both areas there can be found youngsters and groups of parents who are more willing to be ambitious and innovative in educational and employment terms. Home ownership corresponds with getting a better life for their children. This applies whether the youngster is bright or not. The parents are more inquisitive and won't automatically resist opportunities not on the doorstep."

The P.C.O. pointed out that the council housing in the borough is

mainly owned by the G.L.C. This made, in his opinion, for a changing population, with people tending to move to new towns or into private housing in neighbouring boroughs or Essex as and when the opportunity arises. The new tenants resulting from this movement consist of a certain number of problem families, mainly from the East End and Inner City areas of London, causing a perpetuation of difficult cases. The overall effect he considered to be one of a socially depressed area.

All the Bamford careers officers I spoke to including the P.C.O., the Older Leaver Specialist and the head of the Bamford Area Office, considered that the question of sexist bias had not changed much during the last few years. The head of the Bamford area office pointed out:

"Schools have not moved as quickly as they might to provide equal opportunity for girls. On the other hand neither girls nor their parents have changed in demanding equal opportunities. Furthermore, there is no evidence that girls want to enter employment that is traditionally male or vice versa."

A number of Bamford Technical College students, however, raised the question of sexism in replying to the open ended question on the questionnaire on careers advice. Two typical comments were:

"I think careers officers still try to keep women in there (sic) place by only offering such jobs as typists, secretaries, librarians, etc., whilst discouraging anything too ambitious or unusual."

and

"(There was) little or no advice given at my school, to girls who did not want to do clerical work of some description."

6.3 THE BAMFORD SCHOOLS

According to the Chairman of Bamford Education Committee:

"Discrimination in physical and staff provision between schools is 'anathema' to the council. We have a policy of an equitable allocation of resources to all schools. When the question of social priority payments was introduced by the government, the council wanted to apply the payments equally 'across the board' and the drawing of an order of priorities was rejected. It was only when the government told the council to provide a list or lose the money altogether, was one drafted. Priority payments went to (School F, School G, and School D)."

In spite of this statement disparities can be seen in sixth form provision within the borough. Schools can be divided into; those with a separate established sixth form provision; those with separate rooms within the general provision; and those with little or no separate provision. Of the eight schools I visited four were in the first category, two were in the second, and two were in the third.

The design of the structure of each school is the responsibility of the head teacher. Consequently organisation of the schools varies enormously, and includes streaming, banding, setting, as well as mixtures of each system. While comprehensives are organised on a 'neighbourhood' basis there is provision for parents to request a change and such requests are considered by members of the education committee. Generally speaking if there is room at the school

requested by the parents the committee accede to the request. A number of Bamford Comprehensives were formerly selective grammar schools, viz, School I, School J and School G, whilst School F, was formerly a technical school. The two Catholic schools, School C and School E are single site schools but all the rest are two site schools with the exception of School F, which is on three sites.

School A

School A is a Roman Catholic single sex comprehensive with a borough wide catchment area. The sixth form has good facilities within the general facilities of the school. (Second category in my typology of sixth form provision - see previous page). There are 20 students in the upper sixth and 23 in the lower which is slightly lower than the peak year of 1976/7 when there were 62 students in the sixth form.

About eight or nine students have gone from the school to higher education each year while some who have wanted to go have not obtained the necessary entry qualifications. There have been, however, some students who have obtained higher education entry qualifications but have chosen instead to gain employment. Pastoral and academic care of the sixth form is the responsibility of the head of sixth. His view of the situation was:

"Last year a couple of the ablest boys, including the head boy, did not want to go on to higher

education. The head boy had obtained 2 grade 'A's (G.C.E.) and a grade 'D'. This was not, however, due to any parental pressure to do so but was a decision of the boys themselves. Many boys see their parents making a sacrifice in order for them to stay on in the sixth form and three more years in higher education seems a long time to ask the parents to make further sacrifices, so they leave and get work.

On the other hand the boys in Bamford learn to drive early and their main ambition is to buy a car. This requires a steady job."

SCHOOL B

School B is a comprehensive in the south of Dartmeet. It is a 'category two' school for sixth form provision. The questionnaires were distributed in the sixth form common room which was homely, well appointed, and had a friendly atmosphere. There were eighteen students in the upper sixth, 11 girls and 7 boys, and 29 in the lower sixth.

The majority of the students I spoke to did not wish to go on to higher education and only a couple of students do so each year. This was caused, according to the head teacher, by:

"The traditional attitude of the area which is against higher education and for security of occupation as early as possible. About 50 per cent of those who could take 'A' levels leave at sixteen, which many of those that do enter the sixth stay on because they are not sure what they want to do with their lives. Only a small minority stay on with higher education in mind.

There is a strong local problem to persuade parents that their young are as bright as they are. The

attitude is that education is not for the likes of us. While I have been head teacher here I can remember on two occasions pressure being brought on parents to let their child stay on. Both these cases were unsuccessful."

The sixth form tutor, a very enthusiastic and committed woman, pointed out that while the majority of students wanted to work at the end of the sixth form, a number changed their minds as a result of a years work experience and entered higher education a year or two after leaving school. She also pointed out that children from ethnic minority families always opted to stay on and enter the sixth. This, however, caused problems of a different nature.

"Parents from ethnic minorities often believe that their children will succeed just by staying on at school. In many cases parents push their children beyond their capabilities."

The sixth form tutor agreed with the Headmaster about the climate of expectations in the neighbourhood with regard to education and, interestingly, claimed that local parents equated the comprehensive with secondary moderns. Thus parents were not prepared to encourage an intelligent child in the comprehensive whereas there was evidence that parents from the neighbourhood did encourage children who had been selected for grammar schools under the pre 1969/70 system.

SCHOOL C

School C is in the East of Dartmeet and is a category three school

with regard to sixth form provision. Until one month before my interview with the sixth form master (11/2/80) there was no sixth form facilities. The sixth form facilities now consist of a delapidated prefab in one corner of the play-ground which is used as a common room. Lessons are held in whatever room is available and private study takes place in the school library.

The school was formed by the merger of two secondary modern schools, but one of these had had a small sixth form which, in 1970/1, had six students, one of whom obtained a university place. The first comprehensive intake saw the eventual rise in the numbers of the sixth to around thirty, but this has fallen to the current twenty-six, thirteen in the upper sixth and thirteen in the lower. Boys and girls are found in roughly equal numbers. In 1978/9 five students went to university, two took degrees at polytechnics, and two embarked on a course of teacher training. In the current year (1979/80) five students have been offered university places and one a place on a course of teacher training.

This has been achieved in spite of the lack of facilities, about which the sixth form tutor says he:

"sometimes gets fed up."

His major problem, however, he considers as:

"the aspirations of the area."

He explained this phenomenon as a preoccupation with obtaining a secure occupation. Thus for someone to spend an extra two years in education there needs to be a good financial bonus at the end.

"No one stays on to broaden their education. In fact, education is accepted only under sufferance. There is no tradition of a sixth form in the school, and many parents and children still see the school as the secondary modern which used to occupy this site.

The key to overcoming this problem is the family. We must get the support of the parents. We have an active P.T.A. although it is small, and there is some support where the father is active in the Labour Party or a trade union. One such parent had three sons, all of whom have been through the sixth. This has some effect on peers, but there is generally not much support for the school from the pupils themselves.

I must also add that a number of pupils leave during the sixth because of a variety of social and financial pressures."

SCHOOL D

School D is situated in the West of Bamford. It is a 'second category' sixth form provision school. The sixth form have two furnished rooms, one a study, one a social area, and there is a small sixth form laboratory. The sixth form tutor, however, claimed that:

"Sixth form facilities are not crucial. If the kids have never known any different they won't worry."

The school was created by the merger of two secondary modern schools, one of which had a small sixth form which sent some students to university. There had, therefore, been some tradition of sixth form work, and it was envisaged, in the early seventies, that this work would expand as a result of comprehensivisation. A senior master was appointed in the early seventies with the specific brief to develop sixth form work. A series of meetings was held for parents, with over 100 attending the inaugural one. There are currently 13 students in the upper sixth and 36 in the lower sixth, of whom 23 are on 'A' level courses. It is expected, by the sixth form master, that next year's lower sixth intake will be 30/40 making a total sixth of about 60. The sixth form master saw parents as being essentially neutral:

"The backgrounds of those who aim at higher education seem to vary. Parents seem to be neither for nor against their children staying on. I often hear a sixth form pupil saying 'they left it up to me whether I stayed on or not'. The exceptions to this trend are parents of Asian origins. All their children inevitably stay on in the sixth or go to the College (Bamford Technical College). The key to getting the sixth form numbers up to the maximum potential, however, is to give the youngsters confidence. They constantly under estimate their own ability. Give them confidence and they stay on."

I also spoke to a number of members of the sixth form and asked their reasons for continuing their education. One girl whose father was, she claimed, left wing had adopted a political stance on sixth forms.

"A working class girl has very few routes out.
I want to go to university and see what I am
missing."

Another had come to a realisation of the advantages of sixth forms
and higher education through studying sociology in the fourth and
fifth years:

"I read Jackson and Marsdens 'Education and
the Working Class'. It really opened my eyes.
I think sociology should be compulsory in all
schools."

Others had left school at 16 and obtained work, but after a month or
two they had decided to return and study for 'A' levels.

"Everyone there (at work) including my boss were
morons. I thought I would go mad."

There was one girl, however, whose parents were against her continuing
her education and she was continuing in the face of no pocket money or
dress allowances.

Once in the sixth, students developed a peer group feeling. They
went out socially together and lost touch with former friends who had
left at sixteen.

"There was a lot of jealousy. My old friends felt
really out of it and eventually I stopped going out

with them. I have made new friends in the sixth and completely rearranged my social life."

SCHOOL E

School E is in the north of Bamford and is a third category sixth form school. It is a one site comprehensive developed from one secondary school on one site. There are 6 students in the upper sixth and 16 in the lower sixth. The sixth form facilities consist of one small room 'furnished' with a collection of very well used chairs and tables. Lessons are held in whatever rooms are available, and these vary from week to week. At the time of the interviews (5/2/80 and 12/2/80) lessons were being held in the Head teacher and Deputy Head teachers' studies.

The Head teacher claimed that there had always been a small sixth form at the school and that 'external factors' mitigated against it getting any larger.

"We have tried everything including an intensive pastoral care system on a house and tutor basis. There is always, however, the outside influence of the peer group - there is a high incidence of petty crime in the area. The pupils in the school underestimate themselves and even the very bright ones take the attitude 'university - what me?'

Some pupils do enter the sixth despite all the odds against them, but for every one that enters the sixth, there is at least one who should be there but has left to obtain work. There are also a number of sympathetic parents who help the school with their support and this encourages the children to enter the sixth. We do have a number of pupils who gain university entrance, but a number with good

'A' levels leave at eighteen and to into occupations like banking."

The sixth form master, however, was also concerned with the influence that lack of facilities had on the size of the sixth form.

"Certain schools have good facilities, and their sixth forms are much larger. Money is put into some schools sixth forms rather than others. A lot depends on the head teacher. Some schools are more successful in getting things for schools than others. You do not get many people staying on in the sixth. The facilities are poor and there is not much incentive for them."

After distributing and collecting the questionnaires, I spoke to the upper sixth. They offered a lot of praise for the teachers, but were critical of the facilities. One student said:

"The teachers are good, but there are no facilities. The room changes from week to week. This week we are in the Head's study. Other comprehensives have good facilities for the sixth form. Why can't we? In the fifth everyone said to stay on because facilities would improve, but these never materialised. A lot of people went to Chale Wood (Bamford Technical College) or Rishworth Tech. We need access to a library but classes are often held in the library so we can't get in."

Another was worried about small classes:

"Some classes have only one person in them, and the largest group, economics, has only four. There is no competition and no incentive to try and improve work."

Another considered the 'new sixth' was a problem.

"We all wanted to leave at the end of the first year because of all the troublemakers. They let anyone into the sixth just to make up the numbers. There should be selection. The people staying only for one year don't do any work and disturb everyone else."

SCHOOL F

School F, before comprehensivisation, was a Technical High School. It is a category one sixth form school, with a separate sixth form suite on its own site, a legacy of its days as a technical high school. There has, however, been a continuous decline in the numbers in the sixth form ever since comprehensivisation, and currently there are 24 pupils in the upper sixth and 21 in the lower sixth.

The sixth form master says that the school staff are concerned about this decline.

"Prior to comprehensivisation the sixth form was quite large, but has declined since then and has decreased rapidly in the last three years. This has been caused by peer group pressures. Those that leave can display visual wealth and other leave for these financial reasons. Those that stay on do not stay on because they want to go to university, that develops in the sixth, but often because they don't know what else to do. Some do enter for specific reasons, mostly to get qualifications to enter banking or the police cadets.

We are fighting back against these pressures on pupils to leave and we are trying to explain both the intrinsic value of education and the financial rewards as early as the third year. Potential sixth formers are identified early on and grouped into specific tutor groups, but it is too early to estimate what effect this will have."

The sixth form tutor did, however, say that parents were not hostile, but neither were they positive, saying that it was 'up to him' or 'up to her' as to whether or not their child went on to the sixth form. He also stated that a number of parents were quite keen for their children to continue their education saying that they had never had the opportunity themselves and would like their children to have it.

SCHOOL G

School G is an amalgamation of an ex-grammar school and an ex-secondary modern. The grammar school had a fairly large sixth form and the secondary modern a small one. There are thirty students in the upper sixth, (17 boys, 13 girls) and thirty-eight in the lower. It is a category A school with regard to sixth form provision, a legacy of its grammar school past.

The head of the sixth, however, claimed that the tradition of the grammar school had gone:

"With the grammar school pupils and grammar school teachers. Since comprehensivisation the

character of the school has changed, including the view of post sixteen education. We lose a lot of pupils at 16 who could stay on and benefit. Some go to Bamford Technical College, but others 'grow out' of school. Often there is parental pressure to leave and pupils have said to me in the fifth form 'mum says I must leave and bring money into the home.'

The choice to stay on is usually left to the individual, with parents remaining neutral. This is not an area, however, where education is considered important. Most homes have no books and home life is centred around the television. Those that do stay on, and there are still a fair few, usually have some parental support. Some stay on, however, because they do not know what to do at the end of the fifth year, others because they envy the sixth form facilities, and a few because of an interest in sporting activities."

SCHOOL H

School H is an ex-secondary modern. It is, however, one of the schools with a category A sixth form provision, with the sixth form having its own large building, separate from the main school, with excellent facilities. There are thirty in the upper sixth and forty-four in the lower sixth. The total is expected to rise to 90 in the year 1980/1.

The school is situated in the one ward in the borough where the majority of families are 'middle class'. This point was taken up by the head mistress.

"Chartham Heath is an interesting social mix. There are many owner-occupied houses intermingled with housing estates."

The area of residence, she considered, had an effect on attitudes towards education.

"I can normally tell where a child comes from by their attitude towards higher education. Those who come from the council estates tend to have a less positive attitude than others. Their families continually under-rate them and they think that their children are not good enough to go to university. I met one mother who thought her son was not good enough yet he had 7 grade 'A' 'O' levels. The school itself, however, has the full and active support of parents from all parts of the catchment area."

The sixth form master concurred with the head mistress's view on parental attitudes:

"Aspirations need raising. After talking to some parents their reply is 'I hadn't realised he was as good as that'. Some parents just do not understand what their children are talking about when they mention higher education."

Since her appointment the head teacher has placed the involvement of parents high on her list of priorities. There is a large and active Parent Teacher Association (P.T.A.) and all fifth form parents are called to meetings to discuss their children and sixth form entry. The P.T.A. organises visits to universities for parents so that they can "understand their childrens' aspirations", and the school is used as a community facility containing within it a youth club, adult education, and a local drama group.

In 1978/9 two thirds of the sixth forms went on to higher education, ten to universities, ten to polytechnics, and all but two of the students I interviewed were aspiring to higher education. This is in marked contrast to school G where the majority were planning to leave the education system at eighteen. These two schools (G and H), provided an interesting case study on some unintended consequences of comprehensivisation.

The students at school G, an ex-grammar school in a working class area, had many of the attitudes to be expected of such an area. The sixth formers I interviewed had entered the sixth for a variety of reasons, mostly not related to higher education. Most were preparing to leave the education system at eighteen. Some of the more ambitious ones were aiming at engineering courses at North East London Polytechnic (N.E.L.P.) but the general ethos was one of lack of understanding of the crucial choice they were about to make.

School H, an ex-secondary modern school in a middle class area, had developed what can only be described as a 'grammar school' atmosphere. The sixth formers all wore uniform, were smartly dressed, articulate and ambitious. The school has a prefect system and the sixth form was seen as a stage en route to higher education. The school also had a former pupils association, and meetings had attendances of over fifty. Whilst the teachers at school G had the air of people battling against the odds, the teachers at school H had the air of those whose circumstances were in their favour.

All the head teachers, sixth form tutors and other members of teaching staff I interviewed envisaged the continuation of the sixth form in their schools. They also pointed to an increasing number of sixth form pupils, particularly in the one year sixth.

The question of different attitudes based on house tenure was mentioned by a number of teachers. A typical comment was:

"I can tell where they (the pupils) come from by their attitude towards post 16 education. Those favourably disposed tend to come from ... (X) ... (private estate), those less favourably disposed tend to come from Dartmeet (council housing)."

The question of different attitudes towards male and female students was raised in a number of schools. Reference was frequently made to Bamford's 'male chauvanist' culture and examples were given of parents who would allow their sons to continue on to higher education but not their daughters. One teacher mentioned the attitude of one parent who, it was claimed, said of his daughter:

"What does she want a degree for, she will be getting married and having babies."

On the other hand teachers at a couple of schools claimed that it was easier for girls to stay on at school than boys as they did not face the same financial pressure to work.

6.4 BAMFORD COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY.

The Principal, saw Bamford College of Technology as part of the local community:

"an institution to which people turn; citizens; employees; employers; parents in the borough."

The college runs G.C.E. 'A' level courses; T.E.C. and B.E.C. ordinary and national certificates and diplomas, a number of professional and business studies courses and N.E.B.S.S. courses in management. A unique aspect of the college is a performing arts course containing Drama, Music, Film, T.V. and General education elements with exams taken in G.C.E. and Music. The college is organised in seven departments; Bakery, Business and Management, Construction, Design, Engineering, General and Social Studies and Science and Maths; three units; Occupational Psychology, Educational Technology and Careers and Counselling; and an Industrial Liaison Centre. While the college is a community college it does have overseas students (about 10 per cent) and only a third of the students actually reside in Bamford. One third of students reside in the adjacent borough of Hartland, while the remainder reside in Rishworth, Newton or outside the G.L.C. area. It should be remembered, however, that Bamford is only a small borough (in population terms) surrounded by much larger local authorities.

The Principal claimed there was no perceived difference between 'A' level

and T.E.C. and B.E.C. students. He thought that the reason why students chose to take their 'A' levels at Bamford Technical College rather than in school sixth forms is partly a question of the wide range of options (30 different subjects) and the freedom youngsters find after the regimentation of school. Schools within the borough, however, vary in their regimentation and the 'freer' sixth forms are not necessarily the largest ones.

Also, schools offer a number of programmes for the one year sixth including repeat 'O' levels, repeat C.S.E's, the C.E.E. and in one case the City and Guilds. Furthermore, a number of schools co-operate with the college on schemes such as linked courses. This point was taken up by the Principal who claimed that many of the 16-19 pupils in school sixth forms were not now genuine 'A' level material. He added that:

"all sorts of youngsters are staying on and only a tertiary college can offer a complete range of subjects and courses for their needs. It can also offer an escape route from G.C.E. 'A' levels to T.E.C. courses."

Falling rolls and financial stringencies are putting pressure on the L.E.A. to rationalise its 16-19 provision. The Principal's view is that the college does not want to be in competition with the schools, nor take over the sixth forms, but:

"we would want to be part of any rationalisation."

The school heads are not necessarily agreed on the form that any re-arranged provision might take, but as one commentator, who wished to remain anonymous, stated, some of them are:

"living in a dream world."

The Chief Inspector, summed up the 16 - 19 situation succinctly:

"Take up rates of school sixth forms are low, but this has to be seen in the light of the proportion going into continuing education in total including further education. Any future planning for 16-19 education must take into account the size of the 16-19 group in the borough, the size of sixth forms, the contracting population, of what is already a small borough, and contracting resources. The answer may well be a tertiary college, but it is too early to say. Whatever the solution it will have to be the subject of delicate negotiation. It would be premature and unwise to make a statement."

G.C.E. 'A' level courses are offered by three of Bamford C.T.'s departments, Business and Management Studies, General Studies, and Science and Maths. T.E.C. courses are run by the Construction and Engineering departments and B.E.C. courses by Business and Management studies.

The Construction Department runs a full-time T.E.C. Diploma in

building and two part-time day release courses, the T.E.C. Certificate for Construction Technicians, and the T.E.C. Certificate for Drawing Office staff. The acting Deputy Head, claimed that the T.E.C. diploma students were mainly employed in the Quantity Surveyor's and Architect's Departments of local authorities, and that five students were hoping to use the T.E.C. Diploma as an entry on to a degree course. With regards to the T.E.C. Certificates the majority of students were Building Surveyors with the remainder being civil and structural engineers, architects and quantity surveyors. He added:

"There is good rapport between staff and students. Students are aware of T.E.C. and how to use it. The largest number of students come from the East of the College from Hartland, while about 35% come from Bamford and Dartmeet. A smaller number come from Rishworth, and I get the impression that their social background is professional. Their fathers are teachers and chartered accountants. Those from Hartland tend to be from skilled manual or white collar backgrounds, while those from Bamford are from skilled or semi-skilled backgrounds. These latter tend to be the weakest students."

The Engineering Department is very large, with 54 members of staff. It offers G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels in Engineering Science and Design Technology, but in recent years these have not been run because of the lack of students interested in the course. The main work of the Department, however, is the running of T.E.C. Certificate courses in Mechanical and Production Engineering and Electrical Engineering.

These are offered on a day release basis and two different kinds of block release. The majority of students are employed by the Ford Motor Company.

The Head of Department, considered that the majority of students aimed at either a higher T.E.C. Certificate or Diploma at a polytechnic, but that a number go each year to study for degrees at universities or polytechnics. Normally about 5 a year go on to study for degrees of various types. With regard to the social background of students he stated that:

"If I gave an opinion as to class it would be unreliable, but I would guess that the majority come from a background with an engineer in the family."

The Principal Lecturer in charge of the T.E.C. course, thought that the reason there were few takers for 'A' level Engineering was that:

"If a student is brilliant at school he takes his 'A' levels there. If for one reason or another he has to leave school and work, and if he is interested in engineering he will normally take a T.E.C. Certificate course. Even a full-time T.E.C. course is not really on.

There are some well qualified students on the T.E.C. Certificate course, who are working because of financial reasons or lack of parental support for full-time education. A number of these people will gain university or polytechnic entrance standard."

The General and Social Studies Head of Department, is responsible for the unique Foundation Course in the Performing Arts. He said that about 25 people each year took 'A' level examinations in Art and associated subjects. He pointed out that:

"Students enter this course at various ages, 16+, 17+ and 18+ and occasionally older than this."

The Science and Mathematics Department offers a range of subjects at 'A' level, and T.E.C. Certificates in biology and the physical sciences (chemistry, physics and maths). The Senior Lecturer in charge of chemistry, thought that the reason why a number of students took T.E.C. courses instead of 'A' levels was that continuous assessment was less traumatic than 'once and for all' examinations.

CHAPTER 6 REFERENCES

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Chapter 7

NEWTON L.E.A.

7.1 NEWTON

The economic profile of Newton is somewhat different from Bamford. The majority of its workforce is employed in local service industry although manufacturing industry is also important. The main traditional industries have been docking, associated port industries and gas manufacture. These have all been in decline over the last ten years, resulting, in part, in the switch to service employment. There are, however, a number of chemical works and a number of large industrial estates with a variety of small industries.

The borough was formed as the result of a merger of Easton and Weston County Boroughs and has a population of 230,000. It is bounded by the Thames to the South, Bamford to the East, Rishworth to the North East, Bampton Castle to the North West and West Woodburn to the West. Like Bamford it is mainly manual working class in composition but unlike Bamford it is ethnically diverse. There are no wards where the number of professional and managerial workers exceed ten per cent and in some they number less than five per cent. Fourteen wards have significant numbers of families of West Indian origin, concentrated in the north of the borough and fifteen wards have a significant number of Asian families concentrated in the north east of the borough. It is currently estimated that 25 per cent of the borough's population are ethnic minority groups.

The borough is divided into 3 parliamentary constituencies, and 29 wards. Like Bamford the population voted predominantly for the Labour Party. All but one of the wards are Labour controlled, the other being held by Rate Payer representatives. The three constituencies return Labour M.P's.

Housing provision in Newton is more varied than in Bamford, with privately owned, privately rented, and local authority housing in roughly equal proportions. The privately owned housing tends to be located in the north and east of the borough while the local authority housing is concentrated in the south and west. Privately rented accommodation is evenly distributed across the borough. The incidence of overcrowding and inadequate housing is high by London standards and fairly evenly distributed across the borough (1).

Seventy-five per cent of the borough's wards have an average of 2 per cent or more households with more than 1.5 persons per room, (official definition of overcrowding), compared with none in Bamford and only two per cent in Rishworth. Of the Outer London Boroughs only Haringey and Brent exceed this number. In the case of inadequate housing all wards except one have more than 20 per cent of households lacking an indoor lavatory, the worst record of any of the Outer or Inner London boroughs.

The structure of the education service in Newton, in comparison with Bamford, demonstrates the diversity both of committees and departments which are found amongst L.E.A's. The Education Committee has four sub-committees; School; Head Teachers Appointments; Finance and General Purposes; and Continuing Education. The schools sub-committee is responsible for all aspects of schools operation within the borough while the Continuing Education sub-committee is responsible for the operation of the boroughs two colleges, the careers service, and a conference centre. The organisation of the Education Department like the Education Committee is quite unlike that of Bamford. The management team consists of the Director of Education, the Deputy Director of Education, the Principal Education Adviser, the Head of the Schools and F.E. Division, the Head of the Libraries Division, the Head of the Management Division, the Head of Special Services Division and the Curator of the borough's Museum.

The Schools and Further Education Division is responsible for a wide range of activities. In the field of further education it is responsible for Easton College of Technology, Weston College and aspects of the operation of a local polytechnic. With reference to schools, Newton has 8 nursery schools, 92 primary schools and 16 11 - 18 comprehensives. Four of these comprehensives are single sex and secular (two girls, two boys) and two are single sex Roman Catholic schools. The other ten are co-educational, nine secular and one Roman Catholic. The Schools and F.E. Division is also responsible for the Careers Service.

The Principal Education Advisor was appointed as an inspector, but three years ago (1978) the inspectorate was reorganised to form an advisory service headed by a principal adviser. Those appointed as inspectors have retained their titles, but the work is now seen primarily as advisory.

The structure of secondary provision in Newton is largely the result of historical accident. The borough was formed by the merger of two County Boroughs, Easton and Weston, each with distinct educational traditions. Weston was first won by the Labour Party in 1919 and has remained that way ever since. Easton was also Labour controlled but had a minority opposition of varying strength until the 1964 reform of London Government. Both boroughs set up secondary schools as a result of the 1902 Act, but, whereas Weston favoured co-educational schools, Easton favoured single sex schools. Both authorities were committed to the scholarship system, but whereas Weston had seven selective schools (eight from 1959), Easton had only two, one for boys and one for girls. However, the dropout rates at sixteen for Weston were much higher than those for Easton.

After World War Two, Weston decided to increase the number of scholarships despite a drop in population, whilst Easton maintained the 'status quo'. In spite of developments in neighbouring London County Council there was no pressure to comprehensivise. The nearest approach in Weston was a multi-lateral school, and Easton reciprocated with its own multi-lateral. Both of these,

however, were little more than different schools on the same site. In 1958 there was an attempt at reorganisation using a sixth form college system in Weston. The plan was for two senior high schools, with all the other schools becoming junior high schools with transfer at fifteen. The changes were thought to be necessary because there were too many selective places and schools for the borough to maintain. The plan was vehemently opposed by parents. However, attempts were made to implement the plan.

Two aspects of this reform should be noted. The plan envisaged single sex schools, as the better results from Easton were put down to the single sex system there. This was opposed by the teachers. The N.U.T. at the same time proposed a comprehensive system. This was rejected by the council.

When the boroughs were merged Weston had selective schools, high schools and secondary modern schools as the two systems had overlapped during the transition. Easton had two Grammar schools and eight secondary modern schools, some having specific courses, e.g. commerce, technical or academic but none of them had sixth forms. With the merger it was obvious that something needed to be done. The C.E.O. put forward a plan proposing four selective schools but in the meantime circular 10/65 was published. It is interesting to note that 10/65 produced no reaction from the education committee. One of the Labour Party ward branches, however, passed a resolution calling on

Newton Borough to 'comprehensivise its secondary school system'. This motion followed the procedure laid down for local Labour Parties. From the ward branch it went to the constituency general management committee, from there to the Newton local government committee (a committee covering the three constituencies) and from there to the Labour Party group of councillors. Thus comprehensivisation became official council policy.

A reorganisation sub-committee was formed by the education committee which included teachers, although the Newton teachers established their own reorganisation committee which was accorded consultative status by the council. A debate ensued between those who favoured the development of sixth form colleges, championed by the C.E.O. and the Chairman of the Council, and those who favoured the establishment of 11-18 comprehensives, championed by the teachers' unions. The Rate Payer opposition favoured purpose built comprehensives, but wanted the building of only one comprehensive, on an experimental basis, to see if it worked. There was, however, no great will to go comprehensive amongst the administration and this issue demonstrates those conflicts that can occur between the political side and the administrative side of local authority provision.

The council eventually decided in favour of 11-18 comprehensives by a large majority. The comprehensivisation of Newton schools began in 1972 seven years after 10/65. In the meantime a lot of ROSLA money was lost, and the system was adopted with some acrimony on the part of

the councillors representing the Easton area who did not think that they had got an equitable share. Also the sixth form college supporters were still well represented on the council and in many ways the council was only persuaded to have 11-18 comprehensives because of the unity of the teachers for 11-18 comprehensives. However, the council was never wholly convinced of this solution, and the officials were dubious about the teachers' claims that sixth forms would grow.

For further education, there has never really been any considered policy in either of the two boroughs. Weston College was formed in the late fifties and expanded until it became one of the constituent colleges of a local Polytechnic. The lower level courses were transferred to a new college, also called Weston College. Easton College is somewhat older and, with the creation of the polytechnic, it became both a Further Education college for the eastern end of the borough and a major provider of specialist technical and business studies courses for a wider area. The F.E. colleges have always run 'O' level and 'A' level courses, which has been the cause of some antagonism in the schools. There is also a suspicion that the colleges would favour a free market system or even a tertiary college system based on the two colleges.

There was growth in sixth form numbers for the first three years of comprehensivisation but these numbers then levelled off, and many sixth forms had insufficient pupil numbers and were thus uneconomic.

In January 1977 there was an attempt to rectify this when a working party of Head Teachers was set up to; (i) report on the present situation in Newton Sixth Forms; and (ii) advise the Director of Education on the most suitable organisation necessary to maintain the growth of sixth form teaching, and protect the teaching of minority subjects at Advanced Level in order to provide as wide a range of courses as possible.

The working party reported in 1977 and recommended that 'A' levels be categorised in three groups; the first group would consist of ten 'core' subjects which would be offered at all schools; the second would consist of subjects where the numbers of pupils were smaller, and viable groups could be formed by regional consortia of schools; and thirdly, minority subjects which would be provided in at least one school in the borough. One interesting aspect of the report's findings is that:

"there is no evidence that they (the colleges of F.E.) are duplicating services as the colleges are providing 'A' level for Newton students who are mostly over the age of eighteen (and) the help which they give to schools in the form of technical and vocational subjects is considerable." (2)

The committee also commented that 43 per cent of lower sixth pupils were taking 'A' level courses. This meant that the majority of lower sixth pupils were taking non 'A' level courses. These non 'A' level pupils were taking a variety of courses such as the Certificate

of Extended Education (C.E.E.), repeat 'O' levels, repeat C.S.E's, secretarial courses, basic literacy courses and courses offered on an interest only non examinable basis. This diversity of requirements of sixth form students, as the report points out:

"makes the preparation of a programme for them one of the most difficult tasks of school organisation." (3)

The final recommendation of the committee was that it be reconvened October, 1979. This recommendation was accepted and the committee is still meeting regularly.

However, most people I interviewed within the schools said that while the consortium principle was supposed to be in operation, in fact, it did not work. One teacher commented:

"The system is still highly competitive, with schools wanting to hold on to all the pupils they have got. Furthermore, while entry into secondary schools is via a system of feeder primaries, there is provision for parental choice, and falling rolls has meant virtually a free market which favours those comprehensives formed from the old selective schools."

Since that report the numbers of Newton students entering sixth forms has remained low and the committee has been reconvened. Its interim report (April, 1981), whilst considering alternatives to the consortium, has recommended a revamped version as the solution to low numbers in sixth forms and the onset of falling rolls.

Newton's record of student entry into higher education is one of the lowest in the country at 7 per cent (Bamford is lower). (4).

Like Bamford the low percentage of those staying on at 16+ and entering higher education at 18+ is ascribed to the 'culture' of the area. The Head of the Schools and Further Education division commented:

"The culture of the area affects choice at 16+. There is an emphasis against any education that is not vocationally orientated. There are some signs, however, that this is changing. There is a large cultural scheme being launched in the schools to encourage an interest in the Arts, particularly the Theatre. There is also a process of 'gentrification' occurring in the ... (X) ... Estate Conservation Area."

She added that:

"There is great enthusiasm amongst teachers in the borough and numbers choose to live locally in preference to commuting."

The enormity of the problem faced by Newton L.E.A. is, however, recognised in a report prepared by representatives of Head Teachers of Secondary Schools and of the Director of Education (5) in 1977. It concludes:

"From time to time Newton has been criticised because of the comparatively small numbers of students who enter university and other institutes of higher education. Although the Working Party

is confident that the present comprehensive system will make it possible for a larger proportion of our young people to realise their true educational potential it does not expect that there will be many dramatic changes. There exist far too many social problems which can have a serious effect on academic performance."

The problems faced by Newton were commented upon by the Director of Education. He pointed out that the housing in most areas of the Borough had been built prior to the 1914-18 war, and while the second world war Blitz and slum clearance had halved the pre war population to 230,000, there was still overcrowding. The problem of inadequate housing stock had been compounded, he continued, by a severe teacher shortage in the 1970's and most schools were below the D.E.S. requirement for both buildings and facilities. This had helped contribute to a 5/6 per cent truancy rate while 15/20 per cent of the school population at all atages were classified as backward readers.

Cuts in capital expenditure in the late 1970's had meant that schools as well as other institutions of local Government had been subject to physical decay. This had also been true of housing, while the local industrial base had declined causing increasing unemployment. This picture, painted by the Director corresponds with a government report published in 1977 'A Policy for Inner Cities'. (6).

"Many inner area schools are old, on cramped sites, and lacking essential facilities

and contain a higher than average proportion of disadvantaged children."

However, a member of the Education Committee put forward another perspective. This member is the Deputy Head of one of the borough's schools, and was born and educated in Newton. He has been a delegate to Weston Trades Council for 22 years and a co-opted member of the Education Committee since the formation of Newton. He claimed that there had once been a tradition of education and achievement through education within Newton.

"Both Boroughs (Easton and Weston) had set up secondary schools as a result of the 1902 Act. Both were heavily orientated to the Scholarship system and winning a scholarship meant great esteem and elite privileges such as longer holidays, uniforms and better sports facilities."

He thought that the structure had deteriorated since the war and whilst there was some growth in sixth forms immediately after comprehensivisation, the take up of both 16 - 19 and higher education was disappointing. However, he did not place all the blame on to the social problems of the area:

"If 16 - 19 recruitment is falling, why? It is because there is no real conscious feeling within the Borough's top echelons that more should be done to encourage more people to develop. This is true of both officers and members."

This point was taken up by the Chairman of the Newton Sixth Form Working Party and a senior teacher at one of the borough's Comprehensives. He claimed that those who 'stayed on' were the very brightest and the very weak - the 'new' sixth - who took one year courses. A number of pupils left each year with 4/5 'O' levels to work in banks or similar institutions. However, his own school has just obtained permission to enrol adults on 'A' level courses at the school and three mothers with children at the school had enrolled. This, and other innovations, had resulted in sixth form numbers increasing and of a fifth year of 220 some 80 were staying on in the sixth in year 80/81. It should be noted, however, that this school is in the East of the Borough and as one councillor put it:

"There is more money on the East Side."

The Principal Advisor, thought that the low numbers taking up higher education in Newton was predictable given the social class composition of the area.

"Can the Advisory Service change this? (the low entry into H.E.). The Advisory Service can't raise parents expectations, we can only preach to schools the value of preaching to parents. We can see, however, that a basic provision of 'A' levels is made in each school and try to raise the quality of teaching by getting teachers to act as facilitators for local youngsters to enter higher education."

He pointed out that the advisory service had no power over the curriculum and could only modify it on the basis of goodwill and co-operation. Differences in curriculum content between schools was the result of peculiarities of schools and who controls them. Often curriculum differences were historical, for example the ex-technical school's curriculum was biased towards technical subjects. He was concerned about cultural bias in the curriculum, particularly with regard to class, race and sex.

"The advisor team has been aware of bias in these areas. We have been conscious of class bias for a long time and have done a lot of work in the area."

Weston had, as a response to the Newsome Report (7), set up a Curriculum Development Project, which offers courses at the Teachers Centre. By this means, Newton had tried to make the curriculum more relevant to its pupils.

The Principal Advisor also talked about possible curriculum bias in the areas of race and gender.

"A lot of work needs to be undertaken to counter some ideas about the capability of black youngsters. Updating the curriculum can help here, for example, a more neutral view of history. With regard to bias on a gender basis - to be honest not a lot of work has been undertaken in this area. Maybe there is a generation gap."

This was also noted, at some length by the A.E.O. (Schools and F.E.). She pointed out that there was a generous provision of resources for ethnic minorities. There were, for example, separate staffing arrangements at both primary and secondary levels to help with English as a second language. There had always been, she added, a significant number of pupils of Asian origin staying on after 16.

With regard to gender differences, she was less sanguine:

"Girls are not encouraged to continue their education and generally they don't. The male culture of the area is very dominant. For example, the nursery education advisor believes in girls playing in the Wendy House as important in their development as women, whereas boys are encouraged to play with big toys."

A Councillor mentioned that this had always been the case in Newton as it had been in Easton and Weston before that. It was always expected that twice the number of boys as girls would enter post-compulsory education. A deputy head added to this by pointing out that even though his school sixth form was 50 per cent boys, 50 per cent girls, the girls tended to opt for typing and commercial courses, whereas the boys tended to prefer the sciences.

7.2 NEWTON CAREER SERVICE

Newton Careers Service is headed by a Principal Careers Officer responsible to the Head of Schools and F.E. Division. She has two district careers officers based at Stonebury in the west of the Borough, and Easton in the East. There are four senior careers officers responsible for the handicapped, industrial liaison, further and higher education, and the unemployed. (The latter post being funded by the M.S.C.)

The Further Education Careers specialist thought the low entry rate into post compulsory education in Newton was concerned with sub-culture. She claimed that there was a strong sub-culture amongst the native white population that was at worst anti-education and at best neutral towards it.

"One school has a 30 per cent absentee rate in the fifth form and a truancy rate of 16 per cent. A good job locally is one which is one step up from a docker or shop assistant, for example a clerical job in a bank or office."

She added that a number of very bright pupils left at sixteen as the main motivation is to:

"get a job that pays, and pays quickly."

She also pointed out that many of these bright pupils came back to

her at the age of eighteen or nineteen after two years experience in a job well below their capabilities and conscious of people at their place of employment with 'A' levels and degrees who had a considerably greater earning capacity. Their main concern was about how they could retrieve this situation.

According to her, the Asian community, in comparison with the indigenous white community, is desperate to continue the length, if not always the quality, of its education. They tend to take 'A' levels of a vocational nature, such as science, business studies and engineering aiming at careers in law, medicine, accountancy and engineering. Few of them enrol for Arts and Social Science based professions and those that do are mainly girls.

Her overall impression of Newton was that the white native culture was homogenous. There were, she thought, groups of middle class people living within its boundaries mostly in the caring professions, for example, teachers, social workers, careers officers and polytechnic lecturers, but they never really interrelated with the indigenous community and the local people continued the culture and traditions of earlier generations. One of the by-products of this is that traditional working class fathers imbued with the working class 'machismo' of the area, see the education system in a female form; female teachers, female careers officers, and female education welfare workers. This, she considered, may lower the esteem of the education system in the fathers eyes, and this is being transmitted to his

children.

The sexual stereotyping of the area is quite strong, and career aspirations reflect this. She stated:

"The classic option for girls with 4 or 5 'O' levels is banking or other clerical work. Where they aim at higher education the careers aimed at are social work or teaching."

However, she did point out that Asian girls are far less stereotyped and often aim at science or even engineering courses in higher education, and will work as a laboratory technician as an alternative to office work.

She did see some geographical differences within the Borough with a tendency for greater achievement in the East of the Borough.

"Easton is generally better. It is slightly more middle class with the accompanying ambitions. The youngsters there have more sophisticated leisure activities."

She added that when Newton youngsters did achieve higher education they opted for vocational subjects, preferably a sandwich course. There was also a reluctance to move away from the area and local universities and polytechnics were the favourite choices. (The local University College and Polytechnic have a large number of Newton students). She finished by saying that there was little

appreciation of the fact that there exists choice between the various universities and polytechnics, and a complete lack of grasp of the total provision of higher education.

The District Careers Officer for Stonebury, the Borough's sixth form specialist, had a different view on the problem of low entry. She thought that parents were committed in general to the idea of higher education for their children. The main problem she considered was peer group pressure.

"The parents want their children to go but their friends don't, so they don't go."

Another problem was that parents were worried about what would happen to their sons (not daughters) if they went away from home to college.

"I spend a lot of my time counselling parents that one day their sons are going to have to cook and clean for themselves. They want their children to go to university but are worried about the children keeping up standards, for example, not cleaning their shoes. The working class attach a high value to keeping up standards."

However, the main problem, she thought, lay with the schools. The real work needs to be undertaken before the fifth form.

"Schools could do more to make the complexities of H.E. understandable to their pupils. Many teachers are not aware of the incrementalism in

academic requirements for professions and the necessity of higher education for most high status occupations."

She did not concur with the F.E. Career Specialist's opinion on the geographical spread of achievement.

"The spread (of achievement) is not based on geographical area but on schools. Comprehensivisation is still quite recent and those schools with a high academic reputation, such as the ex-grammar schools and technical school, have retained it. In some schools the atmosphere is conducive to achievement, and if the school encourages it, it tends to happen. Schools can compensate for a lack of push by parents, and such schools are found in both Easton and Weston."

She also took issue on the question of sexual stereotyping. She did not think that there was any of this phenomenon occurring in the schools and, furthermore, she was not aware of any difference of attitudes towards the take up of higher education between boys and girls. She conceded that it might occur, but she personally had not seen it. She was quite encouraged by the way the local children resisted stereotyping. Also some schools had undertaken a major shift in curriculum content to discuss the problem:

"For example, (school E), (an all girls comprehensive school) has included a number of sessions on the role of women in society in their social studies curriculum."

She did concede that many girls rationalise their position in

advance, and believing that they will get no educational qualifications, aim at marriage. In one school last year (1979/80) three girls got married the day after they left school. Asian girls in her opinion entered sixth forms in large numbers, but did not always realise their aspirations. There were also a number of Asian girls in school E who were either waiting to have marriages arranged or seeking 'refuge' from marriage for another year or two.

However, she did concur with the F.E. Specialist's view on the question of ethnic minorities. She considered that parents of Asian origin were ambitious for their children, although this was truer of those of East African origin rather than Bengalis. No parent, however, wanted their children to work in factories, but, whereas the local white youngsters accept it as a last choice, the Asian youngsters resist it "tooth and nail". Those of West Indian origin on the other hand, have, until recently, shown little in the way of academic achievement. This had changed in the last five years, according to her and although there was some anti-education feeling amongst West Indians, she thought that there was a good community atmosphere compared with, for example, Brixton. West Indians when they did enter 16+ tended to go to the Further Education Colleges.

Seventy-five students in Newton schools answered the question "Is there anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far? Sixty-three students from Easton College of

Technology also answered the question, of which 13 were full time 'A' level students, 14 part-time, 18 full-time TEC/BEC students and 18 part-time.

The replies echoed those of the Bamford respondents, and fell into four main categories:

- a) Lack of advice at third/fourth year over choice of options.
- b) An over emphasis of careers advisors on F.E. and H.E.
- c) A need for a greater understanding of what is involved in H.E. (a contradiction of b).
- d) A lack of guidance as to 'non-educational' requirements of entry into post 19 education, e.g. filling in U.C.C.A. forms.

A typical example of a student complaining of lack of guidance in the third year when choosing options was this sixth former:

"In the third year when choosing options for 'O' levels we were not advised to take options which complement each other, i.e. sciences like Chemistry, Biology and Physics. Instead we were told to choose options we liked best, irrelevant (sic) of how good we were at them. I ended up taking two of the sciences and when in the fifth year I was interested in a career in science I found I was blocked because I didn't have the necessary qualifications. This I feel should have been pointed out before."

The apparently contradictory problems of careers service being seen on one hand to be only concentrating on those who are determined on an

academic future, whilst on the other there being a perceived lack of guidance as to the self same academic future, is interesting. It may be that different traditions and experiences of ex-selective and ex-modern school teachers may be a factor or it may be that a desire to achieve higher education on behalf of a student is perceived by the teacher as evidence of a knowledge of how to achieve this desire. A typical comment was:

"When they (Careers Officers/Teachers) find that 'A' level students wish to go out to work they seem to lose interest in them and give the impression that they think you are wasting your time at school."

and yet, a student from the same school offered the following:

*

"Once you decide to stay on in sixth form, and then go to university one tends to get very little career advice."

Also obvious, in common with Bamford students, was a lack of knowledge of the 'non-educational' requirements for entering the world of the upper middle class. For example:

"General guidance (is required) on the importance of official forms, i.e. how to fill in questionnaires, complete tax forms, open bank accounts, etc."

Besides the four main groups of problems identified there were, as in

Bamford, one or two girls who complained of sexist bias in careers guidance. For example:

"stereotyped jobs, e.g. secretaries, teachers, etc."

and

"no guidance given when choosing options in third and fourth year as to possible technical options for girls."

A number of respondents, however, indicated that the main problem may lie not with those responsible for guidance but with themselves.

For example:

"There isn't anything missing in career guidance its just that people don't use them fully."

and

"I do not think that there is anything missing in career guidance, just lack of confidence in oneself."

7.3 NEWTON SCHOOLS.

There is less obvious difference in sixth form provision amongst the schools in Newton when compared with Bamford, although there is some discernible, if marginal, difference between ex-selective schools and ex-modern schools. It was not possible to categorise these schools by level of provision, as was the case in Bamford, and more valid distinctions in Newton's case are between co-educational and single sex schools, and between Roman Catholic and secular schools. Of the twelve schools I visited four were single sex, eight were co-educational, three were Roman Catholic and nine secular.

THE CO-EDUCATIONAL SECULAR COMPREHENSIVES

SCHOOL A

School A is large (1,500 pupils) co-educational and secular, situated in the south of the borough. It was formed by the merger of two secondary modern schools, one for boys, one girls. It is a ten form entry. The sixth form has its own building with a number of sixth form tutors.

When the school was formed the sixth contained 110 students and it remained at that level for two years when, in the words of the head teacher, it:

"dropped dramatically at the time it should
have risen."

There are currently about 90 pupils in the sixth forms, of whom 27 are in the upper sixth (14 boys, 13 girls). According to the head teacher there have been two specific concerns over the sixth. The first concerns the 'new' sixth:

"The school is sympathetic to the new sixth but we do not have an open policy. Entry is based on exam results and ability to benefit from the course. I do not think that we have done quite enough to put on the most suitable courses but this is due to staffing problems. The position now is dissuading people from entering the sixth form who will not benefit from it."

The other problem is that there are numbers of students with four or more 'O' levels leaving at 16+ and obtaining employment rather than taking 'A' levels. The Head commented:

"I estimate that there should be 140 in the sixth. When the school went comprehensive we kept those who would have gone to a grammar school, but many who should stay on leave at sixteen. There is no academic tradition to build upon, and we face the problem that parents and pupils don't know that the school can do so much for them."

This 'local culture' argument was also advanced by the two sixth form tutors I interviewed. Attempts to overcome this situation included fifth year parents meetings, a two week course to orientate the sixth form, and contacts between the fifth form and sixth form tutors.

I held discussions with the assembled sixth form and they were very

complimentary both about the school and the sixth form. Of the 27 upper sixth students, about a dozen had acceptances at University, and others were about to be interviewed for places. In the previous year, 18 students went on to some form of higher education, including 14 to their first choice institution, including one student 'rescued from a year in banking' who achieved three 'A's'. However, in spite of these achievements and in spite of the fact that the school generally is a popular choice, the sixth form, according to the head teacher, is still below its potential maximum.

SCHOOL B

School B situated in the south east of the borough was formed by the merger of a grammar school and a secondary modern school. Because of the grammar school there is a tradition of sixth form entry, but the numbers staying on have been declining. Three years ago the sixth form numbered 90 students but the current figure is 44 (50 at the beginning of the year). The upper sixth has 17 students (10 male, 7 female). Nine of these were aiming at higher education including one Oxford scholarship. The grammar school tradition has resulted in a fairly academic sixth form although a 'new sixth' has developed and commercial, technical, and G.C.E. 'O' level courses are offered.

The sixth form facilities were pleasant with a separate suite of rooms, study facilities, a library and a fairly extensive careers room.

The sixth form tutor considered that the reason why fewer students

entered the sixth form than might be expected was that:

"not enough was done to make education important to the community. There has never been an unemployment problem in the area. There are always jobs available and there is home pressure on a youngster to work. Not much value is placed in education either in the sixth form or in any other way."

The school, like school A, has attempted to rectify this situation through parents evenings, the sixth form tutor interviewing all fifth form students and so on. However, the sixth form tutor pointed out that for those in the sixth form parental support was good.

SCHOOL C

Schools A and B had a minority of pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds, and were mainly white in composition. School C, in comparison, draws about half its pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds; about 35% were West Indian in origin, 10% Asian and 5% a mixture of races/nationalities, including Chinese and Italian. The school was previously a secondary modern and had no sixth form tradition. It is situated in the north west of the borough.

I interviewed one of the school's deputy head teachers, whose responsibility it was to build up the sixth form. She started off with 4 in the first year of comprehensivisation and the numbers have doubled annually since then until a year or so ago. There are

currently 66 in the sixth form, of whom 16 are in the upper sixth (11 girls and 5 boys). The sixth have one floor of one block, but facilities there were often used by the rest of the school, and as such they are not ideal.

The increase in the numbers in the sixth was, according to the Deputy Head, achieved in six ways:

- "(1) A big effort was made in the fifth to recoup kids who used to go to college.
- (2) An increase in the proportion of West Indians who are thinking past apprenticeships and want higher education, particularly girls who are thinking past nursing and secretarial work.
- (3) An increase in those who have no job prospects at 16 but with some interest in education.
- (4) The reputation of the local college is not all that enticing. The students there are taught in large groups and teacher turnover is high.
- (5) A big effort has been put into convincing fifth formers of the benefits of continuing education in spite of the time taken in this pursuit.
- (6) Success builds on success. "

The Deputy Head did, however, outline a number of problems. The major one was staff turnover in the school. She thought that 'the kids did not get a good deal (sic)' in this respect. Another problem was the poor facilities provided for the sixth. There was also the converse of success building on success as there was a need to build up a tradition of 'A' level teaching as 'A' level success depends on the

way that students were taught lower down the school. In this respect poor 'A' level results can be a result of teaching practices down the school and a vicious circle of low achievement can set in.

With regard to non-institutional factors affecting the level of sixth form entry, the deputy head stated:

"I can't generalise as to parental attitudes. There is tremendous ambition and aspirations on the part of West Indians and Asians, the West Indians because they see education as a good thing in itself, the Asians are more job specific. The local white parents don't push their kids. They have a lack of faith in them and are surprised at their success. White parents tend to be ambivalent about their children continuing their education and the number of white boys staying on is small, with five being the maximum in any one year."

SCHOOL D

School D is very large (1,900 pupils) in the east of the borough, created by the merger of a grammar school and two secondary modern schools. There were 35 students in the upper sixth (25 boys, 10 girls) and 88 in the lower. Of these 88, 40 are studying 'A' levels, 11 secretarial courses, 9 basic education and 26 C.E.E. About 15-20 per annum enter higher education. The sixth form has its own common room, a private study area, and a 'free environment'. Like most Newton comprehensives there is a sixth form council with its own budget.

I interviewed the Head Teacher and the sixth form Tutor. The Head

pointed out that:

"There has always been a tradition of staying on because of the grammar school, but recently there has been a tendency for numbers to dip. There is a pretty elaborate guidance service with a full-time careers teacher with the back up of the careers centre. This has counteracted the drop in sixth form numbers to a certain extent by putting forward the sixth form as an alternative for those who realistically expect to benefit."

Like many I spoke to the sixth form tutor did point to the neighbourhood.

"The local culture is against education. There are a number of pupils we would like to see in the sixth but don't. A lot of pressure is economic - most would prefer to go and get a job, and the thought of staying on for two years does not come into the question. Parents also pressure their children into leaving although those in the sixth form do get parental backing. Interestingly there appears to be no difference socially between parents with children in the sixth form and those in the environment at large."

SCHOOL E

School E, situated in the centre of the borough, was created as the result of a merger between two grammar schools, one for boys and one for girls. The catchment area is multi-ethnic, with an equal distribution of white, black and Asian students. The ex-grammar school background still exerts some influence, especially with Newton's policy of parental choice. More parents opt for the school

than opt out of it, and about 80 requests are received each year from outside the catchment area. All places are filled despite falling roles.

The grammar school tradition is also reflected in the sixth form. There is an entry requirement of 4 'O' levels with the facility to repeat 'O' levels but only 'if available'. There are 21 in the upper sixth (12 boys, 9 girls) and 28 in the lower sixth, over 20 of whom are taking 'A' levels. The current upper sixth is abnormally low, a yearly total of 25-30 students being considered 'normal'. The Head Teacher claimed that pupils stayed on into the sixth:

"to improve their qualifications either with a view to getting a good job or entering higher education. The numbers entering the sixth forms are dependent on their development by teachers in the third and fourth (years)."

He did, however, point out that some students left at 16+ with 4 or more 'O' levels instead of entering the sixth. This was due to:

"Parental pressure. They (the parents) don't think much of higher education, and tell their offspring to take any good job offered at 16. This affects girls more than boys, with the ultimate security of a bank job being offered."

The sixth form tutor, however, claimed that parental attitudes were:

"very co-operative and, within the limit of their background, supportive."

There was, he continued, a difference amongst the ethnic groups.

"The majority of Asian parents are ambitious for their children, often over so. Some pupils would come back indefinitely to sit exams if let. Black parents are very disciplinarian and constantly ask the school to make their children work harder. This year has seen a great breakthrough with regard to this group with a large number of blacks in the lower sixth for the first time, many of whom have 6 or 7 'O' levels.

With regard to the local white population, they are the residue of those who want to, and can, move out of the area. There are an average number of problem families, although there are many exceptions to this general pattern, for example the children of local doctors and teachers."

I also interviewed a number of sixth form students, most of whom were glad they stayed on if only for negative reasons, 'it beats work'. There were some complaints, however, about lessons being missed and there being a lot of free time and a paucity of 'formal teaching'. One interesting comment was:

"I was fed up with school in the fifth form. It was pretty dull. Once in the sixth there was a big difference, but you don't realise it until you are there."

SCHOOL F

School F is a relatively small co-educational secular comprehensive

school situated in the South West of the borough. It is a purpose built comprehensive, eight years old, with a catchment area formerly served by three secondary modern schools. There are 10 students in the upper sixth (3 boys, 7 girls) and twenty in the lower sixth.

The sixth form tutor pointed out:

"There should be some 30 pupils in next year's first year sixth out of the 45 from this year's fifth who say they want to stay on. There would have been a similar number this year but there was a 'jobs panic'. The white kids find it easy to get jobs at all levels, and parents have not had experience past mandatory age. It is a fight to keep boys with potential on at school, but we in no way attempt to get a large sixth at the expense of kids."

THE SINGLE SEX SECULAR COMPREHENSIVES

SCHOOL G

School G is a large girls school situated in the centre of the borough. It was formed by the merger of a girls grammar and a girls secondary modern school. The school is 'over subscribed' with 75% of its annual intake coming from its 5 feeder primary schools and the other 25% coming from other primary schools as a result of parental choice. Over 50% of the students are from ethnic minorities with the numbers of West Indians decreasing and the numbers of Asians increasing, particularly the daughters of practising Moslems.

I interviewed both the Head Teacher and the sixth form tutor. The sixth form tutor stated:

"I am not happy about the sixth form situation. Many girls leave at 16 as the result of a variety of pressures and we can't seem to inform them that it is to their advantage to stay on. Even with all the unemployment very few girls fail to get jobs, as those who can't get work locally can get work in the city.

However, there is a difference between white and Asian girls. In the white community there is parental pressure to leave and get a job, and there is peer group pressure as well. The idea is that girls marry young and should, therefore, go out and earn some money before getting married. Some leave because of worries about unemployment and leave to get jobs with day release, and the height of achievement is a job in a bank. On the other hand a lot of girls leave banks after working there for a few months, and a number of girls are staying on into the sixth form in spite of their parents attitude and are consciously fighting it. Asian girls have pressure put on them to stay on, as an extended education makes them more marriagable and they must stay in a single sex establishment until married anyway."

There are 42 girls in the upper sixth with a slightly larger number in the lower sixth. About 15 are taking a two year secretarial course, but the sixth form tutor thought that the single sex nature of the schools did not affect the number of girls aspiring to higher education, and that half the upper sixth would enter some form of higher education. She saw no problem with the school being single sex as regards to staying on. The only problem was with the curriculum as the school could not offer technical studies.

This was causing some difficulty as there had been a swing from arts to science and maths at 'A' level over the last few years.

SCHOOL H

School H is situated in the North West of the borough and like school G is a girls comprehensive. However, it is smaller in size than school G with a correspondingly smaller sixth form, 26 in the upper and 28 in the lower. The sixth form has its own social and study areas although the teaching activities take place in a variety of accommodation depending on availability. Science teaching takes place in the schools laboratories. The sixth form is organised into three tutor groups, one group for the upper sixth, and two for the lower sixth.

The sixth form tutor told of a similar pattern of leaving to school G. There was still an expectation for girls to marry young and to leave school and earn some money prior to this, although like the sixth form tutor of school G, the sixth form tutor of school H thought that this was changing. She also endorsed the view expressed by the sixth form tutor of school G that more girls were tending to study science than previously was the case.

Like school G, the school attracted a large number of girls from ethnic minorities, particularly those where the families were practising

Moslems. However, there were also a large percentage of students of West Indian and African origins. Of the seventeen students that completed the questionnaire, seven were Asian in origin, six were white and four West Indian or African. With reference to the question of Asian girls and marriageability the sixth form tutor of the school disagreed with her counterpart of school G:

"This may have been true a few years ago, but not so now."

SCHOOL I

School I situated in the south west of the Borough is a boys comprehensive, formed from an ex-secondary technical school. The catchment area is the whole of the borough.

There are ninety students in the sixth form, 30 in the upper and 60 in the lower, of whom 30 are on 'A' level courses and 30 on various one year sixth courses. I first interviewed the sixth form tutor and afterwards interviewed some of the students. The majority of these were Asian with smaller numbers of black, white and Chinese. The sixth form tutor commented on the racial composition of the school:

"The catchment area is the whole borough, and we get a lot of Asian boys as Asian families like their children to go to single sex schools. We tend to get the boys - the girls go to school G."

He added that about ten boys went on to higher education each year, and that he hoped for an improvement this year. There were a number, however, each year who could have obtained higher education but chose to enter paid employment, the main areas being banking, the G.P.O., and telecommunications. Others who could have stayed on left at sixteen, mainly to enter apprenticeship. According to the sixth form tutor, this is probably due to the history of the school as a secondary technical institution.

The students I interviewed had a number of complaints regarding the running of the sixth form:

"There are too many people for the rooms we have got."

"There is a lack of support of teachers."

All the students, however, were full of praise for the sixth form tutor and of his commitment to the sixth form, but felt that he was operating in the face of lack of commitment of other members of staff and lack of facilities.

"Only a few teachers care, some people don't want the sixth, and the study room is a shack."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

SCHOOL J

School J is a single sex girls comprehensive. It is based on an ex-grammar school and still has a grammar school 'atmosphere'; for example the girls wear uniforms. There are 40 students in the upper sixth and 69 in the lower sixth, 49 of whom are on a two year course. The other 20 are mostly on a one year secretarial course. There is a requirement of 4 'O' levels for entry to an 'A' level course, and C.S.E. grade 2 in English for the secretarial course. There are a few repeat 'O' level and C.S.E. students.

I interviewed the sixth form tutor and she commented on the large numbers (for Newton) in the sixth form.

"The girls are of a good calibre intellectually and there is a long standing tradition of sixth form work as (school J) was originally a grammar school. The school is always over-subscribed but we do not select on intellectual ability, so we try to see if the girls background is practising R.C."

The sixth form tutor pointed out that, in spite of a high academic tradition, there was also a lack of expectation on the part of local parents and the students themselves. Only 5 or 6 of the current sixth form were aiming at higher education. The careers master, however, pointed out that the number of girls from the school entering higher education varied from year to year and depended

largely on individuals. He did admit that girls in the area had lower career expectations than boys and that this was generated by three factors; parents; peer group; and the local culture.

"Those that stay on in the sixth form see it purely in terms of enhancing their employment prospects. Usually about a dozen go on to higher education but there is no standard year. The majority of girls enter banking and insurance, but some become nurses."

Both the sixth form tutor and the head of careers thought that a single sex school provided a protective community for the girls and enabled them to overcome, to a certain extent, the local male dominated culture. Only about 5% of those who could stay on at sixteen failed to do so and the sixth form tutor pointed out that when joint 'A' level classes were held with the local boys R.C. comprehensive the girls became inhibited.

SCHOOL K

School K is the R.C. single sex boys comprehensive. There are 33 students in the upper sixth and 37 in the lower (24 are taking an 'A' level course). Seventeen students have applied through U.C.C.A. for university places.

Despite the school being an ex-grammar school the facilities for the sixth form are poor. The buildings are antiquated and the sixth form shares a building with the local Catholic junior school. This

results in a very noisy environment. One of the sixth formers I interviewed expressed a feeling common to all those interviewed:

"There is no study room. Well, there is a sort of room, but it is inadequate for studying in. There are no desks in the common room. We share the building with a junior school and it is very noisy. We usually go home to study."

Despite the difference in facilities between schools J and K and the apparent contentment of students in school J and the disenchantment of those in school K the numbers applying for higher education both in absolute and percentage terms were higher in school K. In the case of both schools, however, the majority of students had opted to leave full-time education at eighteen. This was attributed to parental underestimation of ability, peer group pressure and the local culture. Both the sixth form tutors of schools K and J mentioned that nearly all their sixth formers worked for pocket money on Saturdays and often during week-day evenings.

"They could use the time more profitably for study."

SCHOOL L

School L is a co-educational R.C. comprehensive. There are 15 students in the upper sixth (7 girls, 8 boys) and 46 in the lower sixth. Seven students (5 boys, 2 girls) have applied for higher education. Those that leave, according to the sixth form tutor,

tend to enter banking or technician posts.

The same phenomenon was noticeable here as it was in a number of Newton schools, whereby those I spoke to in the upper sixth complained about the attitude of the one year sixth:

"They are only hangers on, if people don't want to work they shouldn't come."

about the lack of facilities:

"The facilities for work are not all that grand."

and the attitude of some of the teachers:

"The teachers resent us."

At the same time students acknowledged the commitment of the sixth form tutor and a number of the staff:

"It depends on the teacher."

and those teachers, normally the sixth form tutors, full of enthusiasm, blamed the attitudes of parents, peer groups or the local culture.

7.4 NEWTON F.E.

Easton College of Technology has some 1,200 full-time and 7,500 part-time students. It is organised into eight departments; Art and Design; Building Studies; Business and Public Administration; Electronics and Telecommunication; Gas and Engineering Services; General Studies; Mechanical and Production Engineering; and Science. There are approximately 100 full-time students taking a two year 'A' level course and approximately 70 on part-time 'A' level courses, mainly by evening mode. There are approximately 400 students studying for ONC/OND or BEC/TEC equivalent. There is also a general education course, the equivalent of 'A' level, and a foundation course in Art.

The Principal saw the college as being primarily vocationally orientated:

"The first objective of the College is to provide appropriate courses of a vocational nature to people in work and those preparing for work by following a vocational/training course."

He claimed that the college tried to relate to the local economic environment, and had very close links with local industry. Over the last few years, however, there had been problems. De-industrialisation has taken place in Newton in common with the rest of Britain's urban areas; old established industries had moved out of

the Borough or had closed down, resulting in cut-backs in the numbers of part-time engineering students. New initiatives such as the development of basic training courses in partnership with Training Boards and further development of day release courses had however, met with a lack of enthusiasm from industry.

This has contributed to an increase of activity in the college's second aim:

"It is also very much a second chance institution for youngsters who want to leave school at 16. These youngsters are not vocationally committed but want to pursue 'O' and 'A' level or a similar course."

Other contributory factors have included an influx of ethnic minority groupings into the area who have increased the pressure for full-time courses particularly for 'A' levels. There also appears to have been a shift in student preference from 6th forms to Further Education. In that sense the college is an embryonic tertiary college, although it also provides a number of advanced F.E. courses with a regional catchment.

Art and Design

There are two courses in the Art and Design department relevant to this research; Foundation Art; and Studio Graphics; (both full-time). There are 26 students on the Foundation Art course (2nd year) and 20 on the Studio Graphics course (2nd year) from Bamford, Newton and

Rishworth. These students are distributed as follows: Bamford 5 (Fine Art 1, Studio Graphics 4), Newton 20 (Fine Art 13, Studio Graphics 7), Rishworth 21 (Fine Art 12, Studio Graphics 9).

The Head of Department, explained this distribution:

"There are two factors: Rishworth's own Further Education does not have a history of supporting Art and Design; and there is a keenness for us by the Rishworth Art Advisor. On the other hand Newton's Art Advisor is inclined to direct students out of the borough and there is competition from the schools which has become more acute in the last few years."

He continued that the department had problems because it was located in a technical college. The teaching methods, attitudes and priorities of the department are often at odds with the mainstream college feeling, and this, he felt, had some effect on the students, although it was an indirect rather than a direct effect. There was also a problem for the department because the image of art studies, and career prospects for art graduates, held by teachers and careers teachers tended to be out of date. Also the pattern of 16+ choice reflects art as being at the bottom of the list. Local pupils, he felt, had little or no understanding of occupational structures in Art. Some graduates of the college had obtained excellent salaries. Some had achieved studio manager positions on a salary of £20,000/£30,000 per year.

The students on the two courses tend to be different. The course tutor for Studio Graphics, offered this explanation:

"Local working class kids tend to be job specific. The difference in cultural type on the courses echoes what they perceive to be art."

The Studio Graphics course requires three 'O' level passes, and last year (1978/9) three students out of 29 went on to higher education, and the rest obtained technical posts in the graphics industry. The Foundation Art course, with a five 'O' level entry, has a different social intake and a different set of aspirations on the part of the students. This is summed up by the Foundation Art course tutor:

"Increasingly the destination of Foundation Art course students is a degree course. Some, however, go on to higher vocational courses, and a few enter Liberal Arts Degrees. Only a few students 'drop out'. The three most popular subjects studied at degree level are Graphic Design, Fashion Textiles and Fine Art, in that order.

Increasingly there is a swing to Fine Art. This is a class/culture 'thing'. The more middle class the individual is the more inclined they are to enter a profession that is not job or industry orientated."

Some foundation students have problems of leaving the area to study for a B.A. They want to stay locally and go into graphics. We try to get the kids to move away but practice shows that some of them have difficulties."

About 70 per cent of the students are women and are almost all white.

The Head of Department explained the ethnic bias:

"The course is indiginous white in the main. There are very few West Indians and almost never Asians. This is a problem of morality. It is difficult to be confronted with life models and the informal teaching style is not what is expected."

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDING

The building Department operates two TEC Certificate courses, one for Building Technicians, the other for Construction Technicians. All the department's courses are part-time. This is because, according to the Head of Department:

"If we ran full-time courses nobody would come."

There are respectively 10 and 16 students within the sphere of my research on the final year of the TEC Cert. Building and TEC Cert. Construction. Two of the construction technicians are girls. A number of the construction technicians enter higher education to study Architecture while many building technicians go on to study for higher TEC diplomas in Polytechnics.

The six students I interviewed were working class in background and very articulate. They all had made conscious decisions to follow a career that involved part-time study. Most wanted to take a higher

TEC qualification. All found the lecturers on the course helpful and appreciated the change from school to college, but they all also claimed that they could not have afforded a full-time course of study unless they were sponsored.

DEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Business and Public Administration Department is a very large department. It encompasses part-time day and evening 'A' level courses, OND Business Studies, ONC Business Studies, ONC Public Administration and ONC evening courses. A total of 79 students came into the sphere of this research, being in the final year of an 'A' level or equivalent course and living within the boundaries of Bamford, Newton or Rishworth.

The Head of Department, thought that about 40% or so of BEC/OND students might go on to higher education, mainly to accountancy courses or law or business studies degrees. He also thought that the numbers of BEC/OND students were below the potential maximum because of the tendency for heads of schools to keep as many of their students as possible for the sixth form. The ONC students were drawn mainly from local authorities in the case of public administration, and from business, banking and insurance in the case of business studies. There are not many students from industry in the department. About one half of the ONC students are over the age of 19.

I interviewed 8 students on the BEC/ONC Public Administration course. Four were from local authorities, three from the civil service and one from the health service. All eight had left school at 16 and offered various explanations why they had done so.

"The school went comprehensive, so I left."

"Jobs were available where I could continue to study by day release."

Likewise the reasons for taking the course varied:

"It was recommended by my employer."

"A stepping stone to a better job."

"It will give me entry into the executive grade of the civil service."

"It is the first step towards the Institute of Housing."

None of the students had any regrets about leaving school at 16. They all had made a conscious decision, like the students in the Building Department, to continue their education on a part-time basis. A number, however, stated that they would undertake a period of full-time study if they could receive a guarantee of employment at its conclusion.

DEPARTMENT OF ELECTRONIC AND TELECOMMUNICATION ENGINEERING

The department runs two TEC/OND's (both full-time) one in electronics,

one in electrical engineering. There are respectively 34 and 6 students falling within the sphere of my research.

The Head of Department, claimed that the student body had changed with the replacement of OND by TEC/OND. The full-time courses were now virtually limited to overseas students or from local ethnic minorities. There are now very few white students:

"Most are looking for qualifications for entry on to Polytechnic degree courses. A number went to Poly's last year, and a number are trying this year."

Currently there is one woman student in the entire department, part of a total of 'four or so' women students in the last 10 years.

DEPARTMENT OF GAS AND ENGINEERING SERVICES

This department is unique and, if the area of work is covered at all in other colleges, it is generally part of a building or general engineering department. It is a centre for heating and ventilating engineering as well as for gas engineering for South East England.

The acting Head of Department, summed up their advantageous position:

"When the department was formed we contracted to handle all North Thames Gas' technician training programmes. Thus there was no need to market the department, the courses came to us. In 1973/4 the department expanded to go into heating and

ventilation engineering, but again we were over-subscribed from the start. In the last few years we have had a number of new staff appointments and student numbers have risen from 800 to 900, but as there is an increase in the demand for heating engineers it is difficult to say where this will stop. There could be a problem, however, if cutbacks in education spending continue."

The department has links with the Gas Corporation and the relevant Training Boards.

There are 9 students falling within the sphere of the research on a full-time Gas Distribution TEC Diploma, and approximately 40 on part time TEC courses in Gas Utilisation and Distribution, Building Services (Heating, Ventilation and Air Conditioning and Fire Protection.)

I interviewed 8 of the students on the full-time gas diploma, and 25 on the part-time courses. The majority of those on the part-time course were 'mature' students and many had come up via craft courses. Many had carried on after an apprenticeship, a phenomenon which was encouraged by the Gas Board. Most of the full-time students were aiming at a place on Salford University's Degree in Gas Engineering. This group included one girl, the only one out of 900 students. She had an impressive collection of grade A 'O' levels and CSE 1's mostly in scientific and technical subjects.

The subject of female students, or rather the lack of them, was commented on by the acting Head of Department:

"It has never been a policy to recruit females into service industries as this involves pipe laying and pneumatic tool handling. Thus we go for physical strength coupled with intellectual ability. Technicians are expected to work on their own and there may be problems of girls working on their own servicing equipment. Miss 'X' is, however, the best student on the course and if she goes into engineering should make an impact on the technological side. But it is a male orientated industry - lets face it, there is heavy work involved."

There is also a dearth of ethnic minority students. This was explained:

"Minority groups tend not to go for these areas (gas, heating, ventilation) but go for motor vehicle mechanics or electrical engineering."

As for social background, he thought that those on technician courses were mainly middle class, while those on craft courses were mostly working class.

DEPARTMENT OF GENERAL STUDIES

The Department of General Studies offers arts and social science 'A' level full-time courses in the college and part-time day and evening arts and social science 'A' levels. It also offers the innovative general education full-time course. The following student numbers

fell within the sphere of the research; general education, 11; G.C.E. 'A' full-time, 22; G.C.E. 'A' part-time day 4; and G.C.E. 'A' evening only 44.

The Head of Department, described his 'A' level clients:

"Most of the day students are from local schools who want to study at college rather than stay on at school in the sixth form. There are also a number of overseas students mainly from Hong Kong and Zimbabwe. Most students come straight from school but a number are in the 19/20 range and we have one woman over the age of 50. There are a number of second chance people. The evening students tend to be older and following up interests or hobbies rather than careers."

When discussing higher education he said:

"There is no way of knowing how many go on to higher education, but there is a big demand to fill in UCCA and Polytechnic forms. The majority of students make the attempt, but some fall out because of economic pressures and start work and a few Asian girls have arranged marriages."

He thought that there was a high take up of 'A' level courses by local ethnic minority students, with their numbers being higher than the ethnic minority numbers in the local community. Ethnic minority students also account for two-thirds of the students on the General Education course.

General Education Foundation Course (GEFC) students are those for whom no alternative route into Higher Education is available or appropriate. The first intake was in 1974 and there was no entry requirements (except an interview) but entry procedure and end-of-phase diagnosis has become more stringent in each succeeding year. Although the primary purpose of the GEFC is to prepare students for higher education an important secondary consideration is to build up personal confidence and effectiveness. Some individuals have had difficulty in using their GEFC certificate to enter other courses or to obtain jobs, but equally a number have used their certificate to enter 'A' levels and other courses (e.g. Nursing), or to get a job.

Since 1974, 48 students had obtained full certificates. 40 of these had been offered places in higher education, of whom 33 had accepted with the other 7 delaying entry or not taking up their place. The performance of those entering higher education by 1978 is as follows:

Completed + awarded degree	1
Third Year	5
Second Year	3
First Year	15
	<hr/>
	24
Completed but technical failure	1
Failed year exams (no resit)	2
Withdrew (various reasons)	6
	<hr/>
	9

The majority of students had obtained places on degree or diploma

courses at a local Polytechnic, the institution that validates the GEFC. Others had obtained places in other polytechnics, noticeably Middlesex, and two had obtained places at Hull University.

It would appear that the GEFC will be a victim of the latest round of education cuts.

DEPARTMENT OF MECHANICAL AND PRODUCTION ENGINEERING

The third of Easton's engineering departments contain one course relevant to the research, the OND Technology (Engineering). 24 students are on the 2nd year and live within the area of the survey. There were only three white students, and one woman (an Asian).

DEPARTMENT OF SCIENCES

The Department of Science runs full-time and part-time 'A' level science courses, and a TEC Certificate on a part-time day and evening mode with options in Chemistry and Laboratory techniques. Relevant to the research there are 19 full-time 'A' level students, 28 'A' level revision course students, 33 on evening 'A' levels, and 19 on TEC Cert. III.

The Head of the Department, said that the majority of his full-time students were Asian.

"They were avid for education but often aspire beyond their capabilities. They have a

considerable predeliction for medicine or engineering as a final degree choice."

According to the Head, the part-time students were ethnically different with only 25% from ethnic minorities. The ONC students he considered to be highly motivated with a minimal drop out rate. Those taking the chemistry option were part of the Chemical Industry Training course scheme run for I.C.I.

There was also, he thought, a gender bias:

"25% of 'A' level students were girls. Very few girls took maths and girls tended to go for stats. rather than pure maths. There is a bias from girls towards biology."

*

Chapter 7 - References

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Chapter 8

RISHWORTH L.E.A.

8.1 RISHWORTH

The London Borough of Rishworth was formed by merging the Municipal Boroughs of Ingham and Wansford and Westbury, together with parts of Dartfleet and Climping. It is mainly residential in character and most of its workforce is employed in service industries, mainly outside the Borough. It does have some important industries including scientific instruments, chemicals and electrical components. It has a population of 230,000 and is bordered on the north by the G.L.C. boundary, on the north east by Hartland, on the south east by Bamford, on the south west by Newton and on the west by Bampton Castle.

The population of Rishworth is more diffuse than that of either Bamford or Newton. The population of seven of the wards contains 50% or more inhabitants of 'middle class' status (one ward having 76.4%). The lowest middle class percentage in any ward is 31.5 per cent and only 3 wards have less than 40%. Manual workers are concentrated in the south and north east of the borough while the professionals and other middle classes are concentrated in the north west, west and centre of the borough. Rishworth is ethnically unique. Within its boundary is the largest Jewish community in Western Europe. The actual number of Jews is difficult to estimate, but most people estimate it to be one quarter to one third of the population, mostly concentrated in the centre and west of the borough. Only two wards, in the south of the borough, have a significant number of people of West Indian origin, but in

six wards in the south west there is a sizeable Asian community.

Political fortunes vary. Prior to 1979 two of the three constituencies were Labour-held marginals which the Conservatives won in the election of that year, while the third has always been a safe Conservative seat. The council has always had a Conservative majority although this has varied in size. Currently it is large, helped by a recent defection of some Labour Councillors. In two wards Labour obtains 75 per cent plus of the vote and over 55 per cent in one other. The Conservatives obtain over 65 per cent of the vote in two wards and over 50 per cent in nine others. The Liberal party, not very active in Bamford and Newton, obtains over 5 per cent of the vote in all but three Rishworth wards.

Nearly two thirds of the housing stock in Rishworth is owner occupied with only three wards having less than one third owner occupiers, and only two wards contain over one third council owned property, one in the south east, and one in the north east. Thinly spread across the borough there is some privately rented accommodation. There is no problem of overcrowding, but there is some inadequate housing in the south west of the borough.

The committee structure of Rishworth is different from Bamford and Newton. The education committee has six sub-committees, Youth Services, Schools, Reorganisation, Finance and General Purchases, Further Education and Appointments. Unlike Bamford and Newton the sub-

committees do not themselves have sub-committees. The Youth Services sub-committee deals with the careers service; the Schools with all aspects of the operation of the boroughs schools; and Further Education with the operation of Rishworth College of Technology, student grants and adult education.

The Senior Management structure of the Education Department consists of the Chief Education Officer, a Deputy Chief Education Officer, a Chief Inspector and three Senior Education Officers, Schools, Special Services and Further Education.

Besides the Chief Inspector there is an inspector for primary schools and fifteen advisors, some of whom are subject specialists while others have functional or sector responsibilities. The S.E.O., Schools, is responsible for the boroughs 64 primary, 15 secondary comprehensive, 2 secondary grammar and 2 special schools. All the comprehensive schools are co-educational, thirteen secular and two Roman Catholic. The two grammar schools are single sex. The S.E.O. Further Education, is responsible for the Careers Service, the Youth Service and Adult Education as well as the borough's technical college.

Prior to London Government reorganisation, Ingham Municipal Borough was a division of a County L.E.A. Wansford and Westbury Municipal Borough was part of Castle Division of a county L.E.A. The divisions of the County L.E.A. had considerable delegated powers with their own committees,

but all divisions had Grammar School/Secondary Modern systems with no comprehensives. However, when the reorganisation took place this caused some problems as many Ingham and Wansford and Westbury pupils had won grammar school places in schools outside the area of the new London Borough of Rishworth. This was a result of the high pass rate at 11+ within Ingham and Wansford and Westbury, compared with some of the surrounding areas. In 1965, 34 per cent of Ingham pupils passed the 11+ and some 2,000 Ingham pupils were educated outside the borough boundaries. Thus in 1965 the London Borough of Rishworth inherited a situation where there were not enough schools in the area to cope with the numbers of pupils and the schools within Rishworth were not sited in the best possible locations.

Discussion on reorganisation of the school system in Rishworth began shortly after the issue of 10/65. A number of public meetings were organised and the differing options described. There was a gradual evolution towards comprehensivisation which was not opposed by the ruling Conservative Party. Indeed the Rishworth Conservative Party election manifesto of 1968 stated:

"We believe in Comprehensive education."

The 1970 reorganisation plan envisaged a gradual introduction of 11-18 comprehensives, but with three grammar schools retained. (This was later reduced to two). It should be noted that the two grammar

schools were intended to admit the top 7 per cent of the I.Q. range each year. Thus they could be described as 'academic hot houses', rather than traditional grammar schools, and it was hoped that the restriction to 7 per cent would not affect the genuine comprehensiveness of the comprehensive schools. The first schools were reorganised in 1971/2 but it was not until 1977/8 that the process was completed. Ten of the comprehensive schools are ex-secondary modern schools or mergers of two secondary modern schools, four are mergers of an ex-grammar school with a secondary modern, and one is an ex-grammar school.

Prior to 1965 further education was provided by South West County Technical College, and South East County Technical College. These two colleges became constituent colleges of the local Polytechnic in 1970, but just prior to that, Rishworth had built a technical college.

The borough is just about to review its 16 to 19 provision (August 1980) in the light of expenditure cuts, falling rolls and 16-19 educational take up. Currently, education policy with regard to spending cuts is to change where reasonable but not to cut basic education, e.g. staff and capitation. However, according to the Deputy Chairman of the Education Committee and Chairman of the Schools Sub-committee:

"The problems are clear. The application is the problem. At the end of the year we will have to consider alternatives. Small comprehensives cannot offer a full range of courses and hard decisions will have to be made. Changes, however, should have minimum effect on children in schools, and full public consultation will have to be made, including parental opinions "

With reference to the percentage of the age group going forward to higher education, Rishworth ranks twelfth of the twenty-one L.E.A's within the G.L.C. boundary and it is in the lower half nationally of L.E.A's (1). This, as the S.E.O. Schools says, is:

"Not as many as it should be."

The three councillors I interviewed, the Chairman of the Education Committee, the Deputy Chairman of the Education Committee and the Chairman of the Schools Sub-committee, and the Chairman of the Further Education Sub-committee, all stated that class was not a relevant factor in a consideration of why students failed to progress to higher education.

"If youngsters 'drop out' it is not because they are disadvantaged but because they want to 'opt out' of the education system. We must admit that this is a failure of the education system."

The remedy lay, according to the councillors, in more public consultation about the kind of education service that the community

wanted and individual headmasters being aware of the needs of their local community. They also considered important the link between school and industry. The Chairman stated:

"What has hit us more than anything in the last few years is the move away from the attitude that education must go the way that the child and his teacher considers to be best for that individual. Now there is a swing back to the child's best interest by insisting on a knowledge of the basic subjects. This has been occasioned by new economic pressures on the family resulting in a greater responsibility being shown by individuals, and a move towards choosing subjects that are more relevant to the needs of industry."

The councillors conceded that there may be groups with special needs, and instanced the Asian and West Indian ethnic groups who needed English language development. Here, they claimed, for any policy to work it was up to individual Head Teachers to take the action that they thought necessary. The question of differences in educational opportunity between boys and girls had not been considered but the Deputy Chairman pointed out that Rishworth girl pupils obtained more 'O' levels and 'A' levels than Rishworth boys.

The Chairman of F.E. pointed out that the numbers of children from Rishworth being educated in the Private sector had always been high, and 1978 had seen the highest intake ever. This point was followed up by the Senior Education Officer Schools:

"We lose a lot of pupils to the independent schools nearly all of them Grammar School types."

He considered that there was little in the way of early leaving, however:

"There is no loss to the system at 16+. There is no feed-back from the heads on that. If there was a problem the heads would let us know. They are very good at selling education."

He also reiterated that there was no policy on the education of ethnic minorities, pointing out that the education committee has left such policy to the head teachers:

"to the professionals."

He also stated that there was no policy on the sexist bias in the curriculum but that some cases brought against L.E.A's under the various Acts have been brought to the heads' attention and that the heads had been encouraged to develop a strategy to overcome sexist bias.

8.2 RISHWORTH CAREERS SERVICE

Rishworth Careers Service has a Principal Careers Officer, a Deputy Principal, and is organised in three area offices with named individual careers officers responsible for particular schools. Liaison between that school and the careers service is the responsibility of the particular officer concerned. However, work with sixth formers and further education college students is the responsibility of two specialist officers based at the Westbury Office. In addition there is a careers teaching advisor in charge of the Education Resource Centre, who is also based at Westbury. This post is held by a qualified teacher who is paid on Burnham salary grades. Her responsibility is to advise on careers teaching in the borough and to reverse the situation where, as the Careers Education Advisor puts it:

"Careers education is seen as a function not a process."

The Careers Education Advisor is a qualified Careers Officer and is part of the careers service staff. This is one of only two such posts in the country.

There is a schools/industry liaison committee and a careers guidance association which is a flexible arrangement of careers officers, careers teachers and employers. It runs in-service training under the control of a steering committee and holds its meetings at the

teachers centre.

The Principal Careers Officer, had a different perception from both the Councillors and Senior Officers of the shortfall of take-up of higher education of Rishworth students. He thought that those who entered higher education were those from the middle class who had family support and for whom money was not so important. Those who did not wish to enter higher education were those where there was no educational background:

"It is a shame that those people don't carry on with their education."

This point was developed by the two 'older leaver' specialists.

One pointed out:

"In the north of the borough* there are more pupils talking about Oxbridge than the south, but whether this is a question of class, or the schools, or a combination of the two is difficult to say."

While the other added:

"I have no general perception, (re social difference in higher education entry) but I can point to individual cases. Occasionally

* The north of Rishworth has a higher proportion of middle class pupils than the south.

a working class boy or girl undersell themselves, but this is happening less and less. I come across the odd case where there is financial pressure to leave (the education system) at eighteen, and occasionally someone leaves because of financial pressures. The middle class boy and girl are under pressure to succeed, and their parents knowledge base of the professions is greater."

Both of them pointed out that parents from all social backgrounds had a lack of knowledge of career requirements. Many gave advice based on the circumstances of twenty to thirty years ago and this can be quite harmful. As one specialist said:

"It is a totally new world for the sixth former compared with their parents time. Many children have to correct their parents' fantasies before making a decision as to their future career. This is easier for the very bright children but less so for the less bright."

She considered that there was very little difference between boys and girls when it came to entry into higher education, but there may be a slightly greater propensity for the girls to leave the system at eighteen plus. With regard to ethnic differences, the other specialist stated that it was difficult to generalise as there were few pupils of West Indian origin in the borough. With regard to the Asian Community the same phenomenon was noted as in Bamford and Newton, of the pressure for as long an education at as high a level as possible. Again the problem of parents pushing children beyond the limits of their ability, was also mentioned.

The advisor for careers education, considered that parents were the biggest influence on career choice, and a pupil's choice was normally set in the context of parental expectation. In this respect the careers service role was to encourage parents who had not thought of further and higher education for their sons and daughters to do so. For that reason as much emphasis was placed on the counselling of parents as on the children themselves.

She considered that the children in the borough were:

"Incredibly materialistic. They judge any career decision in terms of money. A high proportion of them are from families where the father is self-employed, and this may be the reason."

Approximately 100 students from Rishworth schools and 7 students from Rishworth College of Further Education answered the question:

"If there is anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far, please state it here."

The majority of respondents indicated a general dissatisfaction with their careers guidance without being specific, for example:

"The career advice is generally poor."

and

"Information on careers is not adequate."

and

"Inadequate careers advice."

Those that were specific mainly concentrated on the question of advice for choice at sixteen and eighteen. These were often contradictory with students from the same school giving conflicting points of view. Typical of the views of those expressing dissatisfaction with the pressure to stay on within the education system were:

"No help at all given if a pupil wishes to leave at the end of or during the sixth form without going on to higher education."

and

"lack of any real information or help for leaving at 16 - only real option given was to stay on. In 6th form heavy bias to university with few other options."

but on the other hand the following was observed by one student:

"At comprehensive schools the emphasis is placed upon leaving school at 16 years of age to find a job anywhere.

The tendency is to ignore education beyond that level - those wishing to take a degree course at this stage in the sixth form's development, need to take their own initiative."

and

"Advice on going into sixth form as opposed to going to work at sixteen."

Other students were concerned about the narrowness of advice about choice at both sixteen and eighteen. For example:

"At school when you are in your 5th year you tend to get 'brainwashed' into staying on to the 6th form rather than going to college. There should be more information available about the local Tec. colleges and the courses and benefits, etc., available."

and

"Not enough information is made available to the student at school about alternative courses to 'A' levels."

Some complained about the emphasis on universities:

"Very little guidance for those wishing to

work or go to Polytechnic available at this school."

and

"Advice on colleges and Polys rather than universities is only reluctantly given and I have found it is better to rely on yourself rather than on the one careers advisor."

and

"Lack of information about any other form of higher education other than university. Nobody seems to know very much about Polytechnics, etc."

The tenor of the comments of the Rishworth school students was different from those noted in Bamford and Newton. The Rishworth comments contained no pleas for help with opening bank accounts or filling in forms, and there were no cases of self-deprecation. Nearly all were assertive, if not aggressive, in their comments. Interestingly some students complained that they were not given encouragement to stay on in the education system.

The most interesting comments come from those at Rishworth Technical College, especially those taking part-time courses; as in the case of this student:

"School Level; the teachers in my experience did not know enough about commerce, business, etc., to advise what exactly was involved in that type of work. Furthermore, they seemed to be very scathing about certain professions, e.g. accountant, lawyer, etc."

"There is no vocational Higher Educational guidance from colleges for day release students."

Another student mentioned:

"Emphasis on 'degree for its own sake' rather than explaining relative difficulty of finding a job with a non vocational qualification.

Polytechnics hardly ever mentioned. Perhaps socially unacceptable at grammar school (?)."

Finally it should be noted that a large number of respondents from Rishworth commented that they were satisfied with their career advice.

8.3 RISHWORTH SCHOOLS

The Rishworth schools display a greater variety of provision than Bamford or Newton. Apart from the two grammar schools some of the comprehensives were formed from grammar schools only, others from amalgamations of grammar schools and secondary modern schools, with yet others being formed from secondary modern schools only. The first comprehensive was created in 1971, two more in 1972, two in 1974, one in 1975, four in 1976, and four in 1977. This meant that three of the reorganised schools, i.e. those reorganised in 1976 or after and created from mergers of secondary modern schools did not have sixth forms at the time of the research.

I visited seven of the eleven comprehensives with sixth forms and one of the two grammar schools. These can be classified into; (i) the grammar school; (ii) those comprehensives formed from either wholly or partly from grammar schools and; (iii) those comprehensives formed from secondary modern schools. One of the Catholic schools is in group (ii) the other in group (iii).

SCHOOL A

The grammar school is single sex boys. Out of an intake of 120 some 80-90 normally stay on in the sixth form. Of these each year about 40 enter university and another 10 enter polytechnics. The sixth form tutor, however, pointed out that a few people left at 16 who

could have benefitted from a sixth form education.

"We lose a handful (of early leavers) each year. A few go to Rishworth Tech. after the fifth form and a few go during the sixth. Usually this is because they feel there is less discipline, but some go because they want to take 'A' levels we do not provide, such as Law, Sociology or British Constitution. One or two sixth formers leave not because they can't do the work - one got a job in a bank."

He also pointed out that there was a 'drop out' at 18+

"Not many drop out at 18+ but some decide that 'A' levels are the ultimate academic goal. Most go into Banking."

The pupils I spoke to were totally sure of themselves and of their destination in life. They seemed to have a good rapport with their tutors. The buildings were well furnished, in pleasant surroundings, and exuded an academic atmosphere.

SCHOOL B

School B is a comprehensive formed from a single grammar school. The school is mixed, as are all the borough's comprehensives, although the grammar school was a single sex boys school. The Head Teacher did not think that comprehensivisation had resulted in many changes.

"There have been no major differences in staying on at sixteen. Socially the school is better than

it was when it was single sex. We have a school uniform. The cachet of the Grammar School makes it acceptable to lower middle class area. They like the idea of kids in smart school uniforms.

There have been minimal changes in the curriculum. Home economics has been introduced, but woodwork and metal work were present in the Grammar School. We have always been science orientated, but since comprehensivisation have improved arts, commerce and home economics provision.

Half of the fifth form enter the sixth form, which has a lower and upper sixth of 60 pupils each. Three or four pupils go to Rishworth Tech. each year but this is usually for good academic reasons. About ten per cent of those that leave at 16 could have stayed on."

The Head Teacher considered that those who could have stayed on but did not do so left for financial reasons, but curiously claimed that this would decrease because of comprehensivisation.

"We used to cater for disadvantaged social groupings from poorer areas who won scholarships to the grammar school. We don't any more because our catchment area is predominantly middle class."

The Head Teacher was optimistic about the new comprehensive.

"Parental motivation is strong. Staying on into the sixth form is considered an achievement. We should continue to get fifty per cent staying on. Falling rolls should not affect us because of our popularity. Parental choice ensures we will remain our current size at the moment, but of course, what happens in the future is pure speculation.

We have many advantages, a single site, good feeder primary schools, no deep social problems in the

catchment area. We were not a top grammar school and all staff had experience of teaching below the top 20% and of C.S.E's. The year by year intake is the best method of comprehensivisation. The staff are not swamped with children they can't understand."

The Head Teacher mentioned that 25% of the students were Jewish, adding that everyone got on well together. It is interesting that the careers teacher thought that the proportion of Jewish children was 50%. He also thought that the attitude of the sixth formers was very competitive. The main aim was a professional job, the most popular being Law, Medicine, Banking and Accountancy.

"Few go for engineering. Those that do go for computer studies. Very occasionally someone will go to train as a teacher, usually a bright working class boy. The whole attitude is too mercenary. Their parents tend to be taxi drivers, or similar, determined that their children won't follow them, and their culture is one of suburban cafe - disco life. They lose out because of the material society."

The sixth form tutor found the sixth formers very conservative.

"There has been no demand for a council. All of them agree with wearing uniform."

He also pointed out that 'A' level results were good in terms of passes but that the grades were not as good as may be expected. The students often got jobs at 18 and saw a university place as a bonus if

their results went well.

"Twenty-five to thirty get offers of (University) places. About twenty will go. Another fifteen to twenty will go to polytechnics. Not many apply to Polys as a first choice but a number apply as an insurance and the Foundation Course in Accountancy at the City of London is quite popular.

A lot (of pupils) want to stay in London and the London Schools of Medicine have a particular appeal."

The school had not been physically changed since its grammar school days, had a grammar school atmosphere and the pupils I interviewed had an air of self assurance.

SCHOOL C

While school B is in the affluent North West of the Borough, school C is in the more proletarian South East. It is a Roman Catholic Comprehensive School and has a fairly wide catchment area. Prior to comprehensivisation it was a secondary modern school. There is a small upper sixth consisting of 6 boys and 11 girls, all of whom are taking 'A' levels. The lower sixth has 48 students, 28 of whom are taking 'A' level. (This is the first fully comprehensive intake.)

The sixth form tutor made this point:

"The sixth form is increasing in terms of numbers and ability."

She did point out, however, that only a small number had applied for higher education.

"There have been four provisional offers from universities. Three more have obtained places at Strawberry Hill (College of Education) and one has a H.N.D. place in Central London Polytechnic. Three girls have obtained places in schools of nursing and one of these could have obtained a university place. Two more will be entering the police force."

The pupils I spoke to were generally satisfied with the academic provision but were unhappy with the physical provision.

"We have good relationships with most of the teachers, although there are always exceptions."

"The facilities are non-existent. The class room is alright but the library is inadequate, and the upper sixth social facilities consist of a tea urn."

Most had entered the sixth form at the school because it was a Catholic school.

SCHOOL D

School D was formed from a single secondary modern. It is in the affluent North West of the Borough. The first comprehensive stream is currently in the fifth form but it has a small sixth form with 8 students, (3 girls, 5 boys). The lower sixth contains 40 students of whom 15 are on 'A' level and 20 on a secretarial course. It is

expected that between 50 to 60 of the present fifth form will enter the lower sixth and about 30 of these will study 'A' levels. There are equal numbers of boys and girls on 'A' level courses in the lower sixth. Only three students progressed to higher education last year, one to take a degree at Imperial College, the others to take HND's at Polytechnics. This year three students are hoping to enter higher education.

The sixth form has had a new sixth form centre built for it with common rooms, a kitchen and three teaching rooms. The Head Teacher of the sixth form, who is also the careers teacher, was optimistic about the future:

"The brighter children we have received as a result of comprehensivisation have had a beneficial effect on the school as a whole. We have fewer problems.

It should also be pointed out that while this is a wealthy area the pupils are not necessarily wealthy. We lose a lot of potential pupils to the two grammar schools and to the independent schools. On the other hand two boys in the upper sixth came to us from Ingham County High* with three 'O' levels.**

The sixth form tutor added that the social environment of the school was unusual and this affected the childrens attitudes.

* One of the grammar schools

** Ingham require a minimum of 4 'O' levels for entry into their sixth form.

"Many parents own their own businesses, and have often achieved success without recourse to education. This leads to an ambivalence, and they don't necessarily see education as a good thing. This rubs off on the children. Those parents who are not small business owners tend to have jobs like policemen, or taxi-drivers.

This does lead to some early leaving. Some get jobs, often good ones, but mostly those that leave go on to technical colleges to take vocational courses. This I think is a result of their home background, and they are perhaps too young to realise the problems with a vocational course.

The attitude toward academic work should change when the current fifth year reach the sixth. It is difficult to give you a clear picture because we are in a period of transition. If you were to come back in three years time

SCHOOL E

This is another school formed from a single secondary modern. It is situated in the less affluent South East of the borough. It became a comprehensive school in 1977 and so the first comprehensive stream is currently in the second year. Prior to 1977 'A' levels were taken in other schools but a small sixth was started in 1977. This has steadily grown larger and this trend looks likely to continue in 1980. There are currently 16 students in the upper sixth, 9 girls and 7 boys. Five of these have applied for, and have been offered, university places.

The sixth form tutor of school E, like his counterpart in school D, is optimistic about the future.

"While this is a poor area, it is relatively poor compared with the rest of Rishworth, not absolutely

poor. We now have 45 to 50 pupils capable of 'O' levels and a fair proportion of these should go on to the sixth form.

We get a number of early leavers but it is difficult to generalise why they leave. A lot depends on careers advice. Pupils from some areas have a tendency to move to get a job as soon as possible. This may be a legacy of our secondary modern days. Some leave to take vocational courses at the technical college or to take 'A' levels that we cannot offer.

Two pupils have left in the sixth form. One was advised not to return after failing his repeat 'O' levels. He has since obtained a job in insurance. The other was one of thirteen children whose mother was in hospital. She missed a lot of studies looking after her brothers and sisters. Eventually she left home and the sixth and is getting married this summer. She was the brightest pupil academically in her year."

The sixth form tutor pointed out that parental support for the school was good but there were, he thought, some problems with the staff's perception of the sixth form. Many of the staff had experienced traditional sixth forms and expected the sixth form at school E to be the same, but:

"This is very different to the grammar school sixth form. The attitude of the teachers has changed, however, with comprehensivisation. They accept that more pupils are capable of doing 'A' levels and put more in for exams each year. I am very optimistic for the future."

The sixth formers I interviewed were mature and self-assured. They were happy with the tuition they received and the facilities with

which they had been provided but, like many students in ex-secondary modern schools I have interviewed, they appeared to under-estimate their potential and abilities.

SCHOOL F

School F was formed by the merger of a girls secondary modern and a boys secondary modern. The merger took place in 1977, when a sixth form was started. The first comprehensive stream has only reached the third year. There are a dozen pupils in the upper sixth, mostly boys, and 33 in the lower sixth of whom 12 are taking 'A' levels. The majority of the one year sixth are girls taking a secretarial course.

School F is situated in the North East of the borough just inside the boundary of one of the two wards which has a majority of blue collar inhabitants. The school is suffering from falling rolls and has a typical Rishworth problem; cultural tensions. Only in the Wansford and Westbury area and in Chartham Heath do schools have a socio-economically homogeneous catchment area. In other areas schools have a mixed socio-economic catchment area. This has meant that parents of children in some catchment areas have applied to a school in a neighbouring catchment area and because of falling rolls such applications have often been accepted. This produces a 'knock-on' effect as parents try to get their children into a school one 'class' up on their neighbourhood comprehensive. School F is at the end of the chain.

Currently a merger is being planned between school F and another school in the North East of the borough which also suffers from a similar low status in the minds of parents. The Head Teacher considered this situation to be rather sad.

"Comprehensive reorganisation has only reached the third year. We have built up a good social atmosphere based on a mixture of extensive pastoral care and a formal structured education. But sooner or later I'm afraid schools will lose their sixth forms and sixth form colleges will come into existence. We need a sixth form of at least 100, most of whom would be taking 'A' levels to provide an adequate curriculum at reasonable cost. Otherwise we have to rob the main school. Given our intake we may build up to 45 in the sixth taking 'A' levels."

SCHOOL G

School G is in the South of the Borough close to the border with Bamford. It was formed by the merger of two single sex secondary modern schools. It was the borough's first comprehensive and accepted its first non-selective intake in 1971. The sixth form has its own facilities and an enrolment of 100. There are 60 taking 'A' levels, 30 in the first year and 30 in the second. The other 40 are taking a variety of courses, 'O' level repeats, CSE to GCE conversions, CSE repeats and secretarial courses.

The sixth form tutor instanced two phenomena apparent in the sixth form:

"We normally have a ratio of two boys to every girl, although I am not sure why that should be, and without the Asian community the numbers of the sixth would be halved. Asian parents put pressure on their offspring to stay on. Most Asian pupils aim at higher education and a degree course. Those who get one 'A' level would not consider taking an HND. They get jobs and study at night class to get the other 'A' level. Many Asian girls stay on in order to avoid being married off. They become very keen to achieve higher education to delay their marriage further.

The West Indian and white pupils do not have the same pressures. West Indian parents are ambitious for their children and will back up the school, but West Indian kids will do what they want, compared with the Asians who do what their parents want. West Indians do not seem to stay on. There are only 4 or 5 in the lower sixth. The local white parents put no pressure at all on their children. They tend to say it is up to the child. "All we want is for him to be happy." Those white children that stay on are those that see the benefits of staying on and who are fulfilling a life long ambition.

There does not appear to be much peer group pressure to stay or leave. Individuals seem to arrive at their own decisions as to what they want to do."

The sixth form tutor could not comment on the effects of the neighbourhood culture, but the catchment area of school G is different from that of other schools in the borough because it contains the largest concentration of the ethnic minority groups, and is in an area of blue collar inhabitants.

SCHOOL H

School H is a Roman Catholic comprehensive situated in the most affluent part of the most affluent ward in the borough. It was

formed by a merger of a girls grammar school and a co-educational secondary modern in 1976. There are 45 students in the upper sixth divided into two tutorial groups, Arts and Science. The lower sixth contains 65 students, the majority of whom are taking 'A' level courses. Next year's projected sixth form intake is 85, which is 50% of the current fifth year.

The sixth form tutor was pleased with the success of the sixth form since comprehensivisation:

"We were not certain what would happen with the mixture of ex-grammar and ex-secondary pupils, but it has been more successful than we thought it would be. The comprehensive school has provided much wider opportunities and many pupils from (the ex-secondary modern) would not have gone on past 16 under the old system. It is surprising how well the boys from the secondary modern have done."

The sixth form tutor continued that they were fortunate to have good parental support and a strong P.T.A:

"Most pupils come from stable homes. This results in little dissatisfaction with the school and many pupils enter caring professions after university. One or two leave at 16 when they could benefit from a sixth form course. Some obtain apprenticeships, while others go to the local tech. for vocational courses like secretarial studies or nursery nursing. With 50% now staying on, however, the peer group pressure is now to stay on."

8.4 RISHWORTH F.E.

Rishworth Technical College is smaller than its Bamford and Newton counterparts, with 700 full-time students. It is organised into three faculties: Business and Professional Studies; Social Science; and Technology. It was set up in 1968 at the time of the London local government reorganisation, to provide further education for the newly created Rishworth London Borough.

The Principal of the college, saw the institution's main objective as the provision of courses with a strong vocational orientation:

"We aim for youngsters to have a firm foundation prior to undertaking a career. We find out what their career objective is and harden this up. The schools have universities in mind for their youngsters and their criteria for success is 'how many university places'. G.C.E. 'O' and 'A' levels can also be job qualifications, and here we insist on strong vocational guidance - even if this may mean a university course in the first place."

He observed that 80 - 85% of the students came from Rishworth itself and believed them to be highly motivated.

"They are the type of person who can't wait to leave school. Some find the atmosphere here freer. Others are those who have failed or have not been accepted by the schools. They

are spread across the ability range, and their numbers are growing. They are not those who are Oxbridge material. We tell them to stay at school."

The Principal said that according to U.C.C.A. 30/40 students from the college attained a university place, and that probably a similar number obtained polytechnic places.

Some 100 questionnaires were distributed to full-time 'A' level students and about 50 part-time 'A' level students. There were also 15 full-time vocational students and 70 part-time vocational students within the frame of reference of this research. This produced a return of 30 questionnaires. I then requested an opportunity to follow up the distribution of questionnaires by interviewing the heads of faculty. I was informed by the Principal:

"I feel as if we have done all we can. There are so many people from N.E.L.P. doing research here. Is nobody there doing anything else? This is a very busy time for us."

Chapter 9

THE INDEPENDENT SECTOR

Two of the four Independent schools are outside the area of the research, but these schools take a large number of pupils from inside the area, and the respondents from these schools (as indeed were those from the other schools) were restricted to inhabitants of the three boroughs. All four schools are in, or close to, Rishworth.

SCHOOL A

School A is a girls convent day school. It is officially a Catholic school but historically has admitted non-catholics. About 20 per cent of the current (1979/80) intake are non-catholic. It is independent of the Diocese which cannot dictate policy, but none the less, takes a great interest in it. The Governors of the school insist that their pupils have a Christian background but do not insist on proof of profession of the Roman Catholic faith.

Information may be sought from primary schools or parish priests. They get a lot of enquiries from non-catholics and non-christians. The Principal, pointed out that:

"We could fill the school six times over with applications from Jewish parents. The same is true with Sikhs, for whom a 'moral' atmosphere for girls is important. We also get enquiries from Muslims."

The school was originally a Direct Grant Grammar, but has recently become independent. The history of this change is interesting. Originally the school put forward a plan to go comprehensive but this

was not accepted by Rishworth L.E.A. The Governors then decided to close the school but parental pressure allied to local pressure prevailed upon them to keep the school open. The demand for places now greatly exceeds provision but there are no plans to expand. Indeed, this is impossible on the present site. This also allows for 'the maintenance of standards' by the existence of an entrance examination.

In the first year there is an intake of 3 groups of twenty which are then amalgamated into two forms in the second year. There are 47 in the upper sixth and 49 in the lower sixth. There is a choice of courses; either 3 'A' levels; 2 'A' levels plus secretarial; or a one year secretarial. A few pupils leave at sixteen, some to local technical colleges, others to employment, mainly in banking and insurance. The Principal was of the opinion that those pupils who left and went to college regretted doing so and 'wished they had stayed on'. About 30 pupils go on to higher education each year, others go into nursing, while banking is popular with leavers.

The upper reaches of the school, having been recruited during the direct grant era, contain a number of girls with scholarship places although this varies from year to year. The Principal claimed that the school has a good social mix with daughters of 'doctors, accountants, dentists but also Ford workers, dockers and tailors - a complete range.' She also stated that it was too early to ascertain if any changes had

taken place as a result of going independent, and there were still assisted places and the prospect of government money to increase the numbers. The pupils come mainly from Rishworth but there are large minorities from Hartland, Bampton Castle and the County. There is also a small number of ethnic minority pupils mainly Mauritians and Indians.

SCHOOL B

School B looks and feels every inch a 'Public School'. It is housed in an impressive building built in quadrangle style. On one of my visits I observed the Officer Training Corps exercising on the playing fields and all the masters wore academic gowns.

The school is an independent boys school with a four form entry of twenty-five pupils, organised on a mixed ability basis for the first two years, with some 'setting' in the middle school. However, as the Principal pointed out:

"This organisation has to be understood in terms of pupils selected from the top twenty to twenty-five per cent of the ability range. There are some boarders, but boarding places are being phased out, and it is in the main a day school. The school loses eight or nine pupils at 16+ of which three or four are sixth form material. Most of these enter banks."

The sixth form has some twenty-twenty five direct entrants each year, resulting in an upper and lower sixth of 110 each. The sixth is co-educational and half the direct entrants are girls. The direct entry boys are mainly drawn from comprehensives which do not offer

the sixth form programmes that they require, while the girls tend to have received their earlier education at the City of London School and want to take advantage of the nearness to their homes of School B. There are twenty two 'A' levels on offer, including classics. About 75 per cent of the sixth form go on to higher education (60% university, 10% polytechnic, 5% other colleges) the remainder entering employment usually involving some form of training, e.g. management, accountancy and banking.

The current pupils are drawn from Rishworth, South West County, Climpling and Bampton Castle. An interesting point mentioned by the Principal is that the geographical distribution of pupils is in some part determined by bus routes. He conceded that the social background of pupils is upper middle to lower middle class, although this was explained as:

"reflecting the geographical area."

There were few working class pupils, but he added:

"On the other hand there are few upper class ones either."

The school offers eight free scholarships and fifteen part scholarships, the amount given being income related.

As for comprehensivisation the Principal thought that Rishworth's reorganisation had not affected his intake, because some grammar schools had been maintained. However, the numbers of applicants had increased when Bampton Castle comprehensivised and a similar increase was expected when South West County began to comprehensivise in the near future.

SCHOOL C

School C, a boys public school, has 850 pupils with a complicated entry structure. There are two forms at seven+ through to ten+ with 21/25 per form. There are four forms at eleven+ and five at thirteen plus, one of which is an express stream. The sixth form contains thirty seven students studying classics and arts and twenty-six studying science. There is also a fifth 'remove' for those retaking 'O' levels. The upper sixth contains forty-two studying classics and arts and twenty-two studying sciences. There is a third year sixth with seventeen pupils. A maximum of ten students enter directly into the sixth form, some of whom are girls. School C has just opened a girls school, now in its second year, with a two form entry, which according to the director of studies:

"should fill a gap in the market."

There is an entrance examination at 11+ and pupils are accepted with the public schools common entrance exam at 13+. The school takes

pupils capable of 5 + '0' levels and in the words of the Director of Studies, the school:

"does not cater for anything else."

The school awards 10 scholarships each year funded by the P.T.A. There are some assisted places mainly paid for by the army with a few paid for by L.E.A's. Sons of masters pay one third fees.

The pastoral organisation is based on the house system. There are eight houses in the boys school, of which two are for boarders, and four for the girls school. Recently there has been a slight decrease in boarders with the current total being 77 out of 450 boys in the senior school. These are mainly sons of the military and oil company personnel, the rest being overseas students. The school is religiously and culturally diverse, containing moslems, hindus, sikhs, jews and catholics, although it tries to follow Church of England principles. The social class of pupils according to the Director of Studies is mainly professional, although pupil backgrounds are:

"increasingly trade; taxi-drivers; publicans and others."

School C 'loses' approximately 20 pupils at 16+ each year, mainly to banking and insurance although a few pupils enter technical colleges. These latter amount to 25% of the leavers and describe themselves as

being 'fed up with school'. Ninety per cent of the sixth form enter higher education, and out of these, 9 out of 10 enter university. Most of the remainder go to polytechnics and this latter group is getting larger each year. The Director of Studies admitted:

"we have not been very good at polytechnics - but we are learning the business of it."

Forest has recently received an increasing number of applications, a phenomenon which is attributed to comprehensivisation. This is seen as counteracting the negative effects of increasing fees and birth rate contraction. The key to the future is seen as:

"maintaining standards and producing the goods, as kids are not sent here for foolishness nor an accent but to get a clutch of 'O's' and 'A's' and university entrance."

SCHOOL D

School D is a smaller school than School B and School C. There are two forms at age 8, 9 and 10 and 3 forms at 11. The average form size is sixty. There are 400 day pupils and 100 boarders. It is a boys school up to the 5th form, but a few girls, as well as a few boys enter the sixth form directly each year. There are 44 pupils in the first year sixth and 57 in the upper sixth. Like School B and School C, however, the school only admits pupils who can cope with 'O' levels. The school awards the equivalent of six free places each year, normally spread over eight or nine boys. It also awards some

music scholarships, and two or three places are bought by the armed services.

Those that leave after the fifth form tend to go to the local technical college, although some enter employment. The destination of pupils after the sixth follows a slightly different pattern from School B and School C, with some 24 entering full time employment. Fourteen pupils went to university and seven to polytechnics. The headmaster pointed out that:

"there was pressure for pupils to strive for university but more are going to polytechnics once these are explained to them."

The head expanded on the role of public schools in more detail than other heads interviewed in the private sector institutions. He started by pointing out that School D is 'not your Radley', and continued that:

"People realise education matters. In the end a materialistic - money making approach is the one adopted by most parents. Some parents would say, of course, that this is a good thing - what the country needs."

The head pointed out that:

"a lot of left (wing) people have children at public schools."

They had, he continued, 'a crisis of conscience' but sent their children all the same. The school also get 'refugees from the State system.' This is because:

"A very intelligent boy can underachieve if peer group pressure is anti-work. Under achievement will occur. The tradition here is for boys to go as far as they can in the education system. That road is natural to the school so pupils follow it. This is a place where a sensitive boy can flourish. A boy can walk here carrying a violin without ridicule."

Like the other schools in this group the head believed that comprehensivisation has led to an increase in applications for places at School D:

"but I am not sure that it is just that, for example the birth rate in the A/B group is going up."

He added that it was not necessarily comprehensive education per se that worried the middle class, but rather irrational fear of it.

"Two local schools are claimed by locals to have gone down hill. This is nonsense, of course, but it is believed."

All four schools were housed in impressive buildings with obviously good facilities and dedicated staff. With reference to student

attitudes it is extremely difficult to define in precise terms the behaviour and attitude of students in these schools but all seem to be imbued with an air of self assurance that distinguishes them from comprehensive pupils. It is almost as if they know that they will have a head-start in life.

However, of the 100 or so independent sector students who completed questionnaires, 51 answered 'If there is anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far, please state it here.' (25 from School A, 5 School D, 10 School C and 11 School B). These responses indicated a general dissatisfaction in a number of areas. The first indicates a lack of interest by the school in those pupils who do not want to continue into higher education.

"Careers officers are biased towards sending you to university - not really interested if you want to go to work."

"I have no idea what happens if I don't get into university."

"The Careers Guidance at this school has been of more use to those who are going on to further education and not those who are going to work."

This problem was noted by students in all of the independent schools in my survey and almost half of the respondents made some form of comment along similar lines. The next significant problem was one of choice of 'A' levels and even 'O' levels. Again this was felt in all schools, with about one third of respondents indicating some dissatisfaction:

"Guidance was missing at 'O' level, choosing 'A' levels and combinations most suitable."

"I think many people choose the wrong subjects at the time without realising the future significance of their choices."

"No help was given when choosing subjects to study for 'O' level e.g., 'A' level biology needs 'O' level chemistry but no advice was given."

The third area of dissatisfaction is one which can be described as a basic lack of information. Some respondents seemed to experience this at a general level, others at a more specific one.

"Lack of guidance on what combinations of subjects open and close doors to various careers."

"My school does not give adequate careers advice."

"If one approaches someone concerning a problem they usually don't know how to answer it."

Some confusion was apparent from a study of the answers as to the distinctive roles of the careers teacher and the vocational guidance service. Some pupils did, however, specify particular problems.

"The careers master is also a teacher and cannot give the time to the careers dept. it needs."

"Careers teachers are all very misleading (sic) and not sufficiently well informed to deal with such a comparatively responsible job."

Finally there was a large number of pupils who responded by indicating that the careers service/careers teachers were intent on pushing them into pre-conceived roles rather than trying to help them achieve ambitions.

"(Careers Guidance Officers) too keen to tell you that you are not capable of doing what you want."

"Tend to discourage ambitious careers."

"No interest in pupils real interests.
Reasonable explanations of the possibilities
other than suits (sic) the pupils real interests."

Individual comments, while varying in detail were generally on one of the above themes, or mentioned a combination of them. A good summary of all the responses from these schools was found in the following example:

"I feel that there is a distinct lack of information about the variety of jobs available for school leavers. When careers are discussed only the usual careers are mentioned e.g. nursing, secretarial jobs and so on. We are not told about the most suitable universities for our choice of degree. On the whole, I think that we are taught and trained to a reasonably high standard at school and then left in the dark as to how we can make use of what we have learnt in either further education or a career."

Chapter 10

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS : DATA ANALYSIS

The first analysis with reference to the three L.E.A's and the independent schools is made concerning the reasons why upper sixth form students in academic year 1979/80 chose to undertake their course of study. The data on which the analysis is made is outlined below in FIG.10/1.

FIG.10/1 REASONS FOR TAKING A SIXTH FORM COURSE BY L.E.A. (%)

	BAM LEA	NEW LEA	RIS LEA	IND SCH	ALL	(NOS)
ASPIRING TO HIGHER EDUCATION	48	52	64	77	60	(354)
PARENTAL ADVICE	34	35	37	33	35	(207)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	34	19	31	15	26	(150)
TEACHERS ADVICE	33	26	20	14	23	(136)
PEER GROUP INFLUENCE	9	8	12	12	10	(61)
NO EMPLOYMENT	2	3	3	2	3	(16)
(NUMBERS OF STUDENTS)	110	167	211	101		(589)

KEY:

BAM LEA BAMFORD LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY.
 NEW LEA NEWTON LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY.
 RIS LEA RISHWORTH LOCAL EDUCATION AUTHORITY.
 IND.SCH INDEPENDENT SECTOR SCHOOLS
 (NOS) TOTAL NUMBERS OF STUDENTS.

A far higher proportion of independent school students compared with those at state schools entered the sixth form aspiring to higher education. This would appear to support Glennerster and Pryke's (1) assertion in Born to Rule that attendance at a private sector school is part of an elite socialisation process that includes a university education and that a university place is an expectation of independent school students. A higher proportion of Rishworth students aspired to

higher education than was noted in Bamford and Newton. This may be occasioned, however, by the inclusion of a grammar school in the Rishworth figures, or by a higher proportion of AB/C1 socio-economic group students in the Rishworth sample, and these possibilities are explored at a later stage in the thesis.

'Parental advice' was quoted as a reason by a similar proportion of students in each category, with Rishworth students marginally higher than those in Bamford and Newton. This would tend to support the argument of those interviewees in both Bamford and Newton who claimed parental support for the sixth form was fairly good.

The role of the careers officer in relation to entry into the sixth form is capable of a number of interpretations. On the one hand a number of occupational psychologists such as Ginzberg (2) and Super (3) argue that careers officers can effect occupational choice and placement, while on the other, sociologists such as Roberts (4)* and Willis (5) argue that the education system operates as a means of social as well as cultural reproduction resulting in occupational choice being limited to a great extent by socio-economic background. The statistics from this survey would appear to support the former view. 34% of students in Bamford quoted advice from a careers officer as a reason for entering the sixth form. This compared with

* Ken Roberts has modified his position outlined in The Transition from School to Work since its publication and has conceded that the Careers Officer can have some influence.

31% in Rishworth and only 19% in Newton with its similar socio-economic structure to Bamford. Thus, not only did careers officers appear to have an effect on choice at 16+, but this effect varied from local authority to local authority.

The same factors that applied to careers service advice also applied to teachers advice, which was quoted by 33% of students in Bamford as a reason for continuing a school education. The percentage in Newton was lower at 26% with Rishworth teachers being mentioned by 20% of Rishworth students.

However, careers officers' and teachers' advice, would appear to be of less importance than aspiration to higher education for independent school students. Peer group influence, parents and unemployment were not significant for any category.*

Sixth form students' intentions at the end of their course are outlined below in Fig. 10/2.

* The test of significance used throughout the analysis of data (chapters 10, 11 and 12) is the test for difference between proportions. The formula and its use in this thesis is contained in appendix XV.

FIG.10/2 ASPIRATIONS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION BY L.E.A. (%)

	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITY	53	59	55	72	59	(344)
POLYTECHNIC	4	6	8	2	6	(33)
OTHER COLLEGE	2	6	6	9	6	(34)
ALL HIGHER EDUCATION	59	71	69	83	70	(411)
WORK	41	29	31	17	30	(172)
TOTAL (NUMBERS)	98	174	210	101		(583)

The percentage of school students aiming at higher education increased from 60% at the beginning of the course to 70% near the end. The increases on an L.E.A. basis were; Bamford 48% to 59%; Newton 52% to 71%; Rishworth 64% to 69%; and the independent sector 77% to 83%. As can be seen from these percentages the increase in Newton was approximately twice that of Bamford, which in turn was twice that of Rishworth and the independent sector.

A feature of the above data is the relatively higher proportion of students from the independent sector aspiring to both university and all forms of higher education compared with all other school students. Newton and Rishworth school students produced similar profiles with reference to higher education aspirations, with Bamford students somewhat lower.

Attitudes towards non-university higher education may be a significant factor in the numbers entering higher education, especially with the

restriction of university places as a result of government spending cuts. The attitude of students to non-university courses were ascertained and are outlined in figure 10/3 below. Students were asked two questions. The first was 'If you want to go to university, pass your exams but do not get accepted at a university, would you do a degree at a polytechnic or other college?' The percentages stating 'yes' and 'no' are given below under the heading 'non university degree'. The second question was 'would you consider doing a full-time course, other than a degree at a polytechnic, e.g. Higher National Diploma'. The percentages stating 'yes' and 'no' are given below under the heading 'non-degree course'.

FIG.10/3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS NON-UNIVERSITY HIGHER EDUCATION BY L.E.A. (%)

NON UNIVERSITY DEGREE	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
YES	51	59	58	50	56	(189)
NO	49	41	42	50	44	(151)
TOTAL (NOS)	47	101	116	76		(340)
NON-DEGREE COURSE						
YES	42	44	31	30	36	(159)
NO	58	56	69	70	64	(280)
TOTAL (NOS)	74	123	159	83		(439)

The difference in the numbers of students answering the two questions can be accounted for by the fact that the non-university degree data refers to university aspirants whereas the latter data refers to all those who wanted to take a degree at any institution of higher education.

Newton and Rishworth students had a more positive attitude towards polytechnic and other non-university degree courses than Bamford and independent sector students, while students in general were less positive towards non-degree higher education. Rishworth and independent school students had a less positive attitude towards non-degree courses than Bamford and Newton students. This negative attitude of Rishworth and independent school students may be due to institutional factors i.e. lack of knowledge of the non-university system or the type of course aimed at, or it may be due to cultural factors, i.e. what is acceptable as higher education to family, peer group and school.

The next step in the analysis was to look at students' proposed area of study. The data that forms the basis of the analysis are contained in FIG.10/4 below.

FIG.10/4 PROPOSED AREA OF STUDY BY L.E.A. (%)

	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
SCIENCE/MATHS	22	17	16	13	17	(75)
ARTS/HUMANITIES	6	19	13	24	16	(71)
SOCIAL SCIENCE	17	9	7	8	9	(42)
ENGINEERING	16	4	11	7	9	(39)
BUSINESS STUDIES	5	7	10	10	8	(37)
MEDICINE	3	2	8	9	6	(26)
LAW	2	3	6	9	5	(23)
TEACHER TRAINING	5	4	3	3	4	(19)
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEYING	1	2	4	3	3	(13)
FINE ART	3	1	1	1	1	(6)
OTHER COURSE	10	12	12	7	12	(55)
UNCERTAIN	9	21	3	8	18	(45)
TOTAL (NOS)	64	129	166	92		(451)

There was significant differences between the four categories.

Science/Maths was the most popular choice for Bamford and Rishworth students, while arts/humanities was the most popular choice of Newton and independent sector students. A high percentage of Bamford students opted for social science and engineering while Rishworth and independent sector students opted in higher percentages for business studies, medicine and law.

There are a number of possible explanations for the differences outlined above. One is the structure - opportunity model outlined by Keil et al (6) who claim that choices are made as a result of a combination of the following factors; (i) family e.g. degree of parental aspirations; (ii) neighbourhood; (iii) school i.e. curriculum choice; (iv) peer group; (v) formal institutions e.g. careers officers; and (vi) the general work situation both locally and nationally. Another is the class/linguistics model outlined by, amongst others, Bernstein (7), who claims that curriculum choice is dependent upon linguistic skills e.g. middle class aspire to arts subjects, working class aspire to more technical subjects e.g. engineering and science.

Yet another approach would be a more conflict-orientated one.

Different occupations have different status attached to them and different reward systems. Even amongst professions there is a pecking order, with engineering being near the bottom and medicine and law near the top. Furthermore, statistics produced by the Department of the Environment show that an Arts degree is worth considerably more to the

holder than a science degree. Hence independent school students aim at arts subjects while those in the 'working class' areas are steered towards less prestigious courses by a combination of under-aspiration and institutional direction. This analysis is encompassed by Willis' (8) social reproduction of education theory.

Knowledge of the higher education system is also an important factor and the following table of statistics demonstrates the extent of knowledge of the higher education system and the source of this information.

FIG.10/5 EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY L.E.A. (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON THE FOLLOWING.	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITIES	69	74	68	92	74	(432)
POLYTECHNICS	49	49	53	36	48	(283)
COLLEGES OF HIGHER ED.	27	34	22	21	26	(152)
INSTITUTES OF HIGHER ED.	20	28	19	15	21	(123)
OTHER COLLEGES	17	14	17	20	17	(98)
EMPLOYMENT AT 18	70	43	42	34	46	(267)
TOTAL (NUMBERS)	101	164	223	97		(585)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM						
SCHOOL	75	74	78	73	75	(428)
CAREERS OFFICER	74	35	53	33	48	(273)
PARENTS	14	5	16	18	13	(71)
OTHER RELATIVES	9	10	9	13	10	(56)
HIGHER EDUCATION	8	11	2	14	8	(43)
OTHER (UNSPECIFIED)	33	27	35	44	34	(193)
TOTAL (NUMBERS)	102	167	203	96		(568)

With reference to universities the above statistics show the difference between the levels of knowledge of students in independent schools (92%) and those in L.E.A. schools (68% - 74%). However, with reference to polytechnics the situation is different as a lower percentage of independent school students, 36%, had knowledge, whereas L.E.A. students recorded 49% - 53%. With regard to colleges and institutes of higher education Newton students tended to be slightly more knowledgeable, while independent sector students were slightly less so.

Lack of knowledge of the non-university sector of higher education was mentioned by a number of independent school students. A typical comment was:

"School too snobby, only plug universities - not much other help given."

Some L.E.A. students, however, also mentioned the emphasis on university:

"Polytechnics hardly ever mentioned: perhaps socially unacceptable at grammar school (?)."

Some 70% + of all school students had received information from their schools, but the impact of careers officers varied. In Bamford 74% of students quoted careers officers as a source c.f. 53% in Rishworth,

35% in Newton and 33% in the independent sector. Parental knowledge of the higher education system would appear to be limited with only 13% of parents providing information to their offspring, while one in ten received information from other relatives. 'Parental advice' was quoted by a higher percentage of Rishworth, independent sector and rather surprisingly, Bamford students.

One in three students had obtained information from 'other sources'. While not all students outlined these sources a typical case study is presented by one student.

"The careers officer seems to know little about my chosen career (Dentistry). Indeed when I consulted him he showed me a small paragraph in one of his books and that was the end of it. If that was careers advice, I don't need it! I introduced myself to a local dentist and have received much advice and help from him. Some form of introductory courses should be available, luckily I found a helpful person, others may not be so lucky."

The final stage in the analysis is to ascertain why students have made the choice they have at 18+. The reasons why those who want to work and those who want to enter higher education have made that choice are outlined in FIG.10/6 below:

FIG.10/6 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY L.E.A. (%)

FULL TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	83	65	72	71	71	(243)
SOCIAL LIFE	40	37	30	51	38	(129)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	33	15	39	32	30	(102)
PARENTS ADVICE	23	16	15	25	19	(64)
FRIENDS GOING	8	5	7	8	7	(23)
RELATIVES AT UNIVERSITY	2	4	2	1	2	(8)
TEACHERS ADVICE	4	3	0	3	2	(7)
TOTAL (NOS)	48	97	121	75		(341)
WORK						
WANTED TO START WORK	69	31	88	71	69	(81)
BREAK FROM EDUCATION	23	59	57	53	53	(62)
FINANCIAL	46	31	21	12	25	(29)
CAREERS ADVICE	8	3	14	0	9	(10)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	8	7	10	0	8	(9)
FRIENDS LEAVING	0	7	9	0	6	(7)
PARENTS ADVICE	0	3	7	12	6	(7)
TOTAL (NOS)	13	29	58	17		(117)

A higher proportion of Bamford school students quoted 'employment prospects' as a reason for aspiring to higher education, while a higher proportion of independent school students (over half) quoted 'social life'. 'Careers service advice' was quoted by Newton students in a lower proportion than others while a lower proportion of Newton and Rishworth students quoted 'parents advice' than Bamford and Independent sector students. Twenty-three students mentioned peer group motives but, interestingly, only 7 students mentioned 'teachers advice' as a reason for aspiring to higher education.

69% of those who aimed to enter employment at 18+ did so because they wanted to start work, a more positive orientation than the 53% who wanted a break from education, while one in four students intended to work because of financial problems. Other reasons were quoted by fewer than 10% of all potential leavers, although 14% of Rishworth students quoted careers officer advice as a reason for leaving. The most revealing fact is that only six people were starting work because of parents and only six because of peer group pressure. This would seem to be in direct contradiction to all those whom I interviewed, especially in Bamford and Newton, who claimed that the problem of non take up of higher education was a problem of the 'working class' nature of the area, with family and peer group pressures forcing potential H.E. entrants out onto the job market. The figures, particularly the 53% who wanted a 'break from education', would appear to back the Chairman of Rishworth Education Committee's assertion* that:

"Pupils do not leave the education system at eighteen because of any disadvantage, they opt out. This is a matter of failure of the system."

This point was also put forward by a member of Newton Education Committee, that the problem was, in the main, a failure of the system.

* See chapter 8/1

It should be noted that the 'break from education' reason was more important for Newton, Rishworth and independent sector students than 'financial' reasons, while the converse was true for Bamford students.

However, there is the choice to continue an education past the age of 16 in a college of further education, and 448 students in the survey chose this route. 66 of these students chose to take a full-time 'A' level course at a college of further education rather than in a sixth form and the reasons for doing so of 58 of them are presented in FIG.10/7 below:

FIG.10/7 WHY COLLEGE 'A' LEVEL STUDENTS CHOSE A COLLEGE 'A' LEVEL COURSE.

	PERCENTAGE	NUMBERS
SUBJECT/COURSE NOT AVAILABLE AT SCHOOL	59	(34)
DIFFERENT SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE	53	(31)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	14	(8)
CONVENIENCE OF TRAVEL	9	(5)
PARENTS ADVICE	7	(4)
TEACHERS ADVICE	3	(2)
TOTAL		(58)

59% of the above mentioned students were attending a further education college because either their school did not run an 'A' level course at the time of entry, or the subjects that they wished to take were unavailable. 53%, however, had chosen the college because of the

'different social atmosphere'. 14 students had been advised by careers officers to go to the college, a further 7 by parents, while 9 had chosen it for ease of travel.

However, there are other courses offered by further education colleges leading to higher education entry i.e. the vocational courses. These can be taken by either full or part-time mode. There is also the possibility of taking 'A' levels by part-time mode. Fig.10/8 shows the reasons why students at F.E. colleges had chosen their courses.

FIG.10/8 REASONS FOR TAKING AN F.E. COURSE (%)

	AFT	APT	VOC PT	ALL	(NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	50	50	67	59	(139)
HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATION	76	31	17	36	(84)
INTEREST	39	56	20	33	(77)
EMPLOYERS ADVICE	5	6	56	31	(74)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	5	2	11	6	(13)
PARENTS ADVICE	8	4	6	5	(12)
TEACHERS ADVICE	5	0	2	2	(5)
FRIENDS ADVICE	0	0	2	1	(2)
NO WORK	2	0	1	1	(2)
TOTAL	62	52	122		(236)

KEY

AFT = ADVANCED LEVEL G.C.E. FULL-TIME COURSE.

APT = ADVANCED LEVEL G.C.E. PART-TIME COURSE.

VOC.PT = VOCATIONAL PART-TIME COURSE.

As can be seen from Fig.10/7 and Fig.10/8 no reference is made to full-time vocational students. This is a result of the one disaster of the data gathering where the page on the full-time vocational course questionnaire asking questions why vocational course students chose

the college rather than a sixth form, and the reasons for taking the course, was unfortunately omitted. This has meant that comparisons between full-time 'A' level students and full time vocational course students at colleges cannot be made. Comparisons can be made, however, between full-time 'A' level course students, part-time 'A' level course students and part-time vocational course students.

Half of both full-time and part-time 'A' level students were taking their course because of employment prospects, whereas two thirds of part-time vocational course students offered the same reason. Higher education aspiration was the main reason for full-time 'A' level students taking their course. This was much higher than L.E.A. schools (76% c.f. 48%, 52% and 64%) and only one per cent lower than independent sector schools. 31% of part-time 'A' level students and 17% of part-time vocational course students were also aiming at university entrance. 56% of part-time 'A' level students were, however, studying out of 'interest' while 56% of vocational part-time students were studying because of their employers advice. Thirteen students were studying because of careers officers advice and twelve because of parents. Teachers and friends seemed to have little effect while only 2 students enrolled because of unemployment.

In making the following comparison between schools and further education college students, the four groups of students, full-time 'A', part-time 'A', full-time vocational and part-time vocational, are used as categories for analysis. However, schools can also be categorised;

into comprehensive, grammar, and independent. The four independent schools had 101 students, the two grammar schools had 111 students and the comprehensives had 360 students. These categories are used in the analysis.

The reasons why students at the different categories of school entered a sixth form is presented in Fig.10/9 below:

FIG.10/9 REASONS FOR TAKING A SIXTH FORM COURSE BY TYPE OF SCHOOL (%)

	COMP	GRAM	IND	ALL	(NOS)
ASPIRING TO HIGHER EDUCATION	52	73	77	61	(337)
PARENTS ADVICE	34	37	33	34	(190)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	24	37	15	25	(139)
TEACHERS ADVICE	27	20	14	23	(129)
PEER GROUP	7	16	12	10	(55)
NO WORK	3	3	2	3	(14)
TOTAL (NOS)	245	110	101		(556)

KEY

COMP = COMPREHENSIVE
 GRAM = GRAMMAR SCHOOL
 IND = INDEPENDENT SECTOR SCHOOL

A higher proportion of grammar and independent school students entered a sixth form with higher education in mind compared with comprehensive school students. 'Parental advice' was quoted by a fairly equal proportion of each category with grammar school students marginally higher than the others. 'Careers service advice' was quoted by a higher proportion of grammar school students while 'teachers advice'

was quoted by a higher proportion of comprehensive school students. Peer group pressures were most important in grammar schools and least important in comprehensives.

The first comparative analysis is higher education aspiration. The statistics it is based on are contained in figure 10/10 below:

FIG.10/10 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

	SCHOOLS			F.E.		VOC.F	VOC.P	ALL (NOS)
	COMP.	G.S.	IND.	AFT.	APT.			
UNIVERSITY	57	65	72	69	36	44	27	55 (468)
POLYTECHNIC	6	9	2	18	13	23	19	11 (90)
OTHER H.E.	7	3	9	6	11	5	8	7 (56)
ALL H.E.	70	77	83	93	60	71	54	72 (614)
WORK	30	23	17	7	40	29	46	28 (236)
TOTAL (NOS)	329	111	110	68	45	105	91	(850)

KEY

VOC.F = VOCATIONAL FULL-TIME COURSE

Aspirations for higher education had risen during the students course. These rises were as follows: comprehensive 52% to 70%, grammar schools 65% to 73%, independent schools 77% to 83%, full-time 'A' level F.E. 76% to 93%, part-time 'A' level 31% to 60%, part-time vocational course 17% to 54%. The extremely high percentage of college students aspiring to higher education is interesting and not immediately explainable. Also of some interest is the increase in aspirations for higher education of part-time students. This too is not

immediately explainable. Another notable feature of the above statistics is the difference in the institutions aspired to. In general, further education students aspired in a lower proportion to university and in a higher proportion to polytechnics. This may be due to the type of subject that college students wanted to study or it may be due to a self-selection process.

The way in which students choose higher education, and the type of higher education they choose and thus career, is a matter of some dispute. There are two major models of career choice, the 'individual-ambition' model and the 'opportunity-structure' model. The 'individual-ambition' model advanced by Newman (9) and Musgrave (10), amongst others, sees the individual as moving through a sequence of roles in the home, the school and the occupational setting. Each role-playing location is seen as part of the process of socialisation in that the future range of roles becomes apparent and the individual's ambitions and self-image are gradually formed. According to Musgrave the three main agents of pre-work socialisation, the family, school and peer group, provide experiences for the child which shape, not only his abilities, but also his self-concept of his own abilities. Both influence his later choice of career. This period provides the primary socialisation necessary for induction into the economic behaviour in the labour force and provides opportunities for occupational role rehearsal through play activities, i.e. anticipatory socialisation.

Using this model, pre-work socialisation in different schools, (comprehensive, grammar or independent), and in further education, (either full or part-time mode or vocational or academic course), can shape both abilities and self-perceptions of abilities which influence choice of higher education institution or whether to go at all.

The other model is the 'structure-opportunity model'. In the individual-ambition model, ambition is important in defining occupational choice, whereas in the structure-opportunity model ambition is seen as being adapted to the occupation that the individual finds himself able to enter i.e. the occupational structure and the opportunities it presents determine ambition. In this sense, Musgrave's thesis can be seen as giving inadequate attention to social structure, to the opportunities available and to the differential access to certain positions.

One study in support of the structure-opportunity model is that by Sherlock and Cohen (11), who, in a study of dentists, found that the decision to enter dentistry was quite purposive and based on a rational compromise between desired rewards and ease of access. Many of the students would have ideally preferred to be doctors but felt that dentistry, while offering similar financial and status rewards to medicine, would offer a greater chance of success in access to a professional occupation. Using this model, option for polytechnics as

opposed to universities may well be due to students views of similar rewards and ease of access.

With regard to non-university courses the attitudes of students by type of institution are as follows:

FIG.10/11 ATTITUDES TOWARDS NON-UNIVERSITY HIGHER EDUCATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION. (%)

NON UNIVERSITY DEGREE	SCHOOLS			F.E.				ALL (NOS)
	COMP.	G.S.	IND	AFT.	APT.	VOC.F	VOC.P	
YES	59	51	50	79	65	92	81	64 (321)
NO	41	49	50	21	35	8	19	36 (178)
TOTAL (NOS)	179	74	76	48	23	63	36	(499)
NON DEGREE COURSE								
YES	44	23	30	40	44	78	42	43 (307)
NO	56	77	70	60	56	22	58	57 (403)
TOTAL (NOS)	253	92	83	55	36	90	101	(710)

The above data can be interpreted through either the individual ambition or the opportunity structure model. The fact that comprehensive school students are more prepared to take non-university degrees or a non degree course may be due, according to the individual-ambition theory, to comprehensive school students self-concept of their own ability. This fact was mentioned by a number of teachers, particularly in Bamford, for example the head teacher of school E.

"The pupils in the school under-estimate themselves and even the very bright ones take the attitude 'university - what me?'"

and the head teacher of school B

"There is a strong local problem to persuade parents that their young are as bright as they are. The attitude is that education is not for the likes of us."

The contribution of comprehensivisation to this opinion is mentioned by the head of school G:

"Since comprehensivisation the character of the school has changed including the view of post sixteen education."

This is supported by the sixth form tutor of school C who pointed out:

"There is no tradition of a sixth form in the school and many parents and children still see the school as a secondary modern which used to occupy this site."

The key to the problem is seen by the sixth form tutor of school H as:

"Aspirations need raising. After talking to some parents their reply is 'I hadn't realised he was as good as that.' Some parents just do not understand what their children are talking about when they mention higher education."

The data presented in Fig.10/11 can also be interpreted through the opportunity-structure model. Many students could have taken the

attitude 'I may well not get into university, but I will try and expect to obtain a polytechnic place'. Others may have said 'I will try for a degree but expect to get an HND place'. These students would be more likely to come from comprehensive schools and have assessed realistically the chance of a comprehensive school student obtaining a university place compared with a grammar school or independent school student.

College students in general had a much more positive attitude to non-university degrees. This may be because the courses that many students were studying lead logically to polytechnic degree courses. It may be due, however, to lower expectations of college students compared with school students and a realistic assessment of their likely destination in higher education. As may be expected vocational course students were more positive towards non-university degrees with their career orientations lying in the direction of the more practically orientated polytechnics and institutes of higher education.

While college students were generally less positive towards non-degree courses (with 'A' level students and part-time vocational course students having the same degree, or less, of positiveness as comprehensive school students) 78% of full-time vocational course students had a positive attitude towards a non-degree course. This may be because such students see their next step as a higher national diploma. This interpretation is reinforced by statistics drawn from Fig.10/10 showing a relatively high proportion of full-time vocational

students opting for polytechnics.

The aspirations of students may be seen in the subject opted for, as mentioned earlier in this chapter when discussing the differences between L.E.A's. The relevant data is outlined below in Fig.10/12.

FIG.10/12 PROPOSED AREA OF STUDY BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

	SCHOOLS		COLLEGE				ALL	(NOS)	
	COMP	G.S.	IND	AFT	APT	VFT			VPT
ENGINEERING	9	9	7	7	13	72	40	20	(137)
SCIENCE/MATHS	19	17	14	25	13	0	11	15	(100)
ARTS/HUMANITIES	14	13	26	5	3	0	0	11	(72)
SOCIAL SCIENCE	11	8	8	8	6	0	1	7	(49)
BUSINESS STUDIES	6	9	2	10	6	1	11	6	(41)
MEDICINE	3	11	9	10	6	0	0	5	(33)
LAW	3	8	9	3	3	3	3	5	(31)
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEY	2	3	4	0	3	1	14	3	(23)
TEACHER TRAINING	5	3	4	2	6	0	0	3	(21)
FINE ART	1	2	7	0	0	6	0	2	(16)
OTHER	14	10	7	15	13	10	8	12	(78)
UNCERTAIN	13	5	8	15	28	7	12	11	(76)
TOTAL (NOS)	247	87	90	60	32	88	73		(677)

The area of study aimed at by students from different types of school varied considerably. For example a higher proportion of comprehensive school students aimed at science/maths, while a higher proportion of independent school students aimed at arts and humanities. Those in independent schools and grammar schools aimed in a higher percentage at medicine and law. Thus, students in the grammar and independent schools tended to aim at the more prestigious subjects than

comprehensive school students, and independent school students tended to aim at the establishment area of arts/humanities. Interestingly, a higher percentage of comprehensive school students were uncertain as to what they wanted to study. This may be due to a lack of knowledge of what is available or a lack of a definite career plan.

There were a number of differences between all school students and all further education students as well as differences within colleges. The most striking difference between school students and college students was the percentage of college students aiming to study engineering. These students were, however, concentrated in the vocational course sector while 'A' level students tended to opt for science and maths. A relatively high percentage of college 'A' level students aimed at business studies and medicine while 14% of vocational part-time students aimed at the building sciences. There was also a degree of uncertainty as to what to study in higher education amongst college students, particularly part-time 'A' level students.

The area of subject choice, and hence occupational choice, is open to interpretation via the individual-ambition model or the opportunity-structure model, but, in order to make a fuller analysis, the degree of information on higher education of students needs to be ascertained. The data regarding this is contained in Fig.10/13 below:

FIG.10/13 EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON THE FOLLOWING:	SCHOOLS		COLLEGES					ALL	(NOS)
	COMP	G.S.	IND	AFT	APT	VFT	VPT		
UNIVERSITIES	68	82	92	64	52	51	29	66	(526)
POLYTECHNICS	50	56	36	57	42	71	39	51	(401)
COLLEGES OF H.E.	31	17	21	15	39	27	57	29	(227)
INSTITUTES OF H.E.	24	18	15	13	19	21	29	21	(168)
OTHER COLLEGES	16	19	20	8	19	8	14	15	(120)
EMPLOYMENT AT 18	51	47	34	18	23	12	14	37	(293)
TOTAL (NOS)	332	108	97	61	31	92	72		(793)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM THE FOLLOWING:									
SCHOOL/COLLEGE	76	79	86	15	27	16	7	58	(459)
CAREERS OFFICER	53	47	33	23	21	30	24	41	(323)
HIGHER EDUCATION	8	7	14	48	21	54	33	20	(157)
OTHER RELATIVES	12	13	13	11	3	5	6	11	(84)
PARENTS	9	39	44	10	6	5	64	10	(81)
OTHER (UNSPECIFIED)	31	39	44	46	61	40	64	40	(317)
TOTAL (NOS)	333	107	96	61	33	92	70		(792)

The differences in knowledge of students from the various categories of school lends itself to analysis by the structure-opportunity model of occupational choice. 92% of students at independent sector schools claimed to have received information on universities compared with 68% of students at comprehensive schools. On the other hand students at comprehensive schools had received more information on colleges and institutes of higher education than students from independent schools. This would lend support to those theorists who argue that even within higher education the social reproduction theory operates, with

independent school students being channelled into certain elite universities to study elite subjects while students from comprehensives are channelled into lesser universities, other higher education or the job market. This is borne out by a number of comments made by comprehensive school students. One student remarked:

"At comprehensive schools the emphasis is placed upon leaving school at 16 years of age, to find a job anywhere.

The tendency is to ignore education beyond that level - those wishing to take a degree course at this stage in the sixth form's development need to take their own initiative.

Career guidance fails to explain the varying opportunities open to an 'A' level student."

and another remarked:

"Not enough advice given from teachers about going to university or poly. Teachers do not seem to take much interest and leave a lot of finding our information to pupils. No advice on obtaining grants, etc."

This lack of information from comprehensive school teachers may well have a simple explanation, i.e. lack of knowledge.

"This I think is due to my schools lack of previous experience in handling students who wish to go to university after 'A' level studies."

and

"My school in particular knows little to nothing about the process of applications for university since we (my year) was the first to attempt entry."

Comments by students from independent and grammar schools about the heavy emphasis on university entrance has been documented earlier in the chapter. However, other comments from independent sector school students included:

"Very little guidance for those wishing to work or go to polytechnic available at this school."

while another stated:

"At this school they are too interested in university and Oxbridge."

The teachers I spoke to in the comprehensive schools, however, told a different story. The sixth form tutor of school C in Newton, for example, said:

"Those that stay on in the sixth form see it purely in terms of enhancing their employment prospects. Usually about a dozen go on to higher education but there is no standard year."

while the sixth form tutor of school B claimed that:

"..... there has never been an unemployment problem in the area. There are always jobs available and there is home pressure on a youngster to work."*

It is interesting to note that a higher proportion of comprehensive school students had received information on employment at 18 than grammar school or independent school students. With reference to the college students they generally had received less information on universities than school students but more information on polytechnics. Part-time students tended to fare badly in relation to others in respect of information.

The source of information is also revealing. Most school students received information from their schools but the proportion was lower amongst comprehensive school students. However, most telling was the percentage of students receiving information from parents, where 44% of independent school students and 39% of grammar school students obtained information from this source compared with only 9% of comprehensive school students. This was partly offset by a higher

* This comment was made in March, 1980. While the current (Sept.81) employment situation is still better in the area than most other areas of the country, unemployment, and in particular youth unemployment, is beginning to have an effect.

percentage of comprehensive students receiving information from careers officers. College students received a reasonable amount of information from higher education sources but other sources were not too prominent in this sector.

This question of careers guidance for colleges of further education students is of some importance as can be seen from the numbers of such students, both full and part-time, aiming at full-time higher education. As one full-time 'A' level student commented:

"I do wish the careers officer and careers information were advertised more within the college, sometimes any careers advice is non-existent. I haven't even as of yet been able to find out where the careers officer hangs out! I want more info on what universities offer degrees in Drama, and what grades they require for entry."

while another added:

"At college I think there should be a readily available careers service within the college and perhaps careers lectures on a frequent basis."

and yet another:

"I believe that more knowledge should be given about the courses offered in colleges/polytechnics, etc."

Some students also mentioned the fact that students at colleges of further education were regarded in a lesser light than school students. This would tend to give support to the structure-opportunity model and the social reproduction theory of education. One such student commented:

"At college I was dismayed at the pessimistic attitude of the teachers about the student's chances of entry into medicine. They seemed to think that people join college because they are less 'intelligent' or less 'bright' than those who carry on to do 'A' levels at school, whereas the main reason for coming to college is getting away from the same environment one has known for five years."

The above comments were made by full-time 'A' level students, but comments were also made by part-time 'A' level students. Typical comments were:

"Information on the options open to me as a 'mature' student in Accountancy after 'A' level."

and

"After leaving school absolutely no-one did and has given me any more information on medicine. Looking through books is handy, but not handy enough. A careers adviser (not job adviser) is needed for people just past the age of leaving school (18-21)."

and

"You have to find out these things for yourself, there seems to be no guidance for youngsters after leaving school."

Vocational course students had their own tale to tell. One gave an interesting insight into the workings of a system that fails to provide the technologists for industry.

"The careers service is unsatisfactory because most careers officers don't have sufficient industrial experience to advise people upon which career to embark. Arts subjects seem to be represented in careers services and offer a biased opinion to students, very few have engineering experience or scientific knowledge of industry."

The group of people who seemed to be in most need of guidance, however, were the part-time vocational students. While 54% of these students aspired to higher education (a remarkable increase on the 17% who aimed at higher education at the beginning of their course) only 29% had received information on universities and 39% on polytechnics. Examples of this lack of information is manifested by a number of students:

"Career guidance while at technical college (Day release) was limited to talking about just going as far as higher technicians certificate. No mention was made of the possibility of going on to a degree course after the first three years (or two if on shorter course.)"

and

"No information about further education after
TEC III."

and

"Lack of information of further possible courses
to take."

A number of part-time vocational course students related the problems associated with educational/career choice to their employer. For example:

"No guidance from employer as to what is the
best course of action."

and

"When I commenced in Local Government in 1976
I was given no induction course or no guidance
as to the day release courses that were
available to me.

I have nearly finished my two year course and
feel that my training officer has showed no
real interest in me and has offered no
guidance as to the courses that will be
available to me next year."

Others, however, pointed out the necessity of solving educational/
occupational choices for oneself:

"I personally hope to take the Institute of Housing Management if I complete this course of ONC PA successfully. Although I have never received any guidance on any other outlets in the way of further education for my line of work. But the above institute exam is thought of highly by L.B.N. (London Borough of Newton) Housing Department."

and

"The coarse (sic) ONC PA2 is only a stepping stone in my career. I would like to eventually take a housing coarse (sic) of some sort. As to the guidance given to any person (in my experience), for further education is very little. Basically you have to push yourself forward to be considered for day release and any pattern of career you wish to take, you research yourself."

Not everyone was dissatisfied and some at least were happy with the service provided by the college.

"I have obtained no helpful advice from the Careers Officers about medical colleges. However, there are two teachers at college who have advised and guided me about entering medicine."

Thus the choices of higher education or work, type of higher education, type of institution, and course of study are dependent to a large extent on the knowledge of opportunities available to a student, and that the extent of this knowledge varies between types of schools, modes of attendance at F.E. colleges, and types of courses at F.E.

colleges. Also, this knowledge, or lack of it, is to some extent dependent upon its source. For example, students also had to cope with the prejudices of various 'professionals' they met. For example:

"I thought ART and DANCE were my most important subjects, but they didn't. My headmaster said that nobody could have a successful career in the arts."

and

"I was encouraged not to take a career in ART and was told at several stages by my careers guidance councillor that there was NO FUTURE in it."

However, the system did work for some students and one case study is as follows:

"I didn't know what to do. I knew for definite that I didn't want to work in an office. So I went to my local careers office, where the careers officer told me of the course at college which I am now doing (G.C.E. in performing arts). I am now very happy....."

The final analysis is of the reasons why students have either chosen work or higher education. Because of the small numbers involved a number of aggregations have been made in Fig.10/14 below, the reasons of: grammar school students and independent school students; full-

time college students (G.C.E., A and Voc) and part-time college students (A and Voc) have been aggregated. In all three cases the responses of those aggregated were similar. The data on why college students opted for work at 18+ refers to full-time students only.

FIG.10/14 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

FULL-TIME EDUCATION	SCHOOLS		COLLEGE		ALL	(NOS)
	COMP	I/GS	F.T.	P.T.		
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	70	74	59	71	69	(334)
SOCIAL LIFE	36	47	17	8	33	(157)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	25	35	5	12	23	(109)
PARENTS ADVICE	20	28	29	2	22	(108)
PEER GROUP	6	9	8	4	7	(33)
TEACHERS ADVICE	3	3	4	2	3	(15)
RELATIVES AT UNIVERSITY	3	2	5	0	3	(13)
TOTAL (NOS)	179	152	101	51		(483)
WORK						
WANTED TO START WORK	54	77	64		64	(92)
BREAK FROM EDUCATION	44	56	31		44	(63)
FINANCIAL	31	16	36		30	(43)
CAREERS ADVICE	10	7	5		8	(11)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	10	7	5		8	(11)
PARENTS ADVICE	3	9	8		6	(9)
PEER GROUP	3	7	5		5	(7)
TOTAL (NOS)	61	43	39			(143)

The majority of students in all categories aspired to university for reasons of employment. However, nearly half of those at grammar/independent schools also looked forward to the social life there, compared with just over a third of comprehensive students and even fewer college students. The lack of careers service advice mentioned

earlier by college students is evident from the relatively lower proportion of such students giving 'careers advice' as a reason for aspiring to higher education. A higher proportion of independent school/grammar school students quoted 'parental advice' which would appear to relate to sources of information on higher education (Fig.10/13), although 'parental advice' was also important for full-time college students.

The responses of students aiming to start work, provide some interesting contrasts. The more positive response to the question why choose work at 18+, 'wanted to start work' was quoted by two thirds of all students, but the proportion of independent/grammar school students giving this reason was higher than comprehensive students. The more negative reason given for working, 'wanted a break from education', is interesting in that a higher proportion of independent/grammar school students gave this reason than comprehensive school students while college students were least likely to give this as a reason. Conversely a higher proportion of college students were leaving the full-time education system because of financial reasons, while a smaller percentage of independent and grammar school students were so doing. Any analysis of the effect of careers advice, parents and peer group on the decision to work is not feasible because of the small numbers involved.

It is problematic to equate the percentage of those who aspire to higher education with the eventual qualified participation rate. For example, some of those wanting to enter employment may well have realised that their chances of obtaining 'A' levels are slim and rationalised their situation. On the other hand others may aspire to higher education but not obtain the necessary qualifications. Yet others may change their minds after answering the questionnaire. However, the figures produced in this thesis may be regarded as a reasonable guide to the eventual QPR.

The first difference in the QPR is between the three boroughs; Bamford 59%; Newton 71%; and Rishworth 69%. The independent schools produced a QPR of 83%. The most striking statistic in this respect is the relatively low QPR of Bamford. This may be explained by reference to a number of factors. Firstly the number of Bamford students entering sixth forms aspiring to higher education was lower than those from Newton and Rishworth, while those entering because of careers service advice and teachers advice was much higher. Secondly the proportion of this latter group of students who developed an aspiration for higher education during the course of the sixth form was lower than the corresponding proportion of Newton students. Why this should be is partly explained by reference to Fig.10/5 which shows that a higher proportion of Newton students had received information on Universities, colleges of education and institutes of education.

However, the above factors do not fully explain the low Bamford QPR.

Reference also needs to be made to the reasons why various students made their choice as outlined in Fig.10/16. One interesting fact is the high proportion of Bamford students wanting to start work for financial reasons (46% c.f. an average 25%). Another is the low proportion giving the reason that they wanted a break from education (23% c.f. an average 53%). The low QPR of Bamford would, therefore, appear to be a product of low aspirational level, a lack of information and financial pressures.

A number of groups of people either mitigated or exacerbated the above. For example, while parental advice for students continuing education varied only slightly between L.E.A's, (Fig.10/1), the ability to provide information on higher education did vary (Fig. 10/5), as did advice to offspring to aspire to higher education. The support of parents in this respect would appear to be of more importance to Bamford students. The effects of teachers and careers officers also varied from L.E.A. to L.E.A.

The next difference in QPR is between different types of institution; comprehensive schools 70%; grammar schools 77%; and independent schools 83%. There are a number of factors that may contribute to the above statistics. Firstly the proportion of students entering sixth forms aspiring to higher education was 52% for comprehensive schools, 75% for grammar schools and 77% for independent schools. Thus the proportion of non-aspirers who developed an aspiration for higher education during the sixth form was much higher for

comprehensive schools than other schools. Secondly there is the type of higher education institutions that students are informed of and the source of that information. For example, 92% of independent school students had received information on universities, compared with 82% of grammar school students and 68% of comprehensive school students. However, a higher proportion of comprehensive school students had received information on both non-university education and employment at 18+.

More pronounced are differences in the sources of information on higher education. For example information from parents; independent school students 44%; grammar school students 39%; and comprehensive school students 9%; and information from careers officers; comprehensive school students 53%; grammar school students 47%; and independent school students 33%. Thus the 'selective' school students tended to rely on parents while comprehensive school students tend to rely on careers officers. 'Selective' school students also receive more information from their own schools, although the difference here was not great.

The third difference in QPR is between type of institution, type of course and mode of attendance; schools 70% - 83%; further education 'A' full-time 93%; further education 'A' part-time 60%; further education vocational full-time 71%; and vocational part-time 54%. Thus the QPR of those taking full-time 'A' level courses at further

education colleges was the highest of any category used in this chapter while the QPR of those taking full-time vocational courses was similar to those studying at comprehensive schools.

College students generally had a different profile from those in schools. For example, a higher proportion of college students were aiming at non-university higher education, were prepared to take non-university degrees and were prepared to take non-university courses. This is reflected in the higher percentage of college students having received information on non-university education and a lower percentage having received information on universities. They tended also to receive this information from different sources than school students, in particular from higher educational institutions themselves. With reference to why full-time college students aimed to enter employment a relatively high proportion did so for financial reasons.

The differences between full-time and part-time students and between G.C.E. and vocational students are outlined in Fig.10/9 to 10/14. In general more full-time students aspire to higher education than part-time, while a larger proportion of vocational students aimed at non-university higher education. Other differences include a higher proportion of full-time college students quoting 'parental advice' than school students in respect of higher education aspiration and a relatively high proportion of part-time students quoting 'careers advice' compared with full-time college students.

Thus there are differences in QPR in respect of LEA area, type of school, type of institution, type of course and mode of attendance and these differences can be interpreted via the individual/ambition model of career choice which offers a functionalist perspective, or the structure/opportunity model which takes a more conflict orientated approach. On balance the evidence tends to support the structure/opportunity model especially with reference to both, the knowledge of higher education and of the various categories of higher education, and the sources of that information. However, analysis by either model leads to the conclusion that the first part of the hypothesis that:

"There are no differences in students' aspirations with regards to L.E.A. area, type of school, type of institution, type of course and mode of attendance."

has, in the case of Bamford, Newton and Rishworth, not been proved.

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Chapter 11

ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS: DATA ANALYSIS.

The computer processed 528 replies to the question 'why did you stay on at school to take your 'A' levels?' The results are tabulated in Fig.11/1 below:

FIG.11/1 REASONS FOR TAKING A SIXTH FORM COURSE BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING (%).

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATION	70	54	58	54	54	(317)
PARENTS ADVICE	37	43	32	31	36	(189)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	23	29	28	21	26	(136)
TEACHERS ADVICE	16	15	24	26	23	(119)
PEER GROUP INFLUENCE	14	12	10	7	11	(57)
NO WORK	3	7	2	0	3	(15)
TOTAL (NOS)	170	102	186	70		(528)

KEY

AB SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPINGS A+B (REGISTRAR GENERAL'S CLASSIFICATION)
 C1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING C1 (REGISTRAR GENERAL'S CLASSIFICATION)
 C2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING C2 (REGISTRAR GENERAL'S CLASSIFICATION)
 DE SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPINGS D+E (REGISTRAR GENERAL'S CLASSIFICATION)

It is obvious from the above statistics that there is a big difference with reference to higher education aspiration on entry to sixth form courses between the AB group and all other groups. A number of other features of Fig.11/1 are also quite illuminating; for example, the higher proportion of middle class compared with working class students quoting 'parental advice' as a reason for entering a sixth form.

This would lend some support to those whom I interviewed who claimed that the attitude of the working class parents to education was at best neutral and at worst hostile. However, it should be noted that 32% of students from working class backgrounds quoted 'parental advice' compared with 39% of students from middle class backgrounds, hardly

a dramatic difference.

Another interesting feature of Fig. 11/1 is the higher percentage of students from working class backgrounds compared with students from middle class backgrounds who quoted 'teachers advice' as a reason for entering a sixth form (25% c.f. 16%). This would tend to suggest that teachers have some success in negating local anti-education culture (should it actually exist). In this respect it is interesting to note that peer group reasons for staying on in education past the age of sixteen decrease down the social scale.

However, it is the statistics on 'careers advice' that are, perhaps, the most interesting. With reference to this reason it is the C categories, C1 and C2, that quote it more frequently than either the AB group or DE group. The relatively smaller percentage of AB students quoting 'careers service advice' may be explained in part by reference to Newman's (1) thesis that the two models of occupational choice, the 'individual ambition' and the 'structure opportunity' model may not be opposing theories, as they are often posited, but may represent the occupational choice factors operating for different social groups. Therefore, according to Newman, the individual-ambition model may be more relevant to the middle class, whereas the structure-opportunity model may be more applicable to the working class. Thus, it may be argued, the AB group may already have their careers mapped out and do not need to refer to careers guidance officers. This point is taken up later in this chapter. With

reference to the DE group a possible explanation is that a culture difference may exist between the reality created by professional careers officers and the reality created by the sons and daughters of semi and unskilled workers. This point was discussed in chapter ten and is touched on later in this chapter.

The reasons why students attended an F.E. college produced no major differences between socio-economic groupings with the exception of 'higher education aspiration' where the DE and C2 groups quoted this reason in higher percentages than AB and C1 (47% and 40% c.f. 31% and 28%).

The attitudes towards higher education by socio-economic group towards the end of sixth form/F.E. courses are outlined below in Fig.11/2.

FIG.11/2 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL (NOS)
UNIVERSITY	63	48	46	52	52 (414)
POLYTECHNIC	12	6	11	9	10 (80)
OTHER COLLEGE	4	8	8	4	6 (48)
ALL H.E.	79	62	65	65	68 (542)
WORK	22	39	36	34	32 (253)
TOTAL (NOS)	232	155	291	117	(795)

The clear difference between the AB group and all others, evident at the start of the 'A' level course (Fig.11/1), was still evident despite the addition in Fig.11/2 of F.E. students where higher education

aspiration was more prominent amongst C2 and DE groups. This difference was true for both university aspiration and all higher education aspiration. However, there was little difference between the socio-economic groupings and aspiration to non-university higher education. With reference to non-university degrees each group was within 3 points of the average for all students and, while there was a wider spread with reference to non-degree courses, there was no identifiable pattern.

The type of course that students aimed to study in higher education by socio-economic grouping is as follows:

FIG.11/3 PROPOSED AREA OF STUDY IN HIGHER EDUCATION BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	TOTAL	(NOS)
ENGINEERING	16	25	19	20	19	(114)
SCIENCE/MATHS	16	12	18	13	15	(90)
ARTS/HUMANITIES	13	12	10	8	11	(64)
SOCIAL SCIENCE	8	9	5	7	7	(42)
BUSINESS STUDIES	6	6	6	9	6	(37)
MEDICINE	9	3	4	7	6	(33)
LAW	5	5	4	1	4	(25)
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEYING	3	3	4	4	4	(21)
TEACHER TRAINING	2	4	4	3	3	(20)
FINE ART	2	3	0	3	2	(10)
OTHER COURSE	9	12	12	15	12	(68)
UNCERTAIN	11	8	13	11	11	(67)
TOTAL (NOS)	187	109	203	91		(590)

Despite the uneven distribution of students by socio-economic grouping across types of school, types of institution, and mode of attendance,

the subjects that each group aimed to study showed remarkable similarity. Engineering was the main choice for each social grouping (although the percentage varied from 16% to 25%) and science was the second for each group. Engineering and science added together produced similar percentages of students aiming to study these subjects 32% AB, 37% C1, 37% C2 and 33% DE. The only subject areas where there were social gradients were arts/humanities and law.

The extent of knowledge of the higher education system by socio-economic group is contained in Fig. 11/4 below:

FIG.11/4 EXTENT OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON	AB	C1	C2	DE	TOTAL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITIES	77	62	64	59	72	(518)
POLYTECHNICS	52	48	52	52	51	(366)
COLLEGES OF EDUCATION	26	25	26	40	28	(199)
INSTITUTES OF HIGHER EDUCATION	20	21	20	23	21	(148)
OTHER COLLEGES	16	9	15	11	14	(98)
WORK AT 18	29	43	44	34	38	(272)
TOTAL (NOS)	215	141	254	105		(715)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM						
SCHOOL/COLLEGE	57	54	61	59	58	(416)
CAREERS	34	49	45	46	43	(306)
HIGHER EDUCATION	19	22	16	18	19	(133)
PARENTS	12	14	12	4	11	(79)
OTHER RELATIVES	7	12	13	8	11	(75)
OTHER SOURCE	44	35	35	38	38	(275)
TOTAL (NOS)	214	139	260	104		(717)

A higher proportion of socio-economic group AB had received information on universities than all other groups, while a higher proportion of

group DE had received more information on colleges of education.

Information on polytechnics and institutes of higher education had been received by a similar percentage of all groups. Information had been received from school teachers or college lecturers by a larger percentage of working class groupings, while the AB group recorded a lower percentage obtaining information from careers officers than other groups. The DE group received less information from parents and other relatives than other groups, while the middle class group received more information from higher education itself.

The evidence from the pupils themselves would appear to verify Newman's (2) thesis. Middle class students tended to be individualistic in their orientation with regards to their future. One middle class student wrote:

"I mainly make my own decisions, so I never worry about career guidance."

while another wrote:

"There is a lot left to be desired in careers advice but I think there will always be, because no-one but you can know your own mind."

Other middle class students knew exactly what they wanted to do, regardless of the intervention of teachers or careers officers:

"No one within the school or ISCO* has been able to supply any information or advice as to how to obtain employment in the music business. The precise position I am seeking is that of a tape operator in a recording studioit is a somewhat menial job but is the best way to progress to 'sound engineer' of the studio and eventually after many years of experience to 'producer'. As a producer, one works freelance on various musical projects like, for instance, Tony Visconti, who has worked with hundreds of recording artists, notably David Bowie.

So, dear friend, I hope perhaps this field of employment will gain some sort of recognition amongst career advisers, since it is difficult to break into and I am having to rely completely on contacts to inform me of a vacancy should one become available."

Many middle class students were quite happy with the service provided.

"As far as career guidance is concerned there hasn't been any problem."

The working class students tended to conform to the structure/opportunity model, as would be expected with reference to Newman's thesis. However, very few students claimed any overt discrimination. One student who did claim discrimination had lately moved into the area and was studying for a part-time TEC course. His careers guidance was received from outside the area.

"Only when I first left school. The I.L.E.A. careers people did not give any encouragement to me when I said I wanted to work as a

* ISCO = Independent Schools Careers Organisation.

draughtsman. The attitude was that someone from the area and school that I attended should be more content to be a manual worker, i.e. a car mechanic."

However, the majority of working class students complained about lack of direction, for example:

"Apart from a very brief interview at school with a careers advisor who asked me what type of job I wanted at age 15, I was left on my own to make up my mind. As my elder sister did not carry on with further studies and took a secretarial job at age 17 she influenced me into doing the same. If I had been given enough information, knowledge and encouragement at an earlier stage, I feel that I could have continued with 'A' levels and gone on to university or poly."

Others complained not so much of lack of direction as bad advice:

"Very often students are advised wrongly. They are told to do jobs which they do not really want to instead of being helped with the kind of job they are set on doing."

and

"Firstly, I was misguided for my choice of subject options. Secondly my choice for 'A' levels was although limited, bad careers advice led me to choose the wrong subjects which would aid me to get a particular university subject. This problem stemmed from the 4th year upwards and I feel that by choosing another subject, my chances would be much better of going to university than now, as I am very weak in one subject."

However, a number of working class students felt that once a decision had been made the situation was improved.

"Once ideas have been formulated then the school careers advisor is quite helpful."

but the same student continued:

"But again it seems to be left up to the individual to form an idea without much guidance or guidance of the wrong kind."

While others who had formulated ideas still felt there was a lack of information:

"Not much information has been given to me about the prospects of clinical psychologists. Where they are most needed. The demands for clinical psychologists today. The relative salary they earn."

The overall impression is of most, but not all, middle class students conforming to the individual ambition model while most, but again not all, working class students conforming to the structure-opportunity model.

The reasons for choice at eighteen by socio-economic group are as follows:

FIG.11/5 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP (%)

FULL-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	AB	C1	C2	DE	TOTAL	(NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	68	75	71	71	70	(322)
SOCIAL LIFE	38	43	27	20	33	(142)
PARENTS ADVICE	23	25	23	24	24	(103)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	23	29	23	17	23	(100)
FRIENDS GOING	6	4	8	6	6	(27)
COLLEGE/SCHOOL ADVICE	5	1	2	3	3	(14)
RELATIVES AT UNIVERSITY	1	3	7	0	3	(13)
TOTAL (NOS)	149	79	137	66		(432)
WORK						
WANTED TO START WORK	73	70	59	47	63	(92)
BREAK FROM EDUCATION	49	67	40	37	47	(65)
FINANCIAL	24	33	25	32	28	(40)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	11	7	5	11	8	(11)
CAREERS ADVICE	3	7	9	5	6	(9)
FRIENDS LEAVING	8	7	7	0	6	(9)
PARENTS ADVICE	3	7	5	5	3	(5)
TOTAL (NOS)	37	30	59	19		(145)

The preceding analysis is borne out in the above statistics. The advice of parents was mentioned by just under a quarter of all students and significantly there was little difference between social groups. This would appear to contradict those teachers, careers officers and others who claimed that working class parents did not encourage their children:

"We want to encourage the youngsters to stay in the education system but this is difficult in our Borough. The main problem is getting parents involved, because although they don't mind their youngsters continuing their education they don't encourage them to do so."

and

"Parents seem to be neither for nor against their children staying on."

According to the data in Fig.11/5, and the comments of the students, the major problem for the working class student is one of knowledge of careers and the higher education necessary for them together with the dependency on careers service and teachers for this knowledge, i.e. the structure-opportunity model. Careers officers and teachers on the other hand, would appear to be used to responding to an individual-ambition model and interpret lack of knowledge in terms of lack of interest. This is reflected in the lower proportion of working class students giving careers service advice as a reason for choosing higher education.

With reference to work, a higher proportion of working class students gave careers service advice. However, a lower proportion of working class students gave both 'wanted to start work' and 'break from education' than middle class students, while financial reasons for leaving were found equally amongst middle and working class students. Only 5 students, three working class, aimed to enter work because of parental pressure.

However, the main difference with reference to aspirations for, and knowledge of, higher education were not between working class and

middle class but between the AB group and all others. This would appear to support Goldthorpe and Lockwood's (3) contention that the lower middle class were adopting working class attitudes.

As mentioned in chapter 4.1 a number of writers, such as Wedge and Prosser (4), claim that children from one parent or large families are 'disadvantaged' and that this is demonstrated by reference to levels of educational attainment. However, it should be noted that Field (5), amongst others, disputes this, claiming that large middle class families did not show any difference in educational attainment when compared with small families and that large families are not a cause of educational failure in themselves.

The reasons why students from one parent families and large families continued their education into the sixth form are contained in Fig.11/6 below:

FIG.11/6 REASONS FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION (SIXTH FORM) BY FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES (%)

	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS	53	63	60	(351)
PARENTS ADVICE	37	36	35	(305)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	14	17	25	(149)
TEACHERS ADVICE	19	19	23	(135)
FRIENDS STAYING ON	5	5	10	(61)
NO WORK	1	1	3	(16)
TOTAL (NOS)	62	80		(585)

KEY

OPF = ONE PARENT FAMILIES

5+ = LARGE FAMILIES (FIVE OR MORE CHILDREN)

A lower proportion of students from one parent families and large families gave 'careers advice' and 'teachers advice' than students generally. This may be due to the fact that a larger proportion of such students were from working class backgrounds (this is expanded in chapter 12). However, students from both one parent families and large families quoted 'parental advice' in slightly higher proportions than students generally which would appear to mitigate the lack of teachers and careers service advice. However, while a higher proportion of students from large families aspired to higher education than students generally, a lower percentage of students from one parent families did so.

With reference to those studying at further education colleges, 50% of students, from both one parent and large families, quoted 'higher education aspiration' compared with 34% of students generally. The higher education aspirations of the students towards the end of their course are contained in Fig. 11/7 below:

FIG.11/7 HIGHER EDUCATION BY FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES (%)

	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITY	48	52	51	(461)
POLYTECHNICS	20	16	16	(143)
OTHER H.E.	7	8	9	(77)
ALL F.T. H.E.	75	76	75	(681)
WORK	25	24	25	(224)
TOTAL (NOS)	88	183		(905)

As can be seen from the above statistics there were only marginal differences between students from one parent and large families and all students with regards to higher education aspirations. However, in the case of students from one parent families a lower proportion aimed at universities and a corresponding higher proportion aimed at polytechnics.

With reference to non-university degrees a similar proportion of students from one parent and large families displayed a positive attitude which was higher than students generally 71% c.f. 64%. With reference to non degree higher education a lower proportion of students from one parent families had a positive attitude compared with students generally 34% c.f. 44%. However, a relatively high proportion of students from large families had a positive attitude, 60%. This may be due to the high proportion of students in this category studying in further education college, and is consistent with attitudes of further education college students. Furthermore, while students from one parent and large families differed in the type of subject they wished to study from students generally, the difference between them was even greater. However, no overall pattern could be discerned.

The statistics concerning knowledge of the higher education system are contained in Fig. 11/8 below:

FIG.11/8 KNOWLEDGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM BY FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITIES	65	59	66	(529)
POLYTECHNICS	56	56	50	(403)
COLLEGES OF HIGHER EDUCATION	29	33	29	(254)
INSTITUTES OF HIGHER EDUCATION	24	27	21	(169)
OTHER COLLEGES	20	13	15	(121)
WORK AT 18	34	24	37	(301)
(NOS)	79	166		(805)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM				
SCHOOL/COLLEGE	58	47	58	(472)
CAREERS	37	37	41	(333)
HIGHER EDUCATION	19	27	17	(133)
PARENTS	5	11	11	(85)
OTHER RELATIVES	11	10	10	(83)
OTHER SOURCE	38	47	39	(318)
(NOS)	79	167		(808)

These figures show that students from one parent and large families had received less information about universities and more information about other forms of higher education than students generally. However, this may have nothing to do with one parent families or large families per se as these statistics would be consistent with the relatively higher percentage of students of working class origin in the one parent and large family groups. The fact that a smaller proportion of students from larger families had received information on universities than students from one parent families and conversely had received more information on non-university higher education is

consistent with the higher proportion of students from large families in colleges of further education.

Compared with students generally a small proportion of students from one parent and large families had received information from careers officers, which is consistent with the socio-economic background of the students concerned. A notable feature of the statistics is a relative lack of information from parents of one parent families.

The reasons why students from one parent and large families chose to enter higher education or work are outlined in Fig.11/9 below:

FIG.11/9 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES (%)

FULL-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	73	58	69	(331)
SOCIAL LIFE	33	24	33	(157)
PARENTAL ADVICE	16	26	23	(112)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	27	14	23	(110)
FRIENDS GOING	11	7	7	(33)
COLLEGE/SCHOOL ADVICE	4	2	3	(14)
RELATIVES IN HIGHER EDUCATION	2	5	3	(13)
TOTAL (NOS)	45	108		(481)
WORK				
WANTED TO START WORK	68	52	49	(103)
BREAK FROM EDUCATION	47	40	36	(75)
FINANCIAL REASONS	58	24	28	(58)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	0	4	6	(12)
CAREERS ADVICE	5	8	5	(11)
FRIENDS LEAVING	16	4	5	(11)
PARENTS ADVICE	11	0	4	(8)
TOTAL (NOS)	19	25		(209)

Fig.11/9 reveals that even 'tho the pattern of aspirations to higher education is similar for students from one parent families, large families and students generally, the reasons for wanting it differ. Students from one parent families were more likely to give 'employment prospects' as a reason for higher education and be influenced by careers officers and their peer group than students generally. They were less likely to be influenced by parents or by having relatives in higher education. On the other hand students from large families were more likely to be influenced by parents and relatives in higher education than students generally but were less likely to be influenced by careers advice and give employment prospects as a reason for higher education aspiration.

Students from large and one parent families gave more reasons more frequently for working than students generally. It is obvious that a wide variety of pressures are exerted on some students in this category to enter the world of employment. It is notable that students from one parent families gave prominence to financial reasons and that peer group and parental reasons were also mentioned in a higher percentage than students in general. Students from large families quoted 'wanted to start work' and 'break from education' in larger percentages than students generally but in a lower percentage from one parent families. However, students from large families were less likely to quote 'finance' as a reason for leaving than students generally.

A number of people I interviewed mentioned the contribution of type of dwelling to choice at 18+. Bamford's Principal Careers Officer, for example, claimed of his borough:

"Two small areas of the borough are different from the rest of the area. These are Bamford Town Centre and Chartham Heath, which are two small areas of private housing. In both areas there can be found youngsters and groups of parents who are more willing to be ambitious and innovative in educational and employment terms. Home ownership corresponds with getting a better life for their children. This applies whether the youngster is bright or not. The parents are inquisitive and won't automatically resist opportunities not on the doorstep."

and the head teacher of school H in Bamford pointed out:

"I can normally tell where a child comes from by their attitude towards higher education. Those who come from the council estates tend to have a less positive attitude than others. Their families continually under-rate them and they think their children are not good enough to go to university."

The reasons why students attended a sixth form by type of dwelling is outlined in Fig. 11/10 below:

FIG.11/10 REASONS FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION (SIXTH FORM) BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

	DSD	TMF	ALL (NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL (NOS)
HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS	62	57	60 (335)	64	47	60 (350)
PARENTS ADVICE	39	33	36 (202)	36	29	35 (202)
CAREERS ADVICE	28	24	26 (146)	25	30	26 (143)
TEACHERS ADVICE	21	25	23 (128)	20	34	23 (133)
PEER GROUP	12	9	10 (59)	11	8	11 (61)
NO WORK	3	3	3 (16)	3	3	3 (16)
TOTAL (NOS)	278	285	(563)	460	120	(580)

KEY

DSD = DETACHED AND SEMI-DETACHED HOUSES
 TMF = TERRACED HOUSES, MAISONNETTES, AND FLATS
 OWN = OWNER OCCUPIED ACCOMMODATION
 RENT = RENTED ACCOMMODATION

A higher proportion of those living in detached and semi-detached houses aspired to higher education than those in terraced houses, flats and maisonettes. The same is also true for parents advice, careers service advice and peer group influence, while the converse is true for teachers advice. However, these differences were not statistically significant.

The same pattern appertains to students living in owner-occupied premises compared with those living in rented accommodation, with the exception of careers advice being more important for those living in rented accommodation. In this case the differences were significant.

With reference to why students took a further education college course,

there was no difference between type of dwelling and higher education aspiration but a higher percentage of those living in owner-occupied dwellings gave this reason. The position with reference to higher education aspirations at the time of the survey and type of dwelling are outlined in Fig.11/11 below:

FIG.11/11 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

	DSD	TFM	ALL (NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL (NOS)
UNIVERSITY	53	49	51 (451)	52	51	52 (470)
POLYTECHNIC	11	10	10 (90)	10	11	10 (93)
OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION	5	7	6 (57)	6	8	6 (57)
ALL F.T. H.E.	69	66	67 (596)	68	70	68 (620)
WORK	31	34	32 (288)	32	30	32 (389)
TOTAL (NOS)	401	483	(884)	680	229	(909)

As can be seen from Fig.11/11 there was little difference with reference to higher education aspirations and type of dwelling. While there was a slightly higher proportion of students from detached and semi-detached houses aspiring to higher education there was a slightly higher proportion of those living in rented accommodation aspiring to higher education. However, with reference to non-university degrees, a higher proportion of those living in terraced houses, flats and maisonettes and a higher proportion of those living in rented accommodation had a more positive attitude. The same was also true for non-degree higher education. These figures are consistent with reference to socio-economic background and type of institution attended by students from the various categories of dwelling. The

areas that students wished to study in higher education are contained below in Fig.11/12.

FIG.11/12 PROPOSED AREA OF STUDY BY TYPE OF RESIDENCE (%)

	DSD	TMF	ALL (NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL (NOS)
ENGINEERING	22	18	20 (132)	18	25	20 (137)
SCIENCE/MATHS	13	17	15 (100)	16	12	15 (102)
ARTS/HUMANITIES	10	10	11 (70)	13	5	10 (71)
SOCIAL SCIENCE	8	7	7 (48)	8	6	7 (50)
BUSINESS STUDIES	6	7	7 (43)	7	4	6 (43)
MEDICINE	5	4	5 (31)	6	3	5 (34)
LAW	6	4	5 (30)	4	5	4 (30)
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEYING	4	3	4 (24)	3	5	4 (25)
TEACHER TRAINING	3	3	3 (21)	3	4	3 (22)
FINE ART	2	2	2 (10)	2	2	2 (11)
OTHER	13	10	11 (74)	13	9	12 (79)
UNCERTAIN	7	13	11 (70)	10	12	11 (75)
TOTAL (NOS)	296	358	(654)	496	183	(679)

As can be seen from Fig.11/12 the difference between those living in detached and semi-detached houses and those living in terraced houses, flats and maisonettes are relatively minor compared with the differences between those living in owner-occupied accommodation and rented accommodation. However, these differences may be explained by the fact that one in three students from rented accommodation were studying on a vocational course at a further education college. This would be consistent with a relatively high proportion of such students hoping to study engineering and a relatively low proportion aiming to study arts/humanities in higher education.

Students knowledge of higher education by type of dwelling is outlined in Fig.11/13 below:

FIG.11/13 KNOWLEDGE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON	DSD	TFM	ALL (NOS)	OWN RENT	ALL (NOS)
UNIVERSITY	71	62	66 (517)	67	60 66 (530)
POLYTECHNIC	54	48	51 (398)	52	50 51 (413)
COLLEGE OF EDUCATION	27	34	30 (232)	28	32 29 (233)
INSTITUTE OF HIGHER ED.	21	21	21 (165)	21	20 21 (170)
OTHER COLLEGE	17	13	15 (115)	16	13 15 (121)
WORK AT 18	40	35	37 (294)	38	35 38 (303)
TOTAL (NOS)	357	429	(783)	608	199 (807)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM					
SCHOOL/COLLEGE	60	54	56 (444)	57	54 57 (458)
CAREER OFFICERS	45	39	41 (327)	42	39 41 (335)
HIGHER ED.	19	20	20 (185)	20	18 20 (159)
PARENTS	13	8	11 (83)	12	5 10 (85)
RELATIVES	12	10	11 (84)	11	9 10 (83)
OTHER SOURCE	41	37	39 (310)	39	42 40 (323)
TOTAL (NOS)	362	427	(789)	611	199 (810)

As can be seen from these statistics those students living in semi-detached and detached houses and those living in rented accommodation had received more information on universities and polytechnics than those living in terraced housing, flats, maisonettes and rented accommodation while the converse was true with reference to colleges of education. The final analysis with reference to type of dwelling is the reasons why students from the various categories of dwelling made their particular choice at 18+.

FIG.11/14 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

FULL-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	DSD	TFM	ALL (NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL (NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	72	68	69 (322)	71	62	69 (333)
SOCIAL LIFE	35	30	32 (149)	34	31	33 (160)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	28	21	24 (111)	26	16	23 (115)
PARENTS ADVICE	26	20	23 (106)	25	18	23 (111)
PEER GROUP ADVICE	5	8	7 (31)	5	10	7 (32)
TEACHERS ADVICE	3	3	3 (13)	3	3	3 (15)
RELATIVES AT UNIVERSITY	1	4	3 (13)	2	3	2 (12)
TOTAL (NOS)	214	250	(464)	366	116	(482)
WORK						
WANTED TO START WORK	69	56	63 (98)	62	76	64 (100)
WANTED A BREAK IN EDUCATION	49	51	50 (78)	48	57	49 (77)
FINANCIAL	28	28	28 (84)	30	24	29 (45)
CAREERS SERVICE ADVICE	10	4	7 (11)	7	5	7 (11)
PEER GROUP	5	8	6 (10)	4	9	6 (10)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	2	9	6 (9)	6	5	6 (9)
PARENTS ADVICE	4	7	4 (7)	4	5	4 (7)
TOTAL (NOS)	81	75	(156)	135	21	(156)

The four main reasons quoted for aspiring to higher education; 'employment prospects', 'social life', 'careers service advice', and 'parents advice' were quoted by higher proportions of students from detached and semi-detached houses. They were also quoted by a higher proportion of those living in owner-occupied housing. 'Peer group advice' and 'relatives advice' was quoted by a higher proportion of those living in terraced housing, flats and maisonettes and those living in rented accommodation. However, these latter reasons were quoted by a relatively small number of students.

As well as socio-economic grouping, family circumstances and type of

housing there is also the phenomenon of gender and educational opportunity to consider. The computer processed 589 cases with regards to gender and sixth form study.

FIG.11/15 REASONS FOR CONTINUING EDUCATION (SIXTH FORM) BY GENDER (%)

	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
WANT TO GO TO UNIVERSITY	65	52	60	(354)
PARENTS ADVICE	36	35	35	(202)
CAREERS ADVICE	31	17	25	(150)
TEACHERS ADVICE	25	21	23	(136)
PEER GROUP	12	7	10	(61)
NO JOB	3	2	3	(16)
(NOS)	366	223		(589)

Male students recorded a higher percentage response for each reason than female students, and it is clear from Fig.11/15 that more male students entered the sixth form aiming at university than female students. Female students received almost equal support from parents as male students, but 'careers service advice' was quoted by nearly twice as many boys as girls. Furthermore, 'teachers advice' was quoted by a higher percentage of girls than 'careers service advice' while the converse was true for boys.

The parental advice aspect is important because of a general attitude held by those working in 16 - 19 that parental support was less for female students. For example the A.E.O. schools and F.E. for Newton.

"Girls are not encouraged to continue their education and generally they don't. The male culture of the area is very dominant."

and the head teacher of Newton school E:

"They (the parents) don't think much of higher education and tell their offspring to take any good job offered at 16. This affects girls more than boys with the ultimate security of a bank job being offered."

while the A.E.O. for further education for Bamford claimed:

"The culture of Bamford is male chauvanist. This will take a long time to break down."

Female students, however, told a different story.

"The careers officers seem to know little or nothing about virtually every career except banking."

and

"Too much emphasis on stereotyped jobs, e.g. secretaries, teachers, etc."

while one girl from a comprehensive complained of a need for:

"Positive attitude from Careers Officers. Possibilities of more job placement schemes, not just for people who need to learn how to work in Marks and Spencers, but also for people who want to learn a profession."

With reference to further education, a higher proportion of girls gave 'university aspiration' as a reason for being at a college than boys (46% c.f. 29%). One full-time 'A' level college student claimed that she was at college because of:

"Schools inability to provide any information other than secretarial courses."

and a full-time vocational course student claimed that:

"Little or no advice was given at my school to girls who did not want to do clerical work of some description."

The attitudes towards higher educational aspirations by gender are as follows:

FIG.11/16 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS BY GENDER (%)

	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITY	56	44	52	(479)
POLYTECHNICS	11	8	10	(90)
OTHER HIGHER EDUCATION	3	13	6	(59)
ALL FULL-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	70	65	68	(628)
WORK	30	35	32	(296)
TOTAL (NOS)	605	319		(924)

The above statistics are quite revealing; apart from a higher proportion of male students aspiring to higher education generally, male students also aspired to both universities and polytechnics in

higher proportions. A higher proportion of female students aspired to colleges and institutions of higher education. With reference to non-university degrees, however, a similar percentage of male and female students had a positive attitude (65% c.f. 64%). On the other hand a higher percentage of male students had a positive attitude towards non-degree higher education (49% c.f. 41%), although this latter fact may be accounted for by a higher proportion of male students taking vocational courses at college.

The proposed area of study by gender (%) is as follows:

FIG.11/17 PROPOSED AREA OF STUDY BY GENDER (%)

	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
ENGINEERING	29	1	20	(139)
SCIENCE/MATHS	15	14	15	(102)
ARTS/HUMANITIES	7	18	11	(75)
SOCIAL SCIENCE	7	7	7	(50)
BUSINESS STUDIES	5	8	6	(43)
MEDICINE	5	4	5	(34)
LAW	3	7	4	(31)
ARCH/PLAN/SURVEYING	5	1	4	(25)
TEACHER TRAINING	1	7	3	(22)
FINE ART	1	2	2	(11)
OTHER COURSE	9	18	12	(82)
UNCERTAIN	10	13	11	(77)
TOTAL (NOS)	467	224		(691)

From Fig.11/17 it can be seen that male and female students aimed to study widely differing subjects, for example, engineering by far the most popular subject for male students, was the least popular for female students. These differences occurred in all subject areas

with the exception of science/maths, medicine and social science. This may well be caused by the different syllabi that male and female students followed.

The different syllabi was mentioned by a number of people whom I interviewed, for example, the Chief Inspector of Bamford who, when asked about curriculum bias against girls, prefaced his remarks on the subject with the statement:

"Let's talk practicalities."

and the A.E.O. Bamford pointed out that an extreme shortage of teachers in technical subjects meant that girls were difficult to accommodate.

Others, however, considered that the particular subjects aimed at by female students were a result of the female perception of themselves. For example, the Chief Education Officer of Bamford claimed that many of the attitudes towards curriculum and gender were generated by Bamford parents perception of 'maleness' and 'femaleness' which was transmitted to their children and reinforced by the peer group. This view was supported by the Further Education careers specialist from Newton, who claimed that sexual stereotyping was quite strong in the area and that career aspirations reflected this.

"The classic option for girls with 4 or 5 'O' levels is banking or other clerical work. Where they aim at higher education the careers aimed at are social work or teaching."

However, Newton's sixth form specialist was quite encouraged by the way the local children resisted stereotyping, and the way some schools had undertaken a major shift in curriculum content to extend the possible choices of their female students.

Knowledge of the higher education system by gender is as follows:

FIG.11/18 KNOWLEDGE OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM BY GENDER (%)

INFORMATION RECEIVED ON	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
UNIVERSITY	69	61	66	(544)
POLYTECHNIC	53	48	50	(410)
COLLEGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION	25	36	29	(238)
INSTITUTE OF HIGHER EDUCATION	17	29	21	(174)
OTHER COLLEGE	14	17	15	(124)
WORK AT 18	34	43	37	(305)
TOTAL (NOS)	535	288		(823)
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM				
SCHOOL/COLLEGE	55	60	57	(466)
CAREERS OFFICER	40	43	41	(339)
HIGHER EDUCATION	21	16	20	(161)
PARENTS	11	10	10	(85)
OTHER RELATIVES	9	12	10	(84)
OTHER SOURCES	41	37	40	(327)
TOTAL (NOS)	533	291		(824)

Male students had received information on universities and polytechnics while a higher proportion of female students had received information on other colleges. However, a higher proportion of female students had received information of some kind from schools, colleges and careers officers than male students. This phenomenon,

taken in context with the comments made about sexual stereotyping, produced comments from a number of female students. For example, one comprehensive student commented:

"There seems to be very little help with career prospects, especially the careers office - unless a job in mind, there is very few information booklets, etc., advertising any routes except for secretarial, shop work, etc."

The majority of comments of this nature, however, came from the large percentage of female students studying 'A' levels in further education colleges. One student commented:

"Very little encouragement was given at school as regards higher education from careers advisers as well as teachers

I feel that encouragement and advice to go on to further education is lacking a great deal. No one encouraged me to apply for Dentistry, everyone told me how difficult it is to get a place and no more.

No advice was ever given to enhance one's academic record, which is very important as university places are getting harder to find."

while another commented:

"At (x) school, I obtained no encouragement from teachers or Careers Officers to pursue my interest in the medical profession.

In the first year of 'A' levels I was not advised to take additional 'O' levels to increase my chances of entering medicine."

while yet another commented:

"The only career guidance I received was a ten minute interview with a careers officer. After hearing I wasn't interested in nursing or teaching, I was dismissed."

The reasons why students made their choice at 18+ are as follows:

FIG.11/19 REASONS FOR CHOICE AT 18+ BY GENDER (%)

FULL-TIME HIGHER EDUCATION	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	70	65	69	(339)
SOCIAL LIFE	35	27	33	(161)
CAREERS ADVICE	23	23	23	(114)
PARENTS ADVICE	23	23	23	(113)
PEER GROUP	7	5	7	(35)
TEACHERS ADVICE	3	4	3	(15)
RELATIVES AT UNIVERSITY	3	4	3	(13)
TOTAL (NOS)	352	142		(494)
WORK				
WANTED TO START WORK	73	48	63	(100)
WANTED A BREAK FROM EDUCATION	49	49	49	(78)
FINANCIAL REASONS	26	32	28	(45)
CAREER ADVICE	9	6	8	(12)
PEER GROUP	7	6	7	(11)
OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	7	6	7	(11)
PARENTAL ADVICE	7	3	6	(9)
TOTAL (NOS)	94	65		(159)

Both male and female students demonstrated similar patterns with regard to careers advice, parental advice, peer group, teachers advice and relatives at university. Female students, however, were less likely to quote 'employment prospects' and 'social life' than

their male counterparts although these two reasons were placed first and second in both cases. An equal proportion of male and female students gave 'break from education' as a reason for wanting to start work at 18+.

However, this reason was the main one (marginally) for female students, but the second for male students, where 'wanted to start work' was the most quoted reason. Significantly a higher proportion of female students gave 'financial reasons' for wanting to work, while a higher proportion of males gave 'careers advice'.

In conclusion, with reference to environmental factors and QPR, there are differences between the various categories. In the first place the AB socio-economic group has a higher QPR than all other groups; 79% c.f. 62% C1, 65% C2 and 65% DE. The first possible reason for this difference is the aspirations of students on entry to sixth forms. From Fig.11/1 it can be seen that a higher proportion of the AB group entered sixth forms with higher education in mind compared with all other groups while a higher proportion of C1 and C2 group students quoted careers service advice as a reason for continuing their education and a higher proportion of C2 and DE group students quoted 'teachers advice'. The proportion of non-higher education aspirants on entry that aspired to higher education towards the end of their course was similar in all socio-economic groups.

Another possible reason for this difference in QPR between socio-

economic groups is the extent of information obtained by each group. It is interesting to note that a higher proportion of students from group AB had received information on universities while the group receiving least information was the DE. Furthermore, the DE group had received more on colleges of education than other groups. Also of interest are the reasons given by those opting out of the education at 18+. 'Financial reasons' were quoted by an equal percentage of middle class (AB C1) and working class (C2 DE) students and there was an interesting social class gradient with reference to the answer 'wanted to start work'. Of those opting for higher education 'employment prospects' and 'parents advice' were quoted by similar proportions, while 'social life' was more likely to be quoted by the middle class. A smaller proportion of the DE group quoted 'careers service advice'.

The explanation of the phenomenon of the AB group's higher QPR would appear therefore, to rest partly in the differential aspirations of the students on entry to 16-19 education and partly on the extent of the knowledge of higher education by the different groups.

The QPR of students from one parent families and large families is the same as that of students generally, (75% and 76% c.f. 75%). There are, however, some interesting differences behind these statistics. For example on entry to the sixth form 53% of students from one parent families and 63% of students from large families aspired to higher education compared with 60% of students generally. Thus a much

higher proportion of non higher education aspiring students from one parent families became aspirants during their courses. Also it is interesting to note that 'parents advice' was quoted by a slightly higher proportion of students from one parent and large families compared with students generally as a reason for continuing education whereas a considerably lower proportion quoted 'careers service advice' and 'teachers advice' than students generally. Both sets of students were less well informed of universities than students generally but better informed about non university higher education.

The reasons for wanting to continue education past the age of 18 also varied; 'employment prospects', 'careers service advice' and 'peer group' were important for students from one parent families, while 'parental advice' featured strongly for students from large families. With reference to those wishing to take employment at 18+ students from large families followed the same pattern as students generally. However, the statistics for students from one parent families showed some important differences. For example the proportion quoting 'financial reasons' was over 100% higher than students generally, while 'peer group pressure' and 'parental advice' was quoted by three times the number.

There were only slight variations between QPR with reference to type of dwelling; 69% detached and semi-detached houses; 65% terraced, flats or maisonettes; and 68% owner occupied; 70% rented. However, the most interesting statistic behind this concerns those students living

in rented accommodation where only 47% entered the sixth form with higher education in mind, with 'careers advice' and 'teachers advice' being quoted in a relatively high proportion. Differences also occur, with reference to the extent of the knowledge of each category of student, with those living in detached and semi-detached houses and those living in owner-occupied houses receiving more information on universities than those living in terraced houses, flats and maisonettes and rented accommodation, while the converse is true for non-university higher education.

With reference to gender the QPR is higher for male students than females (70% c.f. 65%). However, it is the breakdown of these figures that is interesting, with 56% of male students aiming at universities c.f. 44% female and 3% of male students aiming at colleges/institutes of higher education c.f. 13% of female. The subjects intended to be studied also show a wide difference (Fig.11/17).

However, the above figures need to be seen in the light of aspirations at 16+ where the relative percentages for those aspiring to higher education are male 65%, female 52%. Thus a much higher proportion of female non-aspirants at 16 become aspirants at 18+. The different type of higher education aimed at may be partly explained by the differential knowledge of the higher education system, with male students receiving more information than females on universities, with the converse being true for colleges and institutes of higher education. With reference to choice at 18+ 'careers advice' and

'parents advice' were quoted as reasons for continuing in education by a similar proportion of male and female students. 'Financial reasons' was quoted by a higher proportion of female students as a reason for wanting to start work at 18+.

Thus the major difference in QPR is between the AB socio-economic group and all other groups, with another important difference being between male and female students. There are slight differences with respect to type of dwelling but little or no differences with reference to family circumstance. However, a number of trends can be discerned within the QPR rates. Firstly different categories of students aspire to different types of higher education. For example a relatively high proportion of males; students from socio-economic group AB; dwellers in detached and semi-detached houses; and dwellers in owner-occupied houses tended to aspire to universities. On the other hand students in the DE socio-economic group; students from one parent families; dwellers in terraced houses flats and maisonettes; dwellers in rented accommodation; and females tended to aspire to non-university higher education.

Another trend is that gaps between categories of students as to higher education aspiration at 16 become narrower or disappear at 18+. This is true of all categories with the exception of socio-economic grouping.

A third trend is the differential effect that parents, teachers and

careers officers had in respect of choice at 16+, choice at 18+ and the amount and type of information received on higher education by students. Generally the more advantaged the student the more likely that parents were liable to play a part while the more disadvantaged the student the more likely that teachers and careers officers were likely to play a part. Teachers were probably more influential in this latter case.

Finally, there is the fact that the more disadvantaged the student the more likely they are to aim at employment at 18+ for financial reasons.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter, and elsewhere in the thesis, there is some dispute as to whether certain categories of students aspire in different proportions to higher education and to different types of higher education because of perceptions that they bring to the education institutions from the environment, or that different categories of students are 'processed' in different ways because of perceptions that personnel within the education institutions have of them.

However, for whatever reasons, it can be seen that different categories of students have different aspirations for higher education. Thus the second part of the hypothesis that:

"Aspirations for higher education are constant with regard to socio-economic group, family circumstances, type of residence and gender."

has not been proved in the case of the three boroughs in North East London.

Chapter 11 References

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- (5) FIELD, F. (1974) Unequal Britain, A Report on the Cycle of Inequality. Arrow Books.

Chapter 12

CONCLUSIONS

The hypothesis of this thesis states that:

"Aspirations for higher education are constant with regard to: (i) L.E.A. areas, educational institutions, type of course and mode of attendance, and (ii) social-economic grouping, family circumstances, type of residence and gender."

However, as the preceding analysis has demonstrated, aspirations for higher education vary with a tendency for certain categories of student to aspire in higher proportions than others. Explanations for this phenomenon can be posited as conflict and functionalist (as outlined in chapter two).

To restate the positions, the conflict theorist sees social problems as primarily the product of social conflicts involving the economic interests and the value systems of competing population groups and social classes, whereas the functionalist theoretician, emphasising stability, order and equilibrium, the functional relationship of the various parts of the social system, the pluralistic view of power in society and the notion of the impartial state sees social problems in terms of deviant groups and/or social disorganisation.

Much of the analysis of the research findings would tend to support the conflict theory. Swift (1) argues that the education system is used to reinforce the power structure of society by those who benefit from that structure. He argues that this occurs by two methods.

The first method is that particular kinds of schools can be reserved for children from particular sectors of the population. This is verified by data from the survey which demonstrate that different socio-economic groups tend to take different paths through 16 - 19 education.

FIG.12/1 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING BY INSTITUTION (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
COMPREHENSIVE	25	39	48	51	40	(315)
GRAMMAR	16	16	13	5	13	(102)
INDEPENDENT	28	9	3	3	12	(95)
ALL SCHOOLS	69	64	64	59	65	(514)
FURTHER EDUCATION	31	36	37	40	35	(274)
TOTAL (NOS)	225	152	290	121		(788)

Trends can be seen quite clearly. The percentage of each social grouping attending comprehensive schools increases down the scale while those attending grammar and independent schools increases up the scale, with the gradient for the independent schools being much steeper. The percentage of those attending further education colleges increases down the social scale. These trends can also be demonstrated by reference to type of course and mode of attendance.

FIG.12/2 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING TYPE OF COURSE, AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
FULL TIME	89	82	82	84	84	(688)
PART TIME	11	19	18	16	16	(130)
A LEVEL	82	77	75	75	77	(633)
VOCATIONAL	18	23	25	25	23	(185)
TOTAL (NOS)	235	159	302	122		(818)

There is a clear difference between the AB socio-economic group and all other groups with reference to both type of course and mode of attendance, with a higher percentage of the AB group attending full-time and 'A' level courses. The C1, C2 and DE groups show remarkably similar profiles.

One result of different social groups tending to take different paths through 16-19 education is that different institutions have different social compositions.

FIG.12/3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE SURVEY BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

	COMP	GS	IND	SCL	FE	ALL	(NOS)
AB	17	35	73	31	23	29	(225)
C1	19	24	14	19	20	19	(152)
C2	44	36	9	36	39	37	(250)
DE	20	6	4	14	18	15	(121)
TOTAL (NOS)	215	104	95	514	274		(788)

As can be seen from Fig.12/3, 73% of those attending independent schools were from socio-economic background AB and 87% from AB and C1, whereas 64% of comprehensive school students were from groups C2 and DE compared with 42% of grammar school sixth formers and only 13% of independent school students. Further education colleges tended to be more proletarian in composition than schools generally and the effect of this can be seen from an analysis of socio-economic grouping, type of course and mode of attendance.

FIG.12/4 SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING, TYPE OF COURSE, AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
SCHOOL	73	65	65	60	66	(543)
F.E. F.T. A	6	6	7	10	7	(56)
F.E. P.T. A	3	6	3	6	4	(34)
F.E. F.T. VOC	9	10	11	14	11	(89)
F.E. P.T. VOC	9	13	14	11	12	(96)
TOTAL (NOS)	235	159	302	122		(818)

Certain trends are evident from the above statistics. The AB group tends to attend schools in a greater percentage than all other groups, with a social gradient sloping down to the DE group. The converse is true for those taking full-time 'A' level courses at a college of further education, with a social gradient descending from DE to AB. A similar gradient to this latter one is evident with reference to full-time vocational courses

The second method by which education is used to maintain the class

system, according to Swift (2), is by the attributes that individual students bring with them to the school. This line of argument is also held by MacKenzie (3), who, while admitting that the evidence is 'scanty', claims that manual workers are more likely to view their class situation as relatively fixed while non-manual employees see the class structure as a ladder that an individual may climb up or down according to his or her own abilities. These attitudes are transmitted to children by parents. The position of the family in the social structure is, therefore, highly relevant in terms of its influence on access to education, certification and attitudes towards education. Ashton (4), for example, has argued that:

"Young people acquire different frames of reference that direct them toward different types of occupation, their experience of which reinforces the frame of reference originally acquired at school."

This statement can be verified in the case of this survey by reference to the socio-economic structure of the three L.E.A's and the percentage aspirations for higher education on entry to the 16 - 19 education (schools only) and near the conclusion of 16 - 19 education.

FIG.12/5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF SURVEY BY L.E.A. (%)

	BAM	NEW	RIS	IND	ALL	(NOS)
H.E. ASPIRATION ON ENTRY	48	52	64	77	60	(354)
H.E. ASPIRATION ON CONCLUSION	59	71	69	83	70	(411)
AB	16	21	31	73	29	(235)
C1	16	17	28	14	19	(159)
C2	47	40	36	9	37	(302)
DE	21	21	6	4	15	(122)
TOTAL (NOS)	173	332	218	95		(818)

As can be seen from Fig.12/5 the proportion of students aspiring to higher education on entry to the sixth form varied directly in proportion to the number of students in both the AB and middle class (AB C1) categories.

However, with reference to higher education aspirations, as noted in chapter ten, the proportion of students in all categories increased during their course although the percentage increase did vary; Bamford 23%; Newton 37%; Rishworth 8%; and the independent sector 8%. This suggests that once in the sixth form an ethos is created which is higher education orientated, which would appear to be of some importance for students in the predominantly working class areas of Bamford and Newton. It would also appear to suggest that the comment made by a student in school D, Bamford, about the development of a peer group feeling amongst the sixth form, and the consequent losing of touch with former friends who had left at sixteen, is widespread.

"There was a lot of jealousy. My old friends felt really out of it and eventually I stopped going out with them. I have made new friends in the sixth and completely rearranged my social life."

These latter facts would tend to support the functionalist thesis, that the main factors behind the problem of a low QPR are caused by deprivation. Once deprivation has been overcome, in this case by the intervention of teachers and careers officers, and the students from working class areas enter 16 - 19 education, then their attitudes become nearer to the norm. This can be verified by reference to the

larger increases in higher education aspiration in Bamford and Newton.

However, if a breakdown of higher education aspiration and socio-economic grouping is made the following is revealed.

FIG.12/6 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPING (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON ENTRY	70	54	58	54	60	(317)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON CONCLUSION	79	62	65	65	68	(542)
TOTAL (NOS)						(859)

The above statistics show that regardless of the relatively higher increase of higher education aspiration in Bamford and Newton the rate of increase by socio-economic grouping shows a remarkable consistency, and at the end of 16 - 19 education the gap between the AB group and all others is similar to that at the start. Hence the increase in Bamford and Newton may well be accounted for by students from socio-economic group AB in these areas.

One explanation for the change in aspiration is given by Newman (5) whose thesis is outlined in chapter eleven. If the individual ambition model of occupational choice is more relevant to the middle class, and the structure-opportunity model more relevant to the working class, as Newman claims, then the AB group would already possess advantages with reference to career aspirations. This advantage is

reinforced by the evidence from this research in that students from socio-economic AB group are more likely to attend either independent or grammar schools, where there is a tradition of aspiring to higher education, and be taught by teachers who have a knowledge of higher education and encourage their students to aspire to it. Working class students on the other hand, who tend to be handicapped by a lack of knowledge of career patterns in the first place, tend to study at schools with fewer traditions of higher education entry and be taught by teachers who may lack a knowledge of both the higher education system and the procedure for applications.

However, it may be argued that this state of affairs is a temporary phenomenon and the newer comprehensive schools will build up an expertise on higher education and develop a tradition of students aspiring to it. Another argument against the conflict analysis of the data is the relatively greater increase in higher education aspirations on entry to the sixth form compared with near completion of study with reference to comprehensive and further education college students (the two institutions with the highest concentration of working class students).

FIG.12/7 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATION BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%)

	COMP	GS	IND	SCL	FE	ALL	(NOS)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON ENTRY	52	73	77	61	36	60	(354)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON CONCLUSION	70	77	83	72	69	70	(411)
TOTAL (NOS)							(765)

With reference to further education students two aspects need to be noted. The first is that, despite the large increase in the proportion of further education students aiming at higher education, the final percentage is still lower than for schools generally, and even comprehensive schools. The second is, that the proportions vary depending on type of course and mode of attendance.

FIG.12/8 HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATION BY TYPE OF COURSE AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	AFT	APT	VOC.F	VOC.P	ALL	(NOS)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON ENTRY	76	31	*	17	36	(110)
H.E. ASPIRATIONS ON CONCLUSION	93	60	71	54	72	(220)
TOTAL (NOS)						(236)

* These statistics were not collected - see chapter ten.

Thus, even allowing for the increase in aspiration, the fact remains that independent and grammar school students still have a higher aspiration rate than comprehensive school and further education college students, and the AB group has a higher aspiration rate than all other groups. Also it must be remembered that the independent and grammar schools have large established academic sixth forms in good buildings, unencumbered by a 'new sixth' with attendant discipline and other problems. Furthermore those comprehensives with good facilities, large academic sixth forms, entry requirements and screening for the sixth form tend to be located in middle class areas.

Some comments from students perhaps make the point more succinctly.

The first is a comprehensive school student already quoted in chapter 5.3.

"When one comes up against the public school set and the old establishment the lack of preparation is highlighted and can be a serious problem. Even at other universities the confidence which shines through the crest and the tie of the public school boy cannot be met by a comprehensive student who has not had such advantage."

The second is a comprehensive school student, first quoted in chapter eight.

"At comprehensive schools the emphasis is placed upon leaving school at 16 years of age, to find a job anywhere.

The tendency is to ignore education beyond that level - those wishing to take a degree course at this stage in the 6th forms development, need to take their own initiative."

The final quotation is from a student in a grammar school.

"Since the school which I attend is a grammar school the careers guidance is of an appropriately high standard. However, my sister attended a comprehensive school and found career facilities woefully inadequate."

As mentioned earlier in this chapter and discussed in chapter two, a key concept in the functionalist analysis of social problems is deprivation, defined by Merton (6) as;

"Any and all the ways that an individual or group may be or feel, disadvantaged in comparison either with other individuals, or groups, or with an internalised set of standards."

and by Holman (7) as;

"Any person living in a material or emotional situation generally regarded as causing hardship by comparison with the rest of the community."

This thesis looked at a number of areas where deprivation may be said to take place i.e. students from large families, from one parent families, students living in rented accommodation, and students living in particular L.E.A. areas.

With reference to the question of family circumstances, note must be taken of Wedge and Prosser's (8) thesis regarding the circumstances of students from one parent and large families. Referring back to chapter 4.1 the following quotations can be reiterated:

"Children with only one parent at seven or eleven years of age are likely to have less help or attention than with two parents."

and

"We found that at the age of seven or eleven more than one child in every six (18%) lived in a family where there were five or more children. These families had less money to spend on each child and so they tended to leave education as soon as possible "

However, Field's (9) qualification of Wedge and Prosser's thesis that large middle class families did not show any differences in educational attainment when compared with small families, and that large families themselves are not the cause of education failure, also requires noting.

With reference to the type of dwelling inhabited and area inhabited the discussion paper 'The Deprived Child' (10), mentioned in chapter two, when discussing the concept of multi-deprivation, states:

"For instance children who live in poor housing tend also to come from overcrowded accommodation in depressed inner-city areas and have a father doing unskilled or semi-skilled work."

Some of the evidence of this research would tend to support the deprivation thesis. A smaller proportion of students from the predominantly working class areas of Bamford and Newton entered the sixth form with higher education in mind compared with Rishworth students and independent sector students. Furthermore, lower proportions of students from one parent families; students living in rented accommodation; and living in relatively smaller dwellings aspired to higher education on entry to the sixth form. However, a higher proportion of students from large families aspired to higher education on entry to sixth forms. It is also interesting to note that by the end of the course, students from the 'deprived' groups tended to aspire to higher education in the same proportions as

students generally. Thus it can be argued that 'deprivations' can be mitigated once a student from a 'deprived' group enters 16 - 19 education.

However, another interpretation of the statistics can be made. On analysis it can be shown that aspirations for higher education of each 'deprived' group were consistent with their socio-economic background, and type of institution attended. For example, the socio-economic background of students by type of dwelling is as follows:

FIG.12/9 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
DETACHED/SEMI-DETACHED	61	45	40	29	46	(358)
TERRACED/FLAT/MAISONETTE	39	55	60	71	54	(425)
TOTAL (NOS)	225	154	285	119		(783)
OWNER-OCCUPIED	87	80	72	68	77	(626)
RENTED	13	20	28	32	23	(185)
TOTAL (NOS)	234	158	300	119		(311)

The higher the student's socio-economic status the more likely the student to live in a detached or semi-detached house, and an owner-occupied dwelling. This is much as may be expected. The statistics with relation to one parent and large families is as follows:

FIG.12/10 SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF ONE PARENT AND LARGE FAMILIES (%)

	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
AB	27	20	28	(229)
C1	14	14	20	(158)
C2	55	43	37	(302)
DE	5	22	15	(120)
TOTAL (NOS)	44	152		(809)

60% of students from one parent families and 65% of students from large families were from working class backgrounds compared with 52% of all students in the survey. With reference to large families the relatively higher proportion of students from large families aspiring to higher education on entry to sixth forms may be explained by the fact that a high percentage of students from large families in the survey came from Newton. In fact, 34% of Newton students were from large families. Also in the Newton sample there is a large percentage of students of Asian origin and this group tend to come from large families and also be ambitious with reference to education.

The type of institution attended by students from one parent and large families is as follows:

FIG.12/11 TYPE OF INSTITUTION ATTENDED BY STUDENTS FROM ONE PARENT AND LARGE FAMILIES (%).

	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
COMPREHENSIVE	46	38	42	(387)
GRAMMAR	14	2	12	(109)
INDEPENDENTS	9	6	11	(98)
ALL SCHOOLS	69	46	64	(594)
FURTHER EDUCATION	31	54	36	(337)
TOTAL (NOS)	91	189		(931)

Students from one parent families attended schools in a higher percentage than students generally while students from large families attended further education colleges in a higher percentage. This latter fact does lend some support to both Wedge and Prosser (11) and Field (12) in that students from large families were under represented in the 'prestige' schools, i.e. independent and grammar schools. However, as the majority of students in the survey from large families are from Newton, it may be expected that they would attend comprehensives or colleges of further education. The data with reference to type of course and mode of attendance is as follows:

FIG.12/12 FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES BY TYPE OF COURSE AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	OPF	5+	ALL	(NOS)
A LEVEL	79	65	76	(706)
VOCATIONAL	21	35	24	(225)
FULL TIME	87	83	82	(759)
PART TIME	13	17	18	(172)
TOTAL (NOS)	91	189		(931)

The most significant fact that emerges from these statistics is a relatively high percentage of students from large families studying for a vocational course when compared with all students. Another feature is the higher proportion of students from both one parent and large families studying for their 'A' levels at a college of further education.

The type of institution attended by type of dwelling is as follows:

FIG.12/13 TYPE OF INSTITUTION BY TYPE OF DWELLING (%)

	DSD	TMF	ALL	(NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL	(NOS)
COMPREHENSIVE	37	45	42	(377)	40	46	41	(385)
GRAMMAR	14	9	12	(105)	15	6	12	(111)
INDEPENDENT	20	4	11	(96)	14	2	11	(100)
ALL SCHOOLS	71	58	65	(578)	69	54	64	(596)
FURTHER EDUCATION	30	42	36	(331)	32	46	36	(335)
TOTAL (NOS)	411	498		(909)	700	231		(931)

Those students who lived in detached or semi-detached houses were more likely to be attending school than a college of further education and were more likely to attend a grammar school or an independent school. With reference to type of ownership, a higher proportion of students from owner-occupied houses attended schools as opposed to colleges of education, and attended grammar schools and independent schools as opposed to comprehensive schools. Similarly the more prestigious the school the higher the proportion of students from detached and semi-detached houses and the higher the percentage from owner-occupied

houses. Further education colleges had the highest percentage of students living in terraced housing, flats and maisonettes and the highest percentage living in rented accommodation.

The data for type of course and mode of attendance by type of dwelling is as follows:

FIG.12/14 TYPE OF DWELLING BY TYPE OF COURSE, AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	DSD	TMF	ALL	(NOS)	OWN	RENT	ALL	(NOS)
A LEVEL	79	74	76	(688)	80	69	76	(708)
VOCATIONAL	21	26	24	(221)	22	31	24	(225)
FULL TIME	84	80	82	(741)	86	76	82	(764)
PART TIME	16	20	18	(168)	14	24	18	(169)
TOTAL (NOS)	411	498		(909)	700	233		(933)

The above statistics follow a pattern that one might expect with a higher proportion of students from detached and semi-detached housing attending 'A' level courses and an even higher proportion of students from owner-occupied houses attending such courses.

One important fact should be noted at this point. With reference to information received on higher education (chapter 11) the position of those living in rented accommodation is relatively worse than their socio-economic background would suppose. This would appear to support the theories of Douglas (13), Eggleston (14) and Mays (15) outlined in chapter 5.2 and the views of Mr. Lobley, Principal Careers Officer

of Bamford, and the head teacher of Bamford school H, that house ownership and knowledgeable attitude to higher education tend to be synonymous regardless of socio-economic grouping.

However, with reference to chapter nine, most of the statistics for higher education aspirations are consistent with the socio-economic backgrounds of students in the various categories of dwelling, with the notable exception of the rented accommodation category. In this category a below average percentage entered 16 - 19 education aspiring to higher education but a higher than average percentage aspired to it near the end of their course. While this demonstrates that once into 16 - 19 education, various disadvantages can be partly mitigated, and reinforces evidence from the statistics on area of residence, type of institution and socio-economic grouping, the overall tendency is for the aspirations of students from 'deprived' groups to be similar to those of non-deprived students from similar socio-economic backgrounds and types of institution.

The categorisation that provided the widest disparity with reference to higher educational aspiration was gender. Female students aspired to higher education in a lower proportion than male students on entry to 16 - 19 education, and this gap was maintained at the end of their courses. Most significant in this respect was the type of higher education aspired to. 67% of male students aspired to either university or polytechnics compared with only 52% of female students.

However, 13% of female students aimed at colleges and institutions of higher education compared with only 3% of male students. Furthermore, the differences with reference to area of study were more marked than with any other categorisation.

The relationship between gender and socio-economic grouping is as follows:

FIG.12/15 GENDER BY SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP (%).

	AB	C1	C2	DE	ALL	(NOS)
MALE	67	67	64	62	65	(533)
FEMALE	33	33	36	38	35	(285)
TOTAL (NOS)	235	159	302	122		(818)

A slightly higher proportion of males than average were middle class, while conversely there was a slightly higher proportion of females who were working class. This is probably due to a higher proportion of males in independent and grammar schools and a higher proportion of girls in comprehensive schools in the survey.

The data for type of institution by gender is as follows:

FIG.12/16 GENDER BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION (%).

	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
COMPREHENSIVE	30	55	39	(350)
GRAMMAR	17	0	12	(111)
INDEPENDENT	10	14	11	(101)
ALL SCHOOLS	59	69	63	(562)
FURTHER EDUCATION	41	31	37	(337)
TOTAL (NOS)				(899)

As there were no females in the grammar school sample, it is not safe to draw any conclusions from Fig.12/16. However, conclusions can be drawn with reference to type of course and mode of attendance.

FIG.12/17 GENDER BY TYPE OF COURSE AND MODE OF ATTENDANCE (%)

	MALE	FEMALE	ALL	(NOS)
A LEVEL	67	89	75	(674)
VOCATIONAL	33	10	25	(225)
FULL TIME	78	87	81	(730)
PART TIME	22	13	19	(169)
TOTAL (NOS)	594	305		(899)

There are several clear differences here with male students more likely to attend a further education college and study on a vocational course than female students. Those female students who did attend further education colleges tended to do so to study 'A' levels. There were also fewer female students studying part time courses, while those that did tended to study for part-time 'A' level courses by evening only mode. This would support the arguments presented in chapter 5.3 that women tend to be discriminated against in terms of both day

release and technical employment/education. If these factors are taken in conjunction with the statistics from chapter 11 then it can be seen that the subjects chosen by female students to study are the 'traditional' womens' subjects. This would support those who argue that the position of women in 16 - 19 education was one of restriction to the traditional areas. The case of the would be woman gas engineer mentioned in chapter 7.4 remains an isolated occurrence.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the preceding analysis. It can be seen that those in the AB group aspired to higher education in a larger proportion than all other groupings, and that those studying in grammar and independent schools aspired in a greater percentage than those in comprehensive schools and further education colleges. Furthermore, there was a high degree of congruence between being in the AB group and attending either a grammar school or an independent school.

The conflict thesis claims that this phenomenon is no accident. As has been stated in chapter two the conflict theory sees economic life as a complex pattern of power and advantages (Goldthorpe) (16). However the stability and perpetuation of this pattern and the social relationships involved, even over relatively short periods, is by no means automatic. Stability in the economic sphere is the result of explicit mechanisms constituted to maintain and extend the dominant patterns of power and privilege. Some of these mechanisms are overtly coercive. However, to attribute the reproduction of the

social relationships of power entirely, or even mainly, to force alone is clearly nonsensical, such reproduction depends at the very least on the inability or unwillingness of those subjected to it to join together in opposing it.

At this point the concept of consciousness, i.e. the sum total of beliefs, values, self-concepts, as well as modes of personal behaviour and development of individuals, becomes integral to the maintenance of the patterns of power and advantage. Therefore, as Gramsci (17) states, the reproduction of the social relationships of power depends on the reproduction of consciousness. According to Salaman (18):

"The important point about consciousness is that it becomes part of everyday life - of 'common sense'.

Furthermore, consciousness develops through the individuals direct perception of, and participation in, social life. Indeed everyday experience itself often acts as an inertial stabilising force. According to Bowles and Gintis (19):

"Individuals tend to channel the development of their personal power - cognitive, emotional, physical, aesthetic and spiritual - in directions where they will have an opportunity to exercise them. The reproduction of consciousness can be insured by the initiation of youth into the economic system, and is further facilitated by a series of institutions, including the family and the education system, that are more immediately related to the formation of personality and consciousness."

Education largely reproduces social relations of power and advantage through the correspondence between educational institutions and class structure, (as discussed in chapter four). Different levels of education feed workers into different levels within the occupational structure and, correspondingly, tend towards an internal organisation comparable to levels in the hierarchical division of labour. These differences in social relationships among and within educational institutions, in part, reflect both the social backgrounds of the student body and their likely future economic positions. These different socialisation patterns of schools attended by students of different social classes do not arise by accident, but reflect the wider social experiences of the students, together with the expectations students have of the schools and the schools have of the students.

A verification of this analysis can be found in the results of both the quantitative and qualitative data obtained by the survey. A higher proportion of the AB group tended to have expectations of higher education than all other groups, and in particular university education, from the start of 16 - 19 education. They also tended to attend institutions geared to meeting this ambition, and be knowledgeable on the subject of higher education. The C1, C2 and DE groups tended to attend institutions whose main aim is not getting the majority of their students into higher education, and many of these institutions had little in the way of facilities for this purpose anyway. This inequality is compounded by the wider social experience that the C1, C2 and DE pupils brought with them to their schools, as articulated in interviews by

both the providers of and recipients of 16 - 19 education.

However, the objectives of the education system, as interpreted by the conflict model, i.e. the reproduction of those institutions and social relationships which facilitate the maintenance of power and advantage are moderated by two factors. Firstly, society is not static but dynamic, and therefore the nature of both the institutions and social relationships required are constantly changing. In this respect the changing occupational structure, mentioned earlier in the thesis, is important, as British society consistently requires more educated manpower and less unskilled manpower. Thus the close ties between family and educability may operate against the interests of the power structure of society in this respect, as limited upward mobility is consistently required and the family/education couple can militate against this.

The second moderating factor is the internal relationships of the education system. As pointed out earlier in the thesis, and particularly in chapter three, the education system develops its own objectives, and its own standards of allocating status. Thus the education system, as expressed in terms of the needs of education professionals, talks about educating the whole man, a concept which often conflicts with the 'consciousness' of the student, his or her family and wider industrial society. Hence the complaint by many of the teachers interviewed that

the students were extremely materialistic and only interested in what kind of job they could get. Another affect of the internal relationships of the education system is that a higher status is awarded to those studying 'A' levels as opposed to TEC and BEC, and to those studying arts subjects and for the liberal professions, as opposed to those studying technical subjects and aiming to be engineers.

This latter point is reflected in the fact that in the survey a higher percentage of the AB group were aiming to study Arts, Medicine and Law than all other groups while a lower percentage were aiming to study engineering. It is also reflected in the fact that those institutions which were concerned primarily with vocational work, the further education colleges, contained the highest proportion of students of manual working class origin.

However, a rejoinder by the functionalist school of thought may well be that in any conceivable society individuals are 'forced' to develop their capacities in one direction or another. The idea of a social system which merely allows people to develop freely according to their 'inner natures' is quite unthinkable, since human nature only acquires a concrete form through the interaction of the physical world and pre-established social relationships. Thus the problem, as encountered by the survey, is not one of the reproduction of labour power and the social relationships supporting a system of power and advantage, but rather a problem of a deviant culture where, traditionally, the value of education has not been fully realised. In support of this view-

point the qualitative data of the survey is full of comments from teachers and careers officers to the effect that the local populace continuously under-values their own educational ability.

A reply to this line of argument would involve the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy. This concept was first defined by W.I. Thomas (20), when he observed:

"If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences."

Thus an expectation which defines a situation comes to influence the actual behaviour within the situation so as to produce what was initially assumed to be there. This point is elaborated by Merton (21):

"The self-fulfilling prophecy is, in the beginning, a false definition of the situation evoking a new behaviour which makes the originally false conception come true."

As Becker (22) has stressed, deviance is not inherent in behaviour per se, but in the application, by others, of rules and sanctions against one perceived as being an 'offender'. Thus, the only time a person can be accurately termed a 'deviant' is after the successful application of a label by a social audience. Therefore, it can be argued that the label 'deviant' as applied to those who do not see the value of education says more about those applying the label than the

recipients of the blame. If this reasoning is applied to the thesis it can be seen that very few of those interviewed saw the education system as failing the community. Most saw the problem as the community failing the education system. An interesting paradox is that one of the few people that saw a low QPR as the education system failing the community was the Chairman of Rishworth Education Committee, a Conservative Party member.

This construction of reality by different groups of students, based on both their educational and wider societal experiences, may well explain one of the major findings of this thesis; that different categories of students use different methods of 16 - 19 education, and that the binary split between universities and other institutions in higher education may be replicated at 16 - 19 level, if not from the age of 11+. From the evidence of this thesis it would appear that there are two avenues to higher education achievement. The first is via an independent school, a grammar school or a select number of comprehensive schools to university, with a polytechnic degree as a fall back position. The other is via a comprehensive school, or a college of further education, leading to a polytechnic or other public sector college course, with a university course as a hopeful option for some. The students following the latter course also provided a high proportion of those aiming to enter work at 18+.

Importantly, the socio-economic composition of these two groups varies.

Comprehensive schools and further education college students tend to originate from socio-economic groupings C2, D and E and to an extent C1, to live in smaller dwellings, be from large families and live in specific geographical areas. There is a strong possibility that they will live in rented accommodation. Independent and grammar school students on the other hand tended to be from socio-economic groups A, B and to a lesser extent C1, live in detached or semi-detached houses, belong to relatively small families and live in an affluent geographical area.

This latter point needs to be emphasised. Over two-thirds of the independent sector students lived in one particular constituency, while five of the nine constituencies had no students in this category at all. Furthermore, those comprehensives with students displaying an above average aspiration to higher education tended to be situated in areas with a high proportion of AB and C1 families and owner-occupied housing.

The differential construction of reality may also explain the second major finding of the thesis that gender differences with reference to higher education aspirations were a completely separate dimension and not at all related to socio-economic grouping or other category. Many of those interviewed labelled the local community as deviant, 'male chauvanist culture of the area', although some did admit that the educational institutions themselves may well contribute to sex-stereotyping. As Roweth (23) points out, although the growth in the numbers

of women acquiring two or more 'A' levels has been greater than that for men, their participation in higher education has decreased proportionately since 1970. The current national QPR rates (1979/80) are 73% women, and 86.5% men.

The 'deviance' argument about the male chauvanist culture of the area rests on that proposition that, in co-educational schools the male students will gravitate to 'masculine' subjects e.g. physical science, whereas girls will gravitate to 'feminine' subjects e.g. biology, languages, and that male students will dominate the school culture generally. However, Auriol Stevens (24) argues, that while the evidence about girls' attainment in mixed schools is far from clear, R.R. Dale's research in the 1960s strongly suggests that the apparent advantage to girls in academic terms of single-sex education is due to the preference shown by parents of clever middle class girls for single sex schools. He found that ability for ability and class for class the girls in mixed schools did better than girls in single sex schools.

The qualitative data from the survey shows that a number of women students perceived themselves to be discriminated against and forced towards 'women's' work. The views of these interviewees are reinforced by the attitudes of several of the engineering lecturers I interviewed. Given the need to reproduce the social relations of power and advantage, educating women to the same intellectual level as men, may be deeply subversive, and thus the 'consciousness' of women may be created at a lower aspirational level than men.

Thus the question of non-take-up of higher education by those entitled to do so shows that in the case of the three London boroughs of Bamford, Newton and Rishworth, the factors which would appear to restrict entry are; attending an F.E. college or comprehensive school generally as opposed to a grammar school independent school or a particular comprehensive; being a member of socio-economic groups C1, C2, DE as opposed to AB; and being female as opposed to male. The reason for these categories being less aspirational would appear to be less a question of disadvantage and more a question of inequality.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDICIES

Index:

		Page
Appendix 1	Letter 1	437
Appendix 2	Letter 2	438
Appendix 3	Letter 3	439
Appendix 4	Letter 4	440
Appendix 5	List of Interviewees	441
Appendix 6	Questionnaire	445
Appendix 7	Letter 5	458
Appendix 8	Letter 6	459
Appendix 9	Letter 7	460
Appendix 10	Letter 8	461
Appendix 11	Response Rates	462
Appendix 12	Imput Medium	464
Appendix 13	Sample Coding Sheet	473
Appendix 14	Imput Format	474
Appendix 15	Test of Significances used in the Thesis	475

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
 156/164 High Road
 Chadwell Heath
 Romford
 Essex RM6 6LX
 01-597 2321



GE/BMH

Head of Division
 Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear

Pupils motivation for entering Post Compulsory Education.

I am currently researching into the above and would very much like to undertake a survey of your second year sixth form pupils. This survey would involve a structured sample of 20% filling in a questionnaire, a copy of which is enclosed.

I understand that Mr. has spoken to you on this matter explaining that this research has his backing. I would, of course, add that the name of the school and individuals within it would not be disclosed, and that confidentiality would be maintained at all times. Furthermore, I would hope that the results of the enquiry would be of assistance to you in your work.

I would also like to interview you on the subject and possibly your sixth form head and/or careers teacher.

Assuming that this request meets with your agreement, I will 'phone your secretary within the next few days and arrange a meeting.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

G.J. EGLIN.
 Lecturer
Education Management.

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
156/164 High Road
Chadwell Heath
Romford
Essex RM6 6LX
01-597 2321



GJE/BMH

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I would also like to interview you, and possibly your sixth form head and/or careers teacher, on this subject and answer any queries you may have about the questionnaire prior to distribution. The form and manner of distribution would also need to be ascertained at such a meeting.

Assuming that this request meets with your agreement, I will telephone your secretary within the next few days and arrange a meeting.

Thanking you in anticipation.

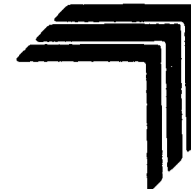
Yours sincerely,

G.J. EGLIN
Lecturer,
Education Management

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
 156/164 High Road
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Dear

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I have obtained the permission of Mr. , the Chief Education Officer, for this research and have also spoken to Mr. , the S.E.O. (Schools). A copy of his letter to me is enclosed. I would add, that the name of the school and individuals within it, would not be disclosed and that confidentiality would be maintained at all times. Furthermore, I would hope that the results of the enquiry would be of assistance to you in your work.

I would also like to interview you, and possibly your sixth form head and/or careers teacher, on this subject and answer any queries you may have about the questionnaire prior to distribution. The form and manner of distribution would also need to be ascertained at such a meeting.

Assuming that this request meets with your agreement, I will telephone your secretary within the next few days and arrange a meeting.

Thanking you in anticipation.

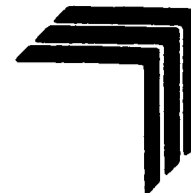
Yours sincerely,

G.J. EGLIN.
 Lecturer,
Education Management

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
 156/164 High Road
 Chadwell Heath
 Romford
 Essex RM6 6LX
 01-597 2321



Head of Division
 Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear

Research into Pupil Motivation for Staying on Past Compulsory School Leaving Age

I am currently undertaking research into the above and would like to include your institution.

The research is geographically based in the London Boroughs of , and and involves all aspects of post compulsory education in the boroughs, i.e. sixth forms, further education and higher education. I have the support of the Chief Education Officers of the three boroughs concerned, but would like to have the views of the independent sector represented.

If you could see your way to granting me research facilities, it would involve two things:-

- 1) an interview with yourself and/or your sixth form tutor, and
- 2) the distribution of a questionnaire to the upper sixth, or a sample from the upper sixth, on a voluntary basis.

This survey would, of course, not identify individuals and individual names are not requested on the survey forms. There is a question re address but this is to identify geographical location by ward and a road name is sufficient, no number is required. Furthermore, anything I write re your establishment would, of course, be submitted to you prior to any publication.

I look forward to a favourable reply and enclose a copy of the questionnaire.

Yours sincerely,

G.J. Eglin.

Lecturer.

Education Management

APPENDIX V

LIST OF THOSE INTERVIEWED

Major Interviews.

Politicians

Chairman of Bamford Education Committee.

Chairman of Newton Education Committee.

Member of the Education Committee (Teacher in Newton).

General Secretary of the Socialist Education Association
(Teacher in Newton).

Chairman of Rishworth Education Committee.

Chairman of the Schools Sub-Committee, Rishworth.

Chairman of the F.E. Sub-Committee, Rishworth.

L.E.A. Administrators

Chief Education Officer Bamford.

Deputy Education Officer Bamford.

Assistant Education Officer, Bamford.

Director of Education, Newton.

Assistant Education Officer, Schools and F.E. Newton.

Senior Education Officer for F.E. Rishworth.

Senior Education Officer for Schools, Rishworth.

L.E.A. Inspectorate

Chief Inspector Schools, Bamford.

Chief Inspector Schools, Newton.

Chief Inspector Schools, Rishworth.

Careers Service

Principal Careers Officer, Bamford.

Specialist Careers Officer, Older Leavers, Bamford.

Head, Bamford Careers Officer, Bamford.

Newton Careers Office, Further Education Specialist.

Careers Officer, Newton.

Principal Careers Officer, Rishworth.

Deputy Principal Careers Officer, Rishworth.

Specialist Careers Officer, Older Leavers, Rishworth.
Specialist Careers Officer, Older Leavers, Rishworth.
Advisor for Careers Education, Rishworth.

Teaching Staff (Local Authority Schools)

6th Form Tutor, School A, Bamford.
Headteacher, School B, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School B, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School C, Bamford.
6th Form Master, School D, Bamford.
Headteacher, School E, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School E, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School F, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School G, Bamford.
Headteacher, School H, Bamford.
Head of Maths, School H, Bamford.
6th Form Tutor, School H, Bamford.

Headteacher, School A, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School B, Newton.
Deputy Head, School C, Newton.
Headteacher, School D, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School D, Newton.
Headteacher, School E, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School E, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School F, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School G, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School H, Newton.
2nd Deputy Head, School H, Newton.
Head of R.E., School H, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School I, Newton.
Headteacher, School J, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School J, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School K, Newton.
6th Form Tutor, School L, Newton.

6th Form Tutor, School A, Rishworth.
Head of Careers, School B, Rishworth.
Headteacher, School B, Rishworth.
6th Form Tutor, School C, Rishworth.
6th Form Tutor, School D, Rishworth.
6th Form Tutor, School E, Rishworth.
Headteacher, School F, Rishworth.
6th Form Tutor, School G, Rishworth.
6th Form Tutor, School H, Rishworth.

Independent Sector Schools.

Principal, School A High School for Girls.

Principal, School B.
Principal, School D.
Director of Studies, School C.

Technical Colleges

Principal, Bamford College of Technology.
Head of Department, Business and Management Studies, B.C.T.
Head of Department, Construction, B.C.T.
Acting Deputy Head, Construction, B.C.T.
Head of Department, Engineering, B.C.T.
Head of Department, General and Social Studies, B.C.T.
Senior Lecturer, Science Department, B.C.T.

Principal, Easton College of Technology.
Head of Department, Art and Design, E.C.T.
Course Development Officer, Art and Design, E.C.T.
Art Foundation Course Tutor, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Building, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Business and Public Administration, E.C.T.
Course Tutor, ONC Public Administration E.C.T.
Course Tutor, OND Business Studies, E.C.T.
Course Tutor, ONC Business Studies, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Electrical and Telecommunication=
Engineering, E.C.T.
Course Tutor, Elec. and Tele. Eng. E.C.T.
Course Tutor, Elec. and Tele. Eng. E.C.T.
Acting Head of Department, Gas and Engineering Services
Department, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Department of General Studies, E.C.T.
Course Tutor, General Studies Course, E.C.T.
Course Tutor, Full Time 'A' Level Course, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Mechanical and Production Engineering, E.C.T.
Head of Department, Science, E.C.T.
Principal, Weston College.

Principal, Rishworth Technical College.

Minor Interviews

Less intensive interviews centred on teachers and lecturers in
staff rooms, careers officers and employment assistants in careers
offices, sixth form students in common rooms, students in student

common rooms, members of the National Union of Teachers, and the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education at various meetings.

Please do not write in this column.

Q4. What other exams have you passed ?

cc

19

Q5. Are you taking any 'O' levels ?
If so, which ones ?

SUBJECT

cc

--	--

20 21

Q6. Are you taking any 'A' levels ?
If so, which ones ?

SUBJECT

cc

--	--

22 23

Q7. What other exams are you taking ?

cc

24

Please do not
write in this
column.

In the following questions please put a tick in the
appropriate box. If more than one answer is applicable
please tick as many boxes as are appropriate.

Q8. Why did you stay on at school
to take 'A' levels ?

Careers advice

Parents advice

Teachers advice

Friends staying
on at school

Want to go to
University,
Polytechnic or
other college.

Unable to find
employment

Other reason.

cc

25

Please do not write in this column.

In the following questions please put a tick in the appropriate box. If more than one answer is applicable please tick as many boxes as are appropriate.

- Q9. Did you enter college ?
- Straight from school
 - One year or less after leaving
 - More than one year after leaving school
 - More than five years after leaving school

cc 26

- Q10. Where did you hear about the college ?
- Newspaper
 - Posters
 - Teachers
 - Parents
 - Friends
 - Careers Officer
 - Other

cc 27

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q11. If you came straight from
school why did you choose
the college rather than
staying at school ?

Different Social
atmosphere

Convenience of
travel

Course or
subject

Parents

Teachers advice

Clothes
regulations

Careers Officers
advice

Other

cc

28

Q12. Why are you taking your
particular course ?

Careers advice

Parents advice

Teachers advice

Friends going to
college

Want to go to
University,
Polytechnic or
other college

Unable to find
work

Interest

To improve job
prospects

Other

cc

29

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q13. If you get good enough
results do you eventually want
to go to university?

Yes

No

cc

30

Q14. If you answered no to the
last question what do you
intend to do ?

Go to a
Polytechnic

Go into teacher
training

Go to another
college

Work

Other

cc

31

Q15. If your answer to the last
question is work, what
influenced you to make that
decision?

Career advice

Wanted to start
work

Obtained
employment

Wanted a break
from education

Parents want you
to leave

Friends leaving
or at work

Other reasons

cc

32

Please do not write in this column.

Q16. If you want to go to university what influenced you to make that decision ?

Career advice

Social life

Parents want you to go

College wants you to go

Employment prospects

Friends going to university.

Relatives at university

Other reason

cc

33

Q17. If you want to go to university, pass your exams but do not get accepted at a university would you do a degree at a Polytechnic or other college ?

Yes

No

cc

34

Q18. Would you consider doing a full time course, other than a degree, at a Polytechnic e.g. Higher National Diploma ?

Yes

No

cc

35

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q19. If you want to go to a
university, polytechnic or
other college, what do you want
to study ?

- Medicine
- Law
- Engineering
- Science
- Arts/Humanities
e.g. English,
History, Georgraphy,
Languages
- Business studies
- Fine Art
- Architecture/
Planning or
Surveying
- Social Sciences.
e.g. Economice,
Sociology,
Psychology, Politics.
- Teacher Training
- Other course

cc

36	37

Q20. Have you received information
on the following ?

- University
- Polytechnics
- Institutes of
Higher Education
- Colleges of
Education
- Other
- Jobs at 18

cc

38

Please do not write in this column.

Q21. If you have received information where was it from ?

- From your school
- From a careers advisor
- From your parents
- From your college
- From a relative other than your parents
- Other

cc

39

Q22. What is your address ?

cc

40 41 42 43

Q23. Is where you live ?

- A detached house
- A semi-detached house
- A terraced house
- A maisonette
- A Flat
- Other

cc

44

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q24. Is where you live ?

Owned by your
parents or
guardian

Owned by yourself
or your husband/
wife

Rented by your
parents from the
Council or G.L.C.

Rented by yourself
or your husband/
wife from the
Council or G.L.C.

Rented by your
parents from a
private landlord

Rented by yourself
or your husband/
wife from a private
landlord

Other

cc

45

Q25. Are you ?

Married

Single

Divorced

cc

46

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q26. How many children have you ?

None

One

Two

Three

Four

Five or more

cc

47

Q27. Are your parents ?

Both alive

One alive

Both deceased

cc

48

Q28. Do you live with ?

Both parents

One parent

Foster parents

Other

cc

49

Q29. What is your fathers job ?

cc

50

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q30. Does your mother work ?

Yes, Full time

Yes, Part time

No.

cc

51

Q31. What is your mothers job ?

cc

52

Q32. How many older brothers
and sisters have you ?

cc

53

Q33. How many younger brothers
and sisters have you ?

cc

54

Q34. If you are working what is
your job ? (If a housewife
please put "housewife", if
unemployed please put
"unemployed")

cc

55

Please do not
write in this
column.

Q35. If there is anything you think is missing in career guidance at any stage in your progress so far, please state it here:-

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
156/164 High Road
Chadwell Heath
Romford
Essex RM6 6LX
01-597 2321



Head of Division
Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear Friend,

I am undertaking some research into the background and motivation of students in sixth forms, and your Head Teacher has kindly allowed me to use this school.

I would be pleased if you could fill in the enclosed questionnaire and return it to your tutor in the envelope provided. This questionnaire is strictly confidential and as you can see, I am not asking for anyones names. The question about your address is for the purposes of the research only and will not be used to identify anyone. It is sufficient just to put your road and district, a house number is not necessary.

May I point out that filling in the questionnaire is in no way compulsory. In doing so, however, you will be helping me to find out important information concerning students in sixth forms, which I hope will be used for the benefit of both the current and future students of the school.

I thank you in anticipation.

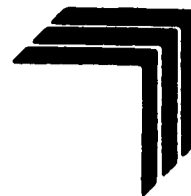
Yours sincerely,

Greg Eglin

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
156/164 High Road
Chadwell Heath
Romford
Essex RM6 6LX
01-597 2321



Head of Division
Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear Friend,

I am undertaking some research into the background and motivation of students in further and higher education, and the Principal has kindly allowed me to use this college.

I would be pleased if you could fill in the enclosed questionnaire and return it to me, in the envelope provided. This questionnaire is strictly confidential and as you can see, I am not asking for anyone's names. The question about your address is for the purposes of the research only and will not be used to identify anyone. It is sufficient just to put your road and district, a house number is not necessary.

May I point out that filling in the questionnaire is in no way compulsory, and I appreciate that in studying in the evenings your time is limited. In doing so, however, you will be helping me find out important information concerning part-time evening students in further education, which I hope will be used for the benefit of both the current and future evening students of the college.

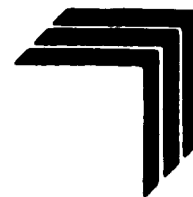
I thank you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,

Greg Eglin

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
156/164 High Road
Chadwell Heath
Romford
Essex RM6 6LX
01-597 2321Head of Division
Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear Friend,

I am undertaking some research into the background and motivation of students in further and higher education, and the Principal has kindly allowed me to use this college.

I would be pleased if you could fill in the enclosed questionnaire and return it to your course tutor/lecturer in the envelope provided. This questionnaire is strictly confidential and as you can see, I am not asking for anyones names. The question about your address is for the purposes of the research only and will not be used to identify anyone. It is sufficient just to put your road and district, a house number is not necessary.

May I point out that filling in the questionnaire is in no way compulsory. In doing so, however, you will be helping me to find out important information concerning students in further education, which I hope will be used for the benefit of both the current and future students of the college.

I thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

Greg Eglin

Anglian Regional Management Centre

Education Management Division

Asta House
156/164 High Road
Chadwell Heath
Romford
Essex RM6 6LX
01-597 2321



Head of Division
Barrie E. Long, M.A.

Dear Friend,

I am undertaking some research into the background and motivation of students in further and higher education.

I would be pleased if you could fill in the enclosed questionnaire and hand it in to your departmental office in the envelope provided. This questionnaire is strictly confidential and as you can see, I am not asking for anyone's names. The question about your address is for the purposes of the research only and will not be used to identify anyone. It is sufficient just to put your road and district, a house number is not necessary.

May I point out that filling in the questionnaire is in no way compulsory. In doing so, however, you will be helping me find out important information concerning part time students in higher education, which I hope will be used for the benefit of both current and future part time students of the Polytechnic.

I thank you in anticipation.

Yours sincerely,

Greg Eglin

APPENDIX XI

RESPONSE RATE OF INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS, AND DEPARTMENTS OF FURTHER EDUCATION COLLEGES.

BAMFORD SCHOOLS	UPPER 6TH	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
SCHOOL A	20	17	85
SCHOOL B	18	15	83
SCHOOL C	13	11	85
SCHOOL D	13	10	77
SCHOOL E	8	4	50
SCHOOL F	24	12	50
SCHOOL G	30	20	67
SCHOOL H	30	22	73
TOTAL	156	111	71
TOTAL ALL BAMFORD SCHOOLS	216	111	51

BAMFORD C.F.E.	FINAL YR. STUDENTS	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
BUSINESS & MANAGEMENT BUILDING	110	0	0
ENGINEERING	19	11	58
GENERAL & SOCIAL STUDIES	45	26	58
SCIENCE DEPARTMENT	* 8	5	63
	105	46	44
TOTAL	287 (177)	88	31 (50)

NEWTON SCHOOLS	UPPER 6TH	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
SCHOOL A	27	20	74
SCHOOL B	17	10	59
SCHOOL C	16	14	88
SCHOOL D	35	30	86
SCHOOL E	42	17	40
SCHOOL F	40	20	50
SCHOOL G	33	12	36
SCHOOL H	15	13	87
SCHOOL I	26	14	54
SCHOOL J	21	15	71
SCHOOL K	30	12	40
SCHOOL L	10	5	50
TOTAL	312	182	58
TOTAL ALL NEWTON SCHOOLS	404	182	45

EASTON COLLEGE	FINAL YR. STUDENTS	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
ART & DESIGN	46	21	46
BUILDING	24	6	25
BUSINESS AND PUBLIC ADMIN.	82	31	38
ELECTRICAL & TELECOMS ENG.	42	42	100
GAS & GENERAL ENGINEERING	39	33	85
GENERAL STUDIES	81	49	60
MECHANICAL AND PROD. ENG.	25	25	100
SCIENCE	99	19	19
TOTAL	438	226	52
RISHWORTH SCHOOLS	UPPER 6TH	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
SCHOOL A	80	72	90
SCHOOL B	62	39	63
SCHOOL C	17	17	100
SCHOOL D	8	6	75
SCHOOL E	16	15	94
SCHOOL F	18	12	67
SCHOOL G	30	24	80
SCHOOL H	38	28	74
TOTAL	269	213	79
TOTAL ALL RISHWORTH SCHOOLS	561	213	38
RISHWORTH COLLEGE	FINAL YR.	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
ALL STUDENTS***	185	31	20
INDEPENDENT SECTOR	UPPER 6TH ^{****}	RESPONDENTS	RESPONSE RATE(%)
SCHOOL A	45 (47)	42	93
SCHOOL B	30 (110)	27	90
SCHOOL D	16 (45)	14	88
SCHOOL C	22 (85)	18	82
TOTAL	113	101	89

* The upper sixth in School B is selective, it previously being a grammar school, while the first comprehensive stream had reached the 4th form (1979/80).

** The first comprehensive stream in School D is currently in the fifth year (1979/80). The current 6th form is a Secondary Modern intake.

*** See chapters 5 and 6.4

**** First figures are the numbers of students resident in the area of the survey. Those in brackets represent the total nos. in the upper 6th.

APPENDIX XII

LIST OF VARIABLES AND VALUES (IMPUT MEDIUM)

VARIABLE	VALUES	CODING
1. QUESTION TYPE (F10)	SIXTH FORM	1
	F.E.A. F.T.	2
	F.E.A. P.T.	3
	F.E. VOC. F.T.	4
	F.E. VOC. P.T.	5
2. CASE I.D. (F3.0)	NO VALUE LABELS	001-952
3. L.E.A. (F1.0)	BAMFORD	1
	NEWTON	2
	RISHWORTH	3
	INDEPENDENT	5
4. TYPE OF SCHOOL (F1.0)	COMPREHENSIVE (MIXED)	1
	COMPREHENSIVE (RC.SS)	2
	GRAMMAR	3
	TECH. COLLEGE	4
	PRIVATE	5
	PRIVATE (R.C.)	6
	COMPREHENSIVE (SS)	7
	COMPREHENSIVE (RC MIX)	8
5. NAME OF INSTITUTION (F2.0)	BAMFORD A	2
	BAMFORD B	3
	BAMFORD C	4
	BAMFORD D	5
	BAMFORD E	6
	BAMFORD F	7
	BAMFORD G	8
	BAMFORD H	11
	BAMFORD TECH.	12
	NEWTON A	13
	NEWTON B	14
	NEWTON C	16
	NEWTON D	17
	NEWTON E	20
	NEWTON F	22
	NEWTON G	23
	NEWTON H	24
	NEWTON I	25
	NEWTON J	26
	NEWTON K	27
	NEWTON L	28
	EASTON TECH.	29
	RISHWORTH A	31

	SCHOOL B	33
	SCHOOL C	34
	SCHOOL D	35
	SCHOOL E	36
	SCHOOL F	38
	SCHOOL G	40
	SCHOOL H	44
	RISHWORTH TECH.	48
	INDEPENDENT A	49
	INDEPENDENT B	40
	INDEPENDENT D	51
	INDEPENDENT C	52
6. GENDER (F1.0)	MALE	1
	FEMALE	2
7. MODE OF ATTENDANCE (F1.0)	FULL TIME	1
	BLOCK RELEASE	2
	DAY RELEASE	3
	DAY/EVENING	4
	EVENING ONLY	5
8. TYPE OF COURSE (F1.0)	GRAPHICS	1
	ART PRE-DIP	2
	GEN. ED.	3
	PROFESSIONAL	5
	A LEVEL	6
	TEC OR BEC	7
	OTHER	9
9. F.E. COLLEGE DEPT. (F1.0)	ART/DESIGN	1
	BUILDING	2
	BUSINESS AND PUBLIC ADMIN.	3
	ENGINEERING	4
	GENERAL/SOC.STUDIES	6
	SCIENCE/MATHS	8
10. BIRTHDATE MONTH (F2.0)	JAN - DEC	1 - 12
11. BIRTHDATE YEAR (F2.0)	POTENTIALLY 1900/80	00 - 80
12/ 27. G.C.E./C.S.E. RESULTS (16F3.0)	FIRST TWO CHARACTERS SUBJECTS(SEE ENC.LIST)	1 - 99
	THIRD CHARACTER GRADES	
	G.C.E. A	1
	G.C.E. B	2
	G.C.E. C/C.S.E.1	3
	G.C.E. A LEVEL	4

28. NOS. OF O LEVELS TAKING (F1.0)	ONE TO NINE	1 - 9
29. TYPE OF O TAKEN (F1.0)	ENGLISH	1
	MATHS	2
	ENGLISH/MATHS	3
30/ 33. NOS. OF A LEVELS TAKING (4F2.0)	SUBJECT CODING FRAME AS PER U12-V27	01 - 99
34. OTHER EXAMS (F1.0)	TYPING/COMMERCIAL	1
35/ 41. REASONS FOR TAKING A LEVELS	CAREERS ADVICE	1
	PARENTS ADVICE	2
	TEACHERS ADVICE	3
	PEER GROUP	4
	H.E. ASPIRATION	5
	NO WORK	6
	OTHER	7
V42 WHEN ENTERED COLLEGE (F1.0)	FROM SCHOOL	1
	SCHOOL + 1 YR	2
	SCHOOL + 1-4 YRS.	3
	SCHOOL + 5+ YRS.	4
V43/ V49. WHERE HEARD ABOUT COLLEGE (7F1.0)	NEWSPAPER	1
	POSTERS	2
	TEACHERS	3
	PARENTS	4
	FRIENDS	5
	CAREERS OFFICER	6
	OTHER	7
V50/ V57. WHY COLLEGE (8F1.0)	DIFF. SOCIAL ATMOSPHERE	1
	CONVENIENCE OF TRAVEL	2
	SUBJECT OR COURSE	3
	PARENTS	4
	TEACHERS ADVICE	5
	CLOTHES REGULATIONS	6
	CAREERS ADVICE	7
	OTHER	8
V58/ V66. WHY TAKING COURSE (9F1.0)	CAREERS ADVICE	1
	PARENTS ADVICE	2
	TEACHERS ADVICE	3
	FRIENDS AT COLLEGE	4
	EMPLOYER WANTS	5

	H.E. INTENT	6
	NO JOB	7
	INTEREST	8
	IMPROVE JOB PROSPECTS	9
V67.UNIVERSITY ASPIRATIONS (F1.0)	YES	1
	NO	2
V68/ V72.ALTERNATIVE TO UNIVERSITY (5F1.0)	POLYTECHNIC	1
	TEACHER TRAINING	2
	OTHER COLLEGE	3
	WORK	4 + 6
	OTHER	5
V73/ V79.IF WORK THEN WHY (7F1.0)	CAREERS ADVICE	1
	WANTED TO START WORK	2
	OBTAINED EMPLOYMENT	3
	WANTED A BREAK FROM EDUCATION	4
	PARENTS WISH	5
	PEER GROUP	6
	OTHER	7
V80/ V87.IF UNIVERSITY THEN WHY (8F1.0)	CAREERS ADVICE	1
	SOCIAL LIFE	2
	PARENTS WISH	3
	SCHOOL/COLLEGE WISH	4
	EMPLOYMENT PROSPECTS	5
	FRIENDS GOING	6
	RELATIVES AT	7
	OTHERS	8
V88.NON-UNIVERSITY DEGREE?(F1.0)	YES	1
	NO	2
V89.NON DEGREE COURSE (F1.0)	YES	1
	NO	2
V90.STUDY AREA (F2.0)	MEDICINE	1
	LAW	2
	ENGINEERING	3
	SCIENCE/MATHS	4
	ART/HUMANITIES	5
	BUSINESS STUDIES	6
	FINE ART	7
	ARCH/PLAN/SURVEY	8
	UNCERTAIN	9
	SOCIAL SCIENCE	10
	TEACHER TRAINING	11
	OTHER	12

V91/ 96 RECEIVED INFORMATION ON? (6F1.0)	UNIVERSITY	1
	POLYTECHNIC	2
	INST. HIGHER ED.	3
	COLLEGE OF EDUCATION	4
	OTHER COLLEGE	5
	JOBS AT 18	6
 V97/ 102.INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM (6F1.0)	SCHOOL/COLLEGE	1
	CAREERS ADVISOR	2
	PARENTS	3
	HIGHER EDUCATION	4
	OTHER RELATIVE	5
	OTHER	6
 V103.WARD (F2.0)	W	11
	F	12
	S	13
	C	14
	W	15
	F	21
	H	22
	A	23
	B	24
	S	25
	C	26
	C	31
	P	32
	I	33
	C	34
	M	35
	G	36
	C	41
	V	42
	H	43
	F	44
	E	45
	V	46
	R	47
	A	51
	L	52
	M	53
	C	55
	G	56
	N	61
	F	62
	S	63

	P	64
	U	65
	W	66
	F	67
	M	71
	L	72
	W	73
	K	74
	S	75
	C	76
	C	77
	W	78
	G	79
	C	81
	P	82
	B	83
	H	84
	O	85
	B	86
	C	87
	S	88
	OTHER	91
V104. TYPE OF HOUSING (F1.0)	DETACHED	1
	SEMI-DETACHED	2
	TERRACED	3
	MAISONETTE	4
	FLAT	5
	OTHER	6
V105. TYPE OF OWNERSHIP (F1.0)	PARENTS OWN	1
	SELF OWN	2
	PARENTS RENT LA	3
	SELF RENT LA	4
	PARENTS RENT PUT	5
	SELF RENT PUT	6
	OTHER	7
V106. MARITAL STATUS (F1.0)	MARRIED	1
	SINGLE	2
	DIVORCED	3
	OTHER	4
V107. NUMBER OF CHILDREN (F1.0)	ONE TO NINE	1 - 9
V108. PARENTS (F1.0)	BOTH ALIVE	1
	ONE ALIVE	2
	NEITHER ALIVE	3

V109.	WHO DO YOU LIVE WITH (F1.0)	BOTH PARENTS	1
		ONE PARENT	2
		FOSTER PARENTS	3
		OTHER	4
V110.	FATHERS OCCUPATION (F1.0)	SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP A	1
		SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP B	2
		SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP C1	3
		SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP C2	4
		SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP D	5
		SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUP E	6
		DECEASED	7
		UNEMPLOYED	8
		RETIRED/INVALID	9
V111.	MOTHER WORKING? (F1.0)	YES F.T.	1
		YES P.T.	2
		NO	3
V112.	MOTHERS OCCUPATION (F1.0)	AS PER VARIABLE 110 - FATHERS OCCUPATION	1 - 9
V113.	FAMILY POSITION (F1.0)	FIRST TO NINTH	1 - 9
V114.	FAMILY SIZE (F1.0)	ONE TO NINE	1 - 9
V115.	OWN OCCUPATION	AS PER VARIABLE 110 - FATHERS OCCUPATION	1 - 9

English	01	Human Biology *	31
English Language	02	Physics	32
English Literature	03	Physics W. Chem	33
English spoken	04	Classics +	34
Maths	05	Greek Language	35
Maths F	06	Greek Civilisation	36
Maths P	07	Greek Lit.	37
Maths SMP	08	Latin	38
Maths A	09	Roman Civilisation	39
Maths W Stats	10	French Lang.	40
Statistics	11	French W. Lit.	41
History	12	German Lang.	42
History Modern	13	German W. Lit	43
History Non Mod.	14	Italian	44
History World	15	Polish	45
History English	16	Spanish	46
History Social *	17	Psychology	47
History Econ	18	Non Euro Lang **	48
History Econ & Soc	19	British Const	49
Geography	20	Politics	50
Geology	21	Economics	51
London Studies	22	Brit Econ Org.	52
Russian Studies	23	E.P.A. ***	53
Religion +	24	Law	54
Agriculture	25	Law English	55
Biology	26	Gen Studies	56
Chemistry	27	Social Studies ****	57
Botony	28	Sociology *****	58
Gen Science	29	Social Education	59
Gen Science Two **	30	Work Welfare Careers	60

* Inc. Soc + Poc.
 ** Inc. Gen Soc Add.
 Environmental Studs.

+ Under a variety of
 names

* Inc. Zoology
 ** Inc. Esperanto
 *** Inc. World Affairs
 **** Inc. Social + Econ
 Studies, Econ Studies,
 Social Science.
 ***** Anthropology.

Accounts +	61	Building +	91
Film Studies	62	Materials Science *	92
Typing	63	Design Tech.	93
Shorthand	64	Tech Drawing	94
Comm Arithmetic	65	Computers	95
Commerce +	66	Engineering +	96
Art	67	Workshop Practice	97
Art History	68	Motor Mechanics +	98
Ballet **	69		
Drama	70		
Music	71	No GCE CSE 1	99
Photography	72		
Creative Arts ***	73		
P.E.	74		
Cookery	75		
Home Econ +	76	No Data	00
Food & Nutrition	77		
Needlework	78		
Dress	79		
Family Care ****	80		
Health First Aid	81		
Nautical Studies	82		
Seamanship	83		
Leather work	84		
Metal Work	85		
Plumbing	86		
T.V. studies *****	87		
Electronics	88		
Woodwork	89		
Surveying	90		

* Inc. Graphics
** Inc. Art of Movement
*** Inc. Theatre Design
**** Inc. Child Care
***** Inc. Communication Studies
+ Under a Variety of Names.

* Inc. Trade Science

APPENDIX XIV

INPUT FORMAT

RUN NAME

GREGLIN SETUP.

VARIABLE LIST

QUESTYP, CASEID, LEA, TYPSC1, NAMINST,
SEXRESP, ATTMODE, COURSETYP, TECHDEPT,
BDMTH, BDYR, GCECSE1 TO GCECSE16, OTAKE,
TYPOTAKE, ATAKE1 TO ATAKE4, EXAMTAK,
REASON1 TO REASON7, WHENCOL, HEARCOL1,
TO HEARCOL7, WHYCOL1 TO WHYCOL8, WHYCORS1
TO SHYCORS9, UNIGO, ALT UNIVI TO ALTUNIV5,
WHYWORK 1 TO WHYWORK 3, WHYUNIV 1 TO
WHYUNIV 8, POLYDEG, POLYCOURS, STDAREA,
INFOON 1 TO INFOON 6, INFROM 1 TO INFROM 6,
WARD, HOUSTYP, HOUSEOWN, MARSTATE.
NOSKIDS, PARENTS, LIVewith, DADSJOB,
MUMWORK, MUMSJOB, FAMPOS, FAMSIZE, OWNJOB.

INPUT FORMAT

FIXED (F1.0, F3.0, 2F1.0, F2.0, 4F1.0,
2F2.0/16F3.0, 2F1.0, 4F2.0, F1.0/41F1.0/
10F1.0, F2.0, RF1.0, F2.0, 12F1.0)

APPENDIX XV

TEST OF SIGNIFICANCE USED IN THE THESIS

The test of significance used throughout the analysis of data (Chapters 10, 11 and 12) is the test for significance between proportions.

The test is carried out as follows:

- (a) Selecting the level of confidence; in this case 95% i.e. two standard errors of the difference between the proportions.
- (b) Finding the standard error of the difference between proportions by formula:

$$\sigma(p_1 - p_2) = \sqrt{\sigma^2 \text{ prop } 1 + \sigma^2 \text{ prop } 2}$$

However, since:

$$\sigma^2_p = \left(\sqrt{\frac{pq}{n}} \right)^2 = \frac{pq}{n}$$

then:

$$\sigma(p_1 - p_2) = \sqrt{\frac{p_1q_1}{n_1} + \frac{p_2q_2}{n_2}}$$

However, the distribution of differences on which the test is based, is the distribution obtained when, in fact, there are no population differences. So a standard error of a difference between two proportions is computed in respect of a situation where there is in effect only one population. This being so, it would improve the formula for $\sigma(p_1 - p_2)$ if a more accurate estimate of the overall population proportion was employed. If, then, the samples are initially assumed to come from a single population such an estimate can be made by 'pooling' the sample results i.e. by adding together the numbers having the characteristic concerned in the samples and dividing by the combined samples total. The resulting proportion can then be used in the $\sigma(p_1 - p_2)$ formula in lieu of p_1 and p_2 .

Thus the formula can be improved by writing it as:

$$\sigma(p_1 - p_2) = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{n_1} + \frac{pq}{n_2}} = \sqrt{pq \left(\frac{1}{n_1} + \frac{1}{n_2} \right)}$$

where p = pooled proportion and $q = 1-p$.

- (c) multiplying $\sigma(p_1 - p_2)$ by 2, and
- (d) finding the actual difference between the sample proportions.

If the difference between them is below the limits found in step (c) it is not significant. If it is above the limits the difference is

significant and the conclusion can be drawn (at the 95.00% level of confidence) that the two populations have different proportions.

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