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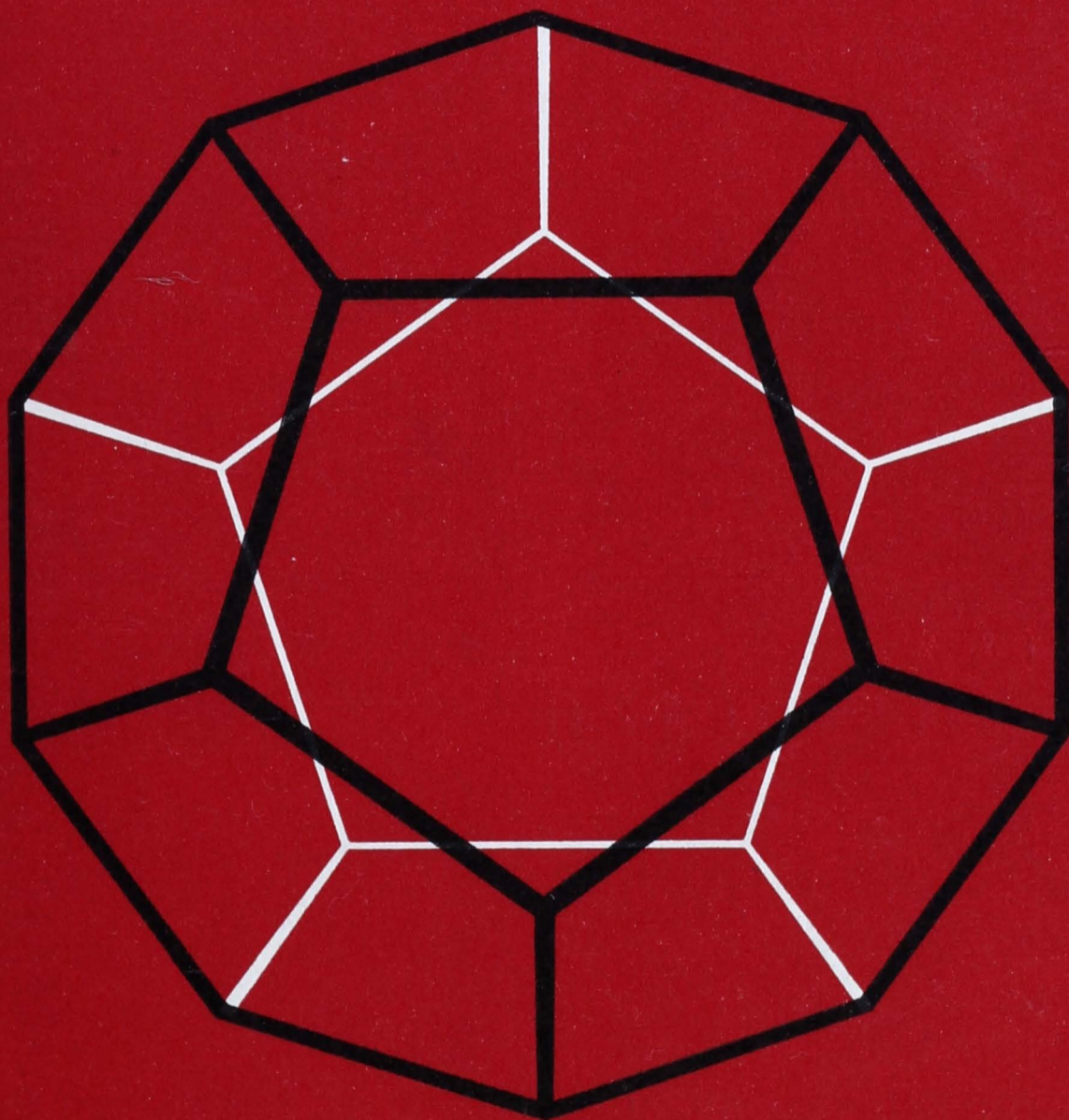
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new attitudes in secondary education

a fabian group
fabian tract 424

BP161511
(424)

30p



fabian tract 424 new attitudes in secondary education

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1. introduction

Throughout the country, many local education authorities (LEAs) have introduced comprehensive secondary education and in spite of the wider range of ability an increasing number of secondary schools have adopted an unstreamed teaching organisation. Also schools are broadening their curriculum to include socially relevant studies, and breaking down the division between subjects in courses of integrated studies. All these changes have as their origin the fact that schools now see their pupils as individuals in a social context rather than simply as objects of academic attention, and this brings with it more emphasis on the development of their personality (whatever their ability) and less on academic achievement, with the competition that, under the present examination system, this inevitably implies.

comprehensive education

It is Labour Party policy to implement fully comprehensive education, and the above practices have tended to accompany political thinking on the subject, and to be associated with socialist ideals of equality. However, even where non-selection has been accepted, these practices have aroused heated educational controversy, with widely differing opinions as to their merits or even their effects.

To further complicate discussion, the press and public image of comprehensive secondary schools has frequently been based on their examination achievements as compared with those of selective schools, (an unfair comparison when comprehensive schools are creamed off by co-existing grammar schools). The result in some cases has been that, under pressure to prove their worth, they have been organised as grammar schools for the top streams, with the rest of the school getting a very inadequate share of resources and attention. No amount of administrative action by LEAs in making secondary schools comprehensive will be effective in its purpose if the result is to be in practice a kind of bilateral school. This need not

happen if education committees make their intentions clear and spell out their objectives in secondary reorganisation: this is not done frequently enough. Instead of confining themselves to administrative action in providing buildings, staff and resources, education committees can, through school governors who are responsible for the "conduct and curriculum" of the school, ensure that their objectives are being carried out. This should not, of course, be day to day involvement in the running of the school, which is the responsibility of the head teacher and the teaching staff, but a power of the last resort, which can be used where it can be clearly shown that the school is not being conducted in accordance with agreed policy.

equality of opportunity in education

It is easy to state that a socialist education policy must focus on the idea of equality. What is much more difficult is to define more precisely what this means and how it is going to work out in practice. It can happen that measures designed to produce equality can be distorted in their application so that they reinforce inequality.

The original aim of equality of opportunity has been largely proved to be inadequate, for though it led to the possibility of secondary education for able working class children, the opportunities presented were within an education system which by its character and setting denied real equality at almost every point. Such an opportunity was one of competing on dictated terms within the status quo of an unequal society. The result has been the creation of an education system where the prizes once obtained by the privilege of class are now extended to those who have the privilege of the possession of a certain kind of academic intelligence.

But the changes in structure which have not only offered greater opportunities in the existing system, but in comprehensive schools have created the possibility of schools in which such things

as equality of inherent worth can also be a reality, have not been entirely successful. Indeed in some comprehensive schools the contradiction between the ideal and the reality can be seen at its clearest. Here a school constructed on the principles of containing a cross-section of the whole community, of helping each individual to find himself as a person and to develop his potential in whatever way is best for him, with complete equality of recognition with others of different kinds of attainment, may find itself within a homogeneous community reflecting the middle class area in which it is situated, forced into fulfilling parents' expectations. The effect may be that certain potentials are held up as being more praiseworthy than others, and encouraging competition and streaming so as to develop these values more effectively, and in the process condemning the less able to failure even more efficiently than before because they are now under one roof. Add to this the fact that such a school will tend, from greater parental support and more chance of better staff recruitment, to have better staff and facilities than a similar school in a deprived area, and we have a picture of the gap between the comprehensive ideal and the reality.

changes inside schools

There is a need therefore for change in two main areas. Firstly we need to press for structural changes that will make comprehensive education the norm for all. In this category as well as aiming to "abolish fee paying schools and bring all children of compulsory school age into the national education system" there will be a need for positive discrimination to direct extra resources to those areas and schools which are disadvantaged.

Secondly we need to press for changes in the kind of education that goes on within the schools themselves so that it is consistent with the comprehensive ideal. In this category we are involved not just in making suggestions about the curriculum, but about relationships within the school between pupils and

staff, and the relationship between the school and the outside world.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to examine the second area: policies to be carried out and action to be taken within the secondary school. The point at which the school begins to take the full ability range of pupils is often wrongly thought to be the end of the administrative process, whereas it is only the beginning for the schools, which must then evolve a policy and organisation to do justice to them all. There are now enough comprehensive schools in existence for an evaluation of such policies to be already overdue.

2. changes needed

THE CURRICULUM

What should be the aims and the general shape of the whole curriculum which can be defined as the teaching and learning that go on in schools? What sorts of local, national and world communities is it envisaged for? Who should have a say in what the curriculum includes and excludes? In actual classroom teaching and learning, many teachers feel a deep sense of professional authority, and a large number probably regard the school curriculum as sacrosanct. Every professional group considers that there is something at the heart of its work which ultimately entitles it to professional status and which must at all costs be free from encroachment by lay people. Teachers would of course accept that they have no exclusive rights to determine the aims of education, but once these have been decided, it is the teacher's sole responsibility, so the argument runs, to translate them into a detailed curriculum.

This view is no longer free from challenge. Though teachers would rightly reject any notion that they were simply hired to teach what the local authority, or the parents, told them to, it is nevertheless recommended that all such interested parties be closely consulted and their views taken into account, if only because informed co-operation and criticism can help the teacher's work. It is not suggested that political parties should have a policy about the content of the curriculum as any attempt at this, however well intentioned, would lead to very grave political dangers.

If one accepts the view that the curriculum should be decided by each school individually then one faces the objection that what any child learns at school is largely a matter of chance. Some children learn a foreign language but others do not; some leave school with a good understanding of literature or social and economic history but for others these are closed books. There are many more examples but it is questionable whether there is sufficient reason for such a wide diversity. If there are certain skills and

areas of knowledge which are so important for life in contemporary society that every child should be encouraged to understand them then some agreement should be reached on what they are and how they should be incorporated into the learning programme of all the children.

The objectives of the school should be defined in the light of the general aim to maximise the potential of all the pupils, not just a selected few. This aim should be applied in all the broad categories into which the curriculum is divided, and which should be offered, in some form, to all pupils.

Firstly, all children need to acquire the basic skills to equip them for life. These include reading and writing and (equally important but sometimes neglected) ability to express themselves in speech, to follow argument and to take part in a discussion. The teaching of these skills to children of the most limited ability, though difficult, should be given a high priority among the school aims, as the personal consequences of failure in this respect are far-reaching and tragic. Secondly the knowledge and preparation for daily life, including the basic skills of household management, good parenthood and citizenship including participation in the affairs of a democratic society. There should be an awareness of social problems and moral attitudes taken towards them, and studies should include such problems as family relations, the multi-racial society, and attitudes to marriage.

Thirdly, every child should be offered a wide variety of cultural and recreational experiences and training in art, music, sport, literature and drama, together with further academic study of such subjects as the sciences, mathematics, language and history. These subjects should be offered on as broad an ability basis as possible and all courses should be adaptable to pupils who may at first show little aptitude but later become more highly motivated. There is no need for the distinction between academic and practical or "useful" knowledge in

the early years at secondary school, still less should it be assumed that able pupils pursue "academic" subjects and the less able "vocational" ones. When, as usually happens at the beginning of the fourth year, they are able to choose from among these subjects which they would like to pursue, their choice should not be inhibited either by the academic status (or lack of it) of any particular subject, or any restrictions on grounds of ability imposed by streaming.

To summarise, the basic curriculum for all should include: basic skills of reading, writing, numeracy and speech; moral education; knowledge of man in society, including political, social and religious studies; scientific understanding of the environment; aesthetic appreciation, including a choice from a number of cultural, recreational and academic subjects. Any child who is not offered experience of these areas of learning will be that much less of a person. It will be seen that the common area of the curriculum required for all pupils is fairly extensive notwithstanding variations which are inevitably necessary because of different interests and aptitudes. In view of present limited resources however, provision for the minority should not be too much at the expense of the majority.

The advantages of effective implementation of an agreed curriculum would be a more efficient allocation of resources within schools, and this would be reflected in timetables, planning of syllabuses, and teacher allocation. Another advantage is that it would prevent a divisive practice current in some comprehensive schools whereby the most able follow a "high status" academic course of study, and the less able a low status vocational course, with little possibility of interchange between these.

curriculum research

It is suggested, firstly, that there should be a research project to explore the desirability and feasibility of a common but expanded curriculum for all second-

ary pupils. The work started by the Schools Council working party (to report in 1974) on the whole curriculum particularly as it affects 13 to 16 year olds en route to the sixth forms is a step in the right direction. Secondly, school governors should inform themselves of the principles underlying the curriculum and ask questions about the provision and scope of education offered within the school and the resources allocated. They are supposed to be responsible for "conduct and curriculum," but as we have seen the latter is usually and traditionally left to the teachers in the name of academic freedom. It has however to be recognised that this non-involvement of school governors has in a number of cases led to certain deficiencies and that some positive help and guidance from outside the school may be both desirable and necessary. In this connection the role of the LEA advisers cannot be over emphasised.

Finally, two aspects of the common curriculum deserve some further consideration because, although we have advocated that they should be taught to all pupils, there is little agreement on how they should be taught, in some cases whether they should be taught at all, and in practice they are neglected in a large number of schools. These are, family relations including sex education, and political education.

family relations and sex education

In many schools sex education is offered only spasmodically, yet adolescents of both sexes are preoccupied with their developing sexual feelings and with their prospects of future marriage. Worry and concern about the development of maturity and sexual differences affects some children greatly and especially those whose physical development may be less rapid than that of their classmates. Surveys have shown very serious gaps in the sexual knowledge of a large proportion of teenagers (*Practitioner*, September 1971). There is no existing agreed syllabus in sex education and it is inadequately dealt with in many

schools. A syllabus which related to real needs should include: physiology and psychology of sex, puberty and adolescence, personal relationships, family planning, effects of venereal disease and abortion, socio-economic effects of unwanted births. It should also include education of the feelings through literature, and moral education through the discussion of personal and family relationships. There is good evidence of the value of such programmes, though they remain too little researched (R. Rogers, *New Society*, 3 June 1971, pp 949-51; R. Rogers, *Bulletin of British Psychological Society*, v 87, pp 156-7). The popularity of sociology which deals with the institutions of family and society is easy to understand as boys and girls of 15 and 16 do know about family life at first hand. The reality of separation and divorce is understood by many children as an increasing proportion come from backgrounds where one parent has left the family home. To fit children's personal experience into the context of their curriculum helps an understanding of what is happening. A school needs to act as a support and guide to children with such backgrounds.

It can be seen from the above that sex and family education is much more than a rescue operation reluctantly undertaken to prevent girls from having unwanted babies through ignorance. It is an important part of the education of both sexes and it should not be assumed that it is less important for boys because they do not have babies. In this connection it is certainly relevant to mention that there is a strong body of opinion that co-educational schools are helpful towards good relations with the opposite sex and a real influence exerted towards happiness in marriage: co-education therefore appears generally desirable from a social point of view.

politics

18 year old pupils are now expected to vote in national and local elections, yet comparatively few are well informed about the issues involved, or educated

in the meaning of political democracy. The growing popularity of subjects akin to politics such as economics and sociology indicate the potential demand for knowledge. What is needed is realistic and balanced instruction in how the central government and local authorities work together, with a critical discussion of political ideas. Focus on topical issues could be used to arouse interest, for instance, study of a dispute over a local motorway or housing estate could be used to discover where decision making really lies and how it can be influenced. It is sometimes alleged that teachers might peddle their own brand of politics in the classroom but on the other hand it might well be true that a teacher interested in politics and prepared to make allowances for his or her beliefs would teach the subject with more effect than someone who was bored by the subject. Politics should be an examination subject like the other social sciences, and the provision of an agreed syllabus and examinations should provide a framework which would minimise the effects of the personal political views of individual teachers.

At present there is little teaching of the workings of the democratic process in our schools, although school councils and some degree of pupil participation have been established in many of these. The teaching of political democracy could have profound beneficial effects on the working of school democracy, which in turn could make a valuable contribution towards education in political democracy. The election of a pupil governor is an innovation to be welcomed as it encourages responsibility and the development of democracy.

There is probably some reason why these two aspects of social education have formerly been neglected, as they are closely bound up with three things which have generally been regarded as inimical to good education: private life, personal prejudice, and heated controversy. There may be some grounds for this feeling, as there is evidence that some studies in controversial subjects such as race relations have actually

been counter-productive in that prejudice has been increased. On the other hand, adolescents express intense interest and desire for discussion, and open discussion, even when disturbing facts have to be faced, is usually preferable to silently nursed prejudices. This is especially true of sex education where the pupils are emotionally involved, yet the result of ignorance is much unnecessary suffering. Considerable responsibility for this kind of education therefore rests on the teachers. Departments and colleges of education should perhaps devote more time to developing the kind of judgement and experience needed for this kind of work.

integrated studies

In many subject areas there is the possibility of integrated studies, for example, sex education, which may include elements of biology, sociology, literature, physical education and moral education. This and other controversial topics have no proper place in a fragmented, subject based curriculum. They are no particular specialist teacher's responsibility and are often omitted altogether from the curriculum. Such issues as law and order, poverty and the family may have, however, an appropriate and assured place in integrated studies, which under a variety of names (humanities, inter-disciplinary studies and so on) many schools are now developing.

Integrated studies also breaks down barriers between subjects, which to many children constitute a barrier to understanding. Many teachers have experienced the mixed reactions of illumination and incredulity when they have trespassed, in the course of discussion, into subjects outside their speciality. It also allows the object of study to be approached from all points of view, which is a much more realistic and critical approach than the exclusive formulas that tend to appear when the approach is dominated by a single subject. Also there is evidence that younger and less able children do not understand the differences between

the subjects, which to them are arbitrarily divided blocks of learning matter. Integrated studies may therefore be valuable in the lower school as a means of creating interest and avoiding a rigid and formal approach. Its use with a single teacher spending most of his time with one class may be of special value for remedial groups, or for pupils who, for whatever reason, are reluctant to study. When a good teacher pupil relationship is achieved and the pupils are committed to a piece of work, a teacher may wish pupils to be able to pursue such study as steadily and in as many valuable directions as possible without arbitrary interruptions.

Integrated studies may finally be seen as a major opportunity to continue in the secondary school methods which are characteristic of good junior schools, and thus to reduce the harshness of the transition from primary to secondary schooling. Secondary schools have been traditionally characterised by the attempt to initiate children into a number of major subjects (those required for entry to university). Many secondary teachers now wish for some of the learning of secondary pupils to be related more closely to the interest of the pupils, as in many good primary schools (and in sixth forms). Such learning is designed to extend a pupils' understanding of what he cares for, what he thinks seriously about, so diversifying and increasing his capacity to find continuing value in life.

team teaching

Team teaching involves the co-operation of a group of teachers with a number of classes of children on a single project, combining the classes for common activities such as a visit, film or lecture, then dividing them into groups under single teachers for individual work, the teachers working together and frequently moving between groups. This allows a more flexible and economic use of resources, though it is entirely mistaken to regard it as a device for economising on the pupil-teacher ratio. It follows that,

except in large departments such as mathematics and English, this form of organisation implies the integration of related subjects, and the pursuit of a common project involving the discipline of each subject and pooling the special knowledge of the teachers. The subjects most commonly integrated are English, history, religious education, geography and social studies. Integrated studies however need not necessarily be carried out by the method of team teaching: in fact the opposite may happen. One teacher may carry out the whole project with one class, thus spending much of his time with that class. This of course is very similar to the method of teaching in primary schools.

Team teaching has some social considerations in its favour. When learning is organised along traditional lines in discrete subject areas in separate classrooms, every aspect of the school's life is affected—not just the curriculum but also the setting in which personal relationships develop both between pupils and teachers and within the teaching staff. Apart from formal assemblies, teachers are alone in their various meetings with groups of pupils in the course of the day: each subject is defined for pupils, for one year at least, by the personality of the teacher who takes them for that lesson; in their working routine teachers are strangely isolated from their colleagues in the classroom, however good relationships may be in the staff-room; when a teacher is having difficulties because of personal stress or inexperience or a personality clash with a particular group of children, it is remarkably difficult for colleagues to offer real support except by taking over the teaching of the class completely or withdrawing some scapegoated "troublemaker" pupils.

When co-operative or team teaching is introduced in a school, this situation is altered. More open and democratic communication is encouraged among teachers *in the teaching situation*. The expertise of experienced staff and the energy and initiative of young staff can be more helpfully shared. When things

go wrong, neither teacher nor pupils are quite so inevitably trapped in a year long intense and negative encounter. There is a disincentive to the competitiveness among teachers which lies behind some of the pressure for mutual isolation. The organisation of learning within mixed ability groups, may be facilitated when staff with different special interests work together. In general, a new dimension is added to the one piece of learning that no pupil fails to assimilate, "what my teacher is like." The model of staff co-operation on a shared project is a more satisfactory example for adolescent social learning than the traditional image of a teacher's classroom as a lonely and politely barricaded fortress.

In spite of their advantages, new teaching methods should not be regarded as panaceas, and their implementation is not just a matter of uttering catch phrases. Team teaching is still a relatively untried technique.

Administrative requirements will probably be: firstly, blocked time in which all members of a team are timetabled to be available together; secondly, classrooms that are close together and that include audio-visual facilities and an art area, together with use of a hall and access to the library; thirdly, financial and other arrangements which give equal recognition and status to team leaders as to department heads. The available evidence suggests, however, that the factor which is critical for the success of team teaching is the understanding and active support of the headteacher. He has a power of veto both at the level of administrative arrangements and at the level of staff room interaction, where he is likely to be most influential in determining whether a team has the support of other staff. In addition to these requirements, most of the recommendations (see below) for mixed ability teaching also apply directly to team teaching.

All innovations carry their own additional stresses and difficulties, and depend partly on the faith of their practitioners for their effectiveness. So far, many

innovations have been carried out in consciously experimental settings, which has encouraged the energetic and optimistic approach which generally brings success. Like mixed ability teaching, they may not be so successful when carried out by teachers not convinced of their value. Nevertheless, changes which can be seen to bring social benefits in harmony with the ideal of the comprehensive school, and which can be made to benefit a large proportion of its pupils, deserve serious consideration.

finance

Curricular development usually involves the need for additional resources. It cannot therefore be financed out of normal school capitation allowances and initially at least some additional resources must be made available. The Nuffield science schemes are particularly expensive, and though schools should eventually finance them out of their normal allowances, this is quite impossible during the first few years. LEAs must therefore provide additional resources if changes in the curriculum are to be achieved, and school governors must give positive encouragement and support to ensure that desirable curricular developments are pursued and can be financed. It is considered that each LEA should budget for at least an additional 5 per cent above normal school capitation expenditure, though the sum of money thus made available should not necessarily be allocated to all schools in the same proportion.

EXAMINATIONS

A consideration of the effect of external examinations cannot be excluded from the study of the curriculum, as the two are so closely related. It is often claimed that all examinations, being divisive and competitive, should be rejected as being contrary to the ideal of equality. On the other hand it is pointed out that schools have to meet the needs of society, and it is better for the schools, as being both impartial and skilled in this matter, to control examinations than for outside

bodies such as employers to impose less satisfactory criteria of selection and qualification.

Outside schools, however, tests of proficiency, such as the driving test or even instrumental music examinations, are not normally accused of being divisive and competitive. This suggests that it is not so much the examinations themselves as their use within the school for prestige, selection, promoting competition and offering reward, that is divisive, and the common custom of assessing achievement chiefly or solely in terms of examination marks, and then offering prizes for it, serves to reinforce this. It is also common for school internal examinations to reflect the concepts of the external examinations, and for those of the less able to be the same, at least in type, as those of the more able, testing the concepts and content naturally used in teaching the bright and academic. The result is often that pupils of less ability are taught alien subject matter by less experienced teachers, entered for examinations based and marked on the potential of brighter pupils, then penalised for their poor performance, which of course could hardly have been otherwise.

This is bad enough, but the external examinations which carry the highest prestige, the university boards for GCE, offer the worst possible example in this respect. In spite of the fact that it was begun for this purpose, the O level examination has abandoned even the pretence that it is a school leaving qualification in a particular subject for pupils of average ability, and in many subjects is now based on types of learning needed for specialisation. The distorting effects of the specialisation are apparent throughout the curricula of the secondary schools.

The introduction of the Certificate of Secondary Education (CSE) with its different methods of assessment such as prepared projects, graded course work and oral tests, gives a much fairer chance to those who do not perform well in timed memory tests. In addition, the Mode III examination under which

teachers devise and examine their own syllabus (moderated by the examining board) now gives opportunities for examinations to be prepared according to the pupils' requirements (both in content and method) rather than the other way round. These moves have made a great deal of difference to the teaching and educational aims for the average and less able. But, because of the higher prestige of the GCE O level, the two systems cannot reasonably co-exist in the same school. We therefore welcome the proposal to set up a teacher controlled common 16 plus examination, using methods developed for the CSE. Because of the inclusion in future of more able children, care should be taken not to exclude the lower ability range from any possibility of success by simply upgrading the whole examination: more research needs to be done on methods of assessing the bottom 20 per cent of the ability range.

THE SCHOOL TIMETABLE

The efficient allocation of teaching manpower, accommodation and other resources within a school is obviously of prime importance, and the school timetable is the vehicle which should reflect the optimum allocation of these resources in the light of currently prevailing constraints.

Unfortunately only a few teachers are skilled in timetable construction and in the continued absence of adequate computer programmes for larger schools, for at least the next few years, timetables will continue to have to be prepared manually and will therefore take up several weeks of senior teacher time each year.

Adequate in-service training courses must therefore be provided in timetable construction to ensure that vital and scarce resources are not under used, and that the distribution is as fair as possible. As can be seen from the following section, this is a very important aspect of the school's internal management, as the successful implementation of new forms

of teaching organisation depends on skilful timetabling.

THE ORGANISATION OF LEARNING

The extent to which the objectives of the curriculum are achieved depends at least as much on the method of teaching and organisation of teaching groups as on the content of the curriculum, however carefully this is chosen. It is important for all children to be able to think critically, not only so that the academically able may pursue advanced study, but that the less able may make some critical evaluation of statements made about everyday life by such interested parties as advertisers and politicians, instead of accepting them at face value. Also, society is changing so rapidly that particular skills or bodies of knowledge may become outdated in a short time.

This makes it all the more important for the pupils to be adaptable and ready to learn something they have not been taught in school; to know how to, and be prepared to, find out things for themselves, for instance by using libraries, and and to be able to learn new skills.

Many changes have taken place in methods of learning, some of them radically affecting the organisation of the school. There is less reliance on individual textbooks and adherence to detailed syllabuses, and more use of technical teaching aids such as tapes, films, adding machines and even computers. Learning resources of different kinds relating to one subject are now frequently grouped together and it is being realised that much wasteful duplication of time and effort can be saved by creating local banks of teaching materials to which teachers can have access. There is much scope for enterprise by LEAs and teachers' centres in encouraging this.

There are four aspects of organisation, however, which are bound to affect the whole school if they are introduced, and on which the school must evolve a common and consistent policy: team teaching and integrated studies, which

were considered above, streaming and mixed ability grouping.

streaming

The practice of streaming has already been critically referred to, though it is important, in estimating its effects, to realise firstly, the variety of practices that go under the name of streaming (and non-streaming) and secondly that in most secondary schools there is a difference between the first three years which are given to a general course designed for all pupils, and the upper school in which pupils are divided into groups by choice of subjects.

Those who wish to improve the opportunities of the less advantaged and introduce a spirit of equality will usually oppose streaming. Children are not naturally divided by ability into conveniently descending groups of 30, and in large schools where this form of organisation has been introduced there is under achievement in the lower streams due to the stigma of failure and the low expectations of the teachers. As under achievement is often mistaken for lack of ability, the system proves inflexible in practice in re-routing those who have been misplaced. Also, the fears of those who think that mixed ability teaching will hold back the bright child have not been substantiated by research, at least for children up to the age of 13, whereas children of less ability have positively benefited. Research in this area is notoriously difficult and a large number of investigations, through poor design, have produced negligible results. Only two comparative studies of streaming and mixed ability teaching have been both properly controlled and on a sufficiently large scale to produce usable results (M. Goldberg and others, *The effects of mixed ability grouping*, Columbia Teachers College, 1966, L. Barker-Lunn, *Streaming in the primary school*, NFER, 1970, E. Ferri, *Streaming: two years later*, NFER, 1971) Neither the Goldberg study in the USA nor the Barker-Lunn inquiry in Britain revealed any significant differences between streams and mixed ability

groups in the academic attainment of pupils of similar measured ability. Barker-Lunn revealed also that although pupils of above average ability fared equally well, all other pupils developed, in unstreamed classes, more favourable attitudes to their teachers and to study. Even if academic results are the sole criterion (which is unacceptable), there is nothing to choose between a streamed and a mixed ability class.

In addition, streaming is often used as an inflexible determinant of curriculum, for example only the top two streams may do English literature or history, or the bottom stream may automatically do social studies. This goes against the principle that in organising the curriculum all children should have the opportunity to do a wide range of subjects. The practice of "setting" in each subject, recommended on account of its greater flexibility by some who oppose streaming, also needs to be watched. When all arts subjects are taught in English sets and all sciences in mathematics sets the distinction between setting and streaming becomes difficult to see and some of the ill effects must be the same.

It is difficult therefore to justify streaming in the lower school. This is not to say that there must be no selection of teaching groups, but it must be done for a positive purpose: for instance, taking out groups of non-readers for the specialist teaching of those trained for this task. In the upper school, the situation is different, as a limited process of self selection has already taken place. It is important that the first three years should prepare them to choose by interest and potential rather than by the academic prestige (or lack of it) of any particular subject. Pupils differ not only in ability but in inclination, and there is no good reason for assuming that all the cleverest shall do latin or classical studies and all the weakest social studies. On the contrary, each subject should make provision for pupils of widely differing abilities (not necessarily in the same teaching groups) who show interest. This range will be more easily provided from the wide resources of the large comprehensive

school, which gives greater flexibility. The question of streaming has been examined in some detail because it is well established that the attitudes, convictions and skills of teachers are much more important in determining success than the imposition of any particular system. Teachers need to be alive to the likely effect of any planning decision they may make about this point, and bear in mind the needs of the whole school. It should also be recognised that mixed ability teaching makes considerable demands on the skill and energy of the teacher, and increasing demands on secretarial and duplicating resources. More generous provision of in-service training courses will be needed to help teachers with the new methods which many of them will not have learned in their training, as the imposition of any change without the necessary preparation will not produce any success.

Some evidence has also come to light of discrimination against girls in large mixed schools. Where resources and buildings are limited, it is assumed by some heads that girls will be timetabled for domestic subjects at the same time as boys do science (usually in superior accommodation). This arbitrary discrimination on grounds of sex, based on stereotyped attitudes and often taking place in establishments where women are poorly represented in the decision making machinery, must be regarded as completely contrary to a policy of equality especially as co-education has been elsewhere recommended as being socially more beneficial.

mixed ability teaching

As has already been stated mixed ability teaching makes considerable demands on the skill and energy of the teacher. These demands can easily become excessive, with the result that a return is made to some form of streaming.

Mixed ability teaching, designed to develop pupil interests and abilities in their full variety, requires that pupils work either in groups or on their own,

rather than in formal class units. A "talk and chalk" approach to whole class units on the other hand, assumes that pupils' interests and abilities are homogeneous. When such homogeneity is not considered either desirable or possible, a number of very acute and frequently overlooked problems arise.

Little is known about these problems because it was widely assumed until the 1950's that pupils both could and should be organised in supposedly homogeneous teaching groups. A system of grades, based on achievement (often regardless of age) has been (apart from the USSR) almost universally practised outside Britain and, like streaming in Britain, has only recently come under severe criticism and begun in some countries to be modified in the direction of mixed ability groups. Mixed ability teaching was introduced in Britain on a wide scale during the 1960's (see C. Benn and S. Simon, *Halfway there*, Penguin 1972; M. Hardy (ed), "At classroom level," *Forum*, 1971). A number of its problems should be spelled out, however, very clearly.

The first of these problems can be identified as one of coherence, of the work of pupils and teachers making sense. This may seem paradoxical when mixed ability teaching is designed to cater for individual pupils' interests and abilities. It may seem less so when it is remembered that most secondary school teachers see themselves first and foremost as subject teachers, following a familiar syllabus and a recurring routine. Mixed ability teaching, if only because it involves new procedures in the classrooms, impels teachers to reconsider their aims and methods.

The problem of coherence for the pupil is a spelling out of the teacher's problem, literally so if the teacher is himself not clear about his aims. The formal lesson in a homogeneous, streamed class, whatever its other merits, is likely at least to be coherent to the pupil. A history syllabus, for instance, in which a term is devoted to England in the seventeenth century and in which a fortnight is allocated to each of the Stuart kings and one

each to the Civil War and to Cromwell—however bleak the prospect, the pupil can see clearly where he's going. Pupils need practical objectives. Effective group objectives may be an exhibition or a performance, but individuals also need practical, visible objectives; these must be often provided and always defined by the teacher. Without clear objectives it is difficult for pupils to get the satisfaction of achieving anything. Pupils need furthermore to see the link between what they were doing last week and what they are doing now, if their work is not to degenerate into, for them, a series of aimlessly disconnected themes. Mixed ability teaching aims at encouraging breadth of interest and understanding, but is correspondingly vulnerable to fragmentation and incoherence. The frequent uncertainty of pupils, in group or individualised learning situations, about what they are learning or looking for makes essential, therefore, the careful structuring of resources or the provision of work cards.

A related difficulty is the proper assessment of children's achievements in a mixed ability teaching situation where a variety of criteria of quality and success are appropriate. A comment like "that's good" easily comes to mean "anything goes." A measure which helps considerably to ensure adequate appreciation and evaluation of each child's achievements is the keeping of detailed records or profiles of individual children's progress.

A second main problem of mixed ability teaching, control or discipline, is familiar enough. It is a difficulty on which mixed ability teaching appears frequently to founder, although it may simply be the effect of one of the other problems becoming unmanageable, control being a sort of flash point which indicates a failure somewhere else, for example, a teacher being confused about his aims, poorly organised or exhausted. Control depends in the first instance on a clear understanding by a teacher of how he expects pupils to act. Otherwise the pupils' definition is likely to prevail. This is a matter essentially of the individual teaching **being** consistent. In the mixed

ability class, however, a clear definition of the learning situation, of what is desirable pupil behaviour, may be made problematic by the variety of situations in which a pupil may find himself. Groups may consist of one, two, six or twenty pupils, each requiring a separate definition of appropriate pupil behaviour. In such flexible situations as are likely to be created by mixed ability grouping, control may become more personal, so that teachers and pupils confront each other more as individuals, and the feelings and values of both are more exposed. Even if control becomes more personal, as many people hope, it still remains necessary for teachers to define the essential context which will help pupils to work: the grouping of pupils, the distribution of equipment and the times when they are allowed to arrive and to leave. In a mixed ability class, like any other, the rules essential for each activity must be clearly understood. They may be matters on which it's not easy for a teacher to decide, for instance: in what circumstances should pupils be allowed to move about freely (or to wander). It may be more important for a teacher to be clear in his own mind about such matters than for him to be right.

A third main problem of mixed ability teaching is one of administrative arrangements. Both group and individualised methods of learning require blocked time on the timetable. This may inevitably lead on to the blocking of subjects and to a measure of curriculum integration, requiring team teaching.

Although mixed ability teaching does not necessitate team teaching, in the later years when areas of knowledge become more differentiated and the claims of pupils on the teacher's knowledge more demanding, it may be difficult to avoid it if there is to be grouping of subjects or blocking of time (longer lesson periods) on the timetable. One requirement for mixed ability teaching may be the blocking of time, so that teachers can discover individual pupils' capacities and devise appropriate work. Didactic methods relying on exposition by the teacher and questions directed by

him at the whole class will rarely be appropriate. In the first year of the secondary school and sometimes later the blocking of time is often seen also to meet pastoral requirements, for continuity with the primary school, and for stability in pupil teacher relationships, so that children are taught by the equivalent of three or four class teachers for groups of subjects rather than by ten different subject specialists.

The fourth problem of mixed ability teaching is the personal burden on the teacher, on his or her resources, time and energy. This is too easily overlooked. The core of the problem is that a teacher is attempting with a mixed ability class to prepare work at several, quite different levels. This is a very much greater task than preparing work for one level, the level of a supposedly homogeneous, streamed class. One stresses supposedly homogeneous, because streamed classes often include a very wide range of ability, which is mistakenly treated alike. The demands on the teacher's resources can be met, on the one hand, by the use of resource packs, like those published by the Schools Council Humanities and Integrated Studies Projects, (Schools Council (Keele) Project: *Exploration man, an introduction to integrated studies*, OUP 1972; Schools Council, *The humanities project*, Heinemann 1970) and others prepared by museums and local curriculum centres; and on the other hand, by the development of resources centres within schools. Both require a small financial outlay. Any alternative assumes that teachers are prepared to devote immense time and energy to developing their own resources. This would be additional to the task of assessing appropriate work for children working at many different levels. The wear and tear on the teacher of working with flexible groups of children, of adapting quickly from one situation to another, and of making differential evaluations is very much greater than when a class is treated as one unit. It can also be seen as more worthwhile. Be this as it may. For the policy maker, whether headteacher or member of a local education committee, it is imperative that the demands of

mixed ability teaching on the individual teacher be fully recognised and allowed for.

PUPIL TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

Few people would disagree that it is important for a school to have good relationships between staff and pupils, but it should be recognised that these relationships are the means by which certain social and educational objectives can be achieved, rather than an end in themselves. A teacher who subordinates everything else in a search for popularity probably achieves little of lasting value.

creating learning situations

When a school has formulated its aims it will attempt to achieve them by creating the necessary learning situations. In many cases these situations may take the form of formal structured lessons, but they will also include educational visits, artistic and dramatic activities, and situations of group and individual activity.

In order that these learning situations achieve their objectives it is essential that they be under the control of the teacher. This does not imply that the pupils at all times sit quietly in rows doing exercises, though there may be situations where this is desirable, but that movement or noise exist because they are essential to, or consequent on a particular teaching situation not because of the inability of the teacher to control them. It may even be beneficial in some circumstances to allow children to do as they please, but again this should be a result of a positive decision on the part of the teacher, rather than a manifestation of the teacher's inability or lack of experience.

Many teachers and schools, particularly in deprived urban areas, suffer from discipline problems, and while there is no easy solution to these problems, there are certain ways by which they can be considerably reduced, even within the

present structure of secondary education. For instance, it is not uncommon for difficult classes to be given to new teachers who are least able to cope with them, and the more senior and experienced staff to take the more rewarding and less demanding examination classes. The "difficult" children then become even more so when they see where the priorities and preferences of the senior teachers lie. A more equitable distribution of classes would do much to relieve the strain on the young teacher, and at the same time bring control to, and inspire more confidence in, the difficult classes who may feel with some justice that they have been neglected.

Further progress can be made by examining the content and presentation of the syllabus. It is often possible to present some subjects in a less academic manner, and with greater emphasis on practical applications. Although there is cause for concern about the stress on examinations within the educational system, many teachers find that even pupils of low ability respond to the challenge of an examination, and with the increasing flexibility of some external examinations, particularly the Certificate of Secondary Education, it is possible for the school to devise almost any course that it thinks suitable for its pupils, and have an examination tailor made to fit it, rather than try to fit pupils to unsuitable examinations.

Many schools have classes that give rise to more problems than the others. Often these are the result of intensive streaming which produces, particularly in the third and fourth years' classes with a large proportion of unmotivated and disadvantaged pupils. More mixed ability teaching might considerably reduce this problem, and research has shown that where this is done, there is an improvement in pupil teacher relationships without any fall in the overall attainment of the mixed ability classes. While it is obvious that pupil teacher relationships can be improved, it might be dangerous to attempt to impose, or even to advise, a uniform approach for all teachers. A teacher's approach must reflect his

personality and interests, and it is probably in the interests of the pupils to learn to work with a variety of approaches and personalities.

Most schools write down the essential rules. They should be kept to the minimum, seen to be reasonable, and then enforced in a consistent and humane manner. There should be consultation between staff, pupils and parents about them and they should be revised from time to time to take account of changes in attitudes and style of dress. Wider consultation will generally ensure that the rules are more widely kept.

parents role

Perhaps one of the most effective ways of improving pupil teacher relationships is within the social structure of the school, and by means of links with the parents and the community. If pupils, teachers and parents could meet more often away from the formal atmosphere of the classroom, they would be better able to appreciate each other, and might be less inclined to develop hostile attitudes.

Even with the most carefully devised curriculum and approach, and with sympathetic and experienced teachers, the need will occasionally arise to punish or impose sanction on individual pupils. When this is necessary the wise teacher will always ask himself if the need for punishment could have been avoided, or the offence anticipated and prevented.

While most people accept the need for some form of the sanctions in the secondary school, there is a considerable body of opinion opposed to corporal punishment. In the schools of other countries teachers may not use corporal punishment; in many schools in this country it has fallen into disuse. It is recommended that education committees should lead public opinion and teaching union opinion in setting out long term aims of banning the use of corporal punishment throughout the education system. In the short term preparations should be made for a ban applying first to special and then to

all primary schools. The implication of banning the use of corporal punishment is that a healthier relationship is sought with more satisfactory sanctions and remedies for misconduct.

It is not suggested that no sanctions are needed, but that this sanction has insidiously damaging side effects on the atmosphere of the school community. It is, in any case, often ineffective with those individuals on whom it is most used. Sanctions involving the withdrawal of privileges or the restriction of freedoms within the school offer less of an assault on the dignity of the individual. Remedial and curative measures involving explorations of the personal meaning for the child of his misconduct and the in-school and out-of-school stresses upon him have the greatest value in preventing a recurrence of anti-social behaviour. Only when the use of the cane is prohibited will some schools come to put a proper emphasis on these other kinds of response to deviant behaviour.

We would not call for an overnight ban, for the teaching profession requires time to develop further and fully assimilate the already widespread outlook that accepts the need for better ways of dealing with problems of child management. But the community at large, and political leaders in local and central government in particular, should give the teaching profession notice that the time for preparation and for changing attitudes is now, and that the time for an enforced change of practice is imminent.

INTERNAL SCHOOL MANAGEMENT

The traditional organisation of the small secondary school is plainly inadequate for large comprehensive schools. There has been a considerable increase in the number and scope of senior posts but often without any definition of their role, so they remain vague and ill-defined, and much unnecessary friction and frustration is created. The new large schools must have a well defined management structure if they are to carry out their aims. This is not to say

that there should be no variety. Styles of management vary according to the personalities of the head teacher and other senior teachers, and what is best in one situation may not be best in another. It is also appreciated that rather less efficient management with some of the right people is better than more efficient management with some of the wrong people.

Schools are about children and no matter how clever the plans, dynamic the leadership, successful the games teams or the number of examination successes, they are chiefly concerned with the personal development of their pupils lives. This in itself calls for a special approach.

However, present day industrial managers are aware of the importance of personal relationships as well as technical developments. It seems reasonable therefore that there should be techniques of management to be applied by all responsible administrators who may have much in common. It is easy to see the areas of dissimilarity between aims and objectives of professional educationalists and those of industrial management but it should be equally easy to see that all management has common aims in certain areas.

The trend towards a new emphasis on internal management in schools is quite natural when one considers both the costs and complexities of large schools. However, the basic thinking of management experts may well be misdirected in regard to the normal school situation. Management approaches tend to begin and end with timetables and cost effectiveness and produce schemes into which children have to be fitted, not schemes which within the limits of resources should be fitted to the children. Staffing and accommodation conditions which all too seldom prevail are assumed and it falls to the headteacher and staff to contrive an optimum deployment of resources.

A management by objectives approach would not seem inappropriate in a school. By this method one would ensure that

as far as possible all staff are aware of the objectives and sub-objectives of the school and then one would start to break down these objectives and identify them with the actual role of particular teachers. Most people like to know what they are supposed to do and then be allowed to get on with it, especially if this is also accompanied by a freedom to impose a personal contribution towards maximum effectiveness. In any event head teachers should not want to be consulted all the time about everything. In recent year the Burnham Committee has evolved in larger schools a series of "managerial" posts ranging through heads of departments, senior teachers (1972), senior masters and senior mistresses, second deputy heads (1971) to deputy heads. In some cases the various top management duties in a large school have been apportioned on an efficient basis and the school has benefited accordingly in that it has been able to pursue its objectives more efficiently. In other cases the schools have sometimes carried on much as before and the additional salary allowances have been apportioned on seniority rather than any other basis although necessary change has sometimes been procured by vacancies. However, many necessary changes will sometimes never take place unless there is a change of headteacher although one should not assume that changes cannot always be made in the attitudes of the head teacher or any other key member of staff. Improved top management structures will have to be preceded by improved school management courses. Such courses must cover an evaluation of the role of heads of departments, the management role of senior teachers, senior masters senior mistresses, deputy heads and heads, the routine of school organisation and the impact of the latter and the various roles upon the educational process. Having established the managerial role, attention should be turned to the kinds of personal skills necessary to the fulfilment of these roles including interviewing, conditions of work and chairmanship of working parties, case presentation and particularly the development of appropriate approaches to the handling of staff and pupil problems.

Quite apart from the management of physical and educational resources there is also a need for the efficient management of ideas.

There is evidence that much muddling through takes place in large schools. Appointments are made to well paid posts of responsibility with high sounding titles but no clearly defined tasks; innovations are introduced which require special provision in resources and time-tabling without any indication that such provision is even being contemplated; and thus many new ideas and practices are condemned to failure because these have never been properly and efficiently put into effect.

There is a need therefore for role analysis and definitions of authority including post specifications. Without such definitions of authority and accountability organisations are at the mercy of personalities and can only grow and develop haphazardly. Personality cannot be excluded for roles are occupied by individuals. The benefit of defining working relationships is that people know where they are with each other and what is expected of them. Any structure of relationships should take account of personal abilities and needs and allow for many different styles of inter-action, but it should also provide some protection from individual idiosyncrasies and empire building.

It is the general experience that working relationships in educational establishments are all too often vague and ill-defined. The real structure may be very different from what is assumed even when it is formally expressed on paper.

So far as can be seen headteachers will always have a large measure of power to *recommend* the school management structure. The immediate and crucial thing is that headteachers themselves should be carefully selected and given the in service support they need. It is the duty of LEAS to ensure that training and support is provided in adequate measure for existing and potential heads. Too much emphasis on managerial skills

has its dangers. We must avoid the emphasis on administration that has bedevilled American schools, involving a whole separate and detached educational bureaucracy, although clearly many administrative services can be organised centrally and made available to heads. The foregoing comments relate to the management hierarchy of a school, but apart from this the roles of assistant teachers, parents and pupils, in participating in the school government must be considered. It is now generally agreed that measures must be taken to ensure the participation of assistant teachers in decisions relating to school organisation and curriculum, which they are closely involved in implementing. There exists some degree of frustration among teachers that the quality and organisation of a school depends to an inordinate extent on the quality of the headteacher, who assumes responsibility for all decisions. If the headteacher is weak, the quality of the other members of staff cannot be brought into the balance. It is perhaps also requiring too much of any person, however gifted, to go on carrying that kind of burden, in the isolation in which headteachers usually work, for any great length of time. It might be beneficial for headteachers to be required to share some of their responsibilities, and also to be appointed for a limited tenure, with further opportunities open to them when they came to the end of it.

Some local authorities have made provision for parent, teacher and in a few cases pupil representation on the board of governors. These are moves towards participation, but at the same time the real and more essential need of teachers and pupils is for participation in the daily running of the school, for instance in a properly constituted school council, which under the articles of government is the sole responsibility of the headteacher. Perhaps the suggested changes can best be brought about by changes in these articles of government, specifying an appropriate role for assistant teachers and pupils in the organisation and running of the school. It would not be difficult to make such provision, and in the absence

of effective voluntary arrangements, it would seem to be necessary.

COUNSELLING AND SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

It is sometimes implied that school counselling is only needed in comprehensive schools because the schools themselves are "too big" and "too impersonal." In fact, counselling has been needed by many pupils in grammar and modern schools for years, but the need went largely unrecognised. The same set of attitudes in education that favoured the comprehensive system favoured the widespread recognition and meeting of this need for counselling. Anxious and difficult youngsters are no longer merely quitted or rejected; they are listened to and helped. Improved practice along these lines must be an essential part of a truly comprehensive reform of education. Personal counselling—not careers advice or brief discussions on subject options—is a real need.

In a large and busy school not every member of staff can be expected to have the talent or the inclination to give a good deal of his or her time to such work. Many fine teachers whose main professional interest is in their subject or their methods of instruction find personal counselling on an individual basis difficult, unrewarding and even embarrassing. Inevitably some specialisation is necessary, though all teachers must accept a degree of responsibility in this sphere. The organisation of pastoral responsibility within a secondary school is a matter of the greatest importance, and the definition of roles in relation to discipline is largely bound up with this. Every child in every school has a form teacher who will ideally be the first adult, he will consult within school on a personal problem or whom he will expect to face if reported for misconduct. Beyond this each child will have access to and be the responsibility of a year tutor or housemaster whose experience in helping with individual problems is greater and whose time table is so organised that he has sufficient free time to carry out these duties adequately. Too often lip service is paid to the concept

of pastoral responsibility, while the organisation of individual staff timetables is such that there is no time at all for even the most committed teacher to treat children's difficulties with any seriousness or depth. Filing complaints about a miscreant's behaviour, signing report cards hurriedly at the end of afternoon school, and preparing lists of absentees for the education welfare officer is all that house tutors are able to do in some schools: it is a recipe for staff discontent, pupil frustration and ineffective community discipline.

But however liberally free time is allocated to pastoral staff, however extensively further in-service training is organised (and there is too little at present), however skilfully they manage to combine the roles of pedagogue, confessor, counsellor and disciplinarian, there will be some children in a large comprehensive school community, particularly in difficult areas, whose problems demand something more than can be offered by these men and women. Within a school a properly trained school counsellor can offer a knowledgeable assessment of the quality of the pupils' emotional difficulties, an expert approach to handling these problems on an individual basis, and an exclusive commitment to this kind of work that may enable youngsters who can trust no other kind of authority to respect the integrity of this effort to understand and help them. Often the school counsellor is seen at first by staff and children alike as a threat and a joke, until the reality of the need for such a figure is recognised in the light of how he is used by distressed and difficult pupils. It is essential that the counsellor is an experienced teacher, as co-operation with other staff is a central feature of work of this kind. Moreover the counsellor (whatever he is called within the school) can contribute in other ways. Vocational and educational guidance may be within his sphere; group teaching in such areas as "personal development," sexual relationships, drugs and so on may be helpful if these are not already covered in the school curriculum; consultation with colleagues on the difficulties of pupils not necessarily

seen by him may help those less intensively trained in these skills to continue to work where initially uncertain or not confident how to proceed. In many ways, therefore, the existence of a counsellor on the staff can support good pupil teacher relations in general.

However it must be recognised that the supply of counsellors from training courses will remain a trickle rather than a flood in the near future. Posts can only be established, for the most part, in the place of some other important teaching post within the school, representing a significant shift of priority in the thinking of the headteacher and the authority. There can be no benefit at all in imposing a post of school counsellor on a wholly unwilling head and staff. But authorities with schools experiencing special difficulties (for example educational priority areas) should give some consideration to making it easier for these posts to be established. Many headteacher would welcome a counsellor if the sacrifice of senior teaching time were not so considerable. It has to be recognised that innovation of this kind must be supported and encouraged in practical terms, otherwise all that will happen is a few patchy experiments in more favoured areas of the education system. Local authorities should make arrangements to meet half the cost of a counsellor off quota if schools will use half their allocation of a senior teaching post for this purpose. Thus schools where the emphasis in the allocation of senior teaching posts has traditionally been academic will have a real incentive to increase their pastoral staff without being asked to make too painful a sacrifice immediately on the academic side. In such practical ways local authorities can stress their commitment to a comprehensive education system that represents not just a re-siting of school buildings but a major readjustment of professional attitudes.

Whatever the internal changes, however, secondary schools cannot alone meet the new stresses that contemporary developments within our society are imposing on them. With the increasing uncertainty youngsters experience about moral codes

in general, the greater social mixing of today's comprehensive schools, the more adult horizons of older school leavers and sixth formers, teaching staff require more continuing and intensive support than they received in the past from other professions. Child guidance clinics are very slowly becoming less remote and, for example, sending teams into schools to discuss problems on the spot with teachers. There is a need for many more educational psychologists and for a change in the emphasis of their training and practice from arid psychometrics as a response to every problem to a more comprehensive assessment of children and a more useful and thorough consultation with teachers about them. Education welfare officers too are changing the emphasis of their work and acquiring new casework skills to help the families referred to them. Very considerably increased facilities for in-service training are envisaged but not yet provided by education authorities. The growth of teachers' centres should be welcomed, but it is hoped that their initial emphasis on the development of the curriculum will not be allowed to exclude that other overwhelming interest of the teaching profession—the improvement of the quality of the relationships between teachers and pupils. Only with really significant advances in the external support given to secondary school staff will these changes in attitudes be securely and permanently realised.

Here is an example to illustrate how the work of a school counsellor can help: "Maxine is a twelve year old girl who was conceived overseas and born shortly after her mother arrived in this country. Four younger children have been born here to two different fathers, neither of whom now has contact with the family. They live on social security and have difficulty in making ends meet. Maxine spent four of her first six years of life in a children's home, a period to which she looks back with exaggerated nostalgia. She and her mother have been constantly at loggerheads. She has stolen small amounts of money from girls and teachers at school. She always looked miserable there, seemed grossly inhibited and made

little educational progress. A social worker was already visiting her mother regularly, and Maxine kept slipping her notes asking to be placed in a children's home again. The school counsellor began seeing Maxine once a week to let her talk through her anger about the situation at home. Gradually their conversations focussed more and more on how attached Maxine really was to her mother and younger siblings. Her irritation about their lack of money for the ordinary "extras" of adolescence began to be put in perspective. She stopped stealing and was livelier and more friendly at school. Finally the social worker and school counsellor, Maxine and her mother met together to talk over the progress—something that no-one would have thought possible six months earlier. Maxine was not a deeply disturbed child needing specialist help. Her problems were those of many ordinary youngsters, and she benefited enormously from the patient sympathy and attention of a counsellor with the time and skill to meet her needs."

training new teachers

It follows from the above that proper provision for the guidance and support of inexperienced teachers is essential to good relations within the school. Throughout this pamphlet we have stressed the ultimate responsibility of the individual teacher for the character of the education which a pupil receives. Teachers' actions and words shape finally what is made available to pupils. Hence the importance attached to more satisfactory arrangements for inducting teachers into their first posts. Instead of of being told to sink or swim, or being told perhaps to forget all they learned at college, young or inexperienced teachers need professional guidance from a trained adviser in the school, from a professional tutor. The creation of such posts within the schools is envisaged in the proposed changes in teacher training. The work of the professional tutor should include: acting as tutor to probationary teachers, discussing their planning and assessment of lessons, and

when appropriate, observing them; helping inexperienced teachers to settle in a school, over such matters as registers, staff room relationships, and relations with parents; knowing what young teachers have been doing in college, and so being able to help them apply educational theory to the practical problems that arise; familiarity with the full range of in-service courses available, and assistance to teachers' centres in meeting teachers' needs.

For work which is so closely related to hopes of reform in the secondary schools, teachers must be appropriately paid and trained. Training for professional tutors should be substantial, that is preferably a one term, full time course, or alternatively a course over two terms for two days a week. An important element in such a course would be accompanying college tutors and others to observe students on teaching practice, discussion with local authority advisers and visits to teachers' centres. A second important element would be study in colleges or departments of education, at the professional tutor's own level of experience, of some of the particular problems that an inexperienced teacher may have to face in converting his theory into practice. In view of what has already been said about the importance of role definition for senior posts, it is suggested that in large schools this task could be part of the work of the second deputy head, and that people be appointed to this post who are trained for this work. More satisfactory arrangements for helping young teachers such as those outlined, are essential to bring about the desired changes in secondary schools.

in-service training

The most important resource in any school is the quality of teaching ability available but this can always be updated and improved by effective in-service training. Training arrangements vary from one LEA to the next but are often less good than they might be owing to failure at school level to identify training needs and meet them either by arrangements within

the school or by requesting the provision of appropriate courses by the LEA. In-service training should of course not be merely for curricular development but should also be available for existing well established areas of the curriculum. There is too much reliance on external agencies to suggest training courses—all too often related to the resources these agencies happen to have available—and whilst the valuable contribution of such agencies is not to be underestimated, there is also a need for the identification of training requirements at school level. In fact in every school there should be a systematic approach to the identification of group and individual training needs of all teachers. Such training may be "on the job" in the school or at local teachers' centres or colleges of education in the form of short courses or seminars. The target for in-service training should be all teachers and the management structure of every school should be geared so that a deputy head or senior teacher or teacher tutor has a distinct responsibility in this very important field. Obviously the LEA advisory team must play an important part in in-service training but the training itself will be much more effective if it is specifically geared to identified needs arrived at after discussion with the staff concerned.

SPECIAL LEARNING NEEDS

Every child is unique. But the special pattern of temperamental and intellectual needs of each individual can usually be met in a comprehensive school within the ordinary setting of quite large teaching groups. Even so certain pupils have exceptional needs which challenge the teaching resources and organisation of the school in various ways. For these special arrangements may be required, in addition to the individualisation of learning that may develop within ordinary groupings.

slow learning pupils

Children who have not acquired the basic skills of literacy and numeracy by the age of eleven find it difficult to follow many aspects of the curriculum. Their

whole attitude to classroom learning is liable to become coloured by a long experience of failure. Progress is likely to come only from a specially skilled approach to the learning task in a small-group or individual setting. The need for a specialist in the remedial field is now widely recognised in comprehensive schools, though there remains a shortage of properly trained and experienced staff. A larger number of able people might undertake this work if there were a better career structure for such staff, and it is perhaps not generally realised that the special schools allowance can be paid to teachers with such responsibilities in secondary schools. More in-service training courses are being set up, and authorities are beginning to take a more positive attitude towards releasing and seconding teachers for them. But there continue to exist authorities which allow short term "penny pinching" considerations to block developments that are inevitable in the long term and particularly important at this period of transition. It should also be pointed out that little attention so far has been given to remedial mathematics, as distinct from literacy, and this is a deficiency which badly needs to be made good.

Granted a satisfactory staffing position, how should remedial work be organised in the comprehensive school? Is a separate remedial department necessary? What type of timetable will there be, and how will pupils be allocated? Too often an *ad hoc* and ill thought out set of arrangements reflects an indifferent attitude on the part of the senior staff. Consideration of the needs of remedial pupils are left till last during the summer term's discussions of the following year's timetable. These pupils, whose need for continuity and stability is probably greater than any others', are constantly shifted through the week from room to room and frequently from teacher to teacher. Because of the small numbers involved, remedial teachers are sometimes the first to be called upon to cover larger classes for absent colleagues. The budgetary allowance per pupil for books and equipment for these groups is often substantially below what is allocated to

longer established departments and more academic disciplines. In such ways a school may effectively demote the status of its remedial teaching to the level of a hollow public relations exercise. Teaching staff, parents and governors should be aware of this danger and should be willing to question and criticize such practices. A school that does not make adequate provision for pupils with learning difficulties is not, in any real sense, a comprehensive school.

There are two ways of organising a well equipped and well staffed remedial teaching service within a school. Either pupils may be brought together as a distinct class group for a substantial proportion of the school week or all lessons may be arranged on a withdrawal basis so that pupils are fully integrated members of other mixed ability groups but with separate teaching arrangements at certain times. The first system risks the disadvantages of streaming; a poor self-image, impaired motivation, a gathering together of behaviour problems, the development of obstacles to transfer between this group and the others in the year, all encouraging the creation of a sub-culture that is anti-school in every way. On the other hand the existence of a classroom base in the first year can at least help some dull and immature pupils to come to terms gradually with entry into a large and bewildering secondary school. But there are other ways of achieving the same objective. The system of withdrawal classes, appallingly complex as it is to set up, has many advantages, of which the most significant is that it enhances the self-respect and motivation of the backward pupils without which educational progress is virtually impossible.

The school's own remedial staff will do most of the testing required to select pupils for their groups. But they should be able to call upon specialist advisory staff outside the school for advice and fuller assessment in cases of exceptional difficulty. In another section we have referred to the need for better staffed school psychological services. In this context it is worth drawing attention to

the very considerable contribution that remedial advisory teachers may make, particularly at the present stage when so many staff engaged in the work in schools have no special training and are eager to share their problems and learn from the experience of others.

There are other people outside the schools who may be able to offer real help to backward pupils. In inner London as reported by Peggy Jay (*No one to laugh at you*, Fabian Society, 1973) children are taught individually by house bound teachers in their own homes. Such schemes have many advantages and should be widely introduced. In some schools sixth formers who have teaching or other child centred careers in mind have spent time hearing younger children read, an experience that has proved as enlightening to them as it has been enjoyed by their rather flattered juniors. There is no reason why such schemes should be limited to sixth formers whose vocational interests make them directly relevant. The essential point is that no resources should be ignored in the urgent and rewarding task of educating the backward.

immigrant children

It is now generally acknowledged that some immigrant children may experience special learning difficulties, as their lack of fluency and reading ability in standard English may lead to their ability being under estimated: in addition they may lack interest in subject matter which is unrelated to their background and daily life. For both these reasons their attainment may be low, and this problem is already the subject of study. Mixed ability teaching and a more critical study of the curriculum will undoubtedly lessen two important discriminatory factors which might make them feel that their secondary school is an alien environment. Teachers should be clear about their aims: that they are now educating all children, both English and immigrant, for a multi-racial society. The implications of this aim have been fully developed by Felicity

Bolton and Jennie Laishley in *Education for a multi-racial Britain* (Fabian Society, 1972). Once the educational aims have been made clear, various methods such as withdrawal from classes for special language lessons, and the use of language centres, should be available for teachers to overcome special difficulties. However it should be clear that the problems in school of immigrant children and children born in this country to immigrant parents are not solely a matter of language difficulties. The existence of racial discrimination on a large scale in the general community needs to be openly acknowledged. Its effects within the schools are hard to gauge exactly: certainly too many teachers have lowered expectations of black pupils, some teachers in multi-racial schools still know too little about the social and religious traditions within which many pupils have been brought up by their parents, communal tensions are manifested between groups of pupils in schools reflecting what is going on within society as a whole, and this situation is sometimes exacerbated *within* schools by streaming divisions that have led to groupings whose racial composition is unbalanced. There are no easy solutions in this field. What is essential is that all teachers should be continuously aware in multi-racial schools of the implications for community relations within the school of policy decisions taken on all school matters.

the physically handicapped

Many handicapped children may be integrated into ordinary schools provided the schools are helpful and prepared to offer the special assistance that is needed. Giving such assistance can be a valuable social education for all members of the school. For instance, where the school organisation requires the pupils to move frequently to different classrooms some schools are not prepared to offer assistance to crippled pupils who have difficulty in moving rapidly. Some more special provision and adaptation of existing buildings, together with more imaginative organisation, would enable many more

handicapped pupils to fit into ordinary secondary schools. LEAS should be prepared to spend some money on this, though it is realised that there are some old buildings still in use where the cost of adaptation would be impossibly high.

specialty gifted children

Children who are academically bright do not apparently suffer in performance from mixed ability teaching, and in the senior part of the school they are generally able to pursue the subjects of their choice to a high level under specialist guidance. As school organisation is traditionally based on this kind of learning, it seems that there is no need for special provision for them outside it.

There are however three areas where gifted children have special needs because early training is needed to develop their talent: instrumental music, sport and ballet (some might add drama to this list). Existing provision of tuition of the highest quality for young pupils is, with very few exceptions, confined to private fee paying schools, and this is reflected in the fact that there are very few performers of the highest rank who have not been helped in their training by private financial means. Such a situation is obviously inequitable.

As the Labour Party is committed to abolishing fee paying schools in the interests of creating a fully comprehensive system, it must seriously consider how this provision is to be replaced within the state system, lest the present inadequate system be replaced by none at all. There are perhaps two reasons why there is a lack of policy in this area. One is that no British government of any party has in the past spent any considerable sum on this kind of work. To start spending money now would involve the re-allocation of resources already in great demand. The second is the feeling of egalitarianism common to all socialists which tends to militate against the rigorous training from an early age and the high standards in a competitive situation that these particular achievements entail. Nevertheless, it

would be a mistaken view of equality that would deny children the chance to fulfil themselves in this particular way if they want to.

The difficulty about providing this kind of training is that even large comprehensives cannot offer all the facilities and staff that may be needed. There are two acceptable ways in which this can be provided: first by designating certain schools as specialist centres and directing gifted children into them. This has already been done in London, in a comprehensive school specialising in music at Pimlico. Secondly by withdrawal of pupils to attend special centres. In some areas much has been done in music and sport by centres operating outside school hours though sometimes using school facilities. This however is not very satisfactory, as only limited time can be allocated, and poorer pupils who lack support may tend to drop out.

There should be a full examination of these alternatives, as the opportunity should be taken to make this specialist training available on a fair basis for those most suited to it, instead of the present unfair basis of fee paying schools, even though the number of pupils involved will necessarily be small.

THE SCHOOL AND THE COMMUNITY

It has been common in the past for the secondary school to work in isolation from the community it serves so that the transition from school to work involved considerable adjustment for the school leaver and there has been the danger of alienation because of divided loyalties. It is now however regarded as part of the work of the school to prepare young people for life in society.

Young people of school leaving age may be subject to four basic inequalities: a sense of failure because they have not been successful in examinations: different expectations or a lack of encouragement and facilities because of their background: systems of values and ways of looking at the world which conflict with

those of the teacher and earn disapproval: a denial of the freedom appropriate to the growing adult, created by the structure and curriculum of the school.

Any programme which sets out to prepare the young person for his initiation into society must have as its background these inequalities. We are not simply concerned to fit young people into the right slots or even with fostering their immediate wants and interests. These may well be merely the product of an unequal society and by furthering them we should serve only to perpetuate it. Our task must be to help young people towards growth in freedom, aware of the pressures and imperfections in society and capable of making informed choices about their relationship to it. The starting point must be the needs and interests of the individual, against the backcloth of the distorting effect of inequality. Young people should be helped to interpret their experiences, which will be based on the world outside the school in the community and at work. Certain changes are advocated which will affect the organisation as well as the curriculum of the school.

Firstly, further attempts should be made, to use school buildings as centres for the whole community throughout the day. As well as being in some measure a compensatory factor in the life of a community that may have few facilities, it would also provide the pupils with a wider and richer environment than the normal school. A larger staff would have more choice and responsibility for how they spend their time and order their lives than they are offered by many schools at present. Thirdly, the pupils should feel that they are being treated as emergent adults.

In the curriculum there are two types of courses which contribute to the transition from school to the outside world; community work and vocational or work experience courses. These should be part of the social education of all pupils, not just reserved for the less able.

Community work. The invitation of visiting speakers into the schools and

community service already take place in many schools. These have mostly been seen as additions to the central task of the school. What is needed is a changed attitude which sees contact with the community as providing the necessary educative experience in itself: helping in local primary schools, going out on meals-on-wheels services, helping in playgroups or clubs for the handicapped, visiting old people, investigating some aspect of the local community, recording interviews with local residents who are fighting plans for redevelopment and balancing this with the view of the planning office, finding out about pollution in the river or noise from the road; these are all such experiences. While learning of this kind cannot take place satisfactorily within the confines of the school, it nevertheless needs the school as a point at which the experiences can be brought together, interpreted and assessed. Young people engaged in this kind of activity make a valuable contribution to the life of the community which is worth while for its own sake.

Vocational and work experience courses. Courses with a vocational bias have been followed in many schools and have been valuable because they have prepared pupils for a work-skill and therefore arouse greater interest. In an age however when employment needs are constantly changing perhaps what is needed more than a specific skill is an ability to be adaptable and versatile, to get on well with other people, to be able to take decisions without undue anxiety, and to initiate without reference to some other authority. These needs are more likely to be met from a work experience course where the same principles used in learning from the community are applied to the work situation. Students spend perhaps a month each term in office, shop or factory, making a record of their activities to reflect on later in the school situation. This kind of learning entails a blurring of the distinction between school and community. Each serves the other, and the school ceases to be the only source of learning and becomes the instrument whereby the experiences of the community can be interpreted. A greater inter-

change of personnel from different walks of life, teachers, careers officers and industrial training officers as well as representatives of different jobs, would also follow.

EDUCATION FROM 16 ONWARDS

The problems of education in this age group have been outlined in a Labour Party green paper, *higher education further education* which has amassed considerable evidence demonstrating the inadequacy of provision in this area. The lack of provision for the less able, the spasmodic availability of grants, and the fact that only one in ten girls, as against four in ten boys, are able to get day release, are all causes for concern. One important proposal made in the pamphlet, which would have considerable effects on existing secondary schools, is that all education, whether part time or full time, within this age group should be part of the same sector, and operate under the same regulations.

As the regulations are to be those of further education, then this means important changes for the schools. At present, schools do not have part time students, they are only allowed to employ trained staff, and they tend to have different kinds of facilities. Nevertheless, such changes could have certain advantages, for the schools as well as the pupils.

Many young people face a difficult choice at the age of 16. If they wish to continue to study they face financial stringency, as they will not get a grant if they stay on at school, and it is by no means certain that they will get a grant if they go to colleges of further education. They are forbidden by the regulations to be part time students at school, and there are only limited possibilities for this at college. It is not surprising that many choose financial security in the first place and go to work, but later change their minds and wish for further study. However, they cannot come back to school as part time students, they are unable to get grants to return full time, and so are dependent on

the resources of colleges of further education. Thus there is the situation where the schools' resources and specialist teachers are under used, yet they cannot fulfil this potential demand because the regulations prevent them from doing so. Comprehensive schools in particular are well equipped to provide for the education of the less able in this age group, which has until now been very widely neglected.

If this proposal is put into effect it should be realised that a "sixth form" consisting of students of varying age and experience some of them being part time, cannot be expected to have the same ethos, or be run in the same way, as the traditional school sixth form. It is by no means certain that such a "upper school centre", as it might be called, could be provided in every secondary school which has a sixth form at present. Nevertheless, the contribution made by older students with experience of work and of the outside world may be valuable to the school, and is entirely in keeping with the aim of integrating it more closely with the community.

PARENTS AND SCHOOLS

The common interpretation of rates of entry to higher education is that homes and neighbourhoods are a stronger educational influence than schools. Teachers may seem to be teaching well and diligently in a good school environment without success because of alienation between school and homes. Most parents want their children to do well at school and often they would also like them to do better than they did themselves. This suggests that alienation is due to a lack of information and understanding, and school should therefore be developed in close relations with the community they serve, building on their strengths and remedying their weaknesses.

Some parents have less time, skill information and facilities for providing the necessary background and encouragement which helps towards the greater motivation of more middle class children.

It is this rather than lack of concern which is one root of the problem, and a more positive programme of parental education would help to provide these advantages, together with a curriculum which is seen by parents to be relevant. Most schools have a parents' association, and increasingly there are parent representatives on the school governors. At worst, teachers are apathetic to formal associations of parents who are regarded as useful for fund raising activities provided they do not interfere in the running of the school. On the other hand, a certain amount of caution may be justified if the association represents a minority of parents who are vocal in expressing views and criticisms that may not be shared by, or are unfair to, the majority. This is a particular danger in a school whose pupils come from a wide variety of social backgrounds. Similarly the effectiveness of parent representatives on school governors depends on the effectiveness of the governing body as a whole. School governors should be considering parent education, and asking how the teachers and the parent representatives, where they exist, can advise and assist in the process. With the advent of more parent representatives more boards of governors will be doing this.

Unfortunately the parents who least involve themselves with schools and whose need for parent education is probably greatest are the most difficult to reach. It is a frequent complaint among teachers that they never see the parents of the children who need most help. However, both viewpoints need to be better understood. If a child behaves badly in school, is unhappy, or shy, or over assertive, or lacks confidence, it is rather too readily assumed by the teachers that this is the fault of the parents who have made him that way. If the child's behaviour is different at home and he only misbehaves in school, there is sometimes disbelief and a reluctance to look for the cause within the school.

Parents have the right to expect professional commitment on the part of the teachers who should know the child and

his expectations. They would not expect the child to be hurt through unduly harsh criticism as it is the teacher's job to build up a child's confidence. They also have a right to information about what is happening in a school and what the school's aims are: information which many teachers prefer to withhold on the grounds that a full appreciation of the relevant factors is not possible to those not involved in the running of the school. Nevertheless, parents are involved in the running of the school in that they ensure their children's attendance and co-operation, and it may well be that, if they were trusted with the full information about all the problems involved, they would give informed and enthusiastic support, in some cases taking the form of practical offers of help.

Teachers on the other hand have the right to expect that their contributions and efforts are acknowledged, and co-operation extended in difficult cases. Parents should support the children and schools if the child has to change schools, or change teacher. Part of this support is that the parent should not criticise the teacher to the child, but should address any criticism direct to the school. Teachers have the right to agree to the broad conditions under which a school can be approached. At various times and places, a school's reputation has been needlessly damaged by vocal action by small groups of dissident parents, while the vast majority of satisfied, or least not dissatisfied parents have remained silent. Sometimes the media have not been blameless in spreading dissenion. Teachers have the right, if things go wrong or if there is a dispute about some matter, to expect parents to act on facts, not on rumours. School governors should consider what should be done to foster positive relations between parents and schools. In addition, LEAS must provide practical suggestions and the necessary programmes of help. For younger children, the appointment of "education visitors" to help with problems in the home has been suggested. Parents could be involved much more closely in school activities than they are at present; such activities would be clubs, recreations, school trips and journeys.

If the school and its facilities were open for recreational use in the evenings (as has been suggested in the section on the school and community) parents would have a chance to meet teachers on an informal basis. If the school is to be used by the community in this way, it would help it to become a more genuine social centre if the premises could obtain a licence for the sale of drinks. In this context licensing regulations should be relaxed to allow the sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks in schools. This would dispel some of the inhibiting formality which discourages so many parents especially fathers and those whom teachers most want to see, from visiting schools. Such use of the schools facilities is likely to give the parents a stronger sense of belonging to it, and meets the criticism that they are wastefully lying idle for a large part of the time. Parents' evenings, which are held by nearly all schools, should not be limited to individual interviews with single teachers on the progress of each child, but could include more wide-ranging and general group discussions with the staff on the problems and activities of the school generally. It will be noticed that many of the recommendations for improving relations with the parents are the same as those for strengthening the school's links with the community.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Education committees should not be content to construct only the outer shell of buildings, staff and equipment. They and school governors should also ensure that the resources are so deployed that comprehensive education becomes a reality by encouraging new attitudes within reorganised secondary schools.
2. There should be a policy of positive discrimination to direct the necessary additional resources to comprehensive schools where there are environmental and other difficulties facing the achievement of acceptable standards.
3. There should be research to develop a

truly balanced common curriculum to further the comprehensive ideal; such a curriculum should include family relations including sex education and education for effective citizenship.

4. School governors should exercise their functions regarding "conduct and curriculum" of schools more vigorously than they have done in the past using the best possible professional advice which is available.

5. Curricular development should be adequately financed by local education authorities by the provision of additional sums of money based on 5-10 per cent of normal school capitation expenditure.

6. In view of the importance of the school time table in the optimum use of limited resources, there should be in-service training courses for senior teachers involved in time table construction duties.

7. Learning situations in schools should be so organised to optimise the benefits of a comprehensive education.

8. Existing sex discrimination against both girls and boys in the allocation of curricular activities and options should be discontinued.

9. The impact of the introduction of team teaching and integrated studies on individual teachers should not be overlooked and additional internal support services such as resource centres with Media Resources Officers should be provided.

10. Pupil teacher relationships should be flexible rather than governed by rigid rules which do not respond to changing circumstances; the aim should be mutual respect based on consultation through the schools' own democratic machinery, and with parents.

11. The roles of headteachers, deputy heads, second masters/mistresses and senior teachers should be more clearly defined to ensure that services necessary for good internal school management are covered; such roles should be concerned

with maximum delegation within the schools' agreed objectives.

12. Headteachers, and potential heads, should be given adequate training and support for the effective performance of their important role.

13. All local education authorities should arrange for parents, teachers and senior pupils to be represented on the school governors; in the absence of voluntary initiative, the DES should make the necessary changes in instruments and articles of government.

14. Necessary pastoral and counselling facilities should be provided in all schools and local education authorities should encourage this by allocating additional resources to meet at least a half share of the additional teacher time required in a school.

15. Adequate in-service training facilities "on the job" and "off the job" should be provided for all teachers and there should be a systematic approach within schools to the identification of training needs; young teachers should receive special attention from professional tutors, who should be of senior rank (such as second deputy head).

16. A greater share of resources should be allocated within schools to meet the needs of slow learning pupils, and a satisfactory career structure should be provided for remedial teachers, as well as improved supportive services.

17. Certain comprehensive schools should develop appropriate specialisations to cater for area needs for intensive instruction for children with special gifts such as music and dance.

18. External examinations should not distort the curriculum of schools and the comprehensive ideal, therefore school-based examinations are needed and more research is needed on the examination of the less able and their effect upon pupils.

19. Schools should be more closely linked

to the community in all its aspects and pupils should be involved in community activity.

20. There should be further research into the desirability of rationalisation, where appropriate, of education from the age of 16 years. All education, part or full time, from 16-18 should be under the same regulations, those of further education, thus making more use of the facilities provided by schools.

21. School governors should, wherever necessary, take positive action to improve school/parent relations and should be prepared to sponsor parent education.

22. Local education authorities should monitor the educational process in schools more effectively through the agency of adequate advisory staffs.

CONCLUSION

It is appreciated that these recommendations and the foregoing text do not cover all aspects of comprehensive secondary education which might have been mentioned; the aim has been to deal with problems within the context of schools rather than to concentrate on different structures of comprehensive education; in particular, because of this limitation only a brief comment has been made on education over 16 years of age.

Many of the recommendations are relatively inexpensive to implement and almost entirely a matter of education of teachers, governors, parents, education committee members and their education officers and advisers.

fabian society the authors

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This pamphlet has been written by a group whose members are engaged in various fields of the education service: teaching, administration, the training of teachers and educational welfare. All are, or have been at some time, teachers in secondary schools.

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